

Germany and the Question of Slavery, 1750-1850

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INTRODUCTION

Where do Germans fit in the History of Atlantic Slavery?

On May 17, 1681, Frederick I of Prussia sent a letter of patent to the Dutch naval commander Benjamin Raule granting him privileges to establish and operate an African company off the coast of modern day Ghana.¹ The Brandenburg African Company (BAC), later renamed the Brandenburg African-American Company (BAAC), intended to engage in the slave trade following the Dutch example.² While Raule outfit the Prussian navy for the slave trade, another cosmopolitan noble, Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, established a series of slave forts along the Gold Coast starting with Groß Friedrichsburg in 1683.³ For nearly four decades Prussians exchanged manufactured goods and agricultural products from Northern Europe for precious metals, ivory, and slaves at these contact points. Even though slaves sold in the West Indies offered the highest potential for profit, Raule knew that Brandenburg lacked the colonial presence in the New World necessary to compete with other powers. He therefore suggested the operation of slave markets rather than attempt to break into the already well-established, plantation-based, system of New World slavery. Under his guidance, Prussia created markets at St. Thomas and other nearby islands, which rapidly developed into some of the busiest in the West Indies. Piracy,

¹ Peter Feddersen Stuhr, *Die Geschichte der See- und Kolonialmacht des Großen Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg in der Ostsee, auf der Küste von Guinea und auf den Inseln Arguim und St. Thomas, aus archivalischen Quellen dargestellt* (Berlin: A.W. Hayn, 1839), 30-31.

² While the sources for this history were collected during the 1980s, modern historians did not devote attention to the subject until the last two decades. Adam Jones, trans. and ed., *Brandenburg Sources for West African History: 1680-1700* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986); Andrea Weindl, "Die Kurbrandenburger im 'atlantischen System' 1650-1720," *Arbeitspapiere zur Lateinamerikaforschung* 2, no. 3 (2001); Ulrich van der Heyden, *Rote Adler an Afrikas Küste: Die brandenburgisch-preussische Kolonie Grossfriedrichsburg in Westafrika* (Berlin: Selignow, 2001); Andrea Weindl, "The Slave Trade of Northern Germany from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," in *Extending the Frontiers Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, eds. David Eltis and David Richardson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 250-271; Sven Klosa, *Die Brandenburgische-Africanische Compagnie in Emden: Eine Handelscompagnie des ausgehenden 17. Jahrhunderts zwischen Protektionismus und unternehmerischer Freiheit* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011).

³ Gröben documents his efforts in a travelogue that became popular with advocates for a German overseas empire during the *Kaiserreich*. See Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung des brandenburgischen adelichen Pilgers Otto Friedrich von der Gröben: Nebst der brandenburgischen Schifffahrt nach Guinea und der Verrichtung zu Morea, unter ihrem Titel* (Marienwerder: Simon Reiniger, 1694).

competition with more established naval powers, and Raule's ousting from the government gave the Soldier King Friedrich Wilhelm I, who had no overseas ambitions, reason to end the BAAC after only a few decades. Even though colonial advocates revived the memory of this episode during the *Kaiserrreich*, with postcards and kitsch, most scholars have seen this brief episode as the last moment in which a German state's history joins with slavery in the Atlantic world (see fig. 1).⁴



Figure 1. "Colony of the Great Elector, Groß Friedrichsburg." Postcard, Berlin, ca. 1890s.

Northern Europeans seldom fit in the study of New World slavery.⁵ While their role was numerically smaller than that of the Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, British, or French, Germans

⁴ For an example of the revival, see "Deutschlands Colonialbestrebungen. Ruine Groß Friedrichsburg," *Die Gartenlaube*, XXXII nr. 21/1884, 349-351; Hermann von Festenberg-Packisch, *Gross-Friedrichsburg: Erzählendes Gedicht* (Berlin: Groningen, 1900); Julius Wilhelm Otto Richter, *Die brandenburgische Kolonie Gross-Friedrichsburg und ihr Begründer Otto Friedrich von der Groeben: Eine Erzählung aus der Wende des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Altenburg: St. Geibel, 1907).

⁵ Some American historians made efforts to find archival material to put Germans into the history of black Atlantic slavery, including Seymour Drescher and Eugene D. Genovese, though they ultimately found little archival evidence:

played an important and understudied role in the history of Atlantic slavery. In a path-breaking assessment of slavery historiography worldwide, Michael Zeuske describes a contemporary silence on Germans in slavery's historiography where once there was brilliance.⁶ He attributes this silence to the structural, geographical, and institutional development of the modern study of slavery. Since the nineteenth century the Anglo-American world had a tendency to “universalize the conditions of plantation slaves” and created an “undifferentiated view of slavery” in the words of a specialist in Ottoman slavery.⁷ The institutional study of slavery grew out of North American universities in which scholars insisted on confronting a slave-holding past just at the moment when a burgeoning civil rights movement, for the descendants of former slaves, took shape. This produced a wealth of new research and set the agenda for the study of slavery for decades. The problem of omission, as Michael Zeuske has argued, owes to the fact that the two major memorial and historiographical traditions—the slaveries of the US South and Brazil, making up about 80% and 10% of all publications—created an academic hegemony and to this day threatens to “canonize” the study of slavery.⁸ Zeuske, like Ehud Toledano and Salvatore Bono, has broken the traditional mold of slavery research and demonstrated how slavery, and its history, has almost become synonymous with black slavery and the North American South.⁹

Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Eugene D. Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Slavery in White and Black: Class and Race in the Southern Slaveholders' New World Order* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 200-218. See also David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 172-173, 212, 308. A recent 'definitive account' of slavery in the Americas “written by a team of leading international contributors” only includes Germans as indentured servants. See Robert L. Paquette and Mark M. Smith, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Slavery in the Americas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Another recent survey of slavery from the ancient world to the present only includes Germans as a footnote, within the context of Nazi forced-labor during the Third Reich: Trevor G. Burnard, “The Atlantic slave trade,” in *The Routledge History of Slavery*, eds. Gad J. Heuman and Trevor G. Burnard (London: Routledge, 2011), 95.

⁶ Michael Zeuske, “Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective,” *International Review of Social History* 57, no. 01 (March 2, 2012): 87.

⁷ Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (St. Louis: University of Washington Press, 1998), 15.

⁸ Michael Zeuske, “Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery,” 95.

⁹ Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2013), 21-37; Ehud R. Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression, 1840-*

Bringing Germans into the broader history of Atlantic slaveries allows for a more expansive understanding of modern slavery in the Atlantic World.

My dissertation traces slavery as a concept over shifts and transformations across the nineteenth century. It focuses on important episodes in which transitions over time changed the discussion, representation, and meanings of slavery. The project asks a variety of questions. How and where do Germans fit into the history of the Atlantic slavery? What elements of slavery did Germans see and record? When did they see it? How did they interact with slavery? How did Germans contribute to slavery and its decline during the long nineteenth century? Rather than place Germany at the periphery, on the margins, or borderlands, the dissertation draws from global history's frameworks, including the idea of "hinterlands." This term allows for a more open idea of relationships between German lands, even those along the coasts, and Atlantic slavery as other terms like the periphery, borderlands, and margins. "Hinterlands" also insists on a more powerful and substantial relationship than these others imply.¹⁰

The Mediterranean provides an excellent example of a site where Germans and a different form and system of slavery overlap. Fears of Christian enslavement by pirates, supported by the Barbary Regencies in the Mediterranean, dominated discussions, descriptions, and definitions of slavery during the early modern period. In fact, the first comparative history of slaveries, *Schauplatz Barbarischer Schlaverey* (1666), focused on Ottoman slavery and came from the pen

1890 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 3-13; Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition*, 6-19; Ehud R. Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Salvatore Bono, *I corsari barbareschi* (Torino: ERI-Edizion RAI Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1964); Salvatore Bono, *Piraten und Korsaren im Mittelmeer: Seekrieg, Handel und Sklaverei vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, trans. Achim Wurm (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2009); Salvatore Bono, *Schiavi europei e musulmani d'oltralpe (sec. XVI - XIX)* (Roma: Ist. per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino, 2011).

¹⁰ Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, "Introduction: Towards a Comprehensive European History of Slavery and Abolition," in *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680-1850*, eds. Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2016), 4-6.

of an Altona clergyman and enjoyed numerous reprints.¹¹ This understanding of slavery gradually changed, during the late Enlightenment, when New World slavery supplanted fears of the Barbary Pirates for a few decades, when the public concerned itself more with issues surrounding freedom, justice, toleration, and equality.¹² Although the idea of Islamic slavery in the Mediterranean returned for a few decades, it has largely been overlooked in the historiography. The Italian historian Salvatore Bono has described the historiographic omission of Germans and slavery as “A forgotten chapter in the history of the Mediterranean”—a chapter which was not at all alien to the public sphere of the nineteenth century.¹³ Indeed, during the middle of the nineteenth century, the concerns for slavery, the slave trade, and other forms of bondage enjoyed a substantial boom in literature, music, and theater productions (see fig. 2). Representations of Christian slavery became incredibly popular after the occupation of Algiers in 1830 had all but eliminated the threat to Northern Europe. Over the last decade an entirely new and formerly neglected dimension of German history has been opened through contributions unearthing materials from this overlooked epoch.¹⁴ These new works have counted European slaves in North

¹¹ Johann Frisch’s book appeared as a translated and edited version of a famous captivity narrative from Emanuel D’Aranda, and was published several times through the eighteenth century. Frisch contributed his own analysis to the account to argue that Germans cared more about slavery in the Barbary Regencies than New World Slavery. Johann Frisch, ed., *Der Schauplatz Barbarischer Schlaverey/ eröffnet durch J.F.* (Altona: Victor de Löw, 1666). For a deeper analysis see, Gerhild Scholz Williams, *Mediating Culture in the Seventeenth-Century German Novel: Eberhard Werner Happel, 1647-1690* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press: 2014), 106-170.

¹² Jonathan Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights 1750-1790* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹³ Salvatore Bono, *Piraten und Korsaren im Mittelmeer*, 19-28; Magnus Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen: Nordeuropa und die Barbaresken in der frühen Neuzeit*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

¹⁴ Magnus Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen: Nordeuropa und die Barbaresken in der frühen Neuzeit*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012); Antjekathrin Graßmann, “Nordafrikanische Piraten-ein Dorn im Fleische der Hanseaten vom 16. Bis 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Mythen der Vergangenheit: Realität und Fiktion in der Geschichte: Jörgen Bracker zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Ortwin Pelc (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2012), 159-178; Robert Bohn “Von Sklavenkassen und Konvoifahrten: Die arabischen Seeräuber und die deutsche Seefahrt im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Geschichtsbilder: Festschrift für Michael Salewski zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Thomas Stamm-Kuhlmann et al., (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2003), 25-37.

Africa, examined the means by which the enslaved were captured, held and eventually ransomed, and also followed the interstate networks through which funds traveled.¹⁵ The blurb of a recent



Figure 2. “The righteous galley slave and the rogue.” Engraving from the Chodeowiecki Sammlung, Herzog Ernst Bibliothek, 1792.

edited volume on the subject of new perspectives on slavery begins “*Das Thema Sklaverei boomt.*”¹⁶ Much of this recent scholarship resists the notion that only black Africans could be

¹⁵ Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Daniel Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs: The End of a Legend, 1800-1820*, trans. and ed. Victoria Hobson and comp. John E. Hawkes (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005); Ehud R. Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Magnus Ressel, “Conflicts between Early Modern European States about Rescuing Their Own Subjects from Barbary Captivity,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 36, no. 1 (2011): 1–22; Magnus Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*; Magnus Ressel, “Venice and the redemption of Northern European slaves (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries),” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, no. 87 (December 15, 2013): 131–45; Heike Grieser and Nicole Priesching, eds., *Gefangenenloskauf im Mittelmeerraum: Ein interreligiöser Vergleich. Akten der Tagung vom 19. bis 21. September 2013 an der Universität Paderborn* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2015).

¹⁶ Juliane Schiel and Stefan Hanß, eds., *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited (500–1800)–Neue Perspektiven auf mediterrane Sklaverei (500–1800)* (Zürich: Chronos, 2014).

enslaved.¹⁷ The new emphasis on slavery in the Mediterranean, however, has tended to emphasize issues surrounding the social dimensions of religion, the shifting nature of religious identity, impediments to commercial development, and the development of international law and insurance. This emphasis has side-stepped the impact this different form of enslavement had on German attitudes towards slavery and abolition.¹⁸ Part of this emphasis owes to the divide between the research agendas of scholars examining the early modern period and those investigating the modern world. For instance, many of these early modern histories seldom venture into the nineteenth century, the time in which abolition movements reached their apogee. Lastly, explorations into the origins of German antislavery have been neglected. As one scholar recently put it “Our knowledge about the rise of abolitionist sentiment in European countries other than Britain and France is still very sketchy or non-existent.”¹⁹ This dissertation provides detail for German antislavery sentiment.

German historiography itself has also neglected the topic. Although Germans penned the first systematic histories of the Atlantic slave trade during the nineteenth century, Alexander von Humboldt wrote the most influential nineteenth-century polemic against slavery, and Germans investigated, described, and analyzed slavery and the slave trade throughout the Atlantic World, the topic has remained largely outside the scope of other historiographical imperatives.²⁰ Even

¹⁷ Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 4-9; Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*, 19-21.

¹⁸ Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*; Ernst-Peter Ruhe, “Dire et ne pas dire. Les récits de captifs germanophones et les cérémonies de retour,” in *Captifs en Méditerranée (XVI-XVIIIe siècles): Histoires, récits et légendes*, ed. François Moureau (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2008) 119-133; Ernstpeter Ruhe, “Christensklaven als Beute nordafrikanischer Piraten. Das Bild des Maghreb im Europa des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Europas islamische Nachbarn: Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte des Maghreb*, ed. Ernstpeter Ruhe (Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen & Neumann, 1993), 159-186.

¹⁹ Brahm and Rosenhaft, “Introduction,” 9.

²⁰ Eugene-Edgar Doll, *American History as Interpreted by German Historians from 1770 to 1815* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949). Germans wrote the first systematic histories of slavery. See Matthias Christian Sprengel, *Vom Ursprung des Negerhandels, ein Antrittsprogramm* (Halle: Johann Christian Hendel, 1779); Johann Jakob Sell, *Versuch einer Geschichte des Negersklavenhandels* (Halle: Johann Jacob Gebauer 1791). On Humboldt see Philip Sheldon Foner, ed., *Alexander von Humboldt über die Sklaverei in den USA* (Berlin: Humboldt-University, 1984); Micheal Zeuske, “Humboldt, Historismus, Humboldtianisierung” in *Humboldt im Netz (HiN)*, *International Review for Humboldtian Studies*, 2:3 (2001); Andreas W. Daum, *Wissenschaftspopularisierung im 19.*

today, when an increasingly number of historiographies insist on “globalizing” elements of German history, little “genuine research” on slavery comes from scholars of German history.²¹ This problem with the study of slavery has to do with Germany’s relatively brief period of formal colonial empire in comparison to that of other nations. Germans exercised sovereignty, as a state, over foreign territories for a relatively short period—1885 to 1919. As a consequence, there was very little migration from the colonies into Germany which resulted in an influential minority demanding examinations of the colonial past as was the case in France or the United Kingdom.²² Sustained interest in Germany beyond its borders, including colonial activities of the *Kaiserreich*, has recently been taken up in the last two decades.²³ Slavery, however, has been confined largely to the German experience with slavery during its relatively brief domination of African territories, where, in 1900, upwards of 400,000 Africans remained enslaved under German sovereignty.²⁴ Other works examining the German interaction with slavery have focused almost

Jahrhundert: Bürgerliche Kultur, naturwissenschaftliche Bildung und die deutsche Öffentlichkeit, 1848-1914 (München: R. Oldenbourg, 2002).

²¹ Zeuske, “Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery,” 109.

²² Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7-10. Gröben’s name adorned a street in Berlin until 2009 and Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann’s reputation as a slave trader did not prevent the city of Hamburg from erecting a monument to him in 2006. In France and Great Britain, large minority populations demanding recognition led to the creation of new institutions dedicated to unearthing a shared colonial past. See Henri Brunschwig, *L’expansion allemande outre-mer du XVe siècle à nos jours*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957).

²³ Zantop’s work prompted a host of new studies on the subject of Germany’s colonies, slavery schemes and its imperial ambition. See Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Frank Müller, “Imperialist Ambitions in Vormärz and Revolutionary Germany: the Agitation for German Settlement Colonies Overseas, 1840-1849,” in *German History* vol. 17 no. 3 (1999), 346-368; Jonathan M. Hess, *Germans, Jews, and the Claims of Modernity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal, eds., *Germany’s Colonial Pasts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany: Expansionism and Nationalism, 1848-1884* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008); David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Jens-Uwe Guettel, *German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism and the United States, 1776-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

²⁴ “Initially, and despite their anti-slavery rhetoric, the German colonial authorities allowed slavery to continue in a number of places, for example in East Africa. The authorities were concerned that the local pre-colonial economies should not be destroyed. In 1900, there were still some 400,000 slaves in German East Africa,” Conrad, *German Colonialism*, 92. See also Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); For more detail on slavery in German East Africa see Jan-Georg Deutsch, *Emancipation without Abolition in German East Africa, c.1884-1914* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006).

exclusively on the sixteenth-century German renaissance, the eighteenth-century Prussian colony at Groß Friedrichsburg, modern imaginative literature, or twentieth-century forced labor (see fig. 3).²⁵

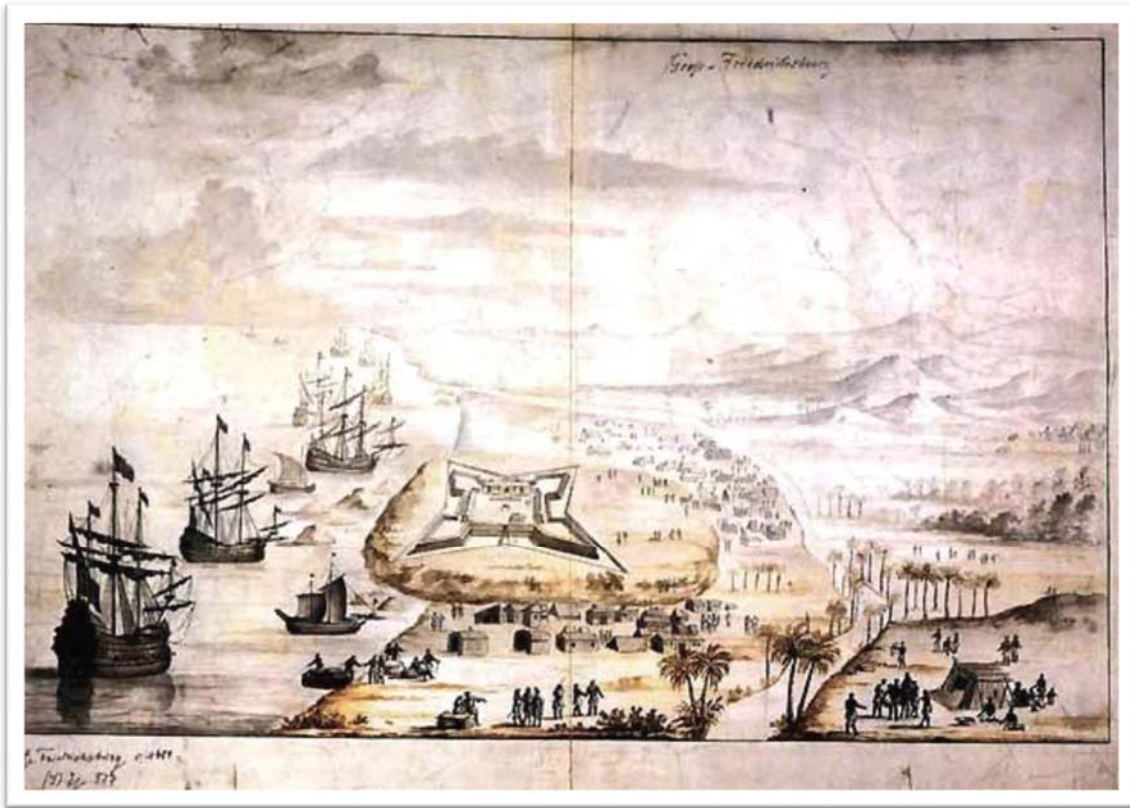


Figure 3. “Sketch of the Fortress at Groß Friedrichsburg around 1688.” Sketch from an unknown artist, a facsimile appears in Adam Jones, trans. and ed., *Brandenburg Sources for West African History 1680-1700* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986).

²⁵ Paul Carl Weber, *America in Imaginative German Literature in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966); G. T. Hollyday, *Anti-Americanism in the German Novel, 1841-1862* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1977); Christine R. Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008); Mark Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); Heyden, *Rote Adler an Afrikas Küste*; Jürgen Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats: Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001); Christopher R. Browning, *Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi Slave-Labor Camp* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2010); Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh, and Christoph Thonfeld, eds., *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010).

With the exception of a few articles, collections of conferences papers or essays, studies that extend into the nineteenth century do not give slavery sustained treatment.²⁶ Comparisons between slave societies, the so-called *Herrenvolk* democracies, have been made but no full length scholarly monograph on Germans and slavery during the modern era has been produced.²⁷ Like many other ideas and concepts, notions about slavery, servitude, and forced labor underwent dramatic changes during the *Sattelzeit*. After all, scholars have long identified this period as crucial to the wide-spread rejection of slavery in the West.²⁸ My research on the transformation of late-enlightenment ideas about slavery in Northern Europe, Hessian soldiers in North America, German migrants in Brazil, as well as the concern over the threat of Christian enslavement in Mediterranean bridges the historiographical crevasse between Prussian slave forts in Ghana and the forced labor regimes of the Third Reich.

Geographically, this study focuses on the North German states, where transatlantic trade and interactions appeared most prominently throughout the nineteenth century. They fit well with the concept of “hinterlands” due to their distance from the expressions of colonial domination and projection of power typical of other Western European powers. Based on state archival sources, printed documents, letters, travel accounts, and other materials concerning slavery in the Americas and the Mediterranean, it focuses on German statement, travelers, and emigrants—the most numerous transatlantic emigrant group. During the nineteenth century, German states collected statistics on and assessments of foreign powers. The dissertation examines the extent to

²⁶ Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov, eds., *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact, 1250-1914* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013); Alison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Jens-Uwe Guettel, *German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism and the United States, 1776-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Mischa Honeck, *We are the Revolutionists: German-speaking Immigrants & American Abolitionists after 1848* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011).

²⁷ The term originated with Pierre L. Van den Berghe, *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective* (New York: Wiley, 1967); See also Shearer Davis Bowman, *Masters and Lords: Mid-19th-Century U.S. Planters and Prussian Junkers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

²⁸ Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, 10-27.

which slavery figures in internal policy documents from the North German states in assessments of Atlantic trade, travel, and emigration. Such examinations will uncover the ways in which slavery figures into state and government officials' thinking. I ask if, as an increasing number of Germans rallied behind abolitionist movements in the Americas, German states reconsidered or changed their assessments of slavery and the slave trade. I also investigate academic and travel literature on two places in the Americas, North America and Brazil, to track how the prevalence of slavery changed in German visions of the New World. Lastly, I follow how emigrants writing to their hometowns in Germany described the New World, the extent to which slavery figures into their accounts of life abroad, and how they understood the institution.

My dissertation begins by tracing two competing understandings of slavery in North Germany. It looks at the period when popular notions of enslavement transition away from Christian enslavement in the Ottoman Middle East to a focus on black slavery across the Atlantic world. To do this, it assesses how the Hessians interacted with slavery in the New World, at the start of the Revolutionary era, and how their experiences, and public interest in those experiences, helped to bring the practices and abuses of plantation slavery in the West Indies into sharper focus. Historians have overlooked how these soldiers shaped German attitudes towards slavery as they engaged in a mass-migratory movement of unprecedented transatlantic scale.²⁹ For instance, in his seminal work *Germany and the American Revolution*, historian Horst Dippel perused the extensive catalogue of print materials relating the American Revolution in order to analyze the

²⁹ Most historians have concentrated on military history with only brief comments on encounters between Hessians and slaves see Max von Eelking, *The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence, 1776-1783*, trans. and ed. J.G. Rosengarten (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969); Ernst Kipping, *The Hessian View of America, 1776-1783* (Monmouth Beach, N.J.: Philip Freneau Press, 1971); Rodney Atwood, *The Hessians: Mercenaries from Hessen-Kassel in the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Elliott Wheelock Hoffman, "The German Soldiers in the American Revolution" vols. I and II (PhD diss., University of New Hampshire, 1982); Stephan Huck, *Soldaten gegen Nordamerika: Lebenswelten Braunschweiger Subsidientruppen im amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2011); Daniel Krebs, *A Generous and Merciful Enemy: Life for German Prisoners of War during the American Revolution*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).

bourgeoisie's understanding of the American Revolution during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. While Dippel explores the meaning of freedom, liberty and democracy for Germans, and identifies Hessian troops as a catalyst for stimulating interest for the Americas in Germany, he overlooks their appraisal of slavery, and he dedicates less than two pages to the discussion of slavery in the New World.³⁰ Exploring many of the same documents, Charles Ingrao similarly neglects discussions of New World Slavery in his *The Hessian Mercenary State*.³¹ More recently, Inge Auerbach and Maria Diedrich have each devoted attention to the Hessian encounter with slavery in *Die Hessen in Amerika* and *Germany and the Black Diaspora*.³² Drawing on her vast knowledge of Hessian sources which she collected in the six volume HETRINA, Auerbach summarizes the history of slavery in America, places the Hessians in it, and locates black slaves amongst the ranks of Hessian soldiers and traces their path as these recently freed blacks sought new accommodations in Central Europe. Diedrich, on the other hand, draws on Auerbach's research and two popular published sources to argue that blacks asserted agency by enlisting with Hessian troops. Neither contribution pays attention to how Hessian interaction with black slaves in the Americas colors their perceptions about slavery and freedom. My project brings together this scholarship and dozens of other neglected sources to give a fuller account of German perceptions and experiences with slavery at this important moment during the Revolutionary Era.

³⁰ Horst Dippel, *Germany and the American Revolution, 1770-1800: A Sociohistorical Investigation of Late Eighteenth-Century Political Thinking*, trans. B.A. Uhlendorf (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978).

³¹ Charles W. Ingrao, *The Hessian Mercenary State: Ideas, Institutions, and Reform under Frederick II, 1760-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). In the same decade, a few historians uncovered new sources on German recruitment of black slaves. See George Fenwick Jones, "The Black Hessians: Negroes Recruited by the Hessians in South Carolina and Other Colonies," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 83, no. 4 (1982): 287–302; Inge Auerbach, Eckhart G. Franz, and Otto Fröhlich, eds., *Hessische Truppen im amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg: (HETRINA) Index nach Familiennamen*, 6 vols. (Marburg: Institut für Archivwissenschaft, 1976-1982).

³² Inge Auerbach, *Die Hessen in Amerika 1776-1783* (Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission, 1996), 216-230; Maria Diedrich, "From American Slaves to Hessian Subjects: Silenced Black Narratives of the American Revolution," in *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact, 1250-1914*, eds. Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 92-114.

The next two chapters assess the resurgence of concern over Barbary slavery during the Napoleonic period and subsequent ministerial conferences which made up the post-Vienna European order. Scholars have focused on the development of human rights, questions of prejudice in news coverage of the Barbary Regencies, orientalist attitudes' role in shaping the relationship between Christian Northern Europe and Islam, and sometimes have read a narrative of colonial ambitions or even genocide into their sources.³³ Scholars writing from the latter perspective have predicated these dark assumptions on the later fact of Western domination over the Middle East.³⁴ They do not take seriously the threat posed by the Barbary Regencies which, as Paul Schroeder and Brian Vick point out, ignores the fact that the West did not yet enjoy the asymmetries of power common in the later nineteenth century.³⁵ The threat of Christian enslavement posed by North Africa had subsisted since the sixteenth century, but it still lingered for all but the most powerful naval states by the end of the Napoleonic era.

Only recently has scholarship addressed the importance of slavery and the Barbary Pirates at the Congress of Vienna.³⁶ With the exception of a few recent gestures in the direction of North Africa, the Barbary problem and the slave trade traditionally have occupied a footnote or a page

³³ Steffen Schwarz, *Despoten-Barbaren-Wirtschaftspartner: Die Allgemeine Zeitung und der Diskurs über das Osmanische Reich, 1821-1840* (Köln: Böhlau, 2016); Jörg Manfred Mössner, *Die Völkerrechtspersönlichkeit und die Völkerrechtspraxis der Barbareskenstaaten (Algier, Tripolis, Tunis 1518-1830)* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1968), 116-144. See also Almut Hinz, "Die „Seeräuberei der Barbareskenstaaten“ im Lichte des europäischen und islamischen Völkerrechts," in *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee / Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America* 39, no. 1 (2006): 46-65; Heinrich Loth, *Sklaverei: Die Geschichte des Sklavenhandels zwischen Afrika und Amerika* (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1981); Helmut Berding, "Die Ächtung des Sklavenhandels auf dem Wiener Kongreß 1814/15," *Historische Zeitschrift* 219, no. 2 (1974): 265-89; Karl von Gareis, *Der Sklavenhandel, das Völkerrecht und das deutsche Recht* (Berlin: Verlag von Carl Habel, 1884).

³⁴ Nina Berman, for instance, suggests that orientalist bigotry explains the seventeenth-century anti-Barbary theater productions in places like Hamburg. This omits the context of heightened acts of piracy affecting the Hanseatic cities and even the public execution of captured pirates in some of the cities: Nina Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practices, 1000-1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 127-128.

³⁵ Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 637-638; Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 213.

³⁶ Florian Kerschbaumer, "Sir Sidney Smith und die Barbaresken-Frage am Wiener Kongress," in *Mächtepolitik und Friedenssicherung zur politischen Kultur Europas im Zeichen des Wiener Kongresses*, eds. Reinhard Stauber, Florian Kerschbaumer, and Marion Koschier (Berlin: Lit, 2014), 89-105; Vick, *Congress*, 212-218; Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 25.

in most treatments of the reorganization of Europe after Napoleon. This was not always the case. Whether it was their closer proximity to the myth of Barbary Corsair cruelty, or more reflective of their nationalist ambitions, scholars living during the nineteenth century wrote on the problem of Barbary piracy for Europeans (see fig. 4).³⁷ The two chapters of this dissertation demonstrate how the growing efforts to suppress the Atlantic slave trade, abolition colonial slavery, and the resurgence of Barbary predation in the Mediterranean created tension in how North German states recognized, described, and understood slavery. When it seemed like African slavery in the New World would become the *bête noire* of an enlightened European public, a few sensational instances of Barbary piracy and enslavement rekindled old memories of Christian enslavement. In comparison to the huge surge in slave trading after Napoleon, these relatively minor incidents, combined with protectionist trade practices from foreign governments, an agrarian disaster, a period of dearth, a financial crisis, and other factors made Prussia and the Hanseatic towns grow increasingly frustrated with their own weak position *vis-à-vis* European naval powers. Prussia, Hamburg, Bremen, and to a lesser extent Lübeck, all insisted on combining the issue of suppressing the transatlantic slave trade with policing the waters of the Mediterranean to protect their own meagre trade and revitalize their ravaged economies. This kept the numerically less consequential threat Christian enslavement an active, living memory in the minds of Europeans and shaped their reactions, perceptions and descriptions of New World slavery at a time when much of Western Europe equated slavery with the injustices of labor regimes in the Americas.

³⁷ Johann Christoph Dittmann and Karl Kreysing, *Kurze Darstellung des Geistes und Strebens des antipiratischen Vereins* (Hamburg: Selbstverlag, 1819); Peter Dietrich Wilhelm Tonnies, *Merkantilisch-geschichtliche Darstellung der Barbaresken-Staaten und ihrer Verhältnisse zu den Europäischen und Vereinigten Nord-Amerikanischen Staaten* (Hamburg: Selbstverlag, 1826); Ernst Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken: Mit einem Anhang* (Kassel: Max Brunnemann, 1897), 130-132; Johann Gustav Gallois, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg, vol. III: Spezielle Geschichte der Stadt seit 1814* (Hamburg: Ackermann & Wulff, 1856), 2, 42-55; Alfred Zimmermann, *Geschichte der preussisch-deutschen Handelspolitik aktenmäßig dargestellt* (Oldenburg; Leipzig, 1892), 113-117; Ludwig Beutin, *Der deutsche Seehandel im Mittelmeergebiet bis zu den Napoleonischen Kriegen* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1933); Alfred Stern, *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871, vol. 1* (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1894), 213-215; The subject has also been treated in the popular press. See Günter Sachse, *Es waren Räuber auf dem Meer: Die Hamburgische Sklavenkasse* (München: Bertelsmann, 1986).



Figure 4. “Representation of the Barbary Regencies.” Lithograph, from P.D.W. Tonnies, *Merkantilisch-geschichtliche Darstellung der Barbarenstaaten und ihre Verhältnisse zu den europäischen und Vereinigten Nordamerikanischen Staaten* (Nestler: Hamburg, 1826).

The next section of my dissertation covers German migrants’ and explorers’ interactions with slavery in Brazil, a topic which has received scant attention until the last decade. The historiography of Germans in South America during the nineteenth century has tended to focus on Alexander von Humboldt and the surge of migrants arriving during the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁸ Although the numbers of publications have increased, only a handful of recent publications follow German settlement patterns and exploration of South America before the 1880s.³⁹ Indeed, a recent survey of literature on Germans in South America ignores every

³⁸ Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict during World War I* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987); Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

³⁹ Eka Donner, *Und nirgends eine Karawane: Die Weltreisen der Ida Pfeiffer (1797-1858)* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1997); Gabriele Habinger, *Ida Pfeiffer: Eine Forschungsreisende des Biedermeier* (Wien: Milena, 2004); Anita Hermannstädter, *Deutsche am Amazonas Forscher oder Abenteurer?: Expeditionen in Brasilien 1800 bis 1914* (Berlin: Lit, 2002); Sandra Carreras and Günther Maihold, eds., *Preussen und Lateinamerika: Im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur* (Münster: Lit, 2004); Cerue K. Diggs, *Brazil after Humboldt—Triangular Perceptions and the Colonial Gaze in Nineteenth-Century German Travel Narratives* (College Park: University of Maryland, 2008); Sandra Carreras and Barbara Potthast, eds., *Eine kleine Geschichte Argentinien* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2010); Giralda Seyferth, “The Slave Plantation and Foreign Colonization in Imperial Brazil,” *Review (Fernand Braudel*

aspect of their “Latin American connections” with black slavery—an odd omission for a continent dominated by the slave trade and its legacy.⁴⁰ While Humboldt’s writings brought new attention to slavery in the Americas through his celebrity, he was not the only German in South America to write on the subject. This study incorporates overlooked and underutilized sources, such as the numerous travelogues published by German explorers and adventurers, as well as letters from migrants to Germany, to show how both shaped Europeans’ understanding of New World slavery.

The migration of Germans to Brazil addresses another area of historiographical concentration. It involves scholarship on Germans and slavery during the nineteenth century which centers on travelers and exiled radicals’ opposition to slavery in the two decades before the American Civil War and fits within the literature of “Germans in the world”. My dissertation looks beyond the large migrant communities of Free-soil states or the eminent émigrés of North America to incorporate a geographically broader swath of Germans. The historiographical tradition of “Germans in the world” began during the nineteenth century and has its roots in various state efforts to maintain and track Germans living abroad, the so-called “*Auslandsdeutsche*,” in an effort to make Germany a global power.⁴¹ In the last decade of that century, scholars from Germany and North America integrated Germans with an immigration background into the narrative of the slave trade, but their efforts were limited to a few episodes, such as Hanseatic cities’ merchants, Prussia’s colonial expansion during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the role Germans played in abolition movements at Germantown, Georg

Center) 34, no. 4 (2011): 339–387; Roland Spliesgart, “*Verbrasilianerung*” und *Akkulturation: Deutsche Protestanten im brasilianischen Kaiserreich am Beispiel der Gemeinden in Rio de Janeiro und Minas Gerais (1822-1889)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006); Anke K. Finger, Gabi Kathöfer, and Christopher Larkosh, eds., *KulturConfusão: On German-Brazilian Interculturalities* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

⁴⁰ H. Glenn Penny, “Latin American Connections: Recent Work on German Interactions with Latin America,” *Central European History* 46, no. 02 (2013): 362–94.

⁴¹ Bradley Naranch, “Inventing the *Auslandsdeutsche*: Emigration, Colonial Fantasy, and German National Identity,” in *Germany’s Colonial Pasts*, eds. Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 21-40.

Rapp's Harmony Society, and the so-called 48'ers participation in abolition before and during the Civil War.⁴² These approaches usually presented a hagiography of freedom-loving German migrants and migrant communities. Some historians also turned their attention to German emigrants in the Caribbean, Africa and South America but these authors mostly went unnoticed.⁴³

A new historiographical tradition in migration studies began during the last half century starting with Mack Walker's *Germany and the Emigration*, which inaugurated more critical approaches to German migration history.⁴⁴ Günter Moltmann, Dirk Hoerder, and Klaus Bade in Germany quantified the transatlantic journeys of Germans; Kathleen Conzen, Frank Trommler, James van Horn Melton and Marianne Wokeck in North America brought attention to the importance and role of German migrants in shaping the history of the Americas and the German states.⁴⁵ The weight of these studies has fallen on Pietism's diaspora settlements during the early

⁴² Countless works from around the turn of the twentieth century focus on the positive contributions of Germans to American history, some examples include, H. J. Ruetenik, *Berühmte deutsche Vorkämpfer für Fortschritt, Freiheit und Friede in Nord-Amerika, von 1626 bis 1888: Einhundert und fünfzig Biographien, mit zwanzig Portraits* (Cleveland: Forest City Bookbinding Company, 1888); Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909); Karl John Richard Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965); Gerhard Friesen and Walter Schatzberg, eds., *The German Contribution to the Building of the Americas: Studies in Honor of Karl J.R. Arndt* (Worcester: Clark University Press, 1977).

⁴³ Conrad, *German Colonialism*, 6-11.

⁴⁴ Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

⁴⁵ Günter Moltmann, *Atlantische Blockpolitik im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Vereinigten Staaten und der deutsche Liberalismus während der Revolution von 1848/49* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1973); Günter Moltmann, *Deutsche Amerikaauswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert: Sozialgeschichtliche Beiträge* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976); Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Charlotte Lang Brancaforte, *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: P. Lang, 1989); Kathleen Neils Conzen, Mack Walker, and Jörg Nagler, eds., *Making Their Own America: Assimilation Theory and the German Peasant Pioneer* (New York: Berg, 1990); Edmund Spevack, *Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom: Germany and America, 1796-1840* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Marianne Sophia Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase and Ursula Lehmkuhl, eds., *Enemy Images in American History* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997); Hans-Jürgen Grabbe, *Vor der grossen Flut: Die europäische Migration in die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, 1783-1820* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2001); Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Klaus J. Bade, *Migration in European History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003); Honeck, *We Are the Revolutionists*; Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); James Van Horn Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

modern period, radicals that emigrated after the revolutions of 1848/49, and a few exceptional Germans and German communities in the mid-west and along frontier settlements.⁴⁶ Less than a handful of these works take slavery as a central issue and fewer follow the connections between Germans in the US and Europe.⁴⁷ By examining Germans' role as transatlantic migrants in Brazil and investigating how their experiences influenced popular conceptions of slavery in German lands, my dissertation will remedy this historiographical omission. It shows how deeply embedded Germans were in the history of the Atlantic world.

German publicists and jurists also proved important to the legal history of slavery. An epilogue closes with as the so-called slavery question, or *Sklavereifrage*, as it began to attract widespread attention after 1850.⁴⁸ During the nineteenth century, German writing on slavery contributed to publicizing slavery, informed how Germans thought on the subject, and influenced the development of former slave societies' historical professions.⁴⁹ In an article now several decades old, Rainer Koch identified the problem black slavery posed for German political thinking during the *Vormärz* in terms of the struggle for free labor and peasant emancipation.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ As one example: Maria Diedrich, *Love across Color Lines: Otilie Assing and Frederick Douglass* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999).

⁴⁷ Brancaforte, *The German Forty-Eighters*; Bruce C. Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Honeck, *We Are the Revolutionists*; Efford, *German Immigrants*; Cornelis A. van Minnen and Manfred Berg, eds., *The U.S. South and Europe: Transatlantic Relations in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Lexington: University Press or Kentucky, 2013).

⁴⁸ Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 50-65; Daniel Nagel, *Von republikanischen Deutschen zu deutsch-amerikanischen Republikanern: Ein Beitrag zum Identitätswandel der deutschen Achtundvierziger in den Vereinigten Staaten, 1850-1861* (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2012), 458-474; For a contemporary example: Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte der Sklaverei in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Hamburg: Otto Meißner, 1861).

⁴⁹ Ciro Flamarion Cardoso, "Brazilian Historical Writing and the Building of a Nation," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, Vol. 4, eds. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Manguascha, and Attila Pók (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 449-456.

⁵⁰ Rainer Koch, "Liberalismus, Konservatismus und das Problem der Negersklaverei: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des politischen Denkens in Deutschland in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Zeitschrift* 222, no. 3 (1976): 529-77. See also Volker Depkat, *Amerikabilder in politischen Diskursen: Deutsche Zeitschriften von 1789 bis 1830* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998); and for an earlier period see, Volker Depkat, "Die Neue Welt im regionalen Horizont: Amerikabilder im 'Hannoverschen Magazin', 1750-1789," in *Pressewesen der Aufklärung: Periodische Schriften im Alten Reich*, eds. Sabine Doering-Manteuffel, Josef Mancal, Wolfgang Wüst (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 269-294.

Although Koch recognized the importance of German historians such as August Ferdinand Lueder, Nikolaus Heinrich Julius, and Fredrich von Raumer when it came to academic circles, the main thrust of Koch's argument followed the ideas of economic and legal theorists. My research provides examples of how these arguments and debates produced real action, like numerous efforts to abolish slavery in Prussia, and how popular cultural productions shaped the public response to slavery and its controversies.

The central problem of this dissertation relates to the German understanding of slavery and where they fit into the history of Atlantic slavery. Historians first painted a picture of Germans as noble, freedom-loving settlers during the nineteenth century who had a deeply-rooted, cultural aversion to slavery. One almost could connect this tradition in a line from Tacitus to Luther to the New World.⁵¹ A host of publications from the late nineteenth century up until the First World War stressed the German animus to slavery. Nevertheless, this less critical view omits the fact that much of the German opposition to slavery comes from the experience with Christian slavery in the Mediterranean, and the German state opposition to slavery owes less to the principled opposition to black slavery and more to the indignation over their specific vulnerability to predation by Islamic pirates in the Mediterranean. Petitions for the Northern German states to address slavery during the congress era came not from thousands of rural, evangelical Protestants, interested in the spiritual salvation of what they saw as a decadent and decaying society, as was the case for British antislavery.⁵² Instead, the dozens of petitions came from merchant communities, or opportunists looking for government support, both of whom justified their antislavery with economic considerations and nationalistic aspirations. Lastly, the traditional view that stresses German opposition to slavery also suppresses the number of

⁵¹ A recent example: Christopher B. Krebs, *A Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus's Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2011).

⁵² J.R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (London: Routledge, 2008), 117-118.

Germans who worked aboard slave ships, as doctors, shipmates, and captains, who all facilitated the slave trade through extensive merchant networks.⁵³ It also looks past those who inherited slaves or plantations as well as those emigrants, however few, who sought to become “lord of the manor” [*Herr im Haus*] on their own plantations in the West Indies, Brazil, and the United States, many of whom traveling Germans make a point of recording.

The dark tragedies of two global conflicts, in which two German empires resorted to atrocious forced-labor regimes, has set a negative tone for the German relationship with slavery. Germans did operate substantial forced labor camps within its borders during the First World War. Less than two decades later Germans turned their society into the largest slave-holding Western society in the twentieth century between 1933 and 1945. After these dark incidents German history was completely recast to look for insidious elements to explain the roots of German authoritarianism, subservience, prejudice, and racism. The German concept of freedom increasingly became associated with negative liberty.⁵⁴ The historian Jürgen Osterhammel takes this idea to its logical conclusion. He suggests that the absence of a self-emancipation event, in which Germans could cathartically come to terms with their own slave-holding past, as “the only large European country without a slavery problem” made it possible for Germany to become a slave holder in the twentieth century.⁵⁵ Without the experience of a “humanitarian revolution” similar to other Western powers, and because Germans “were not forced to work through slavery,” and put it behind them, the idea of freedom developed along an alternate path. The

⁵³ Klaus Weber, “Deutschland, der atlantische Sklavenhandel und die Plantagenwirtschaft der Neuen Welt (15. bis 19. Jahrhundert),” *Journal of Modern European History* 7, no. 1 (2009): 37–67.

⁵⁴ For a classic statement on this idea see, Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941); Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

⁵⁵ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Geshichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats*, 365: “Das einzige große Land Europas ohne historisches Sklavereiproblem wird im 20. Jahrhundert zu einem Sklavenhalter sondergleichen.”

“question of slavery remained an academic frivolity,” for much of German society.⁵⁶ Germans did not experience the “powerful feelings awakened by a fight for the freedom of others,” in an emancipatory war, and thus the German idea of freedom remained “pale, self-referential, and abstract.”⁵⁷ Ultimately, this dissertation offers evidence to support this basic assumption.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 368: “Sie waren nicht gezwungen, das Thema der Sklaverei durchzuarbeiten und hinter sich zu lassen. So ging die humanitäre Revolution an Deutschland ebenso vorbei wie zuvor oder gleichzeitig die politische. Die Sklavenfrage blieb akademischen Frivolitäten anheimgegeben.”

⁵⁷ Ibid., 369: “Die deutsche Idee der Freiheit blieb blaß, abstrakt und selbstbezogen, unbelebt durch das stärkende Gefühl, auch einmal für die Freiheit Anderer gekämpft zu haben.”

CHAPTER I

Discovering New World Slavery

Circa 1760, slavery existed in more areas of the world and in more forms than ever before, yet most of the German-speaking world thought slavery meant Christians enslaved in Ottoman North Africa. Some considered the rural labor forces in Schleswig-Holstein, East of the Elbe under the Junkers, or those under Russian domination as a form of slavery, but few equated slavery with Africans transported across the Atlantic—even as New World slavery overtook Mediterranean slavery in total volume.¹ For instance, the largest encyclopedia in the western hemisphere during the eighteenth century, Zedler's *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, defined slave (in contradistinction to *Knechtschaft* characteristic of the ancient Romans, Hebrews and Greeks) as existing in essentially two forms: slavery practiced by the Turks, Tartars, and other Barbary peoples in which Christians made up the majority of slaves; and as a milder form in which Christian *Kaufleute* bring *blacks* to do *farmwork* on large *plantations* in the Americas.² “The situation of these slaves in the Americas,” the article qualifies, “is completely bearable, only the Christian slaves under the Turks and Barbars of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Morocco and in other places are really badly off.”³ These Christian slaves, the author continues, suffer “cruel beatings,” “live buried underground in stink,

¹ Basing his estimate on Salvatore Bono's pioneering work, Davis estimates as many as 1.25 million Christian slaves were traded in the Mediterranean from the sixteenth century to the late eighteenth century, Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 3-26; Magnus Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen: Nordeuropa und die Barbaren in der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 31-34; Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 213; Robert Bohn, “Von Sklavenkassen und Konvoifahrten: Die arabischen Seeräuber und die deutsche Seefahrt im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Geschichtsbilder: Festschrift für Michael Salewski zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Thomas Stamm-Kuhlmann et al. (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2003), 25-28.

² Johann Heinrich Zedler and Carl Günther Ludovici, eds., *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste...* vol. 36 (Halle: J.H. Zedler, 1743), 643-645: “Wir reden jetzo ins besondere von den Slaven, so sich heutiges Tages unter den Türcken, Tartarn und andern barbarischen Völckern befinden, ja auch von den Christlichen Kaufleuten in America in den Plantagen oder Feldebau ingleichen in den Bergwercken, Zuckermühlen und Tobacks-Spinnereyen zu Arbeiten gebrauchet werden. Von diesen nun, so meist Mohren-Sclaven sind, und dem Handel mit denselbigen, ist schon im XXIV Bande unter Nigritien p. 888 u.s. gehandelt worden.”

³ *Ibid.*, 643.

amidst unhealthy air,” and this “misfortune” awaited those “Italians, French, Englishmen, Dutch and Hamburgers who were caught while operating trade in the Mediterranean.”⁴ Except for a few short passages, the editors dedicate the entire entry to describing Islamic enslavement of Christians. Not only do the editors offer a defense of New World slavery as bearable, but black Africans come off as sharing the same lot as European serfs.⁵ Echoes of this formulation can be found in publications across the Hanseatic cities, Lower Saxony, Saxony, and the Prussian dominions—any location where the enslavement of sailors had impacted overseas commerce to Southern Europe.

Trade in “Christian slaves” and the German reaction to it deserve more attention in the history of Atlantic slavery.⁶ The geography of this slavery, the experiences from it, and the responses to it, joined several economies and cultures together.⁷ This chapter follows how antislavery and abolition shifted, in Central Europe, from an emphasis on relieving Christian oppression in North Africa, to a universal vision which came to include black Africans in the New World. The association of slavery with Christian enslavement in the Barbary Regencies

⁴ Ibid., 644-645.

⁵ Zedler and Ludovici, eds., *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, vol. 24, 888-890. Under the definition *Nigritien*, the land from which Black Africans originate, the editors describe the trade in black slaves, known as the *asiento*, and defend the enslavement of black Africans for biblical, practical and contemporary religious reasons. Although the trade seems to be “inhuman” to the uninformed, it is not clear that their servitude is worse than life in Africa and their servitude also brings the possibility of salvation as most are pagans or “Turks”,

⁶ Christian slavery or the enslavement of Christians refers to the conception as it appears in contemporary usage. It refers to the practices of Islamic enslavement. The subjects of Islamic slavery include a variety of religious identities and orientations. Like slavery in the New World, the practices and experiences of Islamic slavery differed regionally and throughout time. For an extensive analysis of the forms, practices and operations of Islamic slavery, both slaving and enslavement, see Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 97-99, 236-240, 382-385, 430-434. See also William G. Clarence-Smith and David Eltis, “White Servitude,” in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Vol. 3: AD 1420—AD 1804*, eds. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 132-159.

⁷ Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*, 309: “Der sich aus der afrikanisch-iberischen Transkulturation entwickelnde atlantische Sklavenhandel der Neuzeit unter Kontrolle von europäisch-christlichen Kaufleuten / Kapitänen sowie Atlantikkreolen und Piraten I Korsaren verband mehrere Kulturen und Wirtschaftssysteme miteinander. Im günstigen Falle kam es zur Potenzierung mehrerer Kapitalakkumulationssysteme; am profitabelsten für Sklavenhändler, die menschliche Körper von den westafrikanischen Inseln an die sich seit 1520 herausbildenden Plantagen (*Ingenios / Engenhos*) der Amerikas verkauften sowie sie schließlich ganz übernahmen und ihr menschliches Kapital auf kolonialem Boden „anlegten.““

dominated Central European thought for centuries.⁸ That it has been mostly overlooked and that New World Slavery dominates the historiography comes as little surprise. As the scholar of global slaveries, Michael Zeuske, reminds us, “Almost always is slavery mistaken for racism.”⁹

This chapter bridges the gap between research on the early modern experience with “Christian slavery” and the modern period. It aims to establish that far from being on the periphery of concerns about the slavery question, as Jürgen Osterhammel has argued, interest ran deeper than mere “academic frivolity” for a northern European enlightened public.¹⁰ This public’s concerns concentrated on how to deal with the economic ruin and human losses caused by Barbary predation. At the same time, the chapter supports Osterhammel’s assertion that antislavery had a self-referential element that could also be used as a means of establishing Christian dominance over Islamic practices.¹¹ Most importantly, this chapter traces the involvement of the German-speaking public as their concern for Christian slaves shifted more towards African slaves under New World slavery labor regimes in the Americas. This history emphasizes complexity and contradiction. While most Prussians, Hamburgers, Bremeners, and Lübeckers found slavery incompatible with Christian brotherhood, humanity, legality, and morality—they did little to stop the dealers in black slaves or those who profited from slave labor through the exchange of manufactured goods for plantations’ raw materials.¹² Indeed, this period

⁸ Martin traces the roots of German fears of enslavement to the eleventh century after a military encounter with Islam: Peter Martin, *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren: Afrikaner in Geschichte und Bewußtsein der Deutschen* (Hamburg: Hamburger Ed., 2001).

⁹ Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*, 19-21.

¹⁰ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats: Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 368-369: “Die Sklavenfrage blieb akademischen Frivolitäten anheimgegeben. Sie bewegte nicht die Herzen und nicht den Verstand.”

¹¹ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert* (München: C.H. Beck, 1998), 46-51.

¹² Several historians have called attention to the direct and indirect means by which German states profited from the trade in African slaves and colonial slavery. Some examples include: Michael Zeuske, Bernd Schröter, and Jörg Ludwig, *Sachsen und Lateinamerika: Begegnungen in vier Jahrhunderten* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag, 1995); Sandra Carreras and Günter Maihold, *Preussen und Lateinamerika im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur* (Münster: Lit. Verlag, 2004); Klaus Weber, “Deutschland, der atlantische Sklavenhandel und die

saw one of the most significant increases in the transatlantic slave-trade and its products—a not insignificant portion of which operated from the Hanseatic cities’ ports and merchants.¹³

The germ of antislavery and abolition in Central Europe grew from the seeds of ideas surrounding Christian enslavement in the Mediterranean. This chapter traces those origins as they developed at different moments, including the disruption of the Hanseatic cities’ commerce, the growth in interest in New World slavery during the Hessian involvement in the American Revolution, and the debate over race among Central European naturalist and scholars. It concludes with the sense of a new visibility for New World slavery and the threat to that visibility with the resurgence in Barbary piracy and resumption of slave raids into predominantly Christian lands.

Antislavery’s origins were largely based in wide-ranging and far-reaching experiences with Christian suffering at the hands of Barbary pirates. Before polemicists, moralists, and journalists coined the expression “*Sklavenfrage*,” or slavery question, to describe a resolution to New World slavery, writers described a need to solve the problem of the “*Barbareskengefahr*,” or Barbary danger.¹⁴ Understanding the history of antislavery and abolition first requires attention to early modern Christian enslavement and the real-existing fears of Barbary pirates.

Plantagenwirtschaft der Neuen Welt (15. bis 19. Jahrhundert),” *Journal of Modern European History* 7, no. 1 (2009): 37–67; Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*, 512-515.

¹³ Vick, *Congress*, 198; Andrea Weindl, “The Slave Trade in Northern Germany from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries,” in *Extending the Frontiers Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, eds. David Eltis and David Richardson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 263-266. From the 1720s to 1800 the number of sugar refiners doubled in Hamburg as millions of pounds of sugar came into port from the colonies each year according to Astrid Petersson, *Zuckersiedergewerbe und Zuckerhandel in Hamburg im Zeitraum von 1814 bis 1834: Entwicklung und Struktur zweier wichtiger Hamburger Wirtschaftszweige des vorindustriellen Zeitalters* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), 31-49, 290-296.

¹⁴ The term came into common use in Hamburg around 1731 and continued to be used far into the twentieth century. See Hermann Kellenbenz, *Europa, Raum wirtschaftlicher Begegnung: Kleine Schriften vol. 1* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 371-381; Robert Bohn, “Die Barbaresken und die Hamburger Schifffahrt im 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Archiv und Geschichte im Ostseeraum: Festschrift für Sten Körner*, eds. Robert Bohn, Hain Rebas, and Tryggve Siltberg (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 133-145; Bohn, “Von Sklavenkassen und Konvoifahrten,” 32.

Northern Europe and the “Golden Age of Islamic Piracy” (1600-1760)

Christian slavery disrupted trade, contributed to the economic decline of the Hanseatic cities, and circumscribed Northern European trade. As western European ports grew wealthy from the expansion of the transatlantic slave trade and the thickening of trade networks between the Old and New World, northern Europeans found themselves cut off from lucrative routes by Barbary Corsairs, who stocked their slave markets with Christians ripped from the ships and shores of the Atlantic and Mediterranean well into the nineteenth century.¹⁵ From the sixteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century, between four and a half to nine million slaves changed hands in the Mediterranean. They included Italian coxswains, English sailors, German surgeons, Irish laborers, Spanish peasants, and Slavic women from Dalmatia and the Caucasus. All found themselves in captivity as slaves.¹⁶ Given that so many slaves changed hands in this period, with at least one million Christian Europeans amongst them, Fernand Braudel’s observation that “Slavery was a structural feature of Mediterranean society,” holds true.¹⁷ The extensive impact of this form of slavery—the geographic scope, financial cost, human toll, and rerouting of trade networks—made it important to the development of antislavery in Northern Europe, especially in the German speaking world.

¹⁵ Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 79-140; Erik Gøbel, “The Danish ‘Algerian Sea Passes’, 1747-1838: An Example of Extraterritorial Production of ‘Human Security’ / Die ‘Algerischen Seepässe’ Dänemarks, 1747-1838: Ein Beispiel der Extraterritorialen Produktion Humaner Sicherheit,” *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 35, no. 4 (134) (2010): 164–89; Daniel Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs: The End of a Legend, 1800-1820*, trans. and ed. Victoria Hobson and comp. John E. Hawkes (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005), 25-40.

¹⁶ Several new studies undertaken in the last two decades have looked at the varieties of enslaved peoples in the Mediterranean, Ehud R. Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 10-12; Behnaz A. Mirzai et al., eds., *Slavery, Islam and Diaspora* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2009); Alison Frank, “The Children of the Desert and the Laws of the Sea: Austria, Great Britain, the Ottoman Empire, and the Mediterranean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century,” *The American Historical Review* 117, no. 2 (2012): 410–44; Christoph Witzernath, *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200-1860*, (London: Taylor and Francis, 2016).

¹⁷ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 2 trans. Siân Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 755.

In recent years scholars have begun to explore numerous aspects of Barbary slavery's impact on German-speaking Northern Europe. These works have counted slaves in North Africa, examined the circumstances under which the enslaved were captured, held and eventually ransomed, and followed the networks through which funds traveled to provide exciting new insights into actuarial history.¹⁸

Geographically, the area of "Christian enslavement," was concentrated along the Mediterranean coast of Northern Africa, from Marrakesh and Fez in the West to the court of Constantinople and farther east.¹⁹ Like the Vikings of the medieval period, Barbary pirate raids, whose activity extended further still, cruised the waters of Greenland, the North Sea, the English Channel, the west coast of the Iberian Peninsula and France, in addition to the multitude of islands scattered across the Mediterranean.²⁰ Some of the bolder, or at least more enterprising, corsairs dared to venture inland and carried off entire villages.²¹ Even today the pockmarks of their attacks can be seen in the remnants of ancient villages dotting the coast of Spain, Italy and Dalmatia. Malaria alone did not keep the Italian coast uninhabited.²² Much like the Viking raids of an earlier epoch, authorities found it difficult to protect villagers in distant communities from the surprise and rapidity of these raids.

¹⁸ Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 41-50; Magnus Ressel, "Venice and the redemption of Northern European slaves (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries)," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, no. 87 (December 15, 2013): 131-45; Stamm-Kuhlmann et al., *Geschichtsbilder*, 19-27; Antjekathrin Graßmann, "Nordafrikanische Piraten: Ein Dorn im Fleische der Hanseaten vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert," in *Mythen der Vergangenheit: Realität und Fiktion in der Geschichte: Jörgen Bracker zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Ortwin Pelc (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2012), 159-178.

¹⁹ Gillian Lee Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Michael Kempe, *Fluch der Weltmeere: Piraterie, Völkerrecht und internationale Beziehungen, 1500-1900* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2010); Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 9-20; Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 20-26; Salvatore Bono, *I corsari barbareschi*. (Torino: ERI-Edizioni RAI Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1964).

²⁰ Robert C. Davis, "Counting European Slaves on the Barbary Coast," *Past & Present*, no. 172 (2001): 87-124; Þorsteinn Helgason, "Historical Narrative as Collective Therapy: The Case of the Turkish Raid in Iceland," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 22, no. 4 (January 1, 1997): 275-89.

²¹ For an overview of Barbary raids on the British Isles see Catherine Styer, in "Atlantic Slaveries: Britons, Barbary, and the Atlantic World," *The Atlantic World*, eds. D'Maris Coffman, Adrian Leonard, and William O'Reilly (New York: Routledge, 2015), 172-182.

²² E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe, 1789-1848* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), 8.

Early-modern kingdoms, cities, and merchant communities developed different tools and institutions to counter the threat of enslavement and recover the enslaved. Religious orders founded expressly to save enslaved Christians collected alms, sent missionaries to live amongst slaves, and served as liaisons to the enslaved and loved ones at home.²³ Naval powers organized convoys with a limited military presence aboard ships, established limited peace treaties and paid for so-called *Türkenpässen*, an oft-ignored protection order from Ottoman authorities, to ensure the safety of their cargoes and crews.²⁴ States paid a yearly tribute sum for these passes and secured dozens of treaties [*Verträgen*] with Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers, and Constantinople from the 1740s to the 1840s.²⁵

German polities founded “slave banks” in the early-seventeenth century. These centralized administrations grew out of mutual benefit societies in which members collected funds to hire agents who, not always expeditiously, honestly or efficiently, negotiated the purchase of slaves taken from the Hanseatic cities and Northern Europe.²⁶ Hamburg was the first to establish such an institution in the early 1620s, followed by Lübeck in 1627 as the result of the seizure of some fifteen hundred North European ships in the period spanning 1610-1650.²⁷ Some came much later—Bremen only established a government-subsidized slave bank in 1751. Some polities also allowed private individuals to sell a sort of insurance, “Freedom insurance against Turkish danger” which purchased freedom but also assisted families in the event of death or

²³ The Trinitarians, for instance, worked to save Christians: Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 175-193.

²⁴ Corsairs from Tunis and Tripoli frequently ignored or circumvented protection orders from Algiers and Constantinople or circumvented the law. Göbel, “The Danish ‘Algerian Sea Passes’, 1747-1838.”; Magnus Ressel, “Conflicts between Early Modern European States about Rescuing Their Own Subjects from Barbary Captivity,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 36, no. 1 (2011): 1–22; Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 252-274.

²⁵ Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*; Graßmann, “Nordafrikanische Piraten,” 161-164; Bohn, “Von Sklavenkassen und Konvoifahrten,” 29; Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 440-545, 683-700, 708-721.

²⁶ For the early history of these societies in the Hanseatic cities see Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 174-176.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 175-177.

injury.²⁸ By the 1750s Hamburg and Lübeck had both augmented their public slave banks with privately-funded insurance. Early antislavery sentiment in Northern Europe arose in part from the institution of the slave bank and resistance to developing naval power. This partially explains why German states' sailors continued to be particularly susceptible to predation and extended periods of captivity long after other Northern European nations secured sailors under their flags.

Enslavement, piracy, and ship-hijacking significantly altered the dynamics of European trade and financial networks. Few scholars recognize the astounding contributions made by Christian polities to protect their sailors through limited peace treaties and tribute payments. England paid some 40,000 Pounds Sterling per annum during the eighteenth century and the United States paid roughly 225,000 Piasters, the equivalent of one fifteenth of the total federal expenditure for the US, in the year 1785 to safeguard American merchants.²⁹ Kingdoms and cities allocated huge sums of money and consular effort to negotiating peace with the Maghreb states. The Holy Roman Empire, Hanseatic cities, the Netherlands, and Denmark all met varying degrees of success. From 1681 to 1729, Hamburg paid 189,670 marks to ransom slaves, and the sum grew higher in the eighteenth century as other nations secured truces and thus reduced the quantities of vessels available for seizure.³⁰ Hanoverian sailors benefited from English naval protection, but most German states could only afford a few *Türkenpässen* to continue operating the lucrative trade routes south of France where enterprising captains hoped to make their fortunes in fresh fruit and sweet wines.³¹ These tribute payments, the insecurity of short-lived peace treaties, and the often unstable ransom prices added up to a significant destruction of commerce for Northern German port cities and created an “unsolvable problem” with regards to

²⁸ Wilhelm Ebel, *Probleme der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte* (Göttingen: Schwartz, 1978), 134-135.

²⁹ Bohn, “Von Sklavenkassen und Konvoifahrten,” 33; Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 40-41, 72-76.

³⁰ Ibid., 29; Graßmann, “Nordafrikanische Piraten,” 166.

³¹ Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 9, 131.

trade in Southern Europe.³² It caused a realignment of trade to occur sometime around the middle of the eighteenth century in which states shifted their trade networks away from the more profitable southern expeditions and began a course in which luxury colonial products from the naval powers increasingly sapped German specie. For instance, Hamburg and Lübeck lost tremendous amounts of capital, crews, and cargoes and access to once lucrative overseas trade routes, while Friedrich II lost interest in Mediterranean and southern-European sea trade for decades favoring instead to attempt establishing relatively safer trade routes to East Asia with the *Royal Prussian Asiatic Company in Emden to Canton and China*.³³ This company and the efforts to establish trade with distant ports in Asia failed and the Prussian state turned its eyes towards improving newly acquired lands in Silesia.

By the 1750's the German-speaking world of North Europe lost immense numbers sailors to a surge in piracy beginning in 1718. During the period spanning 1700 to 1750 pirates seized at least 633 sailors from more than fifty ships flying the flag of Hamburg, most of which sailed off the west coast of France.³⁴ These hundreds of souls, who went missing for years, decades, or never returned at all, came from the Hanseatic cities but some also came from small villages across Central Europe. Hundreds more came from other Northern European states. At least 208 Danes from 19 ships originating from Altona were seized from 1715 to 1754. In response, Danish authorities worked with Johannes Pommer, the most powerful German merchant in Venice, to create a new slave bank.³⁵ When the Dutch secured peace with Algiers in 1728 some 260 sailors

³²Ibid., 470-473.

³³ Ibid., 451-452; H. Berger, *Überseeische Handelsbestrebungen und koloniale Pläne unter Friederich dem Grossen: mit Benutzung von Archivalien* (Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1899), 40-63; Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire: vol. II, The Peace of Westphalia to the Dissolution of the Reich, 1648-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 455-456.

³⁴ Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 237.

³⁵ He was also called “the greatest banker in Venice” around 1700 and for thirty years Pommer and his son, two Germans, were responsible for all Danish and most Northern European ransoming services. Erik Gøbel, “The Danish Algerian Sea Passes, 1747-1838: An Example of Extraterritorial Production of Human Security,” *Historical Social Research* 35, no. 4 (2010): 164–89.

were freed, among them 38% were German not counting the *Kurlanders*.³⁶ A French Consul recorded over a thousand European slaves in the three main *bagnos*, or slave markets, of Algiers in the 1750s. His notes also include their place of origin and about 10% came from German-speaking Europe. Accounting for the total missing sailors, the death rate and the privately held slaves, a recent study estimates that at least 120 slaves held in Algiers came from Hamburg alone.³⁷ This owes to the fact the period between 1745 and 1748 reached a frightening crescendo for corsair activity in which Hamburg lost 23 ships, of which 13 were lost in the year 1748 alone. These numbers served as live and constant reminders of Christian enslavement for the Northern German world and explain why the issue of slavery came to the fore during the *Sattelzeit*.

So intense were these later incidents of hijacking that, in the resulting panic, several new proposals across northern Europe called for the establishment of new slave banks based on the Hamburg model.³⁸ Private individuals attempted to offset their losses and the huge costs of ransoming their crews through local and state subsidies. The best example of this was the great fiasco in Danzig following the seizure of the *Augustus III Rex Poloniae*.³⁹ The pride of a Danzig shipping magnate, Johann Philipp Schultz, this expansive and expensive new ship was to be impervious to pirates, loaded with large cannons, stocked with guns and munitions, and crewed by forty men. Unfortunately for Danzig ship-building, four Algerian *xebecs* (light attack vessels) intercepted the ship off the coast of Portuguese St. Vincent, and after a bitter conflict, lost five of the 40 crew and the remaining 35 injured were brought into captivity. French officials immediately began negotiating for the crew's release, and without permission paid 76,106 French livres. Schultz, as a larger than life character responsible for building 52 ships in the preceding

³⁶ Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 635.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 635-636.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 451-455.

³⁹ Cieslak, Edmund, "Les pirates d'Alger et le commerce maritime de Gdansk au milieu du XVIIIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 50(1), 110-125 (1972); see also, Peter Oliver Loew, *Danzig: Biographie einer Stadt* (München: C.H. Beck, 2011), 121-123.

two decades, knew that if he was to operate trade along the coast of France that he had to ensure crews' safety. With the ear of the major power brokers in Danzig, Schultz set out to create a slave bank. He formed an eight member committee of government officials and merchants to foster its creation. It is unclear whether the slave bank had a chance of success following the letter from 47 merchants against the formulation of a mutual aid institution intended to benefit only a few wealthy merchants, but Schultz's death during negotiations ensured its failure. Merchants then shifted their focus to safer routes to Denmark and Russia and contracted Dutch and English ships for the more dangerous southern European routes.⁴⁰ Christian slavery, even small incidents, could significantly constrain trade from the Hanseatic cities.

The length of time individuals were enslaved not only increased their misery, but also ensured that the fear of Christian slavery reverberated across Northern European lands. During a two year period, 1718-1720, at the beginning of a new surge in Barbary operations, pirates enslaved scores of men sailing under the flag of Hamburg.⁴¹ This unexpected surge severely taxed an already inefficient and poorly managed slave bank system and instigated an "humanitarian crisis."⁴² The promise of state protection, purchased by sailors, had evaporated. Many sailors held captive from the first decade of the eighteenth century had to wait as long as the 1740s for their ransom. Their absence did not go unnoticed from local communities. Petitions and letters flowed into the Senate and the administration of Hamburg's slave bank demanding the immediate return of their loved ones who ought to have been ransomed with the insurance premiums paid before each journey.⁴³ Upon their return, if they did at all, their stories and memoirs contributed to the fear of Barbary enslavement.

⁴⁰ Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 696-701.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 289, 343-355.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 445.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 593; Bohn, "Von Sklavenkassen und Konvoifahrten," 33-34.

Churches and religious practices also made Christian slavery visible across Central European communities. Wooden sculptures representing the plight of slaves, with hands stretched out seeking aid, once adorned Protestant churches across northern Europe (fig. 1).⁴⁴ On a quarterly basis many of these churches collected funds to ransom enslaved sailors.⁴⁵ The sermons endured and outlived their immediate necessity. Pastors in Lübeck continued to pray for the redemption of captive souls, four times a year, until the end of 1829!⁴⁶ Following the massive losses, this fund-raising activity peaked in the middle of the eighteenth century with an accompanying “Hamburg Fundraising Leaflet for Prisoners in North Africa” from 1752 to 1754.⁴⁷ Pamphlets made their way across the Hanseatic cities begging for money to redeem lost souls. Likewise, locals in villages on both sides of the Elbe frequently took up individual collections, called “collections for slaves” to help ransom a local son of their church community. Pastors held special services to collect funds for and pray for the speedy-release of their parishioners’ relatives.⁴⁸ Some of these sermons, and their musical accompaniment, were

⁴⁴ Gobel E, “The Danish Algerian Sea Passes, 1747-1838,” 170.

⁴⁵ Theodor Schrader, ed., *Hamburg vor 200 Jahren: Gesammelte Vorträge* (Hamburg: Lucas Gräfe & Sillem, 1892), 267-272.

⁴⁶ Carl Wehrmann, “Geschichte der Sklavenkasse,” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 5 (1884), 161-162.

⁴⁷ Called the “*Hamburger Flugblatt zur Spendensammlung für die in Nordafrika Gefangenen*,” Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 626-627; 662.

⁴⁸ Parishioners were implored to donate to the “*Sammlung für Sklaven*,” Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaren*, 202-221.



Figure 1. “Wood Sculptures of Chained and Enslaved Sailors used for Collecting Donations for Hamburg’s *Sklavenkasse* and a Collection Box” Photo, Museum für Bergedorf und die Vierlande, Bergedorf, Hamburg, ca. 1720-1750.

collected by local administrators of the Hamburg slave bank in the aptly-named slave book.⁴⁹

This important source for the religious underpinnings of donations contained a series of moralistic and edifying stories followed by promised amounts from locals to ransom their co-religionists. Donors inscribed their good intentions alongside a promised sum. To ensure the faithful utilization of these funds, the system worked something like cash on delivery. Funds were only collected once the slave was released. These operations of the ransoming process publicized Islamic slavery in German lands better than any treatise could. Captains, ships’ boys, tax collectors, and sailors all had families, kin, and sometimes dependents interested in their

⁴⁹ Magnus Ressel, “Konfessionsverschiedene Begründungen und Institutionalisierungen des Freikaufs von Christensklaven aus Nordafrika in der Frühen Neuzeit,” in *Gefangeneloskauf im Mittelmeerraum: Ein interreligiöser Vergleich. Akten der Tagung vom 19. bis 21. September 2013 an der Universität Paderborn*, eds. Heike Grieser and Nicole Priesching (Georg Olms Verlag, 2015), 261-286.

return. Parents, wives, and children wrote to their ministers, their local officials and to their state organizations seeking any news of loved ones. Business partners sought their loyal captains and helmsmen. Four annual church collections in the Hamburg alone meant that religious figures gave parishioners quarterly reminders about slavery. Some historical oversight to these processes can be explained by the fact that, in some circumstances, the public newspapers were asked to avoid reporting on ransoming activities in the hopes that the news would not heighten costs.⁵⁰

Scandalous episodes created hysterical reactions to Christian slavery. One such scandal for Northern European Protestants followed a “nightmarish scenario” involving a German cabin boy on a hijacked Danish ship.⁵¹ Popular perception held women and the very young to be particularly susceptible to conversion, apostasy, and sodomy. Sensational narratives, sermons, and other accounts suggested that sodomy ran rampant through Islamic lands. Research indicates that young men and women did more often renounce Christianity and were likely more often sexually abused.⁵² Women disappeared into far-away harems, electing to stay when discovered to be with their new children and young men rose through the ranks as bureaucrats and intermediaries between the Ottomans and European powers.⁵³ After two Danish ships were captured, both with young cabin boys on board, negotiations between the slave bank from Hamburg and Denmark fell apart over ransom prices. Authorities in Algiers finally agreed to terms set by the ransoming agents with the caveat that at least one of the cabin boys was not to be ransomed. Instead, the boy would be sent, as a gift, to the Sultan in Constantinople where he would either be converted, presumably to serve in the Sultan’s entourage, or made into a eunuch

⁵⁰ Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 599. “Man bat um permanente Sammlungen in der Stadt wie auch eine Nachrichtensperre der Verwandten gegenüber den Gefangenen in Nordafrika, damit die Algerier nicht das Freikaufs vorhaben bemerken würden.”

⁵¹ Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 566-581.

⁵² Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 23-24.

⁵³ In fact, the first European to traverse the Sahara and record it, the Saxon Friedrich Konrad Hornemann, recounted meeting a young man, named Joseph Frendenburg, from Cologne, who converted at the age of 12 to Islam: Friedrich Konrad Hornemann, *Tagebuch seiner Reise von Cairo nach Murzuck, der Hauptstadt des Königreichs Fessan in Afrika, in den Jahren 1797 und 1798*, ed. Carl König (Weimar: Landes-Industrie-Comptoir, 1802), xiv-xv.

for ceremonial duties. Immediately following this news huge collections were taken up by Flensburg and hometowns across Denmark. Administrators of the Copenhagen slave bank instructed agents to do whatever was necessary to prevent the boy's departure to Constantinople, even at the expense of putting off the ransom of slaves who had long awaited their ransom. Agents successfully recovered the youth by claiming him as the captain's son and thus paid more than double a conventional ransom. Although the cabin boy and his fellows from the two other ships were eventually ransomed, not without a few deaths, this episode helped to cement, in the mental map of Northern Europeans, the notion that Tunis and Tripoli were a "Death zone".⁵⁴

It is no exaggeration to say, in regards to the enslavement of sailors, that by the 1750s, "The outcry of the European public was intense."⁵⁵ In the first half of the eighteenth century over 600 slaves had been ransomed through Hamburg's slave bank alone.⁵⁶ Their return combined with centuries of predation, fear, and public executions of corsairs in the Hanseatic cities, makes the context of the *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*'s distinction between Christian suffering and the "completely bearable" condition of Africans in distant colonies more understandable. Its description of Christian slavery more than a hysterical or imaginary response⁵⁷ arose from real fears which, by the 1750's, had reached a crescendo.

The *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*'s interpretation of slavery spread across contemporary publications before the American Revolution. For instance, the *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung*, a popular, liberal paper, demonstrates that New World slavery was nearly

⁵⁴ Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 617-20; Other scandalous cases involved corruption. Middlemen would draw out negotiations to support lavish lifestyles in Livorno, Florence, Venice or Genoa with funds sent from the families of those enslaved. One agent, a senator of Hamburg, personally facilitated the enslavement of hundreds of his fellow citizens through such misappropriations. Seeking peace failed as a direct consequence of his embezzlement and this set off a "catastrophic mood" in Hamburg around 1748 which Ressel argues, threatened the complete destruction of westward shipping.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 463.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 539-543; Ludwig Beutin, *Der deutsche Seehandel im Mittelmeergebiet bis zu den Napoleonischen Kriegen* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1933), 110-123.

⁵⁷ Nina Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practices, 1000-1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 108-149.

unknown to an enlightened, Northern-European public.⁵⁸ Slavery was instead synonymous with Christian slavery.⁵⁹ News, most often from Italy and Spain, came of the ransoming of ships' crews, soldiers, and even princes as was the case in 1753 when the Trinitarians facilitated the ransom of a Neapolitan prince and princess.⁶⁰ A typical formulation on slavery argued, "Next to slavery in Barbary, there is no more miserable creature of man as the Russian peasant. These people are even more ignobly treated than the Indians by the Spanish."⁶¹ New World slavery appears in these passages in which the editors describe "Moors," "negroes," and even the "negro trade." The editors did not, however, adopt the use of slavery, slaves or the slave trade to describe the situation of black Africans.⁶² Reports on the Prussian Baron von Kniphausen's assessment of French and British hostilities at the outbreak of the Seven Years War described New World slavery without ever using the word slave.⁶³ In other articles the "negroes" [*Negers*] lived under pressure [*unter Druck*], but their lot is one of service [*Dienst*], most often for a lord [*Herr*]. Black Africans and slavery only made appearances in the text when speaking of North Africa. Even news of a plot in Barbados to murder all of the "white inhabitants" [*weiss(e) Einwohner*] refers to the slave population as Moors [*Mohren*] rather than slaves [*Sclaven*].⁶⁴ Centuries of predation and

⁵⁸"Aus Africa," *Berlinische privilegirte wöchentliche Relationen der merkwürdigsten Sachen aus dem Reiche der Natur, der Staaten und der Wissenschaften* [*Berlinische privilegirte*], no. 10, January 22, 1753, 79-80; "Aus Italian," *Berlinische privilegirte*, no. 140, August 31, 1753, 854-855; "Aus Italian," *Berlinische privilegirte*, no. 138, November 19, 1753, 1135-1136; "Aus Italian," *Berlinische privilegirte*, no. 144, December 3, 1753, 1183-1184.

⁵⁹ In nearly every instance where a black, African, or Moor [*Schwarze, Afrikan, Mohr*] is mentioned, the language of servitude [*Dienst, Knechtschaft, Leibeigenschaft*] is used rather than slavery.

⁶⁰ "Aus Dänemark," *Berlinische privilegirte*, no. 19, February 12, 1753, 151-154.

⁶¹ "Vermischte Neuigkeiten," *Berlinische privilegirte*, no. 94, August 12, 1754, 748-747.

⁶² For more on how Central Europeans described black Africans see the two foundational texts on the subject, Martin, *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren*; Urs Bitterli, *Die Entdeckung des schwarzen Afrikaners: Versuch einer Geistesgeschichte der europäisch-afrikanischen Beziehungen an der Guineaküste im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. (Zürich, Atlantis-Verlag, 1970).

⁶³ "Vermischte Neuigkeiten," *Berlinische privilegirte*, no. 91, August 5, 1754, 725: "...Die Hauptsache in Guinea bestehet in den Negerhandel. Allein dieser würde den Engländern so mehr helfen, wenn sie die Provinzen in America verlohren haben, wo sie die Negers zu ihren Plantagen brauchen können. Sie würden als denn die Negers wol von selbst zu Hause lassen, und nur denen Spaniern etwas dann und wann einige Nothdurft zu ihren Bergwerken davonzuführen." A later article further describes the "negroes" working on sugar plantations in a similar manner, "Handlungs-Sachen," *Berlinische privilegirte*, no. 141, November 29, 1754, 1126-1127.

⁶⁴ "Aus America," *Berlinische privilegirte*, no. 31, March 13, 1754, 248: "...die Mohren bestimmt alle weiße Einwohner zu tödten. Eine Europärer zerschnitten sie schon auf öffentlicher Casse doch wurden drei Mörder

a recent surge in Christian enslavement had bound the idea of slavery to European Christians in Northern Africa.

The economic losses suffered in Hamburg and Lübeck, the nightmarish years or decades of servitude faced by hundreds of Hanseatic Germans, the countless sermons given and collections taken from rural villages across Northern Europe all served, by the middle of the eighteenth century, to create an antislavery discourse in German lands. To be sure, it was a circumscribed to a particular group. Protestants were expected to come to the aid of other Protestants and to leave a coreligionist enslaved in Northern Africa was “unthinkable” by 1750.⁶⁵ Southern Europeans and Catholics, the Spanish, Portuguese, Italians, and Irish were not ensured the same sorts of protections afforded to those from Northern European protestant backgrounds. This antislavery sentiment turned on religious commitment to personal freedom—a freedom afforded to German Protestants and few others.

Encounters with Islam profoundly shaped the possibilities for early Central European antislavery sentiment. The proximity of the Mediterranean in comparison to the New World, the long-history of seizures, enslavement, losses, and the publicity following these encounters all made the plight of New World slavery distant indeed. The continued scandal of Christian enslavement ensured that commentators overlooked Prussia’s state-sponsored slave company’s activities in which some twenty thousand slaves during the period from 1680-1720 were moved from Africa to the New World.

ergriffen gerädert und ihr Anschlag offenbar. Tag und Nacht sind die Einwohner noch auf dieses Unternehmen aufmerksam. Zu Bermudas hat ein Mohr seinen Herrn erwürgt und man sorget wegen Abwesenheit des Gouverneurs die Gerechtigkeit besser einzurichten und die Streitigkeiten der Magistratspersonen die den Lauf derselben hemmen beyzulegen.”

⁶⁵ Ressel also demonstrates the stark differences in Lutheran and Calvinist countries’ total number of ransomed slaves, Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 731-750.

Germans Witness New World Slavery in the Americas, 1770-1800

Before he lectured on the topic of the African slave trade at Halle in 1779, Matthias Christian Sprengel recited Aeneas from Virgil's Aeneid, "Quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit".⁶⁶ Drawing on a tragic episode from antiquity, Sprengel set a tragic tone for his inaugural lecture on slavery and, established the agenda for the academic study of the transatlantic slave trade—a topic he pursued with vigor until his death in 1803.⁶⁷ As a professor at Halle, a center of American studies in continental Europe, and brother-in-law to Georg Forster, Sprengel's influence was considerable.⁶⁸ Through his translation and publishing ventures with Friedrich Johann Justin Bertuch, Sprengel gained a wide audience and developed a positive reputation with Kant, Joseph Banks, Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, Alexander von Humboldt, and scholars from Königsberg to London, who cited his material and sought his guidance (see fig. 2).⁶⁹ Attention to New World slavery gained traction at this moment as a rising star threw his lot

⁶⁶ "Although my soul shudders to remember and once more shrinks from grief, I shall begin" Sprengel omits the final clause of the quote "My mournful tale": Matthias Christian Sprengel, *Vom Ursprung des Negerhandels. Ein Antrittsprogramm* (Halle, 1779), iii.

⁶⁷ Bruno Felix Hänsch, *Matthias Christian Sprengel: Ein geographischer Publizist am Ausgange des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1902), 15-17; The scholar of global slaveries, Michael Zeuske, points to Sprengel, amongst other contemporary "deutscher Historiker und Rechtsgelehrter" as beginning the first synthetic studies of slavery and the slave trade, Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*, 70-71.

⁶⁸ "Die besten Veröffentlichung dieser Art verdankte das deutschsprachige Publikum der erstaunlichen Familie Forster: Vater Johann Reinhold Forster, Sohn Georg und Schwiegersohn Matthias Christian Sprengel, Schüler Schölzers und seit 1779 Geschichts-professor in Halle. Johann Reinhold Forster gründete 1790 das *Magazin von merkwürdigen neuen Reisebeschreibungen*... Sprengel hatte die Zeitschrift noch gemeinsam mit seinem kurz darauf verstorbenen Schwager Georg Forster konzipiert. Der ungemein kenntnisreiche Sprengel druckte, ebenso wie kurz darauf Malte-Brun in Paris, nur die letzten Neuigkeiten." Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens*, 191-195.

⁶⁹ Kant relied on Sprengel's work to castigate the "schändlichen Sklavenhandel": Han F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 388. Curiously, some scholars have linked Kant's use of Sprengel's translation of a pro-slavery tract as evidence for Kant's supposed racism. See Robert Bernasconi, "Kant as an Unfamiliar Source of Racism," in *Philosophers on Race: Critical Essays*, eds. Julie K. Ward and Tommy Lee Lott (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 145-150; Bernasconi's account has been critiqued: Pauline Kleingeld, "Kant's Second Thoughts on Race," *The Philosophical Quarterly* 57, no. 229 (2007): 573-92; Pauline Kleingeld, *Kant and Cosmopolitanism: The Philosophical Ideal of World Citizenship* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

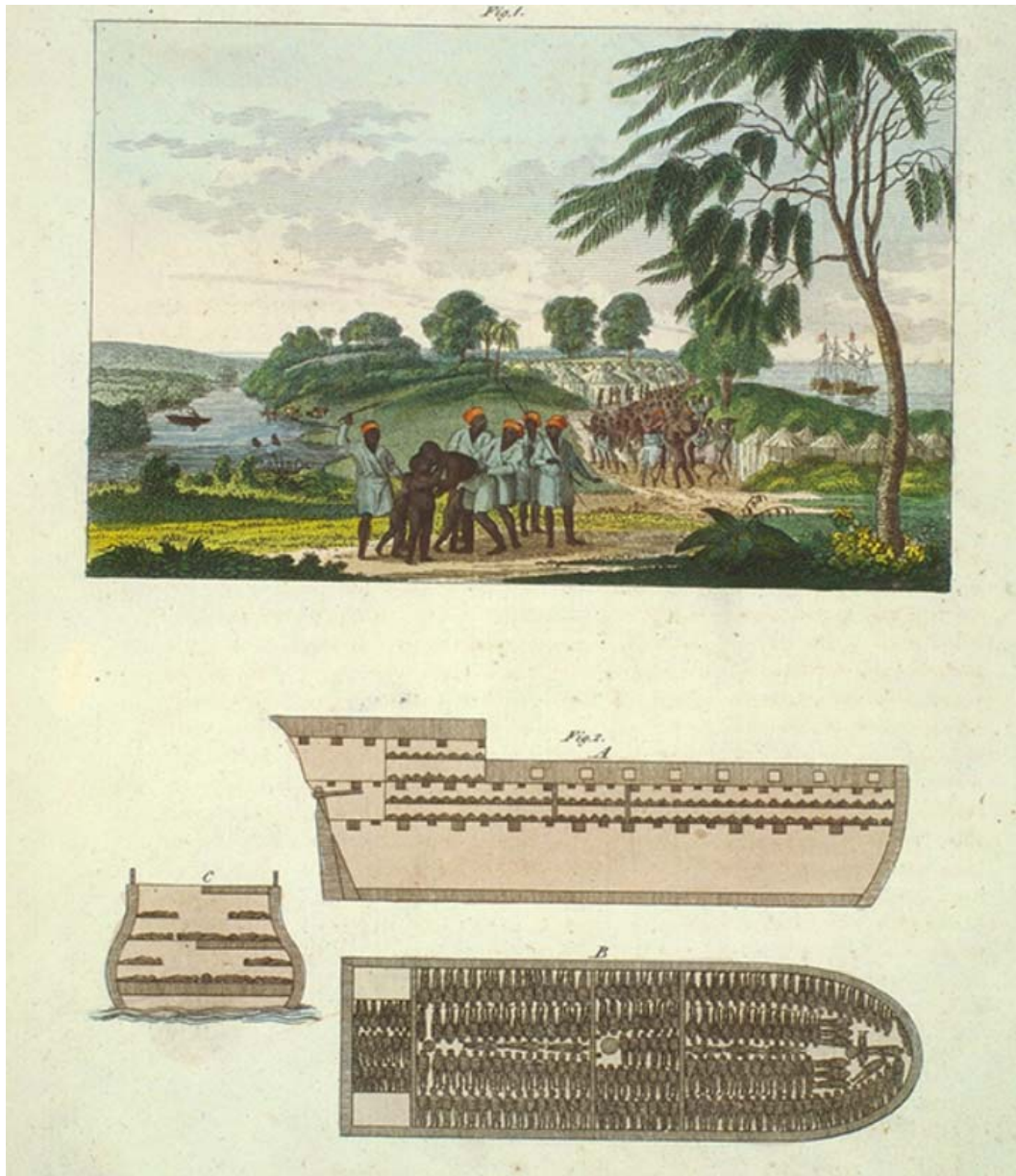


Figure 2. “Fig. 1. Kidnapping and Slavetrade: A Terrible Spectacle where the Black Slave Traders Wrest Away a Father from his Children. Fig. 2. A Ship of a Slave Trader [Menschenraub und Slavenhandel: Ein schreckliches Schauspiel, wo die schwarzen Slavenhändler einen Vater von seinen Kindern losreissen. Ein Schiff eines Slavenhändlers].” Colored copper engraving from Friedrich Johann Justin Bertuch, *Bilderbuch für Kinder* (Weimar und Gotha: Industrie-Comptoir, 1807), 5: 415-416.

in with the abolitionist cause across the English Channel during the movement's most heroic decades.⁷⁰

Several factors led to Sprengel and Central European scholars' interest in New World slavery. First of all, the middle of the eighteenth century saw a northwards shift in the study of the Americas in Central European universities. Formerly, Strassburg, Augsburg, Nürnberg, and Frankfurt am Main dominated *Amerikakunde*, but by the 1760s Hannover, Hamburg, Kassel, Braunschweig, Berlin, Leipzig, Halle an der Saale, and Göttingen grew more influential. The personal union of Hannover and Great Britain gave their interest in *Amerikakunde* immediacy and made Göttingen the center of such studies in Europe.⁷¹ Secondly, as a disciple of the publicist August Ludwig von Schlözer at Göttingen, Sprengel followed the antagonisms between the British and the American colonists and the Hessian involvement in the American Revolutionary War. The two scholars grappled with what they thought would be definitive moments in history and hungrily consumed reports on the situation in the Americas. Both solicited letters and updates from the so-called "Hessians" in the New World.⁷² These fresh sources from contemporary experiences made New World slavery less abstract. Thirdly, given that each decade saw the expansion and growth of the transatlantic slave trade, peaking with its highest volume in the 1780s, it should come as no surprise that the transatlantic slave trade caught Sprengel's *Statistik-*

⁷⁰ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 264-265; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 241-242.

⁷¹ Eugene-Edgar Doll, *American History as Interpreted by German Historians from 1770 to 1815* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949); Volker Depkat, *Amerikabilder in politischen Diskursen: Deutsche Zeitschriften von 1789 bis 1830* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998); Barbara Riesche, "Schöne Mohrinnen, edle Sklaven, schwarze Rächer: Schwarzendarstellung und Sklavereithematik im deutschen Unterhaltungstheater: (1770-1814)" (PhD diss., Ludwigs Maximilians Universität, 2007); Karin Schüller, "Deutsch Abolitionisten in Göttingen und Halle: Die ersten Darstellungen des Sklavenhandels und der Antisklavereibewegung in der deutschen Historiographie des ausgehenden 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert," in *Pasajes—Passages—Passagen: Festschrift für Christian Wentzlaff-Eggebert*, eds. Susanne Grunwald, Claudia Hammerschmidt, Valérie Heinen, Gunnar Nilsson (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2004), 611-622.

⁷² Horst Dippel, *Germany and the American Revolution, 1770-1800: A Sociohistorical Investigation of Late Eighteenth-Century Political Thinking*, trans. B.A. Uhlendorf (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978), 93-95.

oriented attention.⁷³ Finally, Sprengel came to the topic of slavery following the direction of his mentor Schlözer, with whom he worked on a definitive history of the Maghreb and corsair slaving activity.⁷⁴ Schlözer's *Summarische Geschichte von Nord-Afrika* (1775) has been recognized as a foundational history of the Barbary States, including historical accounts of their slaving operations, and was widely cited for more than half a century.⁷⁵

Although a relatively short work, Sprengel's *Vom Ursprung des Negerhandels* had a lasting influence on the study of slavery. Shifting from his recent collection of material on North Africa for Schlözer, Sprengel turned his attention towards the transatlantic slave trade at the start of the American Revolution. His analysis begins with what he viewed as a central problem. It was necessary to produce a new investigation because "the so often described, disputed and neglected negro trade" had been misunderstood.⁷⁶ "Black Africans planting sugar in the West Indies or growing tobacco in Virginia," Sprengel suggested, do not seem strikingly different to the untrained observer, "from Greeks tending to vines in Florida" or the hard labors of Thürriegel's German settlers in Sierra Morena.⁷⁷ Sprengel thought there was a great difference and overlooking it was the root of the problem in European understandings of slavery. It owed to the stark difference between the "forced travels of the negroes" and the "free emigration of Europeans."⁷⁸ He regretted that a "full picture" of the slave trade's operations, from its origins to

⁷³ David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *The Cambridge World History of Slavery. Vol. 3: AD 1420—AD 1804* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1-22.

⁷⁴ August Ludwig von Schlözer, *Summarische Geschichte von Nord-Afrika, namentlich von Marocko, Algier, Tunis, und Tripoli ...* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1775).

⁷⁵ Salvatore Bono, "La Summarische Geschichte von Nord Afrika (1775) di A. L. Schlözer, prima storia del Maghreb," in *L'Europa del XVIII secolo. Studi in onore di Paolo Alatri* vol. 1, eds. Vittor I. Comparato, Eugenio Di Rienzo, S. Grassi (Napoli: ESI, 1991), 551-567; Salvatore Bono, *Lumi e corsari: Europa e Maghreb nel Settecento* (Perugia: Morlacchi, 2005), 179-210.

⁷⁶ Sprengel, *Vom Ursprung des Sklavenhandels*, 1-2: "Allein der so sehr verschiedene Zustand dieser weissen und schwarzen Colonisten, und das bisher nie ganz aufgelöste Problem, der ersten Veranlassung, Africa auf Kosten der neuen Welt zu entvölkern, unterscheidet die freiwilligen Auswanderungen der Europäer, so sehr von den gezwungenen Reisen der Neger, daß der so oft beschriebene, bestrittene und beseufzte Negerhandel mehr noch eine neue Untersuchung verdient."

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

present condition of “negro slaves” on “European plantations,” could not yet be accomplished due to the dearth of materials available in Europe. He promised only an episodic history based on what the fragments allowed and hoped that more scholars would take up the study.⁷⁹

After sketching the regions of Africa from which Europeans harvest their slaves and the destinations to which they are brought, Sprengel states that Europeans were not the first to “abduct the black inhabitants of Africa,” nor did they “teach the cruel trade to the negroes.”⁸⁰ Sprengel did not defend the actions of Europeans, but rather condemned all parties involved in slavery. In fact, few nations come off well in his sweeping treatment of slavery since the fall of Rome. Sprengel begins the history of European slavery in the “Dark Ages,” when Europeans experienced a hard “servitude” and “serfdom,” distinct from slavery, but they also enslaved members of other nations, selling them in Italian, French and English slave markets. Sprengel shrewdly noted the British continuities in the history of slavery, revealing that Liverpool sent more ships to Guinea than any other city in his time and was once the site of the largest slave market during the Anglo-Saxon period.⁸¹ Sprengel also located the roots of the African trade in the relationship between Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean. Following the abolition of slavery in Europe, during the Middle Ages, Christians enslaved North Africans—the “Saracens” and “Mauren” taken during the Crusades.⁸² As Europeans populated their slave markets with Muslims, Christians found themselves enslaved in Islam, giving rise to the continued propensity for the Maghreb’s enslavement of Christians. Sprengel also attributed the origins of black African slavery to Islam. First the “Arabs” from Morocco abused the black inhabitants of Africa as slaves, then Portuguese merchants bought their first slaves from these Arabs, as they brought

⁷⁹ Ibid., 2.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 5: “Europäer waren die ersten nicht, welche die schwarzen einwohner von Africa entführten, oder die Neger den grausamen Handel lehrten.”

⁸¹ Ibid., 6-9.

⁸² Ibid., 9: “Und die Christen hielten es für verdienstlich die gefangenen Muhammedaer in der härtesten Knechtschaft zu halten.”

another evil to Africa—they gave the black Africans a terrible lust for *Aguardiente* (fire water).⁸³ As Sprengel stacks up the abuses committed against the black inhabitants of Africa, he proclaims “No other nation has known as hard a slavery as the negroes off the west coast of Africa.”⁸⁴ Aside from a plea to end the trade by revealing its monstrous cruelty, for all parties involved, Sprengel made another central point with this work. He demonstrated the intertwining cords connecting world slaveries in the present to conflicts between the Islamic and Christian worlds in the Mediterranean.⁸⁵

For Sprengel, Hessian participation contributed to and drove interest in the study of New World slavery, but it also helped to move the study away from the Mediterranean. The Hessian letters, travel reports, and the more than three hundred recently-freed slaves returning to Kassel gave Central Europeans a wealth of new research materials and subjects. These materials helped to fill the gap in knowledge Sprengel found missing for a more complete study of the “negro” slave trade. Responses to the conditions of slavery in the Americas from the Hessians themselves reveal the strength of older ideas about New World slavery at a transitional moment in which those ideas began to fracture.

Hessians encountered slavery during the American Revolution. As they sailed across the Atlantic, engaged with American settlers, witnessed plantation life, and returned with newly-freed blacks, Hessians learned about black chattel slavery in the New World first hand. This moment was a crucial turning point for how a broader public in German lands understood Atlantic slavery and informed future abolitionist sentiments.⁸⁶ With the examination of over fifty

⁸³ Sprengel frequently cites the evil of the Iberians’ trade in alcohol: *ibid.*, 15-25.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 13: “Sclaverey war gewiß bey keiner Nation so hart und grausam als bey den Negern auf der westlichen Küste von Africa.”

⁸⁵ This theme frequently returns in the works of Germans writing about slavery during the nineteenth century.

⁸⁶ The transient Harro Haring, called the ‘Odysseus of Freedom’ joined *Freiheitskämpfen* ‘struggles for freedom’ in Poland, Russia, Germany, Brazil and the US, and makes claims to the legacy of other German heroes like the Hessians: Thomas Thode, *Harro Haring: Eine kommentierte Bibliographie seiner Werke* (Eutin: Eutiner Landesbibliothek, 2005), *passim*.

collections of letters, diaries, and journals taken from over a hundred and fifty German-speaking participants during the American Revolution, the Hessians help to explain how, when, and why Hessians began to see New World slavery. This analysis joins the body of scholarship emphasizing the importance of “points of contact” and “sites of exchange” in transatlantic history.⁸⁷

At least two hundred of the roughly thirty thousand Hessian auxiliary forces, recorded their experiences in diaries, letters and journals which exist in manuscript or published form today.⁸⁸ A diverse range of individuals, from barely literate privates to polyglot relatives of the elector, committed their thoughts to paper. Private correspondence, confidential journals, official accounts from each regiment, and a few memoirs intended for publication account for the bulk of these sources.⁸⁹ Nearly all of the journals were sent back to German lands piecemeal with packets on British ships, some of which were destroyed, stolen, intercepted or lost.⁹⁰

Detailed examination of the Hessians’ reactions to the institution of slavery shows a great deal more diversity of opinion among these soldiers than the historiography suggests. German-

⁸⁷ David Armitage and M. J. Braddick, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009); Weber, “Deutschland, der atlantische Sklavenhandel,” 39-40; John R. Davis, Stefan Manz, and Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, eds., *Transnational Networks: German Migrants in the British Empire, 1670-1914* (Boston: Brill, 2012); Coffman, Leonard, and O’Reilly, eds., *The Atlantic World*, 35; Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte Der Sklaverei*, 51-52.

⁸⁸ Private letters sent to and from America to these Germans rarely came to state archives with the exception of a few recent windfalls, Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa, *Krieg in Amerika und Aufklärung in Hessen: Die Privatbriefe (1772-1784) an Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa*, eds., Holger Th. Gräf, Lena Hauernt, Christoph Kampmann, and Patrick Sturm, (Marburg: Hessisches Landesamt für geschichtliche Landeskunde, 2010); Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa, *Adliges Leben am Ausgang des Ancien Regime: Die Tagebuchaufzeichnungen (1754-1798) des Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa*, eds., Holger Th. Gräf, Lena Hauernt, Christoph Kampmann (Marburg: Hessisches Landesamt für geschichtliche Landeskunde, 2010).

⁸⁹ Johann Friedrich Wasmus, *An Eyewitness Account of the American Revolution and New England Life: The Journal of J.F. Wasmus, German Company Surgeon, 1776-1783*, trans. Helga Doblin, ed. Mary C. Lynn (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 83.

⁹⁰ For instance, Wasmus’s diary was strewn about Europe and the United States and had to be reassembled later during the twentieth century. In another instance a Captain Heinrichs complains of lost mail and the difficulty of posting these letters; see also Julius Friedrich von Hille, *The American Revolution: Garrison Life in French Canada and New York Journal of an Officer in the Prinz Friedrich Regiment, 1776-1783*, trans. Helga Doblin, ed. Mary C. Lynn (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993).

speakers have been consistently labeled hostile to the institution of slavery by observers.⁹¹ This trope has endured and permeated the historical studies taken up during the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Lacking intellectual villains like the defender of slavery Edward Long or the reputation of Dutch brutality in the West Indies, it has been easy to maintain this image. Nevertheless, not all Germans found slavery repugnant, and even those appalled by the mistreatment of black slaves were limited in their responses or justified such treatment as necessary.⁹²

Hessians viewed the North American political system and peoples in an overwhelmingly negative light.⁹³ Both enemy combatants and inhabitants of the colonies became *inhuman*, *adversaries* and most often, *rebels* to these observers.⁹⁴ New World agricultural practices do not come off well in abundant comparisons to Central Europe. American abundance allegedly spoiled and corrupted European settlers who worked just enough to eat and “scratch[ed] at the ground like chickens” when they planted crops. Germans ate better, so it was argued, because they used land more efficiently and worked longer hours which resulted in higher and more diverse vegetable and grain yields. Germans also raised more supple livestock from which more work and comestibles could be derived. Unlike the Americans, the Germans could claim to use every part of the animal, not letting the fat drip into the fire when roasting meat or the blood run on the ground at slaughter and thus saved two essential ingredients for sausage. Germans purportedly

⁹¹ Since the Valladolid debate nearly five hundred years ago, which concerned the legal and moral justification for the enslavement of Indians and Africans, Germans have been caricatured as hostile to slavery, in this case by Sepulveda, through the figure “Leopoldo,” a German monk full of Lutheran errors: Davis, *The Problem*, 172-173; German historians often spoke of an innate reaction against slavery, see for instance, H. J. Ruetenik, *Berühmte deutsche Vorkämpfer für Fortschritt, Freiheit und Friede in Nord-Amerika, von 1626 bis 1888: Einhundert und fünfzig Biographien, mit zwanzig Portraits* (Cleveland: Forest City Bookbinding Company, 1888).

⁹² Some scholars find generalizations difficult to make, Inge Auerbach, *Die Hessen in Amerika 1776-1783* (Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission, 1996), 215-233; Dippel, *Germany and the American Revolution*, 155, 201.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 302-338: This general view of Americans did not change until the 1790s:

⁹⁴ Johann Friedrich Specht, *The Specht Journal: A Military Journal of the Burgoyne Campaign*, trans. Helga Doblin, ed. Mary C. Lynn, (Westport: Greenwood, 1995), 48, 69, 70.

burned the amount of wood in one week that Americans burned in a single day.⁹⁵ The only thing worse than the decline in paper money's value as the conflict progressed, were the drunken, perfidious and chauvinistic American troops led by recent upstarts—none of whom observed the common laws and customs of war.⁹⁶ The “insurgents” cause was illegal, without merit and against their “rightful ruler.”⁹⁷ “What else can be expected?” one Hessian asked, “This nation consists mostly of those from our fatherland who were driven out as being too lazy to work or escaped hanging.”⁹⁸

Amid these criticisms few noticed or drew attention to black slaves or slavery as an immediate evil. Hessians did not juxtapose African slavery with the rebels’ rhetoric of “freedom” and “liberty” to draw attention to American hypocrisy.⁹⁹ With few exceptions only those who traveled to the southern colonies or West Indies recorded black slavery. These lacunae merit more thorough analysis, especially as the Hessians showed an increasing awareness of chattel slavery in the colonies as they came into contact with plantations in the so-called Torrid Zone.

⁹⁵ Andreas Wiederholdt, *Tagebuch des Captain Wiederholdt: Vom 7 October 1776 bis 7 December 1780*, eds., Marion Dexter Learned, C. Grosse, (New York: Macmillan, 1902), 45-46: “Der Americaner geht mit dem Holtz sehr verschwenderisch um, und wenn sie sofort fahren, und America mehr bevölkert wird, so wird es, wenn sie keine bessere Einrichtung als dann machen, so gros die Walder auch anjetzo sind, sehr rahr und theuer werden. Ueberhaupt ist die Oeconomie der Americaner nicht weit her und leben so zum Tage hinein, und glauben, Gott müsse ihnen gnädig seyn. Die Cultur des Landes ist schlecht genug, so das wenn das Land seine von 1000 und mehr Jahren her gehabte Ruhe und von dem vielen in der Zeit abgefallenen Laube und verfaulten Baumen bekommene Fettigkeit durch Hergebung seiner Saft und Nahrung deman gepflanzten Indien Korn, Waitzen und Toback mit getheilt hat, so wird es zuletzt so matt und mag er werden, dasz es nicht im Stande ist, etwas mehr hervorzubringen; den sie geben dem Lande nicht die geringste Dunge, sondern kratzen gleich den Hühnern in dem Lande Löcher und saen ihren Saamen hinein, und so ist es nach ihrer Meynung ganz gut.”

⁹⁶ This appeared as a recurring theme for Karl Ludwig von Dörnberg, Gilsa, and others in the middle South. See Johann Heinrich von Bardeleben et al., *The Diary of Lieutenant von Bardeleben and Other von Donop Regiment Documents*, trans. and ed. Bruce E. Bourgoyne (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1998), 66; 76.

⁹⁷ A number of individuals from all social ranks make this remark: *Tagebuch eines Bayreuther Soldaten des Johann Conrad Döhla aus dem nordamerikanischen Freiheitskrieg von 1777-1783*, trans. and ed. Wilhelm Christian Eberhard Waldenfelds (Bayreuth: Lorenz Ellwanger, 1913), 19; Jakob Piel makes similar comments on the American's “false political system,”: *Defeat, Disaster and Dedication: The Diaries of the Hessian Officers Jakob Piel and Andreas Wiederholdt*, trans. Bruce E. Bourgoyne (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, 1997), 27; *Philipp Waldeck's Diary of the American Revolution: Printed from the Original Manuscript, with Introduction and Photographic Reproduction of the List of Officers*, ed. Marion Dexter Learned (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1907), 80-81.

⁹⁸ Heinrich Carl Philipp von Feilitzsch and Christian Friedrich Bartholomai, *Diaries of Two Ansbach Jaegers*, ed. Bruce E. Bourgoyne, (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1997), 27.

⁹⁹ Some did draw attention to this: Johann Conrad Döhla, *A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution*, trans. and ed. Bruce E. Bourgoyne (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 220.

Some German observers who noticed blacks and slavery looked on with indifference or even acceptance.

A few Hessian travelers became outspoken critics of chattel slavery in the Americas as they traveled through the southern colonies and Jamaica. Carl Philipp Steuernagel, for instance, recognized the servitude of blacks in New York upon his arrival, but thought of it in terms of “*thralldom*,” or a form of feudal servitude still common in Central Europe. After recording that his regiment had crossed the Tropic of Cancer, and upon reaching Jamaica, Steuernagel’s first diary entry reveals his new awareness of slavery. Steuernagel recognized blacks as “*slaves*,” who “go around naked and serve the white Europeans as slaves” and who were also, “sold like cattle to the highest bidder.”¹⁰⁰ On three occasions he drew attention to slave trade in order to remind his reader of the difference between feudal bondage and chattel slavery. Other Hessians in this area observed even more striking details of New World chattel slavery.

Johann Philipp Franz Elisaus Waldeck, a military chaplain serving with troops from Lower Saxony, recorded a travel narrative that shows a stark transformation in his understanding of black slavery. It described the middle passage and slave auctions in more detail than any other Hessian account. Before encountering equatorial slavery, however, Waldeck hardly commented on slavery in the American colonies.¹⁰¹ Slavery did not seize his attention until he arrived in Jamaica. There Waldeck enjoyed exotic fruits, unusual beverages, and the excellent service provided by the enslaved blacks at coffee houses. Leaning on the language of Mediterranean slavery, he marveled at the workmanship of nineteen “Moorish slaves” toiling in a German-owned furniture shop. Its owner's relationship with his enslaved black woman Waldeck found

¹⁰⁰ “Journal of Quartermaster Sergeant Carl Philipp Steuernagel and Tagebuch of Chaplain Philipp Waldeck of the 3rd Waldeck Regiment (1776-1785),” trans. and ed. Bruce E. Burgoyne (Arlington: University of Virginia Library Special Collections), II, 1-8.

¹⁰¹ One quote is worth repeating: “A negro scratched on a violin which had only one string. However, this is not only the music of the slaves, but even the white gentlemen enjoy this violin. No nation in the world loves music more than the American, but no nation in the world loves it with less taste than this one.”: Waldeck, *Philipp Waldeck’s Diary*, 65-66.

questionable, but only insofar as their cohabitation before marriage ran contrary to his religious sensibilities.¹⁰² Up to this point in his narrative, slavery was not recognized as evil. Two days later however, Waldeck “saw an occurrence that caught my full sympathy, I would think myself a monster had I remained emotionless. A captured French ship from Guinea on the coast of Africa arrived with 550 Moorish slaves on board.”¹⁰³ As the auction occurred, Waldeck “could not look at the trade for long.”¹⁰⁴ But he could describe it. Waldeck devoted the next dozen pages to all aspects of the miserable circumstances of the middle passage, the horror of the plantation system and the brutality required for the system to function.¹⁰⁵ For weeks he traveled amongst the slaves in the Caribbean and obsessed over their misery. Waldeck concluded his analysis of black slavery in Jamaica with a description of African funeral processions. “They see death as a stroke of luck...The idea that their slavery will near its end and they will soon be back on the happy shores of their fatherland amidst their old friends and acquaintances makes them almost frantic.”¹⁰⁶ From beginning to end Waldeck described the cycle of “eternal slavery” [ewigen Sclaverey] in terms that were difficult to ignore. This transformation in Waldeck’s journal demonstrates the importance of travel and witnessing to a growing awareness of the slave trade's enormity.

Another Hessian nobleman underwent a similar transformation. Mailed piecemeal to his family in Kassel, Karl Ludwig von Dörnberg’s diary was written to mark to his achievements as the scion of an old noble family. As such, it was written for a very limited audience and not intended to sway the opinions of a broader public. Dörnberg describes his journey from Waldau

¹⁰² Ibid., 95-96.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 99-100: “[S]ah euch eine Begebenheit, die mein ganzes Mitleiden erregte, ja ich würde mich selbst vor einen Unmenschen gehalten haben, wenn ich ohne Rührung da beige blieben wäre. Einer erbeutetes französisches Schiff mit 550 Mohren Slaven an Bord, die von Guinea der afrikanischen Küste war eingelaufen.”

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 100: “Ich konnte den Handel nicht lange ansehen.”

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 106: “Ihre Aufseher sind oft Bösewichter, die ihrer Verbrechen wegen aus England transportirt sind, und kein Gefühl von Menschlichkeit haben. Es ist also kein Wunder, wenn solche Elendes ich als unmenschlich Tyrannen auf führen, sobald sie einige Gewalt in die Hände bekommen.”

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 110-111: “Sie sehen den Tode sein Glück an, und gehen demselben mit Muth und Unerschrockenheit entgegen. Der Gedank, dass ihre Sklaverey ihrem Enden an sey, und dass sie nun bald die glücklichen Küsten ihres Vaterlandes, und ihre alten Freunde und Bekannten wiedersehen sollen, bringt sie fast ausser sich.”

to New York via Lower Saxony and Newfoundland. Though he was an astute and critical observer of the Americas, and several slaves were amidst his ranks, Dörnberg did not address their presence in the first volume of his journal covering his time in the New England colonies. It was not until the third entry of his second journal, after arriving in Georgia, that Dörnberg notices slavery in the colonies. His reaction was more measured than Waldeck, befitting a man of Dörnberg's rank, but jarring nonetheless. At a plantation, near St Simons Island [GA], he, "found plenty of marks of barbaric treatment that the proprietors have made their negroes suffer." There, he claims:

"The master did everything possible the day of our arrival to avoid damming himself, to bring with him the best of his negroes that he was able to collect in a haste like beasts and left in their habitations about a dozen slaves, both men and women who were mutilated or deformed by the poor treatment they received or the rigor the work to which they are subjected in any season without the necessary clothing. Their food is just rice and their homes are miserable huts scattered about the master's house which are comparable only with horse stables."¹⁰⁷

Seeing the plantations first-hand created a sharp caesura in Dörnberg's diary which made him more attuned to and critical of slavery. In subsequent passages he commented on the black slaves he encountered, some whom his regiment freed, and he even marked the deaths of black soldiers. This transformation demonstrates how the witnessing of slavery made it visible to Germans at the precise moment that slavery became broadly recognized as evil in the West.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Karl Ludwig von Dörnberg, *Tagebuchblätter eines hessischen Offiziers aus der Zeit des Nord-amerikanischen Unabhängigkeits-krieges* vol. 1, ed. Gotthold Marseille (Pyritz: Backe'sche Buchdruckerei, 1899), np: "À la droite de notre brigade de grenadiers, est une plantation où sont loges les généraux Huyne et Kospoth, où nous avons trouvé bien des marques du traitement barbare que les propriétaires font souffrir à leurs nègres. Le maitre de celle-ci, après avoir fait lui-même, le jour de notre arrive, tout le dègat possible, et amené avec lui les meilleurs des ses nègres et ce qu'il a pu ramasser à la hâte bestiaux, n'a laissé dans sont habitation qu'une douzaine d'esclaves, tant hommes que femmes qui étaient tout mutilés ou difformés par une suite de mauvais traitements qu'ils avaient reçus, ou par la rigueur des travaux auxquels ils sont assujettis en toute saison presque sans vêtements. Leurs nourriture n'est que du riz et leurs demeures de misérables cabanes disperses autour de la maison du maitre et qui ne sont tout au plus à comparer qu'a des étables."

¹⁰⁸ Christopher Leslie Browne, "Slavery and Antislavery," in *The Oxford Handbook on the Atlantic World, c. 1450-1820* eds. Nicholas Canny and Philip D. Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 602-617.

Travel to plantations, however, did not guarantee one would recognize chattel slavery, nor condemn it. Indeed, the example of Christian Bartholomai provides a striking contrast to Dörnberg. Five days after Dörnberg recorded the evils of plantation life, his comrade Bartholomai from a nearby regiment, having recorded meeting several “negroes,” reflected on their great number in the “southern part of North America”:¹⁰⁹

“These people are the laziest in the whole world and must always be driven to work with a whip. Their nourishment consists only of rice... They are clothed only in rags, which barely cover their nakedness.... I had a great sympathy for their misery because the negroes in the northern parts are treated in a completely different manner as to their dress. I therefore asked why the negroes on the land are treated so hard and miserably here, and received this answer. In this province it is reckoned there are about a hundred negroes or every white inhabitant. As they have never attempted to kill all the whites and take control of the plantations, the inhabitants insure their safety from the insurrection and destruction by employing the whip and fear, which in Northern provinces, where the negroes are not so numerous, is not necessary. As the blacks continue to multiply, it will soon no longer be necessary to buy more, if smallpox does not kill off a large number every year.”¹¹⁰

While he musters some sympathy for the “negroes” condition Bartholomai does not recognize it as enslavement. These same sentiments are echoed by the quartermaster Carl Bauer in South Carolina a few months later when he expresses sympathy for “field-negroes” and repeats that their treatment is “contrary to all humanity.” But Bauer also recognized their slavery and argued “a fear of the whites must be maintained constantly among [the negroes]... Their desire for revenge has no limits.”¹¹¹ While Bartholomai and Bauer both felt sympathy for the blacks, they accepted the brutality of this forced labor regime as necessary for the plantations to function and found the concept of slavery difficult to understand. Like peasants on manorial estates

¹⁰⁹ Feilitzsch and Bartholomai, *Diaries of Two Ansbach Jaegers*.

¹¹⁰ Dörnberg, *Tagebuchblätter eines hessischen Offiziers*, np, entry for Feb. 17th: “While I am thinking about the negroes, I must mention that in the southern part of North America there are a great many, residents to be found here who have 200, 300, or even more on their various plantations. They have been purchased in part, and born to other negroes over time, in part.”

¹¹¹ For the diary of Carl Bauer, see George Fenwick Jones, “The 1780 Siege of Charleston as Experienced by a Hessian Officer,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine*. 88 (1987): 1–2, 71–73.

[*Rittergüter*] in Central Europe, these blacks came from a different social order and could prove dangerous if their treatment demonstrated weakness in the landowner.¹¹²

Another thread that runs through these journals is the frequent comparison of blacks to cattle. Popp's journal was kept by a semi-literate private which accounts for its narrow focus, short length and broken language. Blacks only made a few appearances in his journal, but it is noteworthy that they are only mentioned when gained or lost as booty along with cattle.¹¹³

Similarly, Captain Ewald's journal recorded captured and transported "negroes and cattle," and "chattels and cattle" in the same instances.¹¹⁴ Likewise, General Riedesel's wife often counted them with the cattle and in one instance describes black slaves as being "worked like cattle."¹¹⁵ The aforementioned Bauer also compared the slaves of Charleston to being "worked like oxen," because, as he put it, "they have little more reason than cattle" and because "they are as obstinate as undomesticated cattle." This equation was most developed in a letter written from a captured Hessian in Cambridge, Massachusetts to Schlözer for his publication *Briefwechsel, meist*

historischen und politischen Inhalts:

"In Springfield [MA] one finds few habitations without a negro family living near in a small side house [*Nebenhause*]. All the negroes here, like deer cattle, are very fertile [*fruchtbar*]. The children are well fed, especially while they are calves [*Kälber*]. Their slavery, moreover, is quite bearable [*ganz erträglich*]: The negro is much like the

¹¹² A theme so common in *Hausväterliteratur* it created a subgenre called "*Teufelsliteratur*." Drawing from the Old Testament's *Liber ecclesiasticus*, the head of the house had God's encouragement to not only distrust his servants, but also to dominate them harshly lest the devil lead them astray. See Paul Münch, "Tiere, Teufel oder Menschen? Zur gesellschaftlichen Einschätzung der dienenden Klassen während der frühen Neuzeit," in *Gesinde im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds., V. Gothard Frühsorge, Rainer Gruenter und Beatrix Freifrau Wolff-Metternich (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1995), 83-107.

¹¹³ Stephan Popp, *Popp's Journal, 1777-1783*, trans. and ed. J.G. Rosengarten (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography reprint, 1902).

¹¹⁴ Johann von Ewald, *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal*, trans. and ed. Joseph P. Tustin, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 199, 202, 227; see also Johann von Ewald, Johann von Hinrichs, Johann Christoph von Huyn, Friedrich Kristian Arnold von Jungkenn, *The Siege of Charleston: Cpts. Johann Ewald, Johann Hinrichs, and Maj. Gen. Johann Christoph von Huyn*, trans. and ed. B. A. Uhlendorf, (New York: Arno Press, 1968), 45-46; 350; 555-556.

¹¹⁵ Friederike Charolotte von Riedesel and Friedrich Adolf von Riedesel, *Die Berufs-Reise nach America: Briefe der Generalin von Riedesel auf dieser Reise und während ihres sechsjährigen Aufenthalts in America zur Zeit des dortigen Krieges in den Jahren 1776 bis 1783 nach Deutschland abschrieben* (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1801), 232;

peasant's servant [*Knecht bei einem Bauern zubetrachten*]; the negress does all the coarse housework, and the black children wait on the white children. The negro can stand in his master's place in a regiment; hence you never see a regiment in which there are not a lot of negroes, and there are well-built, strong, husky fellows among them. Here there are also many free negro families who dwell in good houses, have means, and live quite in the manner of the other inhabitants.”¹¹⁶

The anonymous letter writer not only compared black slaves and their children to livestock, but also made an argument based on his observations that their slavery was quite bearable—a line borrowed from Krünitz’s encyclopedia (and reiterated by Schlözer). The observer found them to be well-fed, with suitable housing, healthy, and capable of military service—not altogether different from the ideal settler sought for inner colonization schemes in Prussia. Slaves are equated to peasants in their stratified social position and degree of unfreedom. Lastly, the letter writer's disposition makes his defense of slavery all the more significant. This letter was written from "miserable" captivity where the Hessians existed as “unhappy middle things between free and unfree.”¹¹⁷

Several critical remarks on life in America flowed freely from the anonymous writer’s pen. In describing the committees making up the interim government, the author cleverly remarked on the contradictions of the new order. “Unbound zeal for so-called freedom and the commands of the Congress are the prerequisites to become a member of the Committee and give orders to their fellow citizens. These gentlemen are mostly *ex plebe*...Most families therefore live under pressure.”¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, black slavery was not juxtaposed with freedom to critique the colonists. Although there were rapid changes in social standing, where even the *ex plebe* could rise to leadership positions, slavery was overlooked. It was an equation beyond the author's critical framework because he had not traveled further south than Massachusetts.

¹¹⁶August Ludwig von Schlözer, *August Ludwig Schlözers Briefwechsel, meist historischen und politischen Inhalts* vol. 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck Buchhandlung, 1779), 365-366.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 341.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 372: “Unbändiger Eifer für die so genannte „Freiheit“ und Befehle des Congresses sind die Eigenschaften die dazu erfordert werden um ein Herr von der zu werden und über die Mitbürger zu befehlen. Diese Herrn sind merentheils *ex plebe*...Manche Familien leben daher im Drucke.”

How was it possible for so many Germans, from diverse social and intellectual backgrounds, to meet New World Slavery with indifference or even acceptance? Scholars have examined the similarities between Prussian serfdom and the antebellum South's slave societies over the last few decades.¹¹⁹ Of course serfdom is not slavery. Slaves are bound to their masters, not the land, and many of the abuses reformers found egregious had long been abolished in Central Europe. Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to suggest that soldiers, more focused on recoding the narratives of battles, procuring victuals, accustomed to the *Gutsherrschaft* system, and the deep cultural encoding of Christianity's antagonism towards Islam would find perpetual slavery based on race perplexing. Few Central Europeans outside of those who personally observed the world of colonial slavery in the Torrid Zone could recognize it.

A few Hessians found slavery in the modern world outside of North Africa difficult to comprehend and recognize. More than a few engaged observers complained about the veracity of information regarding the colonies. One captain, Johann von Hinrichs, in letters written to Europe, complains at length about the available treatises on America in any language. Those he could locate were spotty, unreliable and had been written by those who had never left the halls of academia.¹²⁰ Others shrewdly noted the rebel propensity for propaganda, dismissing most of the newspaper accounts they read as false. Little wonder that those who saw enslaved blacks in the Northern colonies fetching water, caring for children, or chopping wood, would think that descriptions of slavery were more fiction than fact.

¹¹⁹ Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), 651-654; Robert Berdahl, "Paternalism, Serfdom and Emancipation in Prussia," in *Oceans apart? Comparing Germany and the United States*, ed. Erich Angermann (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1981), 29-33; Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974) 57-58; 663; Shearer Davis Bowman, *Masters and Lords: Mid-19th-Century U.S. Planters and Prussian Junkers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹²⁰ This was certainly the case with the majority of the Göttingen School of history. Johann von Ewald et al., "Siege of Charleston," 54-55.

The widespread eighteenth-century trade in German indentured servants likely compounded these Germans' confusion. The prevalence of *Seelenverkäufers*, or the merchants dealing in redemptioners, within popular German literature and folktales explains why some Germans misunderstood the concept of slavery in the Americas.¹²¹ Many published accounts of indentured servitude in Germany and America created “a popular image of the transatlantic voyage as one of physical, emotional, and financial suffering aboard overcrowded ships, where exposure to the unpredictability of the sea and the winds was compounded by the greed of the merchants involved, the tyranny of ships’ captains, and the irresponsibility of newlanders.”¹²² These sensational accounts also made life in the colonies seem intolerably cruel and oppressive. After travelling first hand to the Americas and witnessing the perils of eighteenth century sea travel, touring the countryside where they were billeted in farmers' homes, and uncovering multiple inaccuracies in the press, German soldiers interpreted reports on the brutality of black slavery as similarly hyperbolic. Their letters and journals represent efforts made to paint a truer picture, one more subtle and complex, that was infused with their own experiences rooted in the labor systems found in German lands. European social hierarchies typical in the *Gutsherrschaft* systems and the unique experiences of German indentured servants, combined with a lexicon of slavery devoted to Islamic Pirates in North Africa made New World slavery a problematic concept for Northern Europe.

At least within the Hessian military, where order and discipline were notoriously severe, New World slavery was difficult to conceptualize. It was difficult to recognize the slavery of others for those living in slave-like conditions, accustomed to the dreadful sites of Central Europe’s labor regimes, and the long association of slavery with Christians living under Islam.

¹²¹ Marianne Sophia Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 113-166.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 114.

Nevertheless, some German observers show a well composed and systematic strand of thinking inimical to black slavery. Many more were unconcerned with slavery because they did not recognize it or distinguish it from other forms of unfree labor. A few supported the system, but their impressions display a degree of misunderstanding for the contemporary observer. Hessian narratives demonstrate an important moment of transition between Islamic and new World slavery through previously neglected German perspectives in the history of Atlantic slavery.

Cameralism and the Culture of Central European Antislavery (1750-1780)

Cameralists broadly rejected the idea of slavery by the middle of the eighteenth century. An economic theory closely tied to mercantilism and physiocratic thought, Cameralism became one of the most popular and widest-read type of eighteenth-century literature.¹²³ Cameralism developed out of a tradition of household management guidebooks (*Hausväterliteratur*) specific to the unfree, agrarian labor systems of Protestant Central Europe.¹²⁴ Cameralism sought to enhance the income of the state by increasing the taxable population of its dominion.¹²⁵ The Cameralists foray into the debate over New World slavery and the slave trade represented more than an indictment or criticism of Central European political life. These voices adhered to an enlightened tradition, with its insistence on personal freedom, and they hoped for the betterment of all mankind.

¹²³ Kenneth Carpenter, “Manufactures in European Economic Literature of the Enlightenment: The *Description des Arts et Métiers* and the *Schauplatz der Künste und Handwerke*,” in *Physiocracy, Antiphiocracy and Pfeiffer*, ed. Jürgen Backhaus (New York: Springer Verlag, 2011), 5-22.

¹²⁴ Sophus A. Reinert “Another Grand Tour: Cameralism and Antiphiocracy in Baden, Tuscany, and Denmark-Norway,” in *Physiocracy, Antiphiocracy and Pfeiffer*, ed. Jürgen Backhaus (New York: Springer, 2011), 47-48; Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire: Volume II: From the Peace of Westphalia to the Dissolution of the Reich, 1648-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 193-195; Keith Tribe, *Strategies of Economic Order: German Economic Discourse, 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Keith Tribe, *Governing Economy: The Reformation of German Economic Discourse, 1750-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 22-26.

¹²⁵ Tribe, *Strategies of Economic Order*, 8-31.

The most well-known Prussian cameralist, Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, presaged many of the oft-cited and celebrated abolitionists and critics of imperialism. His comparison of European and Asian forms of government, economy and society unleashed a tirade against “Europeans.”¹²⁶ These “perpetrators” had plagued the three corners of the world, completely depopulated America, from Peru to Mexico and beyond, for the purpose of making war with one another, and managed to kill off 99% of the original inhabitants.¹²⁷ In so doing, Justi surmises, Europeans sought slaves in Africa.¹²⁸ This resulting shortfall in population led to the search for slaves in Africa to labor in the New World—a serious problem for Justi’s cameralist program based on effective administration to bolster internal economic development and foster natural population growth.¹²⁹ Justi not only attacked this “damnable human trade” as “driven by contempt for all humanity,” but also as economically irresponsible and irrational because half of the unfortunate “Moorish slaves” died en route to America due to the miserable conditions of their transport.¹³⁰ Soon, he argued, Africa would be depopulated and America could not be repopulated. Arguments against depopulation were a staple of antislavery expressed later during the debates over race.

¹²⁶ Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens*, 70-75.

¹²⁷ Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, *Vergleichungen der Europäischen mit den Asiatischen und andern vermeintlich barbarischen Regierungen* (Berlin: Johann Heinrich Rüdigers, 1762), 319-322: “Das Unglück, welches wir Europäer durch dergleichen Betragen in allen drei Welttheilen verursacher haben, kann nicht überdacht werden, ohne die menschliche Natur erzitternd zu machen. Wir haben ganz America entvölkert. In den großen Reichen von Mexico und Peru, in den unermeßlichen Strich von Florida, in den Americanischen Vorinsuln sind jetzo nicht so viel tausend Menschen, als ehedem hundert tausende darinnen waren und die Völker in Nord America, die Nachbarn der Französischen und Engelländischen Besitzungen, sind nicht weniger geschmolzen, zwar nicht durch eine denen Spaniern ähnliche Grausamkeit, aber durch die Europäischen Staatskünste, welche diese einfältigen Völker unaufhörlich gegen ein ander gehetzt, um gegen einander entweder nach denen Europäischen Absichten Krieg zu führen, oder dieselben in die Kriege der Völker in Europa einzuflechten. Nachdem wir also auf diese Art America vielleicht von 99 Theilen seiner Einwohner beraubt haben.”

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 322: “[S]o suchen wir Africa zu Slaven zu machen, oder geben daselbst Menschenhändler ab, um arbeitsame Hände zu bekommen, den Americanischen Boden zu bearbeiten.”

¹²⁹ David F. Lindenfeld, *The Practical Imagination the German Sciences of State in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 22-26.

¹³⁰ Justi, *Vergleichungen*, 322: “Da dieser verdammliche Menschenhandel, so wie es freilich einer Natur an sich gemäß ist, mit Verachtung aller Menschlichkeit getrieben wird; so werden diese unglücklichen Mohrenclaven auf ihrer Ueberfarth so elend gehalten, daß gemeiniglich die Hälfte davon umkommt, ehe sie America erreichen; und wir werden bald Africa gleichfalls entvölkern, ohne daß wir America wieder bevölkern.”

Justi's "hard truths" about the nature of European barbarity had to be examined in the interest of philanthropy—the catchword of later abolitionists—to ensure that readers understood all Europeans were complicit in these acts of cruelty.¹³¹ Even Justi's "own fatherland" had, under the emperor Karl V, sent the Welser and several hundred Germans to America with a "most unholy thirst for gold and profit."¹³² If we take Andre Wakefield's assertion that the cameralists' works "...idealized texts, originally crafted to please powerful people by sketching well-ordered possible worlds..." we might understand this indictment as a reminder that Germans were part of the broader Atlantic World and had a responsibility to act accordingly.¹³³ Like Sprengel and his mentor Schlözer, Justi had examined the Barbary Regencies and their deleterious impact on Northern European shipping through the seizure of ships and enslavement of their Christian crews. While his concern emphasized freedom of trade and movement, it is not unreasonable to suggest that his critique of New World slavery was also influenced by the problem represented by Christian slavery.

After Justi's death and at the same time Sprengel delivered his lectures, Johann Friedrich von Pfeiffer produced a series of Cameralist treatises in which he explored slavery in the New World and Africa. As one of Prussia's most important Cameralist theorists and a talented bureaucrat responsible for successfully executing Prussian inner colonization schemes, Pfeiffer's

¹³¹ Ibid., 321-322: "Ich gestehe gern, daß diese Vorstellung von der Europäischen Aufführung sehr hart ist; aber sie ist leider nur allzusehr der Wahrheit gemäß; und was Europa desto weniger zur Ehre gereicher, man kann kein einziges Europäisches Volk von einem solchen Betragen frey sprechen. Die Spanier sind hierinnen zwar die größten, aber nicht die einzigen Verbrecher. Die ersten Schiffahrten der Portugiesen nach Ostindien waren mit Seeräubereien und Grausamkeiten begleitet; und das erste Französische Schiff, welches nach Ostindien gieng, trieb Seeräuberey."

¹³² Ibid., 323: "Ich habe ehemals meinem Vaterlande im Herzen Glück gewünscht, und bin geneigt gewesen, demselben deshalb einen besondern Vorzug beizulegen, daß es sich wegen ermangelnder Seehandlung niemals der gleichen Grausamkeiten gegen andere unschuldige Völker schuldig gemacht hat. Allein endlich habe ich gefunden, daß ich nur aus Unwissenheit also geurtheilet habe. Diese süße Einbildung von meinem Vaterlande wurde sehr gebeuget, als ich fand, daß die Welser in Augspurg ehemals ein Etablissement in America von Kaiser Carl V. erhalten haben, die einige hundert Teutsche dahin schickten; und leider! diese meine Landesleute führten sich nicht viel weniger gegen die armen Americaner grausam auf, als die Spanier selbst. Unseliger Durst nach Gold und Gewinnst, wohin verleitet du nicht die Menschen!"

¹³³ Andre Wakefield, *The Disordered Police State: German Cameralism as Science and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 21.

central concern was the effective administration of the state, securing its felicity, expanding its population, and increasing its agriculture production.¹³⁴ Pfeiffer believed that two essential conditions first had to be secured for the success of this project: the immediate abolition of slavery and serfdom and the increase of manufacture, commerce, and trade. That slavery needed to be abolished for the state to expand “could not be said enough.” As an “unnatural condition,” it had no place in the modern, rational state.¹³⁵ Pfeiffer then expounded on the manifold benefits the state could enjoy before moving on to the topic of European imperialism in the New World and slavery. Of interest is his insight into the popular understanding of the relationship between Christianity and slavery. Like Justi’s condemnations, Pfeiffer traces the path of destruction Iberians Christians brought to South America and the African coast. The Portuguese enslavement of Indians, taken from the Amazon, desecrated the cross, in transmogrifying it from a symbol for salvation and redemption into a sign of slavery.¹³⁶ Pfeiffer enumerated the injustices of slavery and the slave trade as he traced the conditions and circumstances that gave rise to the institution in Africa. Not only was it common among the inhabitants there to enslave captured enemies, but they also sold their family members into slavery. Among the many abuses heaped on slavery he includes the proclivity to separate families and abuse children.¹³⁷ This argument became a staple

¹³⁴ Tribe, *Strategies of Economic Order*; Wakefield, *The Disordered Police State*, 1-11.

¹³⁵ Johann Friedrich von Pfeiffer, *Lehrbegriff sämtlicher oeconomischer und Cameralwissenschaften*, vol. 4. (Stuttgart: Johann Christian Erhard, 1764), 50-52: “...nicht zuviel erklären, noch empfehlen kann, so will ich das Interessante mit wenig Worten wiederholen. Man fange mit Aufhebung der Slaverei und Leibeigenschaft, die fast gleich bedeutend find, an. Die Slaverei ist ein unnatürlicher Stand; ich werde dem Puffendorf nicht eher glauben, daß der Slaven-Stand, durch den freien Willen der Theile eingeführt worden sey, biß er mir dergleichen Contract zeigen wird. Die Distanz zwischen dem Herrn, und dem Slaven ist zu groß, als daß letzterer dem ersten aufrichtig zugethan, und sein Vermögen nach besten Kräften zu erhalten, beflissen sein könnte. Der traurigste Zustand einer so unglücklichen Creatur ist gleichwol der, wenn ihn das Schicksal zum Slaven einer Gesellschaft von solchen Leuten bestimmt hat, die sich nicht damit begnügen, den Slaven mit der Peitsche zur Arbeit zu ermuntern, sondern sich neben der Peitsche auch noch des ewigen Feuers bedienen. Der Weltliche behandelt den Slaven gelinder, um Seinen Erben auch Slaven zu hinterlassen. Der unbeerbte Mönch sorget blos für seine Lebenszeit, und sieher mit kaltem Blute den Slaven unter der Last erliegen.”

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 142: “Also ward des Heils- und Erlösungszeichen für die Christen, ein Zeichen von Slaverei für die Amerikaner.”

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 152-157.

of abolitionists everywhere and important to further legislation in German lands several decades later.

Pfeiffer's work found a wide reception just as he found a new appointment at Mainz in 1782.¹³⁸ More than that of any other Cameralist, his work found an active readership after distribution across Western Europe in the decade after 1780, and his critique of Europeans in the New World, alongside Sprengel's work, spread the idea of African slavery at a time when others thought only of Islamic Corsairs enslaving Christians in the Mediterranean.

Another cameralist, best known for his translation of Adam Smith's works, Christian Jakob Kraus also championed antislavery in his lectures to a whole generation of Prussian officers and civil servants.¹³⁹ Kraus underscored the necessity for the abolition of private servitude (*privat-Untertänigkeit*) and extended the argument to slavery and the slave trade. With his focus on colonies in the West Indies, he asserts that "No man works better for another than for himself."¹⁴⁰ Just like the forms of private domination in German lands east of the Elbe, Kraus saw slavery in the American colonies as an irrational system for land management, as well as an unjust evil (*Abscheu/Übel*).¹⁴¹

Other circumstances in Northern Europe prompted new attention to black slavery shortly after the Cameralists and Sprengel pled their cases. Two events in 1780 and 1782 indicate the Prussian state's stance against black slavery and the African slave trade.¹⁴² Friedrich II explicitly forbade the ownership of slaves and Prussian legislators definitively rejected the institution of

¹³⁸ Backhaus, *Physiocracy, Antiphiocracy and Pfeiffer*, 1-2.

¹³⁹ Rainer Koch, "Liberalismus, Konservatismus und das Problem der Negersklaverei. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des politischen Denkens in Deutschland in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Zeitschrift* 222, no. 3 (1976): 541-542.

¹⁴⁰ Christian Jakob Kraus, *Vermischte Schriften über staatswirthschaftliche, philosophische und andere wissenschaftliche Gegenstände*, vol. 5 ed. Hans von Auerswald (Königsberg: Nicolovius, 1812), 263-264.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 217-221.

¹⁴² The Prussian state's former foray into the trade notwithstanding: Andrea Weindl, "Die Kurbrandenburger im 'atlantischen System' 1650 - 1720" *Arbeitspapiere zur Lateinamerikaforschung* 2, no. 3 (2001).

slavery following a case at the highest levels of government.¹⁴³ A Prussian plenipotentiary to Copenhagen, Joachim Erdmann von Arnim, purchased a black slave in Denmark during his residence at court. He brought the young slave into Prussia en route to a new assignment. At the same time, Prussian legal reformers, including Carl Gottlieb Svarez and the celebrated legal reformer Johann Heinrich von Carmer, were compiling the *Allgemeine Landrecht*.¹⁴⁴ They already had decided to codify the abolition of slavery and serfdom when von Carmer caught wind of Arnim's newly purchased servant, a black slave from the West Indies. Friedrich II intervened after von Carmer brought the case to his attention and von Arnim freed his slave.¹⁴⁵ This case established that no Prussian subject could own a slave, nor could a Prussian subject sell himself into slavery, but the abolition of serfdom had to wait another three decades.

Shortly thereafter, in 1782, a French subject from Bordeaux sought permission from Friedrich II to fly the Prussian flag, a neutral power in the conflict between Britain and France, as he engaged in the African slave trade. Friedrich II's official decree declined, stating, "The slave trade consistently has appeared to me as disparaging for humanity, and I will never grant anyone comfort to encourage such." Enlightenment principles of humanity, justice, and rational thought, to which he subscribed, influenced his decree. Other considerations may have been more persuasive. Friedrich II went on to suggest that if the merchant found the trade in men so

¹⁴³ Friedrich II did receive as gifts, hire, and even purchase black attendants, musicians, and soldiers who all filled ceremonial posts in the early eighteenth century and few if any remained by the 1780s. See, M. Rischmann, "Mohren als Spielleute und Musiker in der preussischen Armee," *Zeitschrift für Heeres- und Uniformkunde* 91/93 (1936), 82-54. Numerous other articles and books have discussed or examined these individuals. For a recent survey and accounting of nearly every documented gift or purchase of a black African to the royal house in Prussia, see an overview of a new project to count the "black slaves of the Holy Roman Empire" by Rebekka von Mallinckrodt: "There Are No Slaves in Prussia?" trans., Elizabeth Bredeck, in *Slavery Hinterlands*, eds. Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft (Rochester, NY, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2016), 109-110.

¹⁴⁴ See Hans Hattenhauer, "Einführung in die Geschichte des Preußischen Allgemeinen Landrechts," in *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preußischen Staaten von 1794: Textausgabe mit einer Einführung von Hans Hattenhauer*, eds. Hans Hattenhauer and Günter Bernert (Frankfurt A.M. 1970), 11-39; Mallinckrodt "There Are No Slaves in Prussia?," 115-125.

¹⁴⁵ Full text of decision in GStA PK, I. HA rep. 169 C, Preußisches Abgeordnetenhaus, Abschnitt 34C Nr. 42, fols., 35-40; The decision is referenced in several international treaties and internal discussions from the 1830s until the 1900s, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 89, Geheimes Zivilkabinett, jüngere Periode, Nr. 13050.

enticing, then he could certainly “go back to France”.¹⁴⁶ The older Friedrich II, more war-weary and with his sights set eastward, did not wish to further antagonize the British navy and subvert the so-called “League of Armed Neutrality” [*Erste Bewaffnete Neutralität*], an agreement between the neutral powers to resist the pervasive search and seizure of their vessels by British ships during the American Revolution.¹⁴⁷ Taking into account his order to free von Arnim’s slave, combined with his rejection of an ambitious plan for colonizing African ports and engaging in the African slave trade almost three decades before, Friedrich maintained a consistently principled but also practical antislavery during the second half of his life.

Banning slavery and forbidding engagement in the slave trade did not take exceptional moral courage in Prussia. Public opinion already had rejected chattel slavery for the most part.¹⁴⁸ Slavery was thrice abolished in the Anglo-American world in 1772, 1778, and again in 1780. Moreover, there was a self-interested argument against slavery. On the one hand, plantation goods produced by slaves served to deprive continental powers, without sovereignty over large-scale plantations, of specie through the importation of luxury goods. From a rational standpoint, argued state ministers and thinkers alike, the products of slavery, primarily tobacco, sugar, and coffee, drained specie from Prussian lands and created a hefty trade imbalance. These luxury products cost significantly more than the endogenously produced rye, flax, cereals, and finished products like linen. Creating a self-sustaining economy created the possibility to avoid these products on the open market and would thus help to end slavery.¹⁴⁹ Lastly, some critics saw new

¹⁴⁶ *Erlaß* 16. April 1782 referenced in GStA PK, I. HA rep. 169 C, Preußisches Abgeordnetenhaus, Abschnitt 34C Nr. 42, fol., 42, “Indeß, wenn dieser Handel so viel Reiz für Euch hat, so steht es bey Euch, nach Frankreich zurück zu kehren.”

¹⁴⁷ Carl Bergbohm, *Die bewaffnete Neutralität 1780-1783: Eine Entwicklungsphase des Völkerrechts im Seekriege* (Berlin: Puttkammer and Mühlbrecht, 1884).

¹⁴⁸ With a few exceptions discussed below.

¹⁴⁹ Hess follows the discourse over these colonial wares closely: Jonathan M. Hess, *Germans, Jews, and the Claims of Modernity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 80-92; Franz Reuss, *Christian Wilhelm von Dohms Schrift: “Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden” und deren Einwirkung auf die gebildeten Stände Deutschlands*

opportunities in denouncing the slave trade. An aspiring beet sugar manufacturer and a favorite researcher of Friedrich II, Franz Carl Achard, claimed his motivation for finding a means to synthesize sugar from beets came from seeking a means to end the injustices experienced by black slaves on sugar plantations in the West Indies.¹⁵⁰ The entrepreneur, who gained a pension for his work introducing tobacco crops to Prussia, hoped that the introduction of domestic sugar production would not only reduce Prussia's reliance on foreign imports, but also eliminate the need for African slave labor in the West Indies.¹⁵¹ Whether he felt genuine concern for far away slaves remains uncertain. In any case, his stated motive suggests that state ministers and broader public would be sympathetic to the humanitarian cause of abolishing slavery.¹⁵²

Ethnology, Naturalists, Race and the University Culture of Antislavery 1770-1800

Interest in slavery and the slave trade deepened worldwide following the American Revolution—especially in Central Europe. As opposition to the trade in black African slaves arose from the Scottish Enlightenment's religiosity and interest in antiquity, as well as Quaker and English Evangelical circles, another abolitionist impulse took shape across the channel as *Statistik* and *Völkerkunde*'s boundaries grew to sources beyond those from the ancient world.¹⁵³

(Kaiserlautern: M. Blenk und Cie, 1891), 50-83; 135-165. Dohm's use of slavery encompasses a variety of servile relationships in Europe, Asia, and the New World.

¹⁵⁰ Franz Carl Achard, *Anleitung zur Bereitung des Rohrzuckers und des rohen Syrups aus den Runkelrüben wie auch des Branntweins aus den bei der Rohzucker- und rohen Syrupfabrication fallenden Abgängen* (Berlin: Müller, 1803), v-viii.

¹⁵¹ Hans-Heinrich Müller, *Franz Carl Achard: 1753-1821 : Biographie* (Berlin: Verlag Bartens, 2002), 182-186, 223-224, 491-493.

¹⁵² Periodicals which reviewed his efforts and material praised his quest to ameliorate the "dishonorable slave trade" (*entehrende Sklavenhandel*): "Vom deutschen Zucker," *Neues Hannoversches Magazin*, vol. 9, no. 21, March 15, 1799, 321-336; "Kleine Schriften," *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, vol. 2, no. 179, June 20, 1801, 647-648.

¹⁵³ James J. Caudle, "James Boswell and the Bi-Confessional State," in *Religious Identities in Britain, 1660-1832*, eds. William Gibson and Robert G. Ingram (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 119-146; Martin Peters, *Altes Reich und Europa: Der Historiker, Statistiker und Publizist August Ludwig (v.) Schlözer (1735-1809)* (Münster: Lit, 2005), 280-285; Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006). Christian Grieshaber, *Frühe Abolitionisten: Die Rezeption der antiken Sklaverei zur Zeit der schottischen Aufklärung und deren Einfluss auf die britische Abolitionsbewegung (1750-1833)* (Hildesheim: Gerog Olms, 2012), 196, 361; Vermeulen, *Before Boas*, 294-302.

Herodotus remained an important source for ethnological works, but had little utility describing the Far East or the New World. Redoubled efforts to categorize and classify the world promoted the publication and translation of hundreds of new travel accounts.¹⁵⁴ Johann Schoepf, as an influential example, published an extensive travel narrative detailing his time with the Hessian forces which took aim at what seemed to be a newly developing aristocracy amongst slaveholders.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, the fierce critic of privilege and absolutism, Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, published numerous articles denouncing New World slavery.¹⁵⁶ Many European observers hoped that the newly independent colonies would achieve their aspirations for a more rational, enlightened and free society, and thus turned their attention to the evil of slavery in the Americas.

At the same time, trends towards emancipatory movements took place across the servile lands.¹⁵⁷ This era coincided with the gradual emancipation of peasants and serfs—a comparison numerous scholars make—and a new language of “humanity” and “human rights” [*Humanität* and *Menschenrechte*] took shape.¹⁵⁸ Importantly, interest in the Americas, awakened by increased trade, conflicts, and independence movements like the American Revolution, broadened Northern European discussions of slavery to center more on black, African slaves. Scholars shifted their focus from closer North African locales, where European Christians had long understood to be

¹⁵⁴ Doll, *American History*, 1949.

¹⁵⁵ Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation (1783-1784): From the German of Johann David Schoepf*, 2 vols., trans. and ed. Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1911).

¹⁵⁶ Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Deutschen Chronik* (1774-77); Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Vaterländische Chronik* (1787-1791). His articles also record numerous instances of Christians enslaved in Algiers and the Barbary Regencies.

¹⁵⁷ Blum highlights many of the initial emancipatory movements in the New World. Jerome Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 216-240; sometimes referred to as the slave lands or *Sklavenländer*.

¹⁵⁸ David Brion Davis “Slavery and the Idea of Progress,” in *Oceans apart? Comparing Germany and the United States*, ed. Erich Angermann (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1981), 13-28; Robert Berdahl, “Paternalism, Serfdom and Emancipation in Prussia,” in *ibid*, 29-30; Shearer Davis Bowman, *Masters and Lords: Mid-19th-Century U.S. Planters and Prussian Junkers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Karin Schüller, *Die deutsche Rezeption haitianischer Geschichte in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zum deutschen Bild vom Schwarzen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992).

the chief victims of enslavement, to the slave markets of Africa's West Coast and the plantation society of the West Indies. In so doing, the perception of New World slavery's atrocities and "evils" displaced Christian slavery in comparisons.

Central European ideals fit well with antislavery. An aspiring middle-class's *Tugendideale*, or sense of virtue, and its concomitant new sense of public spirit, encouraged the unification of a patriotic community spirit, in which all had to improve for the betterment of the whole, and urged moral improvement amongst Christians, for the higher development of all mankind, and emphasized a common humanity. The honorable world citizen [*Weltbürger*] had a duty to work towards the amelioration of serfdom and slavery.¹⁵⁹ These ideals help to explain how, during the enlightenment, a sort of cottage industry in translating texts formed and promoted a serious study of slavery and the African slave trade.

Although no systematic study of the period 1770-1800 exists on the so called "slavery debate" in the German-language press, the topic has not gone unnoticed.¹⁶⁰ Once again, the disposition of Enlightenment figures towards New World slavery and the transatlantic slave trade is less important in the historiography as it seeks the origins of a pathological racism in debates over race, science and religion. Jürgen Osterhammel argues that the opposition to slavery in the

¹⁵⁹ Jeroen Dewulf, "Die Schriften Alexander von Humboldts zu Lateinamerika: Anlauf einer wissenschaftlichen Inbesitznahme oder Meilenstein im Unabhängigkeitskampf?," in *Das Wissen der Weltbürger* eds. Anette Horn and Peter Horn (Oberhausen: Athena Verlag, 2001), 91-116. For a treatment of slaves see Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Europa im Jahrhundert der Aufklärung* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2000), 270-275. For a more general view see Richard van Dülmen, *The Society of the Enlightenment: The Rise of the Middle Class and Enlightenment Culture in Germany*, trans. Anthony Williams, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992).

¹⁶⁰ Birgit Tautz, "Revolution, Abolition, Aesthetic Sublimation: German Responses to News from France in the 1790s," in *(Re-)Writing the Radical Enlightenment, Revolution and Cultural Transfer in 1790s Germany, Britain and France*, ed. Maike Oergel (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 72-87; Lazaros Miliopoulus, *Atlantische Zivilisation und transatlantisches Verhältnis: Politische Idee und Wirklichkeit* (Wiesbaden: V.S. Verlag, 2007), 312-331; Barbara Riesche, "Schöne Mohrinnen, edle Sklaven, schwarze Rächer: Schwarzendarstellung und Sklavereithematik im deutschen Unterhaltungstheater: (1770-1814)" (PhD diss., Ludwigs Maximilians Universität, 2007), 10-36, 54-55. For a wide-ranging treatment of slavery and race see Sara Eigen and Mark J. Larrimore, eds., *The German Invention of Race* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2006); Hess, *Germans, Jews*, 83-84. See also Jürgen Osterhammel, *Sklaverei und die Zivilisation des Westens* (München, C.H. Beck, 2000), 48-49; Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens*, 322-325, 405-408; Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Koch, "Liberalismus, Konservatismus," 529-77.

press was more academic than a real, sincere antagonism to slavery. It reflected more the endogenous tensions, societal circumstances and political and economic conditions of Central Europe than a sincere call for abolition. Slavery was merely a filter through which ideas of domination [*Herrschaft*] could be criticized, much like Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* used the critique of foreign rulers to critique domestic French political and spiritual domination. The critique of slavery could be interpreted as a self-critical moment for the failure of Germans to rise up against their princes.¹⁶¹ Without taking into account the long experience of predation from Barbary regencies, Osterhammel's argument makes sense. That the same authors' "insecurity" over the European place in the world was imaginary, given that many had studied the substantial losses and the contractions of commerce and navigation, makes the argument less tenable.

Whether merely academic or sincere calls for abolition, contributions from Central European naturalists did influence debates over slavery and the slave trade in Europe and the Americas. As philosophers and naturalists redoubled their efforts to describe the world and the Americas in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, they also developed systems to order, classify, and categorize the earth's inhabitants. Scholars trace the beginnings of ethnology and ethnography to this moment when the debates over the place of black Africans within the hierarchy of humanity created both a means to criticize and support slavery and the slave trade.¹⁶² Numerous studies have followed the debates centering on Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottfried Herder, Christoph Meiners, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach and Samuel Thomas von Sömmerring over their "racist", "Eurocentric", and "imperialistic" characterizations, categories, and assumptions, so it requires little recapitulation.¹⁶³ Retracing the intricacies of the debate over the

¹⁶¹ Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats*, 361-365.

¹⁶² Vermeulen, *Before Boas*, 376-385.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 376, 418-419; Sara Eigen and Mark Larrimore, eds., *The German Invention of Race*, passim; Peter K. J. Park, *Africa, Asia, and the History of Philosophy: Racism in the Formation of the Philosophical Canon, 1780-1830* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), 116-117, 125.

genesis of scientific racism in the works produced during the end of the nineteenth century has little utility for this study. Moreover, delving too deeply into this material risks going beyond the scope of this chapter. Exploring some of the broad contours of the debate over race in Central Europe provides evidence that German scholarship played an important role in the discussions over slavery and the slave trade. Blumenbach, Sömmerring, and Meiners produced substantial works which fed the flames of a fiery debate over the place of Africans in the natural order. Abolitionists and defenders of slavery in the Anglo-American and French world drew on these works to support their arguments. That so many polemicists used and abused the scholarship from Göttingen, Halle, and other institutions, demonstrates a real and lasting impact.

Original contributions to New World slavery in the German-language press hardly appeared before the middle of the 1780s.¹⁶⁴ Short articles, inspired in part by British abolitionists with pithy polemics against the slave trade were accompanied by translations of Anglo-American works. Brief poems populated the pages of periodicals, such as “*Lied eines Negerklaven in Amerika*” (1784) from the *Göttinger Musenalmanach*¹⁶⁵ or Herder’s “*Der Geburtstag*” which celebrated the abolitionist Warner Mifflin’s decision to free his slaves.¹⁶⁶ A flood of reports, opinions, and analyses, from the most popular periodicals, including *Deutschen Magazin*, *Deutschen Monatsschrift*, *Magazin für das Neueste aus Physik und Naturgeschichte*, *Minerva*, *Historisch-politischen Magazin*, *Allgemeine deutschen Bibliothek*, followed Sömmerring’s controversial publication *Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Mohren vom Europäer* (1784

¹⁶⁴ Riesche, “*Schöne Mohrinnen*,” 72; Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*, 70-74.

¹⁶⁵ The song begins, “Bin ein Mensch, wie Weisse, Habe nichts gethan; Plagen mich mit Fleisse, Sehn als Thier mich an. Lasten zum Erdrücken,”: Gottlieb Betz, “Die deutschamerikanische Patriotische Lyrik der Achtundvierziger und ihre historische Grundlage” (PhD diss., University of Philadelphia, 1916), 44.

¹⁶⁶ For an in depth examination of Herder’s ideas about race and slavery see, Anne Löchte, *Johann Gottfried Herder: Kulturtheorie und Humanitätsidee der Ideen, Humanitätsbriefe und Adrastea* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005), 9-15, 103-120, 154-155.

and 1785). It was not the first publication to describe differences in humans.¹⁶⁷ The novelty of Sömmerring's work came from his unique source of specimens which also had implications for justifications of New World slavery.

Sömmerring's work would not have been possible without the Hessian participation in the American Revolution. Several regiments returned with over three hundred freed black slaves. The elector settled his new subjects, near his castle, in an exotically-constructed village reminiscent of the *Hameau de la Reine* constructed for Marie Antoinette at Versailles. Sömmerring found a sort of lab in this village. He observed the newcomers' habits, speech, and manners, and subjected the villagers to detailed physical exams. Some former slaves found life not worth living in their new habitat and chose death. Many others died from European diseases and the climate, and the court doctor preserved the bodies and called on Sömmerring, who, after each death, dissected the corpses.¹⁶⁸ Gathering information from more than a dozen bodies, he published the results in two separate publications, substituting "negro" for "moor" in the second edition.

By no means was Sömmerring's work intended as a polemic—although it was read as such by his defenders and detractors alike. Colleagues worried that the work would be used to defend the slave trade and begged Sömmerring to reconsider some positions and phrases. Georg Forster, with whom he developed an "intense friendship," asked Sömmerring to reconsider statements which might bolster the supporters of the slave trade—especially as Forster and Sprengel had recently translated James Ramsay's pamphlet (1784) denouncing New World

¹⁶⁷ Blumenbach, his former professor at Göttingen, had published a foundational text on racial difference a decade earlier. Likewise, Sömmerring's father-like mentor and advocate Petrus Camper classified humans based on face and skull shape.

¹⁶⁸ Samuel Thomas Sömmerring, *Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Negers vom Europäer (1785)*, trans. D. Elisabeth Maurer and ed., Sigrid Oehler-Klein (Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1998).

slavery.¹⁶⁹ For instance, his critics wanted him to retract the claim that the brain of the “negro” is smaller,¹⁷⁰ or the assertion that even the “untrained observer” can see that the “negro-skull” is smaller than that of the European.¹⁷¹ Blumenbach concerned himself especially with the arguments that placed black Africans closer to “apes” than white Europeans.¹⁷² Sömmerring refused and doubled-down on his positions while also reminding his critics that he opposed slavery and the mistreatment of blacks based on these differences.¹⁷³

Sömmerring’s colleagues’ concerns over misrepresentation of his work were well-founded. Qualifications to his work, such as “Among the blacks are even some who approach whites as true brethren, and some even surpass them in reason, as well as in their beautifully-formed bodies,” often have been ignored.¹⁷⁴ In an effort to question the work of speculative philosophers, Sömmerring first recapitulated their unfounded and baseless claims such as, “the white man is more clever and works more than the black man” in order to dispel them. Susanne Zantopp cited such a passage, one with praise for Christoph Meiners, describing it as genuine rather than derisive. “Similar ideas are expressed by the beloved of our fatherland Meiners,” only

¹⁶⁹ The pamphlet’s title: “An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies.” Robert Bernasconi, “Kant’s Third Thoughts on Race,” in *Reading Kant’s Geography*, eds. Stuart Elden, Eduardo Mendieta, (New York: SUNY Press), 308-309; Therese Forster and G. Gervinus, eds., *Georg Forster’s Sämmtliche Schriften* vol. 7 (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1843), 321-325; Sigrid Oehler-Klein, “Der „Mohr“ auf der niedrigeren Staffel am Throne der Menschheit“? Georg Forsters Rezeption der Anthropologie Sömmerrings,” in Horst Dippel, H. Scheuer eds., *Georg-Forster-Studien* 3. no. 2 (1999), 119-166.

¹⁷⁰ “Analogisch nemlich läßt sich nun aus der Anmerkung, daß die Nerven im Neger stärker sind, folgern, das Gehirn im Neger sey kleiner, als im Europäer. Vielleicht möchte sich hieraus einige historische Thatsachen von ihrer Wildheit, Unbändigkeit und etwas minderen Fähigkeiten zur feinem Kultur, erläutern.“ Sömmerring, *Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit*, 67; Curtin states, “Sömmerring’s work had been badly done.” This seems unlikely given Sömmerring’s substantial accomplishments as an anatomist—his mapping and description of cranial nerves is still in use today: Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 46.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 11: “Schon der erste Blick verräth, auch dem Auge des Nichtkenners, daß der Theil des Mohren-Schädels der die gehirnfassende Höle bildet, im Vergleich mit dem der dem Gesichte und den ausseren Sinnen bestimmt scheineth, kleiner als irgend bey einem Europäer ist.”

¹⁷² This view was particularly rejected by Blumenbach, and it was published under “Mensch” in Johann Georg Krünitz and Heinrich Gustav Flörke, eds., *Oeconomische Encyclopädie oder allgemeines System der Land-, Haus- und Staats-Wirthschaft*, vol. 88, (Berlin: Pauli, 1802), 432-433.

¹⁷³ Sömmerring, *Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit*, 36.

¹⁷⁴ Luigi Marino, *Praeceptores Germaniae: Göttingen 1770-1820* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 102-130.

reads as a compliment when one ignores the previous paragraph which calls into question the ideas that form the basis of other of Meiners' ill-founded claims.¹⁷⁵ To the critics of Sömmering it matters little that he consistently opposed slavery and the slave trade throughout his work and correspondence.¹⁷⁶ Finally, the fact that the first lines of the study, drawing on Sprengel, condemn the European mistreatment of blacks based on the assumption of racial difference, finds less traction amongst the critics of Sömmerring.¹⁷⁷

Although few in number in German lands, the defenders of racial difference still made a substantial and enduring impact on Atlantic slavery. Christoph Meiners' work found admirers amongst the defenders of slavery in France and the Anglo-American World.¹⁷⁸ Villains of the West Indies, stalwart defenders of the antebellum order in the United States, the notorious French scholar Arthur de Gobineau, and even the Nazi founder of the *Gobineau-Vereinigung*, Ludwig Schemann, cited Meiners' conjectural polygenesis as the basis of their racialist ideas.¹⁷⁹ Little wonder scholars present Meiners as one of the more deplorable defenders of the slave trade.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ See Susanne Zantop, "The Beautiful, the Ugly, and the German: Race, Gender and nationality in Eighteenth-Century Anthropological Discourse," in *Gender and Germanness: Cultural Productions of Nation*, eds. Patricia Herminghouse and Magda Mueller (Providence, R.I.: Berghahn Books, 1997), 21-35.

¹⁷⁶ Sömmering, *Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit*, 36.

¹⁷⁷ Sömmerring, *Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit*, 4-5: The first sentences of the foreword read: "Wir, Europäer, scheinen beynahe in allen Welttheilen schon von langen Zeiten her ein nie öffentlich anerkanntes, desto mehr aber fast bis zur unerträglichsten Kränkung, der Menschheit in der Anwendung ausgedehntes Vorrecht über die Negern uns anzumassen. Es ist nur zu bekannt, wie wenig brüderlich wir diese Unglücklichen behandeln, und das mit einer Kälte und Gewissensruhe, die eben wegen ihrer ziemlichen Allgemeinheit, stillschweigend zu verrathen scheint, als hielten wir die Neger für weniger vollkommen, für weniger der ersten Stelle in der thierischen Schöpfung unseres Planeten würdig, mit einem Worte für geringer als uns Weisse. Man zahlte in Amerika zehen Pfund Sterling für jeden eingebrachten Neger, gleich einer Waare, oder Thier und Baron Tott, macht die Anmerkung, daß die Sklaven im Orient überall gelinder, als die Negern gehalten würden. Nur der Europäer könne seine Sklaven so übel behandeln er kauft sie um durch sie zu sammeln der Orientaler um durch sie zu geniessen dort sind sie das Werkzeug des Geizes hier des Genusses des Geißigen."

¹⁷⁸ Park misstates that historians and scholars have passed over Meiners' racism, but is right to suggest he is "under researched": Park, *Africa, Asia, and the History of Philosophy*, xii.

¹⁷⁹ Julian Köck, "Ludwig Schemann und die Gobineau-Vereinigung," in *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 59/9, 2011, 723-740; On Meiners as the link between the Enlightenment and Nazism, see Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 82-83.

¹⁸⁰ As two recent examples, both based on the work done by Zantop, for instance, see Jens-Uwe Guettel, *German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism and the United States, 1776-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 49-54; Michael C. Carhart, *The Science of Culture in Enlightenment Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 267-270.

Their narratives often omit that Meiners' contemporaries also found him difficult and repugnant.¹⁸¹ He developed a reputation early in his career as a contrarian—though a competent, independent, and autonomous thinker.¹⁸² After his rejection of Kant, in addition to his “one-sided” and “twisted” polemics against black Africans, Meiners lost much of his credibility in Central Europe. Many of the luminaries at Göttingen and Weimar referred to him as “Mongol Meiners” which mocked his hierarchical categorization of humanity.¹⁸³ If scholars vilify Central European scholarship based on the legacy of Meiners' reception amongst defenders of the slave trade and slavery, than they should be more than pleased to celebrate the legacy of his critics who nearly universally condemned his views. Georg Forster, as one example, joined an ever-expanding group of detractors after Meiners published a number of works which seemed to undergird slavery based on human differences.¹⁸⁴

Finally, most of his critics overlook the fact that, while his opinions had dark implications, Meiners believed fully in the Enlightenment and made no secret of his distaste for New World slavery.¹⁸⁵ Taking aim at the “defenders and apologists” of the “trade in negro

¹⁸¹ Gottlob Benjamin Gerlach complained about Meiners' use of philosophy to justify enslavement of blacks. See also, Britta Rupp-Eisenreich “Christoph Meiners' “New Science”, (1747-1810),” in *The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations*, eds. Nicolas Bancel, Thomas David, and Dominic Thomas (New York: Routledge, 2014), 68-83.

¹⁸² He questioned every intellectual movement and criticized fads like *Wertherism*, *Ibid.*, 75. See also, Dagmar Barnouw, “*Eräugnis: Georg Forster on the Difficulties of Diversity*,” in *Impure Reason: Dialectic of Enlightenment in Germany*, eds. Robert C. Holub and Daniel Wilson (Detroit: Wayne State University Press: 1993), 322-344.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 342. Mongol in this case referred to Meiners' division of humanity into Caucasian and Mongolian groups. Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, Georg Forster, Samuel Thomas von Sömmerring, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, and Christoph Martin Wieland were among his critics. As two examples of their criticism: Lichtenberg believed “what Meiners' has to say is really useless.” Forster said of him “Meiners is incurable.” Rupp-Eisenreich “Christoph Meiners' “New Science”, 75.

¹⁸⁴ Ludwig Uhlig, *Georg Forster: Lebensabenteuer eines gelehrten Weltbürgers* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

¹⁸⁵ Christoph Meiners, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Lemgo: Meyerschen Buchhandlung, 1785), 175-176: “Wenn man etwa die Heloten der Spartaner ausnimmt so sind Slaven nie so sehr mißhandelt worden als die Negern in den Pflanzungen der Europäer in den beyden. In dien Vergebens sucht man den Grund davon allein in der Grausamkeit oder der blinden Gewinnsucht der Herren. Eben diese begegnen den Amerikanischen Slaven ganz anders und nicht bloß einzelne oder viele Herren sondern die Gesetze aller Europäischen Nationen in den Zucker Inseln sind hart und in den wesentlichsten Stücken übereinstimmend. Die Negern leiden nicht allenthalben gleich viel im Nordlichen Amerika und am Vorgebürge der guten Hoffnung weniger als auf Isle de France, und wiederum in Jamaika und den Dänischen Zucker Inseln, nicht so viel als in den Spanischen und Portugiesischen Bergwerken,

slaves,” Meiners emphatically denounced them alongside his critics. He stated “The trade in negro slaves has found defenders even among good-thinking writers. Even with all of the weapons of reason and all of the magic of eloquence, it is impossible to cover up the horrible cruelties, corruption, and depopulation which the slave trade has brought only to Africa.”¹⁸⁶ To his mind, the same sorts of abuses happened everywhere in which slavery existed. With this in mind, Meiners comes off as more of a pessimist, one with an ax to grind against prevailing sentiments, rather than a hardened defender of slavery. In articles appearing in the early 1790s, he rejected the politically “partisan” nature of abolition. He claimed that the economies of the world would not allow slavery to end, and even if it did end, abolitionists would find that their efforts would do little to improve the condition of slaves in the New World. Nevertheless, his defense of the inherent difference of man and inequalities between groups was used by the defenders of slavery—including members of the British Parliament.

To describe a slavery debate would, therefore, be incorrect. Nearly every writer, poet, philosopher, and naturalist within Central Europe rejected slavery and the slave trade.¹⁸⁷ The debate centered on race.¹⁸⁸ The stakes included the possible justification for black slavery in the New World. But as empirical evidence and information on New World slavery was scant before this debate, the debate over race facilitated the description and collection of material on New World Slavery Sprengel had found so lacking during the compilation of his history in the previous decade. That Meiners could arouse such passionate responses from his colleagues and

allein allenthalben sterben jährlich mehr als geboren werden und Afrika musste bisher alle Jahre wenigstens hundert tausend Menschen hergeben um diejenigen zu ersetzen die vor der Zeit in Amerika ausgerieben werden.”

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 178-179: “Der Handel mit Neger-Sclaven hat selbst unter gutdenkenden Schriftstellern Vertheidiger oder Entschuldiger gefunden. Allein es ist unmöglich mit allen Waffen der Vernunft und allem Zauber der Beredsamkeit die entsetzlichen Grausamkeiten Sitten Verderbniß und Entvölkerung zu bedecken die der Sclaven-Handel nur allein in Afrika her vorgebracht hat. Aehnliche Wirkungen hat der Sclaven-Handel in Mingrelien und den übrigen Kaukasischen Ländern, in der Bucharey, in Ost-Indien und in vielen Gegenden von Amerika.” See also the excellent analysis of Meiners in Michael C. Carhart, *The Science of Culture in Enlightenment Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 204-270.

¹⁸⁷ Koch, “Liberalismus, Konservativismus,” 552-553.

¹⁸⁸ Meaning here the categories and varieties of mankind.

the public, indicates widespread antipathy to slavery, one that had lingered in Central Europe since the dark days of Barbary Piracy that had only ended a few decades earlier in the 1750s.

The work of August Ferdinand Lueder, popularizer of Adam Smith, represented one of the best syntheses of the arguments against New World Slavery and the slave trade. In his four volume *Ueber Nationalindustrie und Staatswirthschaft nach Adam Smith*, described as “bulkier and more impenetrable” than Adam Smith himself, Lueder attempted to create an universal-historical account of commercial society’s genesis.¹⁸⁹ In this monumental work, Lueder, formerly a doctrinaire Cameralist, repudiated his former works on *Statistik* and embraced Smith’s political economy.¹⁹⁰ Despite his importance, as a student of Schlözer, who later took his chair at Göttingen, scholars have passed over his antislavery.¹⁹¹ For this study, Lueder’s work demonstrates the extent to which Christian slavery in North Africa had been eclipsed by New World Slavery in dealing with the idea of slavery.

Lueder’s foreword to the second volume indicates his strong antislavery and abolitionist position. He claimed to be the first scholar to show the “terrible effects of slavery to its fullest extent,” and prove the necessity for the abolition of slavery.¹⁹² Although Johann Jakob Sell’s *Versuch einer Geschichte des Negerclavenhandels* appeared nearly a decade earlier, Lueder’s work weaves together a more emotional antislavery and appeal for abolition. “The work, of

¹⁸⁹ Lueder fully embraced Smith, adding criticism and caveats. His work attempted to fill in the gaps where he believed Smith was less clear. Tribe, *Strategies of Economic Order*, 147-148, 159. See August Ferdinand Lueder, *Ueber Nationalindustrie und Staatswirthschaft nach Adam Smith*, vol. II, (Berlin: Heinrich Fröhlich, 1802).

¹⁹⁰ Partly this move owes to Lueder’s own emotional investment in researching slavery.

¹⁹¹ Koch devotes great effort to unpacking the richness of Lueder’s interpretation of slavery’s relationship to commercial society: Koch, “Liberalismus, Konservativismus,” 541-556. For Schlözer’s relationship to Lueder see Peters, *Altes Reich und Europa*, 208-210, 234.

¹⁹² Lueder, *Ueber Nationalindustrie und Staatswirthschaft*, vol. II, ii-iv: “So viel ich auch über die Sklaverei gelesen habe;—gewiß weit mehr, als dem Nichtkenner mein Buch verrathen kann--so glaube ich doch der Erste zu seyn der die schrecklichen Wirkungen der Sklaverei in ihrem ganzen weiten Umfange darlegte und der zugleich über alle Zweifel hinaus bewies daß die Aufhebung der Sklaverei in allen nur möglichen Hinsichten also auch in Hinsicht auf baare Vortheile höchst seegenvoll wirken müsse nicht nur für den der Freiheit wieder gegebenen Sklaven sondern auch für den Herrn oder den Befreier desselben für das Volk unter dem beide leben und für das ganze menschliche Geschlecht zu dem beide gehören Ich erwarte von der Gerechtigkeit der Menschen.”

studying the effects and nature of slavery,” Lueder insists, “was the worst of my whole life.”¹⁹³ For him, there was no other work which crushed the mind and the heart to the same degree.¹⁹⁴ Studying the injustices of New World slavery had worn him down and the prospects for change seemed unlikely. “I expect little or nothing from man’s justice with regard to the abolition of slavery.” For him, centuries full of the most despicable iniquities [*abscheulichsten Ungerechtigkeiten*] had robbed the British legislators and Bonaparte of their honor as they sought to maintain slavery despite recent declarations against it.¹⁹⁵ He believed that “the covetousness of commercial society” ignored the “commandments of earth and heaven’s moralists, and, blinded by gold, tread on the image of God” and brought “nameless suffering and death” to “millions of our brothers.”¹⁹⁶ Lueder’s foreword leaves little doubt about his antislavery opinions.

His interest in the development of commercial society led Lueder to dedicate hundreds of pages to every facet of New World slavery and the African slave trade, and to see African slavery at the heart the European economy.¹⁹⁷ In his opinion, without slavery, the economies of the

¹⁹³ Ibid., v: “Ich erwarte die Niederlage der Gerechtigkeit, so oft diese mit der Habsucht, der Herrschsucht und dem Stolze in einen Kampf geräch. Ich erwarte nicht, daß auf Befehle von den Beherrschern der Erde die Sklaverei verschwinden wird. Es bedarf solcher Befehle auch ganz und gar nicht. Aber ich erwarte alles, wenn auch die kurzsichtigste Gewinnsucht im Gefolge der Gerechtigkeit reiche Fülle, und Mangel und Dürftigkeit im Gefolge der Ungerechtigkeit erblicken muß.”

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., iv: “Die Arbeit, die mir meine Untersuchung der Natur und der Wirkungen der Sklaverei kostete, war die schrecklichste meines ganzen Lebens. Es kann keine Arbeit geben, die in dem Grade, wie diese, Geist und Herz zermalmet. Wenn doch Kenner mir geständen, daß ich mein Ziel erreicht hatte! Diese Hoffnung auf Kosten meines Lebens errungen, ist eine der ersten von den wenigen, die ich mit in's Grab zu nehmen wünsche.”

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., iv: “Jahrhunderte voll der abscheulichsten Ungerechtigkeiten und der Ausspruch der brittischen Legislatoren, der die Beibehaltung der Sklaverei will, für die nun auch Bonaparte sich erklärt hat, mögen mich hier vor den wenigen, von mir tief gehuldigten Edlen rechtfertigen, die der Tugend jedes Opfer zu bringen fähig sind.”

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., iv-v: “Unsere Habsucht achtete weder die Gebote den Moralisten, noch selbst die des Himmels. Blind dem Golde naheilend traten wir Gottes Ebenbild in den Staub, um uns—glücklichere Tage zu bereiten. Wir konnten über Millionen unserer Brüder namenloses Elend bringen; wir konnten Millionen unserer Bruder morden; und dann wie Wahnsinnige fürchten, der Fluch des Himmels, der Fluch der ewigen Gerechtigkeit werde uns treffen, hörten wir auf zu morden.”

¹⁹⁷ See for instance the excellent work of Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776-1848* (London: Verso, 1988); Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London: Verso, 1998); Eric Williams emphasized the relationship between slavery, investment capital, and industrialization in his classic work, Eric Eustace Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944); Inikori revisited and updated Williams thesis, J. E Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Europe would not have grown so large and fast to cover the earth with European ships. For Lueder, it was “the greatest shame of Parliament,” that its members would choose money over the abolition of slavery. This strong moralistic tone also appeared in the early Cameralist’s writings. Lueder’s work also demonstrates a continuity with the economic arguments against slavery made by the mid-century Cameralists. He more fully develops Justi and Pfeiffer’s arguments against slavery with the incorporation of newer materials from recent university and press productions. Lueder also targets the irrationality of the slave trade. Not only is the slave less industrious than the freeman, but he works in a smaller sphere of activity [*Wirkungskreis*], like that of a “house pet” which dehumanizes both slave, who has no honor in his work, and the civilized man who does not work.¹⁹⁸ Without thought in work, and with the dehumanizing nature of that work, both parties become “unfeeling” robbing one of their humanity.¹⁹⁹ In this unnatural “situation,” the slave cannot have a productive and fruitful marriage nor can he have feelings for his fatherland, two elements important to the Central European *Tugendideal*. Lueder then returns to the critique of depopulation, arguing that wherever Europeans went, they brought death, pestilences and ulcer-producing diseases which depopulated the New World. Europeans had turned a paradise into “slave lands.”²⁰⁰ Change with abolition could not come quick enough, as he claims “With respect to humanity, honor, education, and proper morality [*Sittlichkeit*] all slave lands stand deeply under the lands of freedom.”²⁰¹ For Lueder, these lands encompass the globe, but importantly, his criticism focuses more on the European enslavement of black Africans and labor regimes in the Americas than Christians enslaved in North Africa.

Finally, encyclopedia entries underwent a sea change in their coverage of slavery and the slave trade the eighteenth century ended. In just a small sample, the coverage of the transatlantic

¹⁹⁸ Lueder, *Über Nationalindustrie und Staatswirthschaft*, vol. II, 73-79.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 79-87.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 134-137.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 136.

slave trade and New World slavery greatly expanded.²⁰² From the few pages in Zedler's efforts from the middle of the century, new editions included dozens of pages dedicated to describing and counting each part of the trade in slaves and their life, labor and death, as well as identifying all nations, professions and industries involved in the production, trade, and distribution of slavery's products. Ancient slavery continued to dominate the total volume of references to slavery throughout many of the encyclopedias, but black African slavery found a new prominence in entries describing the New World, where before there had only been oblique references, as well as in definitions for slavery. For instance, the *Conversations-Lexicon oder encyclopädisches Handwörterbuch für gebildete Stände*'s definition of "slavery" placed a new emphasis on the slavery of blacks Africans. The entry itself put "slavery of the blacks" before "slavery of the whites" after it described slavery as "essentially a state without legal rights, in which a man is treated as property by another."²⁰³ This shifted the emphasis away from definitions that placed primacy on the tyranny of Islamic slavery to one which could accommodate the trafficking of black Africans. More importantly, the *Conversations-Lexicon* dedicated more text to black slavery. It devotes nearly twice as many pages to the history, consequences, and present situation of black slavery than it does to Christian slavery.²⁰⁴ While Christian slavery still appeared in entries dedicated to the Middle East, Byzantium, the Adriatic Sea and Greece, or figures like the anti-Christian crusader Sir Sidney Smith, the encyclopedia now included black slavery in more places than ever. Black slavery could be found from entries on Africa, Brazil, and the West Indies, to the famous British abolitionists like Lord John Baker Holroyd, Sir John Sinclair, and also included black slavery in entries on labor and agricultural practices.

²⁰² Examples include: Johann Georg Krünitz and C. O. Hoffmann, eds., *Oeconomische Encyclopädie oder allgemeines System der Land-, Haus- und Staats-Wirthschaft*, vol. 154, (Berlin: C. H. Mowinkel, 1834), 598-750.

²⁰³ Lueder, *Über Nationalindustrie und Staatswirthschaft*, vol. II, 151.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 151-167.

Christian Slavery Returns ca. 1800

As the eighteenth century drew to a close the resumption of Barbary piracy accompanied the cataclysmic intrusions of Napoleon throughout Southern Europe. Barbary States seized the opportunity to attack southerly Italian and Spanish locales following Napoleon's armies march into the northern Italian states. From 1793 to 1805 "a spectacular increase" in attacks on Europeans by Maghrebian pirates resulted in huge losses for French, Italian, Austrian, and American merchants and governments.²⁰⁵ Prussians had only recently resumed shipping to the Mediterranean where the Hanseatic merchants found great opportunity for profit with the disturbances caused by overland trade within continental Europe. The increasingly desperate pirates, who had suffered huge losses fighting the Spanish at Oran and from earthquakes, attacked ships from Prussia and the Hanseatic cities as they sailed along the Portuguese coast in late 1798.²⁰⁶ Many of the Germans taken during this period remained in captivity for years or even decades. For example, a raid the following year resulted in the capture of a Northern European from Flensburg, who did not return home until 1815.²⁰⁷

The popular press in German lands picked up on these events and reported mass enslavement of Christians in Italian and Spanish borderlands. Papers reported the seizure of some one thousand Christians from the island of San Pietro in 1798. Hamburg's *Politisches Journal nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und andern Sachen*, reported on the uncertain and increasingly explosive potential for internal revolutionary chaos in the Mediterranean followed by the creation

²⁰⁵ Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 76-77.

²⁰⁶ Ships from Memel, Hamburg, and Bremen: Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 109-111.

²⁰⁷ Martin Rheinheimer, "Identität und Kulturkonflikt: Selbstzeugnisse schleswig-holsteinischer Sklaven in den Barbareskenstaaten," *Historische Zeitschrift* 269, no. 2 (2014): 317-370; For more on the release after the Napoleonic period of some Germans, see, Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 273-274;

of a new Italy.²⁰⁸ The paper suggested that the renewed raids from pirates, citing the recent Tunisian pirate raid, added external afflictions, such as the “cruelties, murder, and plunder,” that followed the enslavement of 833 people, which once again threatened Hamburg’s commerce.²⁰⁹ One can imagine the surprise at these developments given that in the period from 1758 to 1798 only two ships with twenty sailors in total had been seized from Prussia and the Hanseatic cities.²¹⁰ The resurgence of slaving combined with losses suffered by Emden, Bremen and Stettin at the turn of the nineteenth century resulted in a new wave of proposals for mutual aid societies dedicated to ransoming slaves [*Sklavenkassen*]. Far from a peripheral issue, Christian enslavement once again proved a thorny issue heads of state in Central Europe.

The return of Christian enslavement after a period of relative inactivity further complicated and splintered the discussion of slavery. Nevertheless, the image of Islamic slavery was changing. If travelers to the coasts of the Iberian Peninsula, Italy and Dalmatia remained fearful of piracy from the Barbary Regencies, then they also became more sensitive to the enslavement of non-Christians. During Goethe’s *Italienreise* (1786-1788), he recorded the news of recent Barbary slaving raids on Italian villages and compared the seizure of Christians to the times of the Normans. He noted the Christian “chained slaves” [*gefesselten Sklaven*] from the “Turkish wars” [*Türkenkriegen*] depicted on a monument to wars since the sixteenth century. A Sicilian described to him how collections taken by the Prince of Palagonia were made to secure the recovery of slaves. This experience provided him with valuable material for his play *Torquato*

²⁰⁸ “Nachrichten von verschied[e]nen Ländern. Italien,” *Politisches Journal nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und andern Sachen* no. 7-12, vol. 2, 1798, 1072-1075.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 1073: “Die Barbaren verübten die größten Grausamkeiten, plünderten und mordeten ohne Unterschied des Geschlechts und Alters, zerstörten die Wohnungen und Kirchen, führten 833 Personen, Männer, und Weiber als Selaven mit sich fort, und segelten dann mit ihrer Beute ab.”

²¹⁰ Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 109-111.

Tasso.²¹¹ First performed in Weimar during the troubled year of 1807, about the author of one of the most widely-read epic poems, *Jerusalem Delivered*, which centered on the conflict between Christians and Muslims, *Tasso*'s climax included references to the fettered galley slaves.

Goethe also recognized the enslavement of Muslims in Europe. He observed the wretched enslaved Turks in local *Bagnos*, even as feared the possibility of enslavement by Algerian corsairs as he sailed from Sicily to Naples.²¹² Whether Goethe was in real danger of enslavement is open to question. No doubt some of his fear stemmed from the stories of his father's travels undertaken much earlier through Italy and a bit more came from a dramatic autobiographical memory.²¹³ Like Goethe, an adolescent Arthur Schopenhauer feared enslavement at the hands of Barbary Corsairs, but he too remembered the evils of the "Turks" enslaved in European *Bagnos* during these years. They left a deep mark on his thinking concerning human nature.²¹⁴ Of course the experiences of two German luminaries is little more than anecdotal evidence. Nevertheless, their inclusion of others as the victims of slavery in the Mediterranean marks a change in the perception of slavery from the middle of the eighteenth century.

While Sprengel continued to translate and publish abolitionist materials as they came across the English Channel, statesmen pragmatically turned to the more immediately pressing issue of securing the safety of their own interests. Although growth in shipping for the Hanseatic cities continued through the end of the eighteenth century, the Mediterranean had been avoided since the dark days of the 1750s. A new generation of sailors and merchant houses sought to expand their markets as a new political order began taking shape. Just as the Hanseatic cities

²¹¹ Wolfdietrich Rasch, *Goethes "Torquato Tasso": Die Tragödie des Dichters*. (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1954); Hans Reiss, "Goethe's Torquato Tasso: Poetry and Political Power," *The Modern Language Review* 87, no. 1 (1992): 102–11.

²¹² Julius R. Haarhaus, *Auf Goethes Spuren in Italien* (Leipzig: C.G. Naumann, 1896), 18-19.

²¹³ Johann Caspar Goethe, *Reise durch Italien im Jahre 1740 (Viaggio per l'Italia)*, eds. Albert Meier and Heide Hollmer (München: C.H. Beck, 1988).

²¹⁴ Schopenhauer recalled the horrors of the *Bagnos* of Toulon and its 6,000 galley slaves he witnessed during an expedition in his youth: Arthur Hübscher, *The Philosophy of Schopenhauer in Its Intellectual Context: Thinker against the Tide*, trans. Joachim T. Baer and David E. Cartwright (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 4-6.

attempted to sail the more lucrative routes in the Mediterranean around 1800 the cycle began anew. After a half century, pirates once again seized ships from Prussia and the Hanseatic cities, brought economic hardship to their trade houses, and wealthy merchant organizations demanded action against Christian slavery. Slavery continued to dominate the mental map of Central Europeans interested in distant overseas trade.

The primacy of New World slavery vied with old memories of Christian oppression and a new forms of *Herrschaft* under Napoleon which threatened newly emerging antislavery sentiments. The competition of the two with the enslavement of black Africans proved an important moment for the history of slavery. Even as the trade in black Africans reached new levels during the first half of the nineteenth century, Germans could not forget the significantly smaller population of Christian slaves in North Africa. German states continued to push for a broadening of the slavery and the slave trade as a concept in laws and international treaties through the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER II

Germany's North African Slavery Problem: The *Barbareskenfrage* at the Congress of Vienna

Prussia and the Hanseatic cities invested in the suppression of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery at the Congress of Vienna. They hoped to seize upon the cooperative spirit of this world-defining moment to bind the goals of British abolition to accomplish their perennial goal of ending Christiana slavery in the Ottoman Middle East. If they could combine the economic interests of merchants, ministers, and mayors with the new spirit of nationalism that brought the armies of Central Europe together and the rising swell of Christian philanthropy, then they might be able to create a new world order based on traditionally shared Christian principles defined against the Islamic Ottoman Empire.¹ They set to work just after Napoleon's defeat during May 1814.

Johann Smidt, the mayor of Bremen, sought to bind the abolition of black slavery with the *Barbareskenfrage* when he approached Karl August von Hardenberg in Paris. They met to discuss improving Germany's economic situation by opening French colonial ports to German ships when the conversation turned to slavery.² Although an "arch-conservative in domestic matters," who lobbied against Jewish emancipation, Smidt adhered to free-trade liberalism and had global aspirations for Bremen.³ He promised Johann Gottfried Hoffmann, one of Hardenberg's trusted advisors and the leader of Heinrich Friedrich Karl vom und zum Stein's newly created Statistical Bureau, that Prussia had a rare opportunity at Vienna. It could support the "abolition of slavery

¹ Central Europe traditionally had defined itself as Christian against the Islamic Ottoman Empire: Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert* (München: C.H. Beck, 1998), 46-50.

² Tilman Hannemann, "Brême et la lutte anti-pirate (1814-1819): Une prélude à l'action," in *Savoirs d'Allemagne en Afrique du Nord XVIIIe - XXe siècle*, eds. Ahcène Abdelfettah and Allain Messaoudi (Saint-Denis: Bouchène, 2012), 75.

³ Lars Maischak, *German Merchants in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 88-90.

on the coasts of Guinea as well as [the] Barbary [Regencies] to erect an enduring monument” which would mark, “a new century of humanity following victory over Napoléon Bonaparte.”⁴ A few weeks later, Smidt set to work lobbying the political and military leaders of Europe in Paris. There he met with the leaders of other Hanseatic cities to set an agenda for their lobbying efforts. They intended to write pamphlets in English, German and French which would bring together the English desire for international cooperation in working towards the abolition of the slave trade with a solution to the *Barbareskenfrage*.⁵

Central European concern for antislavery returned, after a brief hiatus, following the first defeat of Napoleon. During the Napoleonic era, the language of slavery and serfdom nearly became synonymous with ideas of Napoleonic domination of Central Europe.⁶ Of course interest in New World slavery and the enslavement of Christians in the Ottoman Regencies never completely disappeared. Newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets and treatises continued to follow Christian slavery as they marked milestones of the British suppression of the African slave trade (1807), as well as the declarations from various other maritime states, such as Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and the city of Bremen (1808).⁷ The acceleration of the trade also heightened public awareness after 1814. The first decade after Napoleon’s defeat marked the second highest in total volume of the transatlantic slave trade with an estimated total of 700,000.⁸ German media

⁴ Hannemann, “Brême,” 75: “...l’abolition de l’esclavage sur la côte de la Guinée ainsi que sur celle de la Barbarie érigeria un monument qui perdurera, témoin du début du siècle de l’humanité après la victoire sur Bonaparte ”

⁵ Ibid., 75-76; Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 220.

⁶ Volker Depkat, *Amerikabilder in politischen Diskursen: Deutsche Zeitschriften von 1789 bis 1830* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998), 54-65.

⁷ Andreas Gestrich, “The Abolition Act and the Development of Abolitionist Movements in 19th Century Europe,” in *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations: The Long-Term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, ed. Marcel van der Linden (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 245-262; Barbara Riesche, “Schöne Mohrinnen, edle Sklaven, schwarze Rächer: Schwarzendarstellung und Sklavereithematik im deutschen Unterhaltungstheater: (1770-1814)” (PhD diss., Ludwigs Maximilians Universität, 2007), 212-214; Karin Schüller, *Die deutsche Rezeption haitianischer Geschichte in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zum deutschen Bild vom Schwarzen* (Köln: Böhlau, 1992), 22-38; 188-192, 269-289.

⁸ Lovejoy gives an excellent description of the acceleration of the slave trade in the Atlantic region during the nineteenth century: Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (New York:

and statesmen gladly called attention to this acceleration as evidence of British hypocrisy as abolition and suppression of the slave trade grew in importance for the British government's foreign policy.⁹ Many observers became increasingly disappointed as the prospects for total abolition faded after the French and British governments made concessions to colonial lobbyists, slave traders, and other profiteers of the traders in men.¹⁰ "At a time when one part of Europe definitely declares itself against the slave trade, and wants it abolished forever, another is ardently ready to resume it with double force..." reported one disappointed voice from Central Europe "and now unwilling Europeans languish under the burning skies of Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers."¹¹ As the influence of the international antislavery movement swept through the continent, these voices became more persistent.¹²

Barbary Corsair activity created a slavery problem for German states during the congress era. Their resumption of raids on European soil and their renewed presence in the Atlantic and North Sea created significant obstacles for the revitalization and expansion of overseas navigation. Representatives at the Congress of Vienna, including some from the German states,

Cambridge University Press, 2012), 145-147. Also see Vick, *Congress*, 193-196; Paul Michael Kielstra, *The Politics of Slave Trade Suppression in Britain and France, 1814-48: Diplomacy, Morality and Economics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 15-18; Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776-1848* (London: Verso, 1988), 545-546.

⁹ This accusation has a long historiographical tradition. For an overview from a continental perspective, see Helmut Berding, "Die Ächtung des Sklavenhandels auf dem Wiener Kongreß 1814/15," *Historische Zeitschrift* 219, no. 2 (1974): 265-89.

¹⁰ Kielstra, *Politics*, 22-55; Blackburn, *Overthrow*, 319-322.

¹¹ The quote begins a three part history examining the *Negersclavenhandel* which heaps blame on Europeans for their "humiliating trade in negro slaves.": "Beschreibung des Negerhandels in Afrika," *Allgemeine Handlungs-Zeitung*, [AHZ] vol. 21 no. 168, 28, Aug. (Nürnberg, 1814), 679: "In dem jetzigen Zeitpunkt, wo ein Theil von Europa sich bestimmt gegen den Sklavenhandel erklärt und ihn auf ewig abgeschafft wissen will, wo ein anderer sich eben so emsig rüstet, um ihn mit doppelter Kraft wieder zu beginnen, und ein schuldloses Volk in Bürgerkrieg, und Tausende in den schrecklichsten Zustand zu stürzen; jetzt, da man mit Unwillen Europäer unter dem brennenden Himmel von Tunis, Tripolis und Algier schmachten, und große Europäische Fürsten einen schimpflichen Tribut zahlen sieht, wird die nachfolgende Beschreibung des Sklavenhandels vielen von Interesse seyn." Part two and three follow: "Beschreibung des Negerhandels in Afrika (Fortsetzung)," AHZ, vol. 21 no. 169, 30, Aug. (Nürnberg, 1814), 681-682; "Beschreibung des Negerhandels in Afrika (Bechluß)," AHZ, vol. 21 no. 170, 31, Aug. (Nürnberg, 1814), 685-686.

¹² Recent work has shed new light on the continental antislavery movement: Sarah Lentz, "Abolitionists in the German Hinterland? Therese Huber and the Spread of Anti-slavery Sentiment in the German Territories in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680-1850*, eds. Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2016), 187-212.

rallied together against the African slave trade, the first of such international efforts, to petition for a solution to the problem of Christian slavery in the Barbary Regencies.¹³ In many cases their support for abolition of the slave trade became contingent on “measures against the piracy of the Barbary” which appeared as the tenth and final matter on the Congress agenda in November 1814.¹⁴ Even though declarations against Christian slavery in the Maghreb region never made it to the formal stages of negotiations during 1814-1815, ministers, merchants, and activists continued to pursue a resolution to the problem for over a decade. Prussia made the *Barbareskenfrage* an important issue for the discussion of slavery and the slave trade at subsequent international meetings.

Especially at the Congress of Vienna, German delegates hoped to formally resolve the *Barbareskenfrage*, sometimes called the *Piratenfrage*. This consisted of the unlawful seizure of ships in the Mediterranean and Atlantic and the losses associated with the theft of ships and cargoes, the enslavement of their crews, and also the crews’ ransoms.¹⁵ The losses for individual German states could also be staggering. Given the substantial valuations of the ships, crews and cargoes, these losses had broad economic, political and social implications for German overseas aspirations. Before, during, and after Vienna, the states, and their administrations, circulated proposals aimed at resolving the issue of how to get their subjects and ships back; they also pursued policies which would make the Barbary Regencies’ acts of predation illicit piracy rather than legitimate acts of war.

¹³ For the importance of the Vienna declaration for the development of international law, human rights, and the abolition of slavery: Berding, “Die Ächtung des Sklavenhandels,” 265-289. See also Jörg Manfred Mössner, *Die Völkerrechtspersönlichkeit und die Völkerrechtspraxis der Barbareskenstaaten (Algier, Tripolis, Tunis 1518-1830)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968).

¹⁴ Johann Ludwig Klüber, ed., *Acten des Wiener Congresses in den Jahren 1814 und 1815 Vol. 3-6* (Erlangen: Palm, 1816), 40-45.

¹⁵ See Magnus Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen: Nordeuropa und die Barbaresken in der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 1-27, 717-721; Reinhard Stauber and Florian Kerschbaumer, “Revolution, Restauration und Intervention: Beobachtungen zum Politikraum Europa in der Zeit des Wiener Kongresses,” in *Sicherheit in der frühen Neuzeit: Norm, Praxis, Repräsentation*, eds. Christoph Kampmann and Ulrich Niggemann (Köln: Böhlau, 2013), 171-172.

This chapter emphasizes the importance of slavery and the slave trade to Northern European economic ambitions by focusing on the problem that pirates from the Barbary Regencies created during the Congress era. In looking for a resolution, Northern Europeans attempted to combine the suppression of the African slave trade and abolition movement together with efforts to end Christian slavery in North Africa. The chapter tracks the frustrations of government ministers and merchants as they looked for a means to increase financial stability through secure shipping and the barriers they encountered.

Overseas Ambitions and Economic Recuperation

Northern Germany sought a clear path to economic recovery after Napoleon. Like most of Europe, forced requisitions, continental blockade, and levies had disrupted the North European economy for generations. In dire financial straits for a decade, the Prussian state only managed to stay solvent by taking drastic actions including the mortgaging of royal lands and residences.¹⁶ In addition to building roads, encouraging manufacturing, and pursuing economically liberal policies during this “Age of Recuperation,” restoring and expanding overseas trade for Prussia and the Hanseatic cities became a central issue.¹⁷

Overseas trade had grown in importance for their governments during the eighteenth century. For example, the main source of the Prussian state’s income, during the second half of

¹⁶ Some of the most thorough and engaging accounts include, Reinhart Koselleck, *Preußen zwischen Reform und Revolution: Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung und soziale Bewegung von 1791 bis 1848* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1967), 163-167; Wilhelm Treue, *Unternehmens- und Unternehmensgeschichte aus fünf Jahrzehnten*, ed. Hans Pohl (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989); Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Volume 1: Vom Feudalismus des alten Reiches bis zur defensiven Modernisierung der Reformära, 1700-1815* (München: C.H. Beck, 1987), 486-536; Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismark* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 6-18; James J. Sheehan, *German History, 1770-1866* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 305-306, 424-425, 474-478; David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 67-68.

¹⁷ Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 586; Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

the eighteenth century, came from the tariff and excise duty on colonial goods—the lion’s share came from colonial sugar.¹⁸ To alleviate the encumbrance of state debt, northern European representatives vigorously pursued policies aimed at expanding trade during the Congress era.¹⁹ Free and safe trade figured prominently amongst their objectives after uncertainty, continuous warfare, and naval blockades during the preceding two decades ravaged trading houses “from Varel to Memel.”²⁰ As one economic historian of the late nineteenth century put it “The greatest hindrance to the development of overseas trade” for Prussia after Napoleon owed to the “piracy of the North African Barbary states.”²¹ The same was true for the Hanseatic cities.²² Security for navigation became a priority, not just for Prussia and the Hanseatic cities, but for many of the other less powerful maritime states, as interested parties sought a means of reversing the economic fortunes of Northern Europe after a generation of instability and a century of decline.

German merchants complained that maritime trade had suffered in the decades before Vienna.²³ While many merchants experienced hardship, the grain trade to the UK intensified and reaped large profits.²⁴ New fortunes were created by industrious and less scrupulous individuals such as the eponymous character of Balzac’s *Père Goriot* or the merchants Charles Fourier

¹⁸ Michael Zeuske and Joerg Ludwig, “Amerikanische Kolonialwaren und Wirtschaftspolitik in Preussen und Sachsen: Prolegomena (17./18. und frühes 19. Jahrhundert),” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 32 (1995): 277-278: “Der Zuckerzoll und bald auch die Zuckerakzise stellten, beginnend bereits während der Zeiten des Großen Kurfürsten dabei Haupteinnahmequellen des Staates dar, während im Falle der Einfuhrsteuer für Kaffee, die ca. ab 1750 wichtig wurde.”

¹⁹ Schroeder, *Transformation*, 586-621.

²⁰ The extent of the Barbary problem was described geographically as extending “von Varel bis Memel” in dozens of contemporary newspapers and reports. An example includes: Peter Dietrich Wilhelm Tonnies, *Merkantilisch-geschichtliche Darstellung der Barbaresken-Staaten und ihrer Verhältnisse zu den Europäischen und Vereinigten Nord-Amerikanischen Staaten* (Hamburg: Selbstverlag, 1826).

²¹ Alfred Zimmermann, *Geschichte der preussisch-deutschen Handelspolitik aktenmässig dargestellt* (Oldenburg: A. Schwartz, 1892), 113: “Das größte Hindernis für die Entwicklung der Seeschifffahrt bildeten die bereits erwähnten Seeräuberstaaten der nordafrikanischen Barbareskenstaaten.”

²² Ernst Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken: Mit einem Anhang* (Kassel: M. Brunnemann, 1897), 60-178.

²³ Ludwig Beutin, *Der deutsche Seehandel im Mittelmeergebiet bis zu den napoleonischen Kriegen* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1933).

²⁴ Wilhelm Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe: From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2013), 210-231.

described destroying grain to raise prices.²⁵ The economic disturbances caused by the British blockade and then Napoleon's Continental System was preceded by a resurgence in piracy for Northern European shipping.²⁶ North African corsairs took advantage of revolutionary upheavals across Europe to seize European trading vessels in the Atlantic and Mediterranean. From the time that Barbary attacks spectacularly resumed in the 1790s, with daring coastal raids which ended in the enslavement of more than a thousand Italian villagers, distant overseas trade steadily declined.²⁷ This period marks the second to last major surge in Barbary corsair activity, from 1798-1806.²⁸ Insurers refused to cover Prussian and Hanseatic ships starting in the 1790s. Outbreaks of plague, earthquakes, and famine in North African cities, combined with Portuguese control of Gibraltar, had kept incidents of piracy low in the preceding decades.²⁹ The sudden rise in attacks during the first decade of the nineteenth century owes as much to Napoleon's destruction of the Iberian and Italian states, which had traditionally kept the pirates in check, as it does to British foreign policy. The British response to the American Revolution directly contributed to the operational freedom Islamic of corsairs. British foreign policy, still following an approach described by Adam Smith as "beggar-thy-neighbor", unleashed the pirates as a means to punish the rebellious Americans.³⁰ British diplomats helped to negotiate peace between

²⁵ Honoré de Balzac, *Old Goriot*, trans. Ellen Marriage (London: David Campbell, 1991), 88-90, 102-105; Jonathan Beecher, *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and His World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 38-39. Fourier witnessed more than one instances of merchant speculators destroying grain: *Ibid.*, 52, 202.

²⁶ Ludwig Beutin, *Der deutsche Seehandel im Mittelmeergebiet bis zu den napoleonischen Kriegen* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1933).

²⁷ Hans Pohl, "Die Beziehungen Hamburgs zu Spanien und dem Spanischen Amerika in der Zeit von 1740 bis 1806" (PhD diss., Universität Köln, 1963), 33.

²⁸ Panzac identifies two final major spikes in piracy occurring between 1798 and 1806 as well as 1814 and 1816: Daniel Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs: The End of a Legend, 1800-1820*, trans. and ed. Victoria Hobson and comp. John E. Hawkes (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005), 75; 265-267.

²⁹ Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 73-76; Francis Torrance Williamson, *Germany and Morocco Before 1905* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1937), 13-15; 100-104. For more context see, Gillian Lee Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

³⁰ Oded Lowenheim, *Predators and Parasites: Persistent Agents of Transnational Harm and Great Power Authority* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2007), 134-135; Joshua Schreier, *The Merchants of Oran: A Jewish*

Portugal and the Barbary Regencies which allowed North African ships free access to the Atlantic. This allowed Tunis and Tripoli to seize US ships starting in 1793.³¹ In fact, the US created a navy in response to the increased predation on their ships by pirates, which also led to the largest single loss suffered by the Americans when, in 1803, pirates captured the warship *Philadelphia*—a fact that did not go unnoticed by Northern Europeans.³² That same year, the losses to Prussian shipping from pirate attacks forced merchants to give up pursuing the profitable routes to Southern Europe.³³ Prussian ministers had recently invested in the development of major trade through its own ports to supplant Hamburg’s dominance of the market for colonial wares.³⁴

Publications kept the idea of Christian enslavement alive with coverage of these instances of Barbary injustices.³⁵ As the press reported new incidents of “*Kaperei*” affecting other European states, one publication asked: “How long will Christian Europe endure the humiliating and barbaric treatment that has befallen the unfortunate slaves of the defiant corsairs? Should the Christian sea-powers not put an end to this nuisance with united forces instead of weakening one another!”³⁶ In another case, two travelers in Genoa warned other Germans that the “often charmingly beautiful, often sublimely terrifying” coastal landscape was haunted by the threat of

Port at the Dawn of Empire (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017), 24. For background to the international situation during the period see Schroeder, *Transformation*, 39-50.

³¹ Paul Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 31-35.

³² “Florenz, den 7. April,” *Augsburgische Ordinari Postzeitung*, no. 92, 17, Apr. 1804, n.p.

³³ Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 115-125; Pohl, *Die Beziehungen Hamburgs zu Spanien*, 33-42; 269-274; Magnus Ressel, “Die Schifffahrt Schwedisch-Pommerns im Zeitalter der Revolution (1776-1815),” *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte* 22, no. 2 (2012): 235–65; Erik Gøbel, “The Danish ‘Algerian Sea Passes’, 1747-1838: An Example of Extraterritorial Production of ‘Human Security’,” *Historical Social Research*, 35, no. 4 (134) (2010): 164–89; This subject constantly occupied the Prussian trade minister Ludwig von Bülow from the end of 1814 until his death in 1825.

³⁴ Zeuske and Ludwig, “Amerikanische Kolonialwaren,” 277-278.

³⁵ One example: Steffen L. Schwarz, *Despoten – Barbaren – Wirtschaftspartner: Die Allgemeine Zeitung und der Diskurs über das Osmanische Reich, 1821–1840* (Böhlau: Köln, 2016), 102-104.

³⁶ “Straßburg, den 7. April,” *Augsburgische Ordinari Postzeitung*, no. 51, 29 Feb. 1804, n.p.: “Wie lange wird doch das christliche Europa die schmachvolle und barbarische Behandlung, die den unglücklichen Sklaven von trotzigem Seeräubern widerfährt, erdulden? Sollten die christlichen Seemächte, anstatt einander wechselseitig zu schwächen, nicht vielmehr mit vereinigten Kräften diesem Unfug ein End machen!”

slavery.³⁷ Barbary pirates had made the waters of the Italian coast dangerous, and created, amongst the coastal inhabitants and sailors, a great fear of “languishing in eternal slavery at Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers.”³⁸ Drawing on older ideas of the *res publica christiana*, stories like these helped to keep the struggle against Christian slavery alive at a time when the controversies surrounding New World slavery grew in scale and number.

Napoleon’s domination of Europe also took a toll on many of the Hanseatic cities and Prussia’s overseas trade and manufacturing sectors. French requisitions following their expansion into Central Europe and British blockades created shortages which squeezed Northern European markets. Shortages meant that workshops ceased production and mills ground to a halt.³⁹ Overseas trade and the industries supported by it, which had arisen across Northern Europe during the eighteenth century, were nearly wiped out. Blockades cut off the supply of colonial goods, such as sugar, coffee, and tobacco manufactories, which, before Napoleon, made up one third of all trade from Hamburg.⁴⁰ Sugar proved to be such a boon to Hamburg’s manufacturing sector, and the city’s control of the continental sugar trade was such that Friedrich Nicolai wrote

³⁷ Philipp Joseph Rehfuß and Johann Friedrich Tschärner, *Italien: Eine Zeitschrift von zweien reisenden Deutschen*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Unger, 1803).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 85-86: “Du weißt, daß alle, an der westlichen Küste Italiens liegende, Mächte im ewigen Krieg mit den barbarischen Seeräubern sind. Die Gewässer von Genua werden hauptsächlich unsicher durch sie gemacht, und so mancher Genueser schmachtet in ewiger Sklaverei zu Tripoli, Tunis und Algier. Die, Furcht vor einem solchen Unglück, und dann auch die Bauart des Fahrzeugs nöthigt die Leute daher...Auf diese Art kömmt man zwar etwas langsamer vorwärts, allein desto sicherer, und mit dem Vortheil, die oft lieblich schönen, oft schrecklich erhabenen Ufer dieses Landes genau und in der Nähe betrachten zu können. Ich würde daher jedem Reisenden, der auf seiner Fahrt genießen will, anruthen, ein so kleines Fahrzeug, als immer möglich ist, zu nehmen, besonders da ein solches auch durch den widrigen Wind nicht so sehr gehindert wird, mit den Rudern vorwärts zu dringen, als ein großes.” On the description of the defenses see *ibid.*, 92-93.

³⁹ Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. I, 486-506; Treue, *Unternehmens- und Unternehmensgeschichte, 180-186*; Sheehan, *German History, 1770-1866*, 255-259; Nipperdey, *Germany, 155-190*; Schroeder, *Transformation*, 371-387.

⁴⁰ Pohl, *Die Beziehungen Hamburgs zu Spanien*, 48-49, 199, 229-231; Karl-Peter Ellerbrock, *Geschichte der deutschen Nahrungs- und Genußmittelindustrie, 1750-1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), 114-119; Zeuske and Ludwig, “Amerikanische Kolonialwaren,” 270-273; Astrid Petersson, *Zuckersiedergewerbe und Zuckerhandel in Hamburg im Zeitraum von 1814 bis 1834: Entwicklung und Struktur zweier wichtiger Hamburger Wirtschaftszweige des vorindustriellen Zeitalters* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), 75-78.

a polemic against the city's dominance of the industry.⁴¹ From the 1750s until 1807 Hamburg maintained over 300 sugar boilers which peaked in 1807 with 428.⁴² When sugar refiners could no longer acquire affordable raw cane to fuel their bakers, the industry collapsed. Only seventy of these refiners' businesses survived the blockade.⁴³ Other domestic manufacturing industries also relied on the importation of these colonial goods in exchange for their wares. The Prussian-Silesian linen trade, one of the "most developed trades in the world," lost for example, its ability to compete with the less expensive British produces which relied the power of their naval empire and cheaper Irish labor.⁴⁴ Across Northern Europe wages and profits decreased while debts and bankruptcies increased for these manufacturing interests.⁴⁵

By 1813 Prussia and the Hanseatic cities engaged once again in overseas trade outside the Baltic and North Sea where pirates awaited them. Corsairs resumed their activities almost immediately, capturing two ships from Prussia, and several from other Hanseatic cities, in quick succession.⁴⁶ Insurance premiums rose by as much as twenty percent during 1814 as a result. This helps to explain why Lübeck's recovery came slower. It had averaged about eighty ships a year from Iberian ports during the 1790s and in the years immediately after Napoleon the number fell to between five and ten.⁴⁷ Responses to the problem of Barbary were not entirely irrational, at least for Northern Europeans, especially as the period from 1814-1816 marks the last major surge in corsair activity.⁴⁸ For some trading houses, ravished by war and depredations, safe travel for

⁴¹ Christoph Friedrich Nicolai, *Anmerkungen über die Zuckersiedereyen in den preussischen Staaten, zu Erläuterung einiger Urtheile des Herrn Prof. Büsch in Hamburg über dieselben* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1792).

⁴² Petersson, *Zuckersiedergewerbe*, 293.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 294.

⁴⁴ Zimmermann, *Handelspolitik*, 113-114.

⁴⁵ For detailed accounts, see Wilhelm Abel, *Massenarmut und Hungerkrisen im vorindustriellen Deutschland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986); John D. Post, *The Last Great Subsistence Crisis in the Western World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 28-29; Jerome Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 65, 173-175.

⁴⁶ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, 5312, fols. 24-35.

⁴⁷ Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 130-135.

⁴⁸ Nina Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practices, 1000-1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011); Weiss, *Captives*, 89, 115-116, 265-267.

overseas trade became an existential issue when the loss of a single large ship could bankrupt a firm.⁴⁹

The *Barbareskenfrage* gave German representatives a practical reason to lobby against slavery. If the piracy of the Barbary Regencies could be universally condemned, the fear of enslavement, one of the largest remaining obstacles to distant overseas trade, would dissipate. The *Hansestädte* sought a means to end this age-old barrier to profitable Southern trade routes. Indeed, the possibility for economic rejuvenation through the resumption and expansion of overseas trade from North German ports, beyond the Baltic, animated the delegates from the German states.⁵⁰ Bremen's mayor Smidt was joined by other members of the Hanseatic cities. Merchants and ministers from Hamburg and Lübeck also began laying the groundwork for abolition of the Christian slave trade with a press and pamphlet campaign aimed joining the issue with the broader Atlantic slave trade.⁵¹ Although their efforts put the African slave trade together with the piracy of the Barbary Regencies on the docket at Vienna, the French and British successfully delayed discussions of the Mediterranean for future meetings.⁵² After the return of Napoleon and his defeat, the representatives of the major powers moved quickly to secure peace, and, in doing so, temporarily prolonged the trade in slaves in exchange for continental stability.

Of the Northern European states, Prussia and Hamburg stood to gain the most from measures against slavery. Trade to the Iberian states and their colonies recently had helped Hamburg to generate considerable wealth. Hamburg's merchant community yearned for a living memory, the glory days from the past century, when Spanish silver enriched their trading houses

⁴⁹ This had been a constant fear for traders operating in the Baltic, Milja van Tielhof, *The "Mother of All Trades": The Baltic Grain Trade in Amsterdam from the Late 16th to the Early 19th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 11, 188.

⁵⁰ Vick, *Congress*, 213; Hannemann, "Brême," 154-157.

⁵¹ Vick, *Congress*, 210-215.

⁵² The foreign policy of the Great Powers resisted further weakening the Ottomans because they feared Russian expansion into the Mediterranean.

and made it, for a time, the wealthiest city in the Holy Roman Empire.⁵³ During the eighteenth century Hamburg's merchants shipped Spanish merchants about half of the canvas and linens used for clothing their colonial slaves.⁵⁴ Hamburg accounted for almost 10% of the total shipping, from non-Iberian ports, to the Spanish-colonies.⁵⁵ While this helped Hamburg to maintain a favorable trade surplus with the Iberian states, trade with other colonial powers ensured a diversified market.⁵⁶ For example, about one fifth of all sugar from French colonies arrived in Hamburg, where after processing in one of Hamburg's domestic manufacturing industries, sugar baking, most of the overseas sugar then went to markets in Prussia and Russia.⁵⁷ Merchants and the senate began to reinvigorate this trade immediately in 1813—without any protection from the Barbary Regencies. Hamburg's senators hoped that abolition at Vienna would carry with it firm declarations against Christian slavery and end the perennial predation of the Barbary Pirates against their trading houses.

Prussia hoped to regain its strong manufacturing sector and develop major trade through its Baltic ports.⁵⁸ Copper, metal wares, and porcelain had once been a lucrative export to the US, the West Indies, and the Spanish colonies, but no other manufactured good compared to the Prussian linen industry. The Napoleonic blockade crippled the continental linen industry and damaged the Prussian economy.⁵⁹ Linens from Prussia accounted for as much as 87% of the total

⁵³ Hans-Dieter Loose and W. Jochmann, eds., *Hamburg: Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner: Vol. 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Reichsgründung* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1982), 140-145, 330, 374-375

⁵⁴ Pohl, *Die Beziehungen*, 11-17, 56.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 52-61.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 94; Petersson, *Zuckersiedergewerbe*, 161.

⁵⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 5-7, "Fragen," n.d. Lists of those ports found in, Zeuske and Ludwig, "Amerikanische Kolonialwaren," 278.

⁵⁹ Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 1, 486-505; Zeuske and Ludwig, "Amerikanische Kolonialwaren," 287, 296-297; Treue, *Unternehmens- und Unternehmergeschichte*, 197; Hans H. Bass, *Hungerkrisen in Preussen während der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae, 1991), 46-48; 58-59, 226-227. Although it did help portions of the textile industry in the Rhineland and Saxony by removing competition; Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismark*. (Gill and Macmillan., 1991), 7; Karen Hagemann, *Revisiting Prussia's Wars Against Napoleon: History, Culture and Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 41-43.

exports from Hamburg to Spanish ports during the decade before Napoleon's blockade.⁶⁰ So important to the Latin American colonies was Prussian linen that Spain maintained a consulate in Berlin to negotiate a more favorable trade balance.⁶¹ This gave Prussian delegates reason to advocate for the abolition of slavery at Vienna.

Agricultural exports had also flourished before the blockade. Prussia's largest export, grains, had recently accounted for half of all grain imported into the British market. Prussian agriculture produced some half a million quarters of grain shipped annually to the British market between 1801 and 1805.⁶² The Hanseatic cities accounted for a significant amount of grain to Britain as well, with about a quarter of million quarters going to the British market during the same period. The blockade caused a collapse in the continental value of cereals, a decrease in land value, and an increase in bankruptcies across Eastern Prussia where speculation had grown with high grain prices and large demand.⁶³ When the British market first opened to Baltic grain, the shipments were a fraction of what they had been at the start of the previous decade, though Prussian seaports greatly increased their exports. Reacting to historically high prices in England, Prussian agriculture expanded production and grain prices increased by as much double starting in 1813.⁶⁴ Foreign trading houses investigated the opportunities in grain export in Northern Germany when they sent agents to reestablish traditional contacts after 1814.⁶⁵ Not only did

⁶⁰ Pohl, *Beziehungen*, 283.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 227

⁶² Abel, *Massenarmut*, 299-301, 314-317.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismark*, 11, 125-160; Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftgeschichte*, vol. 1, 486;

⁶⁴ Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftgeschichte*; Abel, *Massenarmut*, 314-317; Wilhelm Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe: From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2013), 222-223; Bass, *Hungerkrisen*, 60-66.

⁶⁵ For instance, one Dutch family sent their son to mission covering the ports between Varel to Memel, where he met with over a hundred German grain merchants, before he went to Riga and St Petersburg: Tielhof, *The "Mother of All Trades,"* 291-312.

Prussian ministers and merchants hope to revitalize the British market, where Prussia exported the majority of its grain before the blockade, but they also hoped to open new markets.⁶⁶

Prussian interests saw this moment as an opportunity to greatly expand overseas trade. Ministers in Berlin sought a means of rallying support for free, secure, and unhindered trade at Vienna by reigning in the Barbary Regencies through multilateral action. Research undertaken by Prussian ministers, for plenipotentiaries at the Congress, included an extensive document consisting of questions which argued the prosperity and security of Prussian navigation depended on eliminating the threat of the Barbary Regencies.⁶⁷ The best means of doing so would be to support the suppression of the slave trade with England.⁶⁸ The document began with an emphasis on the economic necessity of establishing trade, and thus outlined the problems and policies concerning overseas trade since Friedrich II's era. Although he had established a brief consulate in Morocco (1784) Friedrich II had little interest in expanding maritime navigation. The minister Carl August von Struensee put the issue off again, in January 1790, after Friedrich II's death when he argued that protecting the roughly thirty ships per annum sailing from the Baltic into the Mediterranean would not be worth the significant tribute payments (60,000 Rtl.) and the required naval presence needed to protect sailors from enslavement.⁶⁹ The memo cites a number of recent works on trade, geography, and ethnology. It drew liberally from the Christian nationalist Friedrich Rühs, especially his contributions to Georg Andres Reimer's *Zeitschrift für die neueste Geschichte, die Staaten- und Völkerkunde*, one of the most popular periodicals from Berlin at the time (1814).⁷⁰ The memo notes the success of British efforts to bring "the African predatory and

⁶⁶ GStA PK I. HA Rep. 120 MfHuG, C IX 3a Nr. 16; GStA PK I. HA Rep. 120 MfHuG, C XIII 15 Nr. 1 Bd. 1; John D. Post, *The Last*, 149-152.

⁶⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 2-20, "Fragen," n.d.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 5.

⁶⁹ Rolf Straubel, *Carl August von Struensee: Preussische Wirtschafts- und Finanzpolitik im ministeriellen Kräftespiel (1786-1804/06)* (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999), 166-178.

⁷⁰ German unification figured prominently in the paper's central argument for participating in negotiations at the Congress of Vienna. For the importance and impact of the periodical see, Doris Reimer, *Passion & Kalkül: Der*

slave nature to an end” following their recent abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and indicates the Prussian intent to bind the issues of African and Christian slavery together.⁷¹ Securing the Prussian flag, it argued, required cooperation from all of the states, and was not an issue for Prussia alone, but rather, it was one for all of “North Germany [*Norddeutschland*].” Ministers recognized that the abolition of the Christian slave trade could bind together the German states in an ecumenical alliance against a new common threat. From the outset, the Prussian delegation sought to bring together Northern German states to combat Christian slavery, so as to expand trade, by binding New World slavery and Christian slavery together.

From Berlin, 23 September 1814, the newly-minted minister, Friedrich von Raumer, working with merchant committees from Danzig, Stettin, and Königsberg, responded with a memo entitled “On the security of the Prussian Flag in the Atlantic and Mediterranean against the Hijackings of the Barbary Regencies.”⁷² Raumer agreed that Prussia should capitalize on the peaceful respite [*Aufschub*] at hand to negotiate a means of securing the Prussian flag against the “privaterring” of the Barbary Regencies. He offered a compelling economic argument for security in the Mediterranean. “Prussian navigation“, he claimed, could go no farther than Cape Finisterre, because no political actions had been taken against the “lawless” enslavement of sailors by the “African pirates”.⁷³ Noting that Prussian routes to ports beyond Lisbon had closed since 1803, following the seizure of a ship from Memel, Raumer points out that overseas shipping for the German states continued to be disrupted from the Atlantic to the Adriatic. Thus,

Verleger Georg Andreas Reimer (1776-1842) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999), 125-126; Hagemann, *Revisiting*, 75-76. One article from 1814 calls attention to the “sad fate” of those in Christian Slavery in the Ottoman Empire under the “*Djezzar Pascha*”: “*Djezzar Pascha*,” *Zeitschrift für die neueste Geschichte, die Staaten- und Völkerkunde*, vol. 5 no. 2, Nov. 1814, 404-417.

⁷¹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 2-20, “Fragen,” n.d.: “...den Afrikanischen Raub und Sklavenwesen im ende.”

⁷² GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 20-24, Friedrich von Raumer to the committee of the merchants in Stettin, 23 Sep. 1814: “Die Sicherung der preußischen Flagge auf dem atlantischen und mittelländischen Meere gegen die Capereie der Barbaresken betreffend.”

⁷³ European maritime powers knew the Barbary powers could always find a pretext to break treaties.

he argued, the possibilities for profitable commerce, without the burden of overland tolls, or the costly underwriting of foreign ships, with Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese ports could not develop because of these pirates.⁷⁴ The issue, he urged, had to be resolved at Vienna.

Barbary Regencies' seizure of Prussian ships gave the memos an urgency they might not have otherwise had. After Raumer sent his memo to the *Kaufmannschaft* in Stettin and to Hardenberg in Vienna, the Danish consulate in Tangiers, Schimmelman, forwarded news to the Prussian consulate in Copenhagen, Wilhelm zu Dohna-Schlobitten, that a ship failed to evade a Moroccan brig on its return trip.⁷⁵ Dohna informed ministers in Berlin that *Rheder* Brokowski, from Königsberg, and his crew aboard the ship *Success* had been taken captive in North Africa days before Raumer drafted his memo.⁷⁶ The slow speed at which news traveled complicated European assessment and recovery efforts and explains the frenetic responses to the attacks.⁷⁷ Reports came in bursts, mixed in with some unsubstantiated rumors, and contributed to a false notion that pirates harassed German ships everywhere. For instance, Raumer and other ministers suspected that foreign agents notified the Barbary agents of Prussian ship movements. Whether true or not, these events gave progressive elements within the Prussian government reason to work towards abolition at Vienna.

Dohna did not just relay the news with his report, but also encouraged action against the Regencies and the Dey of Morocco. Danish consuls had traditionally acted as conduits through

⁷⁴ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 20-24, Raumer to committee of the merchants in Stettin, 23 Sep. 1814: "Die preußische Schifffahrt nichts aus her, weil die gegen die afrikanischen Seeräuber politische nicht geschieht ist, nur bis *Cape Finisterre*. Es haben sich zwar preußischen Schiffer auch bis Lissabon geragt, welches so lange und mit großen Vortheil fortgesetzt wurde, bis die Wegenehme eines Memelschen Schiffes im Jahr 1803, diese Verkehr ein Ende machte."

⁷⁵ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 33, Schimmelman to the MdA, Sept, 25 1814.

⁷⁶ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 32, Report from Dohna, Oct. 28 1814.

⁷⁷ Baack gives a sense of how inefficient and slow the Prussian Foreign Ministry could be: Lawrence J. Baack, *Christian Bernstorff and Prussia: Diplomacy and Reform Conservatism 1818 - 1832* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 48-76.

which specie flowed in the redemption process for German sailors.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, Dohna relayed, wartime deprivations and the recent blockades meant that the Danish government had lapsed in paying the annual tribute of 30,000 Rtl. for maintaining friendly relations with the Moroccans.⁷⁹ This had put the Dey into such a rage, according to the consul (Schimmelmann), that he would not speak to the Danish consul until an additional gift of 80,000 Rtl. came. Dohna recommended that Prussia await this payment and apologized for the “precarious situation”. It would improve the mood of the Dey so as to ensure the most favorable outcome for the Prussian sailors.⁸⁰ Dohna attempted to shape the opinions of his government with these details. By reporting on the expense needed to satisfy the Dey’s capriciousness, he demonstrated the danger of making treaties with the Barbary Regencies. It gave the impression that sending large sums of money, through intermediaries, for free navigation would do little to guarantee protection if there was no other means of ensuring fidelity of the Barbary Regencies. Secondly, he introduced the idea that new approaches could be taken now that Europe returned to peace and unity. In other words, a military expedition became a new option.

Responses from the south painted a grim picture, highlighting northern European anxieties and sense of powerlessness over Christian slavery in North Africa. Werther, the Prussian consul in Madrid, sent reports to Berlin and Vienna confirming that pirates had seized Prussian ships. He informed Hardenberg that he had written to both Cadiz and Gibraltar to request further information, but that the sailors would likely be lost.⁸¹ The consuls in Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Portugal and Spain agreed to monitor the situation. Although the British would not protect Prussian ships, the English diplomat Wellesley sent dispatches to the consuls in

⁷⁸ Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen Und Türkenpässen*, xiv, 17, 373, 420. This was especially true in the eighteenth century: Magnus Ressel, “Venice and the redemption of Northern European slaves (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries),” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, no. 87 (December 15, 2013): 131–45.

⁷⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 32, Dohna, Oct. 28 1814.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁸¹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 40, Werther to the MdA, 9 Oct. 1814.; Cadiz was the most used Spanish port by Hanseatic cities and the Prussian marine, Pohl, *Beziehungen*, 52-53.

Tangier and Algiers requesting the status of the “unfortunate Prussians who found themselves in slavery,” and the English consul in Gibraltar wrote to confirm that he saw the two Prussian ships “condemned” to slavery by an Algerian squadron.⁸² Werther reminded Hardenberg and the Prussian ministers that all three of the ships had been taken around the Cape of St. Vincent off the coast of Spain in the Atlantic Ocean to draw their attention to an important fact: Prussian shipping would be significantly damaged if the enslavement of sailors in the Mediterranean and Atlantic continued. Traditionally, pirates struck Northern European ships once they passed the Rock of Gibraltar.⁸³ This meant that the area of unsecure waters had leaked out into the Atlantic and made sailors less confident. In Werther’s estimation, Prussian protest to the Ottoman Porte would do little because the band binding the Moroccans and Algerians had been loosened. Werther asked the consulates in ports along the Western Coasts of Holland, France, Spain and Portugal to warn Prussian ships of the danger.⁸⁴ Profitable trade from Prussia to Southern ports, he argued, could not continue under such conditions.

Raumer and Werther’s missives did not, however, compel Hardenberg to act as the Congress began. Receptive to the problem and open to a favorable solution, Hardenberg was not yet prepared to spend political capital with more pressing territorial issues such as discussions of Saxony, on the table.⁸⁵ He gave no guarantee to address the security of Prussian shipping at Vienna. Nevertheless, he reassured Raumer that recent reports describing the suggested measures on “securing Prussian shipping in the Atlantic and Mediterranean against the piracy of Barbary” would be discussed at the highest levels—including the finance minister (Ludwig Friedrich

⁸² GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 43-44, “Aufzüge aus Briefe den der König. Consuls,” 12 Sept. 1814.

⁸³ Panzac, *Barbary Corsiars*, 84-86; Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 86-89, 890-292, 414-416.

⁸⁴ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 42, Werther to Hardenberg, 9 Oct. 1814: “preußische Schiffe nicht der Gefahr aussetzen genommen zu werden.”

⁸⁵ *British and Foreign State Papers, Volume 3: 1815-1816* (London: James Ridgeway and Sons, 1838), 888-889: On 2 June 1814 Karl August von Hardenberg had given assurances to Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, that Prussia would sponsor any measure to end African slavery.

Victor Hans von Bülow).⁸⁶ In so doing, Hardenberg would ascertain his opinion, and that of the king, in the matter of following the example of other nations who engaged in costly treaties with the pirates.⁸⁷ Hardenberg intended to pursue the possibility of securing Prussia's trade interests beyond the Baltic at a later date during the Congress.⁸⁸ First and foremost, he concentrated upon the issue of returning the enslaved sailors. In the meantime, the foreign office and finance ministry began work on collecting and transmitting the necessary funds to recover their sailors and sought more information on the number and condition of the sailors to be ransomed.⁸⁹

Delegates Confront the *Sklavenfrage* and *Barbareskenfrage* in Vienna

Germans made up an important component of antislavery activists at Vienna. As they set to work before the Congress, both opponents of the African slave trade to the New World and Christian slavery in North Africa saw the potential for a rare millenarian moment to achieve their goals in a future peace settlement.⁹⁰ Although seldom mentioned in the great narratives of the Congress, abolitionists did not ignore delegates from the German states, nor did delegates from the German states ignore the trade in black Africans.⁹¹ Two of the most celebrated British abolitionists, Wilberforce and Clarkson, not only lobbied the Tsar Alexander, but also Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, General Blücher, and Wilhelm von Humboldt for promises of support to end the African slave trade.⁹² After forwarding translated pamphlets, abolitionists found a

⁸⁶ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 34, Hardenberg to Raumer, 2 Nov. 1814: "Maaßregeln zur Sicherung der Preußischen Schiffahrt auf dem atlantischen und mittelländischen Meere gegen die Capereyen dem Barbaresken."

⁸⁷ Ibid., 34: "kostspielige Verträge."

⁸⁸ Ibid., 34.

⁸⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 45, 46-47, Correspondence between Bülow and Dohna, 17 Oct. 1814/ 13 Nov. 1814/ 30 Nov. 1814.

⁹⁰ Hannemann, "Brême," 75-76: "Cependant il ne faut pas laisser passer l'heure actuelle sans en profiter pour mettre sur le tapis des idées."

⁹¹ Berding, "Die Ächtung des Sklavenhandels," 298; Kielstra, *Politics*, 21, 279-280, 164, 170, 204; Vick, *Congress*, 199-200.

⁹² Kielstra, *Politics*, 43-45: Although it seems he resisted outright endorsements in an effort to not stymie the issue. Humboldt feared that the reputation of the *Amis des Noirs* carried too much of a Jacobin flavor that would halt the issue amongst conservative delegates at the Congress of Vienna.

sympathetic friend in the Tsar, who was deeply moved by their pleas, and secured assurances that he would address the slave trade during negotiations. Alongside the Prussian and Hanseatic delegates, the Tsar hoped that they could use this opportunity to discuss Christian enslavement in the Ottoman East and North Africa.⁹³ Even though Austrian, French and British diplomats resisted discussions of the world beyond Europe, Russia, Prussia, and the smaller states' representatives did not.⁹⁴ Interest in the "wider world" ran deep for delegates from Prussia and the Hanseatic cities, and was reinforced by the seizure of ships from Northern Europe and sensational coastal raids in the Mediterranean. They also believed that declarations against the African slave trade could be expanded to include Christian slavery in North Africa.⁹⁵

A concerted press campaign which encouraged delegates to resolve Christian slavery in North Africa, created according to a recent study, "a Europe-wide phenomenon, even more than in the case of abolition."⁹⁶ This campaign took place in literary, cultural, and political periodicals, but most forcefully in trade publications. A direct campaign also took shape with pamphlets from merchants and cultural elites. Priming the delegates to act on the issue of slavery, the press campaign often spoke of the two issues, Christian slavery and black African slavery, oftentimes condemned British culpability for allowing both to happen. A number of prominent papers covered the slave trade, abolition, and the Barbary Regencies before, during, and after the Congress.⁹⁷ Approaching the Barbary problem and Christian slavery from different perspectives,

⁹³ Vick, *Congress*, 217.

⁹⁴ Portugal and Spain wanted to lock out the nations who did not have colonies with slaves from the discussion: Manfred Kossok, *Im Schatten der Heiligen Allianz: Deutschland und Lateinamerika, 1815-1830: Zur Politik der deutschen Staaten gegenüber der Unabhängigkeitsbewegung Mittel- und Südamerikas* (Berlin : Akademie-Verlag, 1964), 52, 111-115; Berding, "Die Ächtung des Sklavenhandels," 275-282; Schroeder, *Transformation*, 586-590, 629-633; Kielstra, *Politics*, 21, 33-34, 279-280; Vick, *Congress*, 203-208.

⁹⁵ Senator Johann Diederich Gries in Hamburg, the progressive socialite, and Senator Smidt are two examples: Vick, *Congress*, 220; Kielstra, *Politics*, 22-49.

⁹⁶ Vick, *Congress*, 217.

⁹⁷ Some examples include: *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen, Zeitung für die elegante Welt, Mode, Unterhaltung, Kunst, Theater; Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung; Nemesis: Zeitschrift für Politik und Geschichte, Museum des Neuesten und Wissenswürdigsten; Frankische Merkur, Bremer Zeitung.*

the press campaign tied together notions of civilization and religious identity, colonial ambitions, British hypocrisy, and free trade, pragmatism and utility.

Yet two possibilities dominated the proposals and discussions over the Barbary problem in the press: fight them or pay them.⁹⁸ The scale increasingly tipped towards the former because the Barbary Regencies remained unpredictable in the decades before French occupation in 1830.⁹⁹ Even after the Ottoman Empire conquered the Barbary Regencies, their governments had remained largely autonomous. Ottoman authorities expected the largest of the Regencies, Algiers, to govern the smaller and more distant provinces. Their system relied on a loosely bound federation with a feudalistic structure. The weak and backwards northern African economy contributed to social and political conditions that created uncertainty and instability for international relations. This instability owed much to the traditional social conditions and culture as it did to the local political system. The lack of agricultural development, the weak manufacturing infrastructure, and the disaster following plague, earthquakes, and drought in North Africa compelled many subjects of the Barbary Regencies to take their chances on the open seas—even if the Porte or local Dey had forbidden it.¹⁰⁰ European states grew accustomed to the perfidiousness of the local rulers involved in this system.¹⁰¹ Local governments overlooked many disobedient acts of predation due in part to the turbulent nature of their rule. New pashas frequently came to power through the assassination of their predecessors. In fact, the turnover rate for rulers during the Revolutionary era often frustrated European negotiators who had to build new, costly relationships. Additionally, peace with Constantinople did not guarantee peace

⁹⁸ Most representatives realized that convoys had failed spectacularly in the past and would not be attempted again.

⁹⁹ Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 75, 226, 276, 309, 331; Weiss, *Captives*, 143-160.

¹⁰⁰ Post points to drought as one of the major causes in the uptick in regional instability for the Barbary Regencies, Post, *Last*, 23-24; Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 75-76; 110-117.

¹⁰¹ Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 29-59; Beutin, *Der deutsche Seehandel im Mittelmeergebiet*, 44-54, 155-175; Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, xxiv-xxx, 27-28, 30; Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 29-34, 60, 146-147, 290; Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 202, 401, 553.

with Algiers, Morocco, Tunis, or Tripoli.¹⁰² Each state required separate treaties. This meant separate negotiations, gifts, annual tribute and documentation. Slow tribute payments or inexact documents could spell disaster for merchants because captains for the various regencies shrewdly sought any pretext to break a treaty or ignore protection documents.¹⁰³ As a result, the Barbary Regencies gained a well-deserved reputation for operating outside the conventions of international law—a fact that did not go unnoticed when Hamburg investigated the possibility of a new treaty in September 1814.¹⁰⁴ Prussian and Hanseatic cities’ ministers, not to mention other European representatives, viewed the system as backwards, and increasingly refused to pay for protection.

Although trade publications and economic periodicals clamored for a resolution to the *Barbareskenfrage*, this does not mean they ignored the abolition of black slavery. Rather, papers used New World slavery and the African slave trade as a springboard to discuss Christian enslavement. A paper popular amongst Northern European merchants, the *Allgemeine Handlungs-Zeitung* [AHZ], for instance, ran a press campaign against slavery in the months leading up to and during the Congress. It covered the British abolition movement, the resumption of slave trading off the coast of North Africa, and slave uprisings in Brazil and the West Indies. The paper also regularly followed the enslavement of Christians in North Africa and the operations of pirate ships and merged those concerns with those of British abolition. For instance, after reporting the failure of British abolition in the summer of 1814, the paper warned that Algerian warships have blocked North German shipping to Lisbon, and admonished Europeans for another failure—their “eternal shame” of “allowing thousands of their fellow citizens to

¹⁰² Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 268-269.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 110-111.

¹⁰⁴ Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 130-131; Ressel, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen*, 99-100.

languish in the deepest slavery” in the “African robber nests.”¹⁰⁵ Likewise, Sigismund Friedrich Hermbstädt’s *Museum des Neuesten und Wissenswürdigsten* carried reports, several decades old, on the wretched conditions in which slaves, many of whom were “unfortunate Germans,” lived under unbearable conditions.¹⁰⁶ The reports presented in these papers demonstrate how ideas about slavery remained chained to older concepts of Christian suffering at a time when the immorality of New World slavery became the *bête noire* of much of the enlightened, European public.

Themes emphasizing European disunity and hypocrisy over abolition continued and intensified during the Congress. In one lead article, printed during the opening week of the Congress, *The English and their intentions for Africa*, the paper devoted considerable attention to a French polemicist’s criticisms of the current passion for abolition in England.¹⁰⁷ The English, he wrote, are not driven by philanthropy, but rather by self-interest.¹⁰⁸ They had spread their missionaries across the world to establish colonies and dominate world trade, they had perpetuated the slave trade to keep Africa poor, uncivilized, and in a near constant state of war.¹⁰⁹ If they truly found civilization and progress to be so essential, and had such a “fiery passion” for “philanthropy” [*Menschenliebe*], he asked, then why did they lock prisoners in damp galleys,

¹⁰⁵ “Verschiedenes,” AHZ, vol. 21 no. 146, 29 July (Nürnberg, 1814), 591: “Zwey Fregatten und zwey Chebecken, welche den Algerern gehören, sind durch die Meerenge von Gibraltar gegangen, um den Eingang des Tajo (Lissabon) den Portugiesen, den hanseatischen Schiffen, den Preußen, Dänen, u.s.w. zu sperren. Dadurch wird der Handel mit Portugal sehr erschwert.... Es ist zu wünschen daß den Räubernestern auf der afrikanischen Küste einmal ein Ziel gefetzt werde. Es gereicht den Europäern, die sich für die gebildesten Völker halten, zur ewigen Schande, daß sie so wenig Gemeingeist, so wenig Hochgefühl haben, und tausende ihrer Mitbürger in der tiefsten Slavery schmachten lassen, ohne sich um sie zu bekümmern, da sie von einer andern Provinz, einer Stadt oder einer Gegend sind, die nicht zu der ihrigen gehört. Aber nach der neuen Politik freut sich jeder über den Schaden seines Nachbarn, und glaubt durch dessen Verlust zu gewinnen.”

¹⁰⁶ “Die afrikanischen Raubstaaten,” Sigismund Friedrich Hermbstädt, ed., *Museum des Neuesten und Wissenswürdigsten aus dem Gebiete der Naturwissenschaft, der Künste, der Fabriken, der Manufakturen, der technischen Gewerbe, der Landwirthschaft, der Produkten-, Waaren- und Handelskunde, und der bürgerlichen Haushaltung*, vol. 3 no. 31, (Berlin: Carl Friedrich Amelang, 1814), 322-333.

¹⁰⁷ “Die Engländer, und ihre Absichten auf Afrika,” AHZ, vol. 21 no. 216, 4 Nov. (Nürnberg, 1814), 869-871.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 869: “...daß die Engländer hierbey nicht von Menschenliebe, sondern von Eigennutz geleitet werden.”

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 869: “Nun hält aber der Slavenhandel, indem er die Civilisation verhindert und Kriege erregt, die Neger von jeder friedlichen Beschäftigung ab.”

why did they not demand the Russian peasants to be emancipated, and why did Europeans languish in the Barbary States?¹¹⁰ Like nearly every other trade periodical, the *AHZ* reported seizures of Prussian and European ships during the Congress. After reports that pirates had captured the ship *Doris* from Altona, the *AHZ* lost patience with news of the slow-paced negotiations at Vienna, and once again highlighted British hypocrisy on the issue.¹¹¹ By December the paper no longer mentioned New World slavery, and produced two additional issues dedicated the lack of European action with a final article on the “Slavery of Christians in Algiers.”¹¹²

Political and cultural periodicals also carried reports on slavery and the Barbary Regencies. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats-und gelehrten Sachen* (popularly called the *Spencersche Zeitung*) and *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* produced a variety of articles describing every manner of slavery in different parts of the world. These included the origins of slavery in the ancient world (emphasizing the enslavement of Germans), black slavery the Spanish colonies, and Christian slavery under Islam.¹¹³ Like the *AHZ*, these papers also favored reporting on accusations that European and British abolition was self-serving and hypocritical. The

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 870: “Welche im Handel und in der Kriegsmacht jenes Gleichgewicht herstellen können, das zur Sicherheit Europas, für die Fortschritte der Civilisation und der Künste so nöthig ist? In Hinsicht der menschenfreundlichen Gesinnungen, mit denen England sich schmückt, darf man nur ihren innern Werth untersuchen. Wenn es von so heißer Liebe für die Menschheit entflammt ist, warum sperrt es unglückliche, unschuldige Gefangene in feuchte Galeeren, wo die schlechte Nahrung, die verdorbene Luft, Bedürfnisse jeder Art, Krankheiten und Verfolgungen sie zur Thierheit herabbringen und aufreiben? Warum verlangt es von Rußland nicht, die Leibeigenschaft der Bauern aufzuheben? Und warum läßt es Europäer in Tunis, Algier und Tripolis schmachten?”

¹¹¹ “Berichte aus London: Bankrotte, Seeräbereyen, der Algierer, Zölle, Staatseinkünfte, Ausfuhr,” *AHZ*, vol. 21 no. 235, 30 Nov. (Nürnberg, 1814), 945: “Die Algierer setzen ihre Räubereyen fort, und haben erst kürzlich das Schiff *Doris* von Altona ganz ausgeplündert. Ein hiesiges Blatt enthält dar über folgende Betrachtungen: „Welche Schande ist es für die europäischen Regierungen, und besonders für uns, dieses zu dulden. Der Sklavenhandel erregt gerechter Weise unsern Unwillen, aber heißt es nicht thun stillschweigend dulden, wenn wir Algerischen Seeräubern erlauben vor unsern Augen Christen in die Sklaverey zu führen? Weiß das englische Volk nicht, daß man es in Italien anklagt, die Ursache zu seyn, daß diese schändlichen Räuber nicht schon lange vernichtet sind.”

¹¹² “Etwas über die Raub-Staaten in Nord-Afrika,” *AHZ*, no. 240, 7 Dec., (Nürnberg, 1814), 965-967; “Die Slavery der Christen in Algier,” *AHZ*, no. 249 vol. 21, 21 Dec. 1814 (Nürnberg, 1814) 1001-1003

¹¹³ Johann Karl Philipp Spener, *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats-und gelehrten Sachen*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Haude und Spencerschen Buchhandlung, 1814), 40, 101-102, 364-367, 634, 710, 791, 923-927, 1087; August Mahlmann, ed., *Zeitung für die elegante Welt: Mode, Unterhaltung, Kunst, Theater* vol. 14 (Leipzig: Voß'sche Buchhandlung, 1814) 100-102, 173-174, 267-277, 423, 500, 670, 879, 1106.

Berlinische Nachrichten carried a report from France with which it could hardly argue. If the abolition of the slave trade happened at the Congress, the French expected Christians to be granted the same protections against the Barbary Regencies.¹¹⁴ A few days later, the paper in Berlin reported that the French asked for the sovereignty of their ships to be once again respected, which the editor mused should be a consideration for all European states against the Barbary states.¹¹⁵ The paper continued to report and support such complaints against British abolition.¹¹⁶ The *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* expressed similar concerns about British abolition.¹¹⁷

Campaigners also hoped to influence the Congress delegates with pamphlets. A British Admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, launched the most famous campaign against Christian slavery in North Africa.¹¹⁸ Smith's pamphlet, *Mémoire sur la nécessité et les moyens de faire cesser les pirateries des états barbaresques*, targeted representatives from Central and Northern Europe.¹¹⁹ It argued that the Barbary Regencies had created "absurd and monstrous outrages" for the civilized nations of the world and their piracy had disrupted peace and commerce since the time of Barbarossa. Smith, who once fought alongside the Ottomans against Napoleon, included the Turks and Egypt among those nations.¹²⁰ He laid the blame for continued piracy in the present on

¹¹⁴ Spener, *Berlinische Nachrichten*, 10, 710, 959. "Ja den französischen Zeitungen wird jetzt der Wunsch geäußert, daß, wofern auf dem bevorstehenden Congress zu Wien die allgemeine Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels zur Sprache kommen sollte, auch wohl beschlossen werden würde, daß den Seeräuber-Staaten das bisherige Handwerk gelegt und ihnen ferner nicht gestattet werden sollte, die Unterthanen der christlichen Mächte zu Sklaven zu machen, die auf den Schutz gegen eine solche Gewaltthätigkeit wohl eben so viel Anspruch haben müßten, als die Neger in Afrika."

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1003.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1087, 1115, 1129.

¹¹⁷ August Mahlmann, ed., *Zeitung für die elegante Welt: Mode, Unterhaltung, Kunst, Theater* vol. 14 (Leipzig: Voß'sche Buchhandlung, 1814), 423, 569-570.

¹¹⁸ For the reception of Smith, see Florian Kerschbaumer, "Sir Sidney Smith und die Barbaresken-Frage am Wiener Kongress," in *Mächtepolitik und Friedenssicherung zur politischen Kultur Europas im Zeichen des Wiener Kongresses*, eds. Reinhard Stauber, Florian Kerschbaumer, and Marion Koschier (Berlin: Lit, 2014), 89-105; Tilmann Hannemann, "Brême," 78-87; Frank Eisermann, "Johann Smidt und die „Barbareskenstaaten“," *Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialgeschichte: Zeitschrift für die Regionalgeschichte Bremens im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* no. 19 (2007): 5-34; Vick, *Congress*, 215-223.

¹¹⁹ William S. Smith, *Mémoire sur la nécessité et les moyens de faire cesser les pirateries des états barbaresques* (Paris, 1814).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4: "Il est inutile de démontrer qu'un tel état de choses est non seulement absurde mais même monstrueux et qu'il d'outrage pas moins la Religion que d'humanité et d'honneur."

“*Arabs and Wahhabism.*” In terms mirroring those of the colonial ambitions of the second-half of the nineteenth century, he argued “for the progress of enlightenment and civilization the pirates had to cease to exist.”¹²¹ This did not mean all of the states had to be conquered, colonized or otherwise destroyed. Smith left open the possibility of negotiating first with Tunis and Morocco before taking military action. Though he did expect violence. To achieve security and harmony of commerce for all nations, Smith proposed the creation of an international naval force, with an amphibious component for battle on land, the details of which could be worked out later by the sovereigns of Europe.¹²² While the program Smith’s pamphlet outlines left many details vague, it made two things clear: his leadership role in this force, with his thirty years of experience in the Mediterranean; and the necessity for an attempt at peace with Tunis. He sent off the pamphlets, written in both German and French, to courts and power brokers just before the Congress began.

Smith’s efforts to publicize the plight of Christians enslaved in North Africa did not end with a pamphlet. He founded an abolitionist society, “The *Knights Liberators* of the White Slaves in Africa”, as well as an “Antipiratical Society”, and proposed the distribution of abolitionist medallions in North Africa.¹²³ Exchanging letters with members of the cultural elite like the orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, the journalist Karl August Böttiger, and the novelist Caroline Pichler, Smith forged a network of sympathetic cultural elites through correspondence and personal meetings.¹²⁴ His contacts grew during weekly salon meetings he held at the Congress, which included the Bremen Mayor Smidt.¹²⁵ He also lobbied the leaders of Europe at a

¹²¹ Ibid., 4: “Les progrès des lumières et de la civilisation doivent nécessairement le faire disparaître.”

¹²² Ibid., 5-6

¹²³ Vick, *Congress*, 216-217.

¹²⁴ Kerschbaumer, “Sir Sidney Smith,” 96-99; For instance, Smith had been the company of Friedrich Wilhelm III in the past century, when he demonstrated a naval invention on the Spree, and offered to form a navy for Prussia: Karl Friedrich von Klöden, *Lebens- und Regierungsgeschichte Friedrich Wilhelms des Dritten Königs von Preußen: Mit Portrait* (Berlin: Nitze, 1840), 21-22.

¹²⁵ Mayor Smidt recounted drinking a bottle of wine with him. Smidt left the meeting with the impression that public opinion favored the elimination of the threat posed by the Barbary Regencies: Hannemann, Title 80-81: “Nous avons

lavish charity event dedicated to the enslaved Christians in North Africa. For instance, several political and cultural leaders attended his “picnic”, held in the Augarten, in the last weeks of 1814, and some gave lavishly.¹²⁶ The Tsar and the Holy Roman Emperor each donated ten thousand Rtl. to Smith’s fund dedicated to “supporting a campaign for abolition.”¹²⁷ The Prussian and Danish kings, the Bourbon monarch, and other important statesmen also attended, among them many Germans, including, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Hardenberg, Justus Bollmann, and the future Prussian foreign minister Christian Bernstorff.¹²⁸

If Sidney Smith left an enduring impression on delegates and press from the German states, others were less impressed. His bombast publicized a problem that France and Great Britain would rather not address.¹²⁹ Little wonder that so many negative impressions of him come from the Congress.¹³⁰ Smith’s energy and romantic ideas made him an easy target for ridicule. For instance, observers at his picnic lampooned his idea for the recreation of the knights of Malta as well as the seriousness with which he took his oath as a knight. Some proceeds from his “picnic” were intended for the restoration of the lamp to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which was unfairly seized upon by some critics.¹³¹ The Swiss banker and *Philhellene* Eyard, the Prussian student of Kant and advisor to Metternich, *Friedrich von Gentz*, and the British

vidé une bouteille de Côtes du Rhin de la Cave de Brême à l'extermination des Barbaresques... On semble avoir partout la même opinion sur l'utilité de mettre un frein aux [activités des] Barbaresques.”

¹²⁶ Kerschbaumer, “Sir Sidney Smith,” 93; Vick, *Congress*, 218-221.

¹²⁷ Carl Bertuch, “Wien während des Congresses: Fortsetzung: (Musik-Conzerte, Oratorien): Wien, den 18ten Januar 1815,” *Journal des Luxus und Mode und Gegenstände der Kunst*, vol. 30, Feb. (Weimar: Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs, 1815), 97-108; Christian August Vulpius, “Der Admiral Sir Sidney Smith und seine Ritterfahrt zum heiligen Grabe,” *Curiositäten der physisch-literarisch-artistisch-historischen Vor- und Mitwelt*, vol. 5 no. 1, (Weimar: Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs, 1816), 41-58.

¹²⁸ Kerschbaumer, “Sir Sidney Smith,” 96-99.

¹²⁹ Officially, the British government did not support measures against the Barbary Regencies, Ottoman Empire, nor Christian slavery: Schroeder, *Transformation*, 586-591.

¹³⁰ Harold Nicolson, *The Congress of Vienna: A Study in Allied Unity, 1812-1822* (New York: Grove Press, 2000), 133-133; 161-162;

¹³¹ Vick points out that past observers and future scholars have used these elements to ridicule Smith; Vick, *Congress*, 215-221; This depiction has persisted with current scholars as well, see, for instance, Weiss, *Captives*, 149-150.

representatives at the Congress found Smith to be a “foolish coot” and an “embarrassment”.¹³² Reports from the Austrian secret police similarly mocked the former admiral and his party.¹³³

Central European political and cultural elites, on the other hand, received Smith positively. He left more positive impressions on Carl Bertuch, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Hardenberg, and even the gossip Varnhagen von Ense, who believed that the German public favored Smith.¹³⁴ Bertuch wrote frequently and favorably of Smith in his diary, gave him favorable press coverage in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, and introduced him to other cultural elites of the small states.¹³⁵ Likewise, Karl August Böttiger included Smith’s messages in his home paper in Thüringen, and wrote favorably of his plan for “the abolition of the black and white-slave trade in North Africa”.¹³⁶ The press took up the issue in Great Britain, France, Austria, Italy, but no other group were as vocal in their support as the Hanseatic cities.¹³⁷ In Berlin papers frequently updated the public on Smith’s efforts as he traveled around Europe seeking support.¹³⁸ While Smith never had the opportunity to lead an expedition against the Barbary Regencies, his efforts did, nevertheless, help to energize the promoters of abolition in Central Europe who sought to mix the issue of Christian slavery with black slavery in the New World.

¹³² Kerschbaumer, “Mächtepolitik,” 96-97; Richard Metternich-Winneburg, ed., *Oesterreichs Theilnahme an den Befreiungskriegen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jahre 1813 bis 1815, nach Aufzeichnungen von Friedrich von Gentz nebst einem Anhang “Briefwechsel zwischen den Fürsten Schwarzenberg und Metternich”* (Wien: Gerold Sohn, 1897), 495.

¹³³ Secret police reported that a meager 300 people attended the “laughable party” and departed shortly after it began: August Fournier, ed., *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress: Eine Auswahl aus ihren Papieren* (Wien: Tempsky, 1913), 321, 330.

¹³⁴ Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, *Denkwürdigkeiten des eignen Lebens*, vol. 4 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1843), 295: “Mit einem verwandtem Betriebe hatte sich aus eigener Macht der englische Admiral Sir Sidney Smith beauftragt er wollte die Unterdrückung der afrikanischen Raubstaaten. Das persönliche Ansehen des berühmten Seehelden und die öffentliche Stimme unterstützten seine Vorschläge nachdrücklich genug aber seine eignen Landsleute wurden beschuldigt seinem Eifer im Stillen entgegengewirkt zu haben.”

¹³⁵ Hermann Freiherr von Egloffstein, ed., *Carl Bertuchs Tagebuch vom Wiener Kongreß* (Berlin: Paetel, 1916), 49; 62, 75, 85, 111-118, 125, 130-131, 140-141.

¹³⁶ Böttiger’s praise appeared in English in the *New Monthly Magazine*, July 1, (London, 1816), 504-507. Böttiger had also written favorably of Smith during the previous decade: *Der Teutsche Merkur*, Vol. II, Sept. 1801, 146-148;

¹³⁷ Vick, *Congress*, 217.

¹³⁸ Berlin’s prominent newspaper featured dozens of updates on Smith’s work in the years during and after the Congress of Vienna: Johann Karl Philipp Spener, *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats-und gelehrten Sachen*, (Berlin: Haude und Spener’schen Buchhandlung, 1814-1818).

Other independent contributions to the campaign against slavery came from representatives of Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck. Johann Smidt, the mayor of Bremen, worked as a nexus for the effort to combat Barbary piracy in northern Europe. He lobbied Hardenberg in an effort to bring Prussia on board with the other sea-faring states. Smidt did not produce a pamphlet himself. Instead, Smidt devoted himself to personal meetings with heads of state where he lobbied for action and distributed materials favoring his cause.

The most radical pamphlet came from another mayor of Bremen, Franz Tidemann. In an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Was könnte für Europa in Wien geschehen?* (1814), he demanded the immediate destruction and occupation of North Africa as part of a broad reorganization of the world.¹³⁹ In his estimation, it was not just the inhabitants of the Fatherland or of Europe who would be helped at Vienna, but also the people from outside Europe, who had just as much to gain from the upcoming meeting of great powers. Tidemann positioned himself as an antiwar proponent of progress, and if peace had any hope of enduring, then the European powers needed to come together, in a union, to accomplish lasting peace and prosperity.¹⁴⁰ In so doing, he appealed to liberals' sense of freedom, justice and equality.¹⁴¹

The proposed union had three objectives. First, it needed to establish international law rooted in European Christianity. Second, it needed conventions for the mutual aid of states in need of military, comestible, or other aid and assistance to prevent revolution. Lastly, the proposed union would work towards the "elimination of important obstacles to the general welfare of Europe through, 1) the reduction of large standing armies, 2) the expulsion of the Turks from Europe and the Near East, 3) the banning of intolerance and different thinking in

¹³⁹ Franz Tidemann, *Was könnte für Europa in Wien geschehen?: Beantwortet durch einen Deutschen* (n.p., 1814).

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 6-9.

¹⁴¹ Rainer Koch, "Liberalismus, Konservatismus und das Problem der Negerklaverei: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des politischen Denkens in Deutschland in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Zeitschrift* 222, no. 3 (1976): 529-77; Andreas Gestrich, "The Abolition Act," 253-257.

religious matters.”¹⁴² The second obstacle formed the crux of his program and motivated Tidemann to produce the pamphlet. Though he opposed war, Tidemann argued, “these terrible people” [*schreckliches Volk*], the Turks, “have been such a terrible obstacle to the general wellbeing of Europe” that driving them from Europe was not only just, but necessary. To his mind, the Turks had never made a proper peace with Christian powers, only temporary armistices to recover from war.¹⁴³ Moreover, they often had disobeyed the standard international diplomatic practices accepted by European states. Not only did they illegally imprison or kill diplomats, but they also allowed the “North African predator states” [*Nordafrikanischen Raubstaaten*] to pillage the Italian and Iberian coasts where they enslave farmers, and extract tribute against the conventions of war. Tidemann thus constructed an argument that fit well with the orderly and legalistic spirit of the Congress of Vienna. After the illegal actions taken by France’s recent “illegitimate” ruler, Europe’s prosperity and well-being had greatly suffered. Like the defeat of Napoleon from within Europe’s borders, subduing the Barbary Regencies provided an opportunity to firmly renounce illegal practices from outside and along Europe’s borders.

Appealing to the growing philhellenism of Central Europe, Tidemann also argued, in terms similar to Sir Sidney Smith, that civilization and progress would blossom once again should the Greek people be freed from their enslavement under the Turks.¹⁴⁴ Also like Smith’s

¹⁴² Tidemann, *Was könnte für Europa*, 10: “Hinwegraumung wichtiger Hindernisse der allgemeinen Wohlfahrt von Europa.”

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 35: “Die Türken schließen mit der Christenheit ja nie Frieden sondern bloß Waffenstillstände und nur Schwäche”

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 36-37: “Sie rauben also nur unter seiner Autorität. Aber damit nicht zufrieden sie auch der Schrecken der italänischen Küsten wo der ruhige Pflüger oder Hirte sich oft von Bösewichtern überfallen den Seim entrissen und in die grausamste Slavery sieht. Und diesem schrecklichen Unwesen nicht endlich einmal gesteuert werden?...Die Christenheit will ihm fortwährend kaltblütig zuschauen daß so viel Millionen unsrer christlichen Brüder auf härteste tyrannisirt ohne wahres Eigenthum, sind Erpressungen aller Art, selbst Despoten selbst seiner Paschas und ihrer Unterbedienten ausgesetzt sind und beim geringsten Widersetzen mit Strafen belegt werden wovor die Menschheit erzittert Will man es länger gleichgültig zugeben daß ein so edles Volk wie die Griechen mit so vielen vortreflichen An lagen dem wir übrigen Europäer zunächst unserer Cultur verdanken immerdar in der Dumpfheit der Unwissenheit der niedrigen Sinnesart verbleibt worin es durch die Tyrann feiner Unterdrücker gestürzt ist und woraus es sich gar bald mächtig erheben wird sobald ihm nur die Sonne der Freyheit wieder scheint Es ist hier also vornamlich nicht auf einen Eroberungs sondern Befreyungskrieg abgesehen Soll aber auch das übrige Europa für

pamphlet, Tidemann drew up a detailed plan of attack which attempted to include all of the European states. His plan reflected the growing frustrations of Bremen's merchant elite after their "dreams of major world trade" came under threat by the Barbary Regencies.¹⁴⁵

Friedrich Hach, the mayor of Lübeck, distributed the heftiest pamphlet on the *Barbareskenfrage* during the Congress. Senators from Bremen and Lübeck commissioned a nationalist gymnasium teacher, Friedrich Hermann, to collect his research, develop a practical solution, and produce a pamphlet that they could use to convince other powers of the Barbary problem's extent and gravity. Originally designed as a pamphlet, the author threw himself into his work and produced a nearly five hundred page polemic against the Barbary powers entitled *Ueber die Seeräuber im Mittelmeer und Ihre Vertilgung*.¹⁴⁶ Hermann took his years of experience publishing ethnological studies [*Völkerkunde*] and patriotic materials and put equal parts of both into the tome.

Broken into five equally long parts, Hach's book examines the history of the Barbary States, the Barbary States' relations with Europe, the current military situation, additional research materials, and a detailed examination of piracy's operations in the Mediterranean. This final section devotes almost a hundred pages to the "situation of Christian Slaves" and demonstrates Hermann's skill as a polemist. For instance, the section begins with romantically-tinged language which described the first moments of capture for Christian slaves, in which "all of the tender bonds of the heart are at once lost, as the husband sees himself torn from his loving wife and waiting children..." Hermann then pondered, "For what gleam of hope can illuminate

immer der wichtigen Vortheile die es für seinen Handel für Wissenschaften Gelehrsamkeit und Künste für seine ganze Wohlfart durch die Verjagung der Türken gewinnen würde entbehren?"

¹⁴⁵ For the dreams of major world trade, see Michael Zeuske, "Preußen und Westindien: Die vergessenen Anfänge der Handels- und Konsularbeziehungen Deutschlands mit der Karibik und Lateinamerika, 1800–1870," in *Preussen und Lateinamerika: im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur*, eds. Sandra Carreras and Günther Maihold (Münster: Lit, 2004), 150-155.

¹⁴⁶ Friedrich Hermann, *Ueber die Seeräuber im Mittelmeer und ihre Vertilgung: Ein Völkewunsch an den erlauchten Kongreß in Wien: Mit den nöthigen historischen und statistischen Erläuterungen* (Lübeck: Michelsen, 1815); Hannemann, "Brême," 78-79.

this darkness?” as he traced the despair and misery of Christian slaves on their journeys to destinations across North Africa.¹⁴⁷ Exaggerated statistics also accompanied his rhetorical flourishes in such a way as to insist that Christian slavery mirrored the same injustices described in abolitionist polemics against the Atlantic slave trade. In any case, the great length of the document meant that it reached the heads of state at the Congress after they signed the joint declaration against the African slave trade.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Hach’s book found influence with some important figures. Hardenberg responded favorably to it, even as he also felt some disappointment. So long a pamphlet, he believed, and one written in German, would not be met favorably amidst the Congress attendees, he thought. For future ministerial conferences, Hardenberg hoped for something more accessible.¹⁴⁹ Hermann addressed these concerns and published a French edition the following year and a revised German edition appeared in Leipzig the year after.¹⁵⁰

Attacks on Prussian vessels during the Congress forced Hardenberg to deal with the *Barbareskenfrage* during negotiations at Vienna. After the first months of negotiations, he sent a frenetic set of instructions to the Swedish consul Friedrich Franz von Tarrach concerning the absence of protection for neutral Prussian ships.¹⁵¹ The tone owed to the mounting tensions over the Poland-Saxony crisis which threatened to end talks prematurely.¹⁵² Reports from Oporto indicated that Barbary Corsairs had stolen two ships, both sailing along the Western Coast of

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 320-321: “Gelöst sind auf einmal alle die zarten Bande des Herzens, und der Gatte sieht sich von der liebenden Gattin und den harrenden Kindern der Sohn von der Brust des alternden Vaters gerissen, und ach für immer! Denn welcher Hoffnungsschimmer könnte ihm noch erhellen dieses Dunkel?”

¹⁴⁸ The first copies did not arrive until the end of February 1815.

¹⁴⁹ Michael Hundt, *Lübeck auf dem Wiener Kongreß* (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 1981), 55-59.

¹⁵⁰ Friedrich Hermann, *Appel aux Puissances de l'Europe pour faire cesser les pirateries des Barbaresques dans la Méditerranée* (Bremen: Heyse, 1816).

¹⁵¹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 54, 23 Nov. 1814, Hardenberg to Friedrich Franz von Tarrach.

¹⁵² This was just over a week since the Tsar accused Hardenberg of plotting against him, Vick, *Congress*, 201-202; Mark Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and Its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy after Napoleon* (London: Tauris, 2014), 109-111.

France, and enslaved the Prussian crews.¹⁵³ Hardenberg made it clear that Prussia intended to establish relations with the Barbary Regencies so as to enter into treaties with them. He would follow the “example of other nations” and understood the necessity of a monetary sacrifice in order to “maintain peaceful, calm and unmolested trade in the Mediterranean and Atlantic”. With so much unresolved at Vienna, he found the current moment too unstable and difficult to make the appropriate introductions for formal relations. In the meantime, Hardenberg wanted help from the Swedish government. He asked for Sweden to extend some protection to Prussian ships in addition to help in recovering the recently enslaved Prussian crewmen. Hardenberg asked the consul to remind the Swedish government that their trade interest did not compete with one another in the same region, as Prussian exports manufactured goods and Sweden exports raw materials, Hardenberg speculated that the Swedish court would surely defer to this request. He offered to immediately reimburse any assistance and cooperation, in freeing the sailors, from the Swedish consuls in Tangier and Algiers.¹⁵⁴ He wished the consul success in these new “*démarches*” and waited for a resolution to the *Barbareskenfrage* at Vienna.

From the sea power to emerge dominant from the Napoleonic Wars, Great Britain, the Prussians learned there would be no hope for protection. The Prussian consul in London, Friedrich von Greuhm, reported to Hardenberg, just before Christmas, that the British government would be willing to assist in information concerning captured ships, such as the “Success”.¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the British argued that they were under no obligation to protect the “Success”, or any Prussian ship for that matter. This did little to allay the anxiety and consternation of continental merchants who sent frequent complaints about British pirates seizing

¹⁵³ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 51-53, Correspondence between Hardenberg and Dohna, 29 Oct. and 20 Nov. 1814: “Mannschaft ist in Sklaverei geraten.”

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., “kommen bei dieser Gelegenheit versichern daß man Preußischer Seits ohne Aufschub bereit sein werde alle zu diesem Behufe gemachten Unkosten und Ausgaben, besonders aber das respo. Lösegeld mit dank zu erstatten.”

¹⁵⁵ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 55-57, Friedrich von Greuhm to a minister of the MdA, 15, Dec. 1814.

their goods during the Napoleonic period.¹⁵⁶ The British response sent a clear message to northern Europeans: the British government would not act as the arbiter of international law without it serving their interests.

Prussian ministers continued wringing their hands over how to best recover sailors, captured in the previous year, and gain the same unhindered access to shipping as other European powers.¹⁵⁷ Hardenberg responded to Bülow, a week before completing negotiations on a declaration against the slave trade, that North African pirates obviously damaged Prussia's overseas trade interest and required a permanent solution. The possibility for joint action against the Barbary Regencies grew more distant as the other powers made negotiations difficult.¹⁵⁸ Given the states and interests represented, it is a wonder that the powers could sign a declaration against slavery at all. First of all, the colonial powers wanted to exclude the states without significant colonial possessions from deliberations.¹⁵⁹ Secondly, Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh and Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, despite their inability to cooperate, pushed to delay discussions on slavery to the end of the Congress. Castlereagh wanted the Barbary Regencies to be tabled for after a permanent peace.¹⁶⁰ Talleyrand stalled for "tactical reasons" knowing that abolition would come eventually and that France could do little to refuse British insistence on the matter in its current position.¹⁶¹ Public demands for abolition of the slave trade put the British government in a more difficult position. The British press viewed

¹⁵⁶ An example includes: GStA PK I. HA Rep. 81, Ges. London nach 1807, Nr. 275: "Reklamationen preußischer Rheder und Kaufleute auf Entschädigung für die ihnen englischerseits in den Jahren 1805 und 1806 confiscirten Schiffe 1814-1816."

¹⁵⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 67-69, Bülow to Werther, 23, Jan. 1815: "Über die in Algier gefangenschaft Preußische Seeleute," Examines past cases of piracy, from 1798 to 1805, and lists the costs to the Prussian state for ransom payments.

¹⁵⁸ Irby Coghill Nichols, *The European Pentarchy and the Congress of Verona, 1822* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972), 165-167.

¹⁵⁹ For the initial negotiations on the slave trade [*Sklavenhandel/Negerhandel*] see GStA PK III. HA MdA, I Nr. 1373, 20 Jan. 1815; 28 Jan. 1815; 4 Feb. 1815: the final text of the declaration settled on 8 Feb. 1815.

¹⁶⁰ Kielstra, *Politics*, 50.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 50-52.

Castlereagh's concession at the peace of Paris, which allowed the temporary continuance of the African slave trade in exchange for promises of future abolition at Vienna, as a step backward.¹⁶² Their position became more difficult by the impression delegates at Vienna had of British insistence on abolition. Other powers believed that British abolition served British interest cloaked as humanitarianism.¹⁶³ The British government's refusal to protect German ships from pirates, who they believed engaged in equivalent or more egregious slaving operations, reinforced this view amongst critics. Additionally, some North Germans argued that ministers in London did not want to undercut their own colonial power with the abolition of slavery if other, competing states were not willing to make the same sacrifices.

Protecting British interests certainly figured into abolition, but the reluctance to act on Christian slavery in North Africa also owes to Castlereagh's pragmatism. He believed that securing continental peace, by working through dynastic problems in Italy and territorial issues in Central Europe, should take precedent over any actions against the more distant Barbary Regencies.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, attacking North Africa might destabilize the Ottoman Empire. Its power kept the Russian Empire from expanding into the warm waters of the Near East.¹⁶⁵ This competition between Russia and the British, the so-called "Great Game," had much to do with the "Eastern Question," or what to do about the Ottoman Empire's fading power. Combatting the Barbary Regencies would not only further weaken the Ottoman Empire, but it also had the potential to uproot British dominance of overseas shipping. Making the Atlantic and Mediterranean safe for trade meant competing with weaker powers. These powers, who did not

¹⁶² Ibid., 52, Schroeder, *Transformation*, 520.

¹⁶³ This accusation has been covered extensively, see for instance, Franz Hochstetter, *Die wirtschaftlichen und politischen Motive für die Abschaffung des britischen Sklavenhandels im Jahre 1806/07* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humboldt, 1905); Berding, "Die Ächtung des Sklavenhandels," 275-282; Suzanne Miers, *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution of a Global Problem* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003), 14-20; Kielstra, *Politics*, 1-2, 51-52.

¹⁶⁴ Kielstra, *Politics*, 64-67; Schroeder, *Transformation*, 529, 558-559; Nichols, *European Pentarchy*, 166-171.

¹⁶⁵ Schroeder, *Transformation*, 590, 658; Vick, *Congress*, 225-229.

have to pay considerable sums for maintaining a navy, could undercut the British merchants in key markets like the Americas if they were afforded free protection from the British.

Napoleon's return for a hundred days brought some renewed attention to slavery and abolition at the Congress. He promised to abolish African slavery in the colonies and end the French participation in the transatlantic slave trade in a bid to win acceptance of his return from the British government. Napoleon's decrees did not last, but they did put renewed pressure on the restoration government to accept proposals for total abolition.¹⁶⁶

Surprisingly, renewed militarization did not interrupt agitation against Christian slavery—although it did delay Prussian plans to open relations with the Maghreb states. As Napoleon marched through the Alps, a Prussian Lieutenant, Johann Friedrich Arnauld de la Perière, sent a letter from his post in Düsseldorf on 10, March 1815 to Berlin entitled “On the enslavement of Christians by the African Predator States and the necessity of every nation engaged in trade to fight for the rights of their citizens.”¹⁶⁷ The letter called attention to “an unhealthy trade on the Mediterranean Sea” which operated with the tacit approval of England, France, Spain, Portugal and Denmark through their continued trade relationships with North Africa. European nations, that is “civilized humanity,” had long focused on suppressing this trade which extended from Gibraltar to Malta.¹⁶⁸ Still worse, this trade had closed the markets of the Mediterranean to Prussian ships. Asking Prussian ministers how this could be the case, de la Perière states, “Because (as everyone declares with displeasure) the uncivilized pirates hijack their [Prussian] ships and drive the crews into slavery.”¹⁶⁹ He gave urgency to the problem, not to mention credentials for himself, by relating personal experience. After reading that German ships had

¹⁶⁶ Michael Zeuske, *Sklavenhändler, Negerros und Atlantikkreolen: Eine Weltgeschichte des Sklavenhandels im atlantischen Raum*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 40-41; Kielstra, *Politics*, 56-58; Nichols, *European Pentarchy*, 167-168.

¹⁶⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 83-93, Johann Friedrich v. Arnauld 10, Mar. 1815 /22, Mar. 1815.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 91: “ungesündesten Handel auf dem mittelländischen Meer...die gebildete Menschheit.”

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 91: “Weil, (jeder spricht es mit Unmut aus,) unzüivilisierte Seeräuber ihre Schiffe Kaper, und die Mannschaften in die Sklaverei führen.”

been captured the previous year, he remembered observing firsthand, while in the service of England, Algerians harass sailors near Lisbon at the mouth of the Tajo River. De la Perière expressed amazement at “how degrading and cruelly these unbelievers handled members of our own faith” during his expeditions to Tunis and Algiers.¹⁷⁰ He continued with appeals to Prussian patriotism, civilization, and international law. “Every real Prussian” he claims, “commands unwavering respect” after the forces of patriotism helped to overthrow a “superior civilized power”; and “every real Prussian feels certain that it is disgraceful when many of his fellow citizens now must have their necks in the yoke of slavery under the Turks” since everyone could now enjoy the blessings of peace and tranquility.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, the prospect of “annihilating the Robber states” would ruin this peace, run counter to the interests of the state, and violate international law as some of the other nations engaged in trade gain some benefit from the “robberies” of these “African pirates”.

Establishing peace with the “African robber states” would be valuable but difficult. De la Perière relied on his own experience in North Africa to explain how and also why he was best suited for the job. In a few laconic pages, he ambitiously outlined the nature and development of society, property, and international relations to explain the current state of the Mediterranean. The Tunisians and Algiers had almost no scholarly-philosophical concepts for property, and therefore could not be held accountable for the violation of international law on the seas. Their “barbarism” [*Unkultur*] could be raised to the level of the civilized, law-abiding nations through the development of property rights and a stronger state, which would come only after all states

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., fol. 91: “Augen zeuge aber, wie herabwürdigend und grausam diese Ungläubigen unsere Gläubigen gerösten behandeln, war ich, in den Jahren 1812 und 1813, bei mehrmaliger Anwesenheit in Tunis und in Algier.”

¹⁷¹ Ibid., fols. 91-92: “Jeder ächte gesinnte Preuße, der die wunde seiner Nation in dieser entscheidenden Zeit Periode kennt, an sie sich durch einigen Kraft, die auch Patriotismus und weise Politik gegründet warm von dem Joch einer zehnfach überlegenen civilisirten Macht befreit hat, jetzt unerschütterlich und Achtung einflößend für sich selbst da steht; jeder ächte gesinnte Preuße fühlt gewiß, dass es schimpflich sei, wann jetzt noch mehrere seiner Mitbürger ihren Nacken in des Joch der Sklaverei woher Türken-Burger müssen, da doch jetzt alles, selbst der Kleinste in Staate, sich des Segens des Friedens und des Ruhes seiner Nation erfuhrt.”

freely entered into protection agreements with the North African cities. Following economic treatises of the era, de la Perière argued that England's example proved that trade increased culture and wealth, which promoted the welfare of the state. "Does Prussia not deserved this advantage," he asked in his letter to Hardenberg. As an equal to the other nations operating in the Mediterranean, Prussia, he argued for similar "Natural [law] and *Brüderrecht*" to protect its fellow citizens on the sea.¹⁷²

Hardenberg responded positively, noting that the proposal was "not without some worth." De la Perière's letter appealed to Hardenberg who had been concerned with "Germans dragged into slavery" since the previous fall.¹⁷³ The decision to investigate the possibilities for peace with the Barbary Regencies had been reached during the winter months, but Prussia still lacked representation in the Maghreb. When the foreign ministry decided to open relations, Hardenberg asked that de la Perière be considered for the position as representative of Prussia.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, de la Perière's notion that Prussia could "play a special role" in North Africa played to Hardenberg's ambitions for making Northern Germany a sea power.¹⁷⁵ Other officials agreed. Bülow determined that the Prussian state's best financial interest aligned with seeking peace with the Barbary Regencies.¹⁷⁶ The consul to Sweden argued that a consul in Algiers could help to ensure that the Barbary powers would deal more fairly with the Prussians—not to mention they would save funds siphoned off by intermediaries.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, Dohna insisted that a lasting peace might be easier to achieve through international cooperation and he signaled the Danish

¹⁷² Ibid., fol. 93: "Hat ruht unsere Nation jetzt ein vorzügliches Ansehen, auch dort eine Bedeutend Rolle zu spielen? Fordern aus endlich nicht Natur und Bruderrechte dazu auf unserer Seehandeltriebenden Staats-Mitbürger vor ähnlichen Übeln zu sichern?"

¹⁷³ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 34-35, Hardenberg to Raumer, 25, Nov. 1814: "die Deutschen geschleppt in Slaveriey" in other cases he wrote *schädliche* and *unglückliche*.

¹⁷⁴ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 86, Hardenberg to Raumer, 25 Mar. 1815.

¹⁷⁵ Zeuske and Ludwig, "Amerikanische Kolonialwaren," 278-279.

¹⁷⁶ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312 fol. 90, Bülow to a minister of the MdA, 22 May 1815.

¹⁷⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 87, Dohna to MdA, n.d.

government's willingness to participate in future mutual peace agreements.¹⁷⁸ The discussion over sending de la Perière continued into 1816, but the decision to send him to the Regencies came too late. He had joined the government of the Rhine Provinces after Napoleon's defeat and proved valuable in that capacity.¹⁷⁹

After the negotiations resumed in 1815, pirates near Cadiz seized two ships from Hamburg, one from Prussia and one from Russia, while a ship from Bremen was taken elsewhere. Those ships mattered little to the delegates who wanted to hammer-out a peace as soon as possible.

Germans Remain Captivated by Christian Slavery after Vienna

As the last issue on an ever-changing itinerary, the *Barbareskenfrage* fell off the docket at Vienna after the return of Napoleon. This had as much to do with the contested and uneasy reorganization of Central Europe as it did with Great Britain's foreign policy objectives. As much as administrators looked to improve their economic lot through the expansion of overseas shipping, problems closer to home took precedent. Prussian administrators settled for a substantially larger dominion and they hoped to address issues of piracy after nailing down their territorial gains. Great Britain did not want to combat piracy in the Mediterranean for a number of reasons. First of all, it went against the peace-seeking spirit of the Congress. Combatting the pirates would certainly result in new, distant, and costly military adventures. During this "Age of Recuperation", Great Britain wanted no more military adventures. Indeed, nearly all European governments wanted to heal the wounds of war and resume normal life, especially through economic recovery and development.¹⁸⁰ While the British overseas empire expanded, it did so

¹⁷⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol., 88, Dohna to MdA, n.d.

¹⁷⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 132-135, Friedrich von Schuckmann to Bülow.

¹⁸⁰ Schroeder, *Transformation*, 586-87; Tribe, *Governing Economy*, 185.

only in short, inexpensive engagements undertaken at opportunistic times.¹⁸¹ Secondly, fighting the Barbary Regencies offered little immediate benefit to Great Britain. Peace with the Ottoman Empire seemed more lucrative and, more importantly, would serve to keep the Russian Empire from expanding. Limiting Russian access to warm water ports played a major role in British containment efforts. Russia, on the other hand, wanted to take the Persians and the Turks to task for the continued harassment of Christians in Southern Europe and the Near East, but had little power to do so for precisely this reason. Prussia spent much of its political capital annexing Saxony, just as Russia had in the annexation of Poland. Castlereagh and Humboldt agreed at Vienna, on the issue of what to do about “Christian slaves,” that is, as opposed to black African slaves, and the two decided to table the subject for a later convention in London the following year.¹⁸²

Shrewd foreign policy intent on maintaining tranquility, peace, and order hindered efforts at reducing the impact of Barbary predation on Northern European shipping. Completely eliminating piracy would further reduce the grip Constantinople held over its various city states in North Africa. More political fragmentation could allow a power to invade and annex portions of the Ottoman Empire and upset the balance of power. In the opinions of those present, the Barbary Regencies had for so long made a living from raids, tribute payments, gifts and the ransoming of soldiers, that agricultural and manufacturing pursuits remained backwards. Taking away such an important revenue stream from the regencies, combined with their lack of the same industrial capacity as Europe, would only increase instability in the region. For another reason, Great Britain had greatly expanded its shipping during the years of Napoleonic destruction to the

¹⁸¹ Schroeder, *Transformation*, 587-591.

¹⁸² See for instance, GStA PK I. HA Rep. 81 Ges. London nach 1807, Nr. 285, *Conferenz-Protokolle betreffend Maßregeln gegen die Barbaresken und Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels*, “No. I Protocole des Conferences pour l’abolition de la Traite des Nègres,” 1, 16 Aug. 1816. Also see Kossok, *Im Schatten*, 53-67; Gertrud Steckhan, “Preussen und die Neuorientierung der europäischen Staatengesellschaft auf dem Aachener Kongress 1818” (PhD diss., Universität Berlin, 1934), 96-98; Herta Freilinghaus, “Preussen und England vom Wiener Kongress bis zum Tode Castlereaghs 1822” (PhD diss., Universität Köln, 1936), 22, 86, 100-101.

point of holding a virtual monopoly over much of the Western Hemisphere's trade. Keeping the Prussians out of the Mediterranean Sea prevented German linens from competing with those of Ireland, and kept Baltic timber, famous for its robust application in shipbuilding, from competing with the softer and less durable Canadian timber sponsored by British interests. Lastly, Great Britain had a history of arresting the pirates only to let them go in order to maintain good relations with the Regencies.

After the ink had dried on Vienna's Final Act, ill-tidings for Prussia once again arrived from Spain and Antwerp. Heinrich Wilhelm von Werther, in Madrid, learned that delegates had found no solution to the *Barbareskenfrage*.¹⁸³ He warned that inaction jeopardized the future of trade in the Atlantic—especially the profitable routes to South America. He reported the news from Madrid that pirates continued to haunt the waters near the Cape St. Vincent which would block passage to South America.¹⁸⁴ Meanwhile, Prussian officials had set into motion a plan for the establishment of a consulate in Rio de Janeiro.¹⁸⁵ They had hopes of resurrecting the trade in grain and linen for, amongst other colonial goods, coffee, sugar and cotton.¹⁸⁶ Carl Wilhelm Therenin, the son of the Berlin court gardener and newly appointed consulate to Antwerp, applied for the proposed position.¹⁸⁷ He believed that his skills could be best used to expand trade to South America—if the negotiations with the Barbary Regencies first concluded successfully.¹⁸⁸ This reminder of the potential exclusion from a vast new market kept the issue a live and pressing one for the ministers of foreign affairs and finance.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸³ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 109, Werther to a minister of the MdA, 25 Jul. 1815.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 109.

¹⁸⁵ Though it was a contentious matter given the issues surrounding the government in exile's legitimacy.

¹⁸⁶ See Zeuske, "Preußen und Westindien," 146-148.

¹⁸⁷ Ferry de Goey, *Consuls and the Institutions of Global Capitalism, 1783–1914* (London: Routledge, 2015), 97-99.

¹⁸⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 129-130, "Auszug aus dem Berichte des Consuls Antwerpen" 28 Oct. 1815.

¹⁸⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol. 117-128: Discussions between the Bülow and Raumer over proposed sums paid by other nations for peace, and the ideal payment structure for Prussia, continued in the months after Vienna.

Many of the loudest political commentators and enemies of the Barbary Regencies saw their work in Vienna as a failure. Nevertheless, over the last two years, their efforts brought new energy to this problem. Promoters of abolition for Christian slavery, like Sir Sidney Smith, had reached a new audience and established a broader correspondence through the salons at Vienna. After the Congress of Vienna, the African Slave trade became more tightly bound with the issue of Barbary captivity, for Northern Europeans, during the following Congresses.¹⁹⁰ Indeed, an historian of the Barbary Pirates has described the outburst to join the two slaveries as an important foundation for international cooperation.¹⁹¹ This cooperation reached an apogee during the meeting at Aachen in 1818. German states became interested in the abolition of slavery and the suppression of the slave trade just before the Congress of Vienna because it suited their interests well. Germans hoped to elide, interweave, and blend the injustices of the Atlantic slave trade with Mediterranean-based acts of piracy targeting European Christians. Piracy blocked German ships' access to valuable trade routes to Latin America and the Mediterranean at a time when most Europeans wanted nothing more than to recover from decades of economic instability and hardship. The British seemed to work against German recovery efforts as they enacted tariffs that devastated German industry and agriculture. Meanwhile, British promoters of abolition insisted on policing distant parts of the world to cure the evil of slavery. For many Germans, slavery could be fought just as easily in the waters and lands surrounding Europe as it could be in the markets and plantations of the West Indies, Bahia, and Virginia. Indeed, it seemed more practical to eliminate slavery in those areas, closer to Europe where Christians suffered, before turning to rid the rest of the world of human bondage.

¹⁹⁰ One example: GStA PK I. HA Rep. 81 Ges. London nach 1807, Nr. 285, "*Conferenz-Protokolle betr. Maßregeln gegen die Barbaresken und Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels.*"

¹⁹¹ Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 73, 119, 271-274.

By the time Napoleon met with his final defeat in 1815, ideas of combatting slavery had been transformed from their Enlightenment foundations. Pirates from the Barbary Regencies once again captured German soldiers during a new, final wave of attacks during the Napoleonic era and reawakened old memories of northern German suffering at the hands of Islamic pirates. Germans took a leading role in a press campaign dedicated to fighting Christian slavery. They seized upon figures like the Russian Tsar and Sir Sidney Smith to reinforce the multi-national, cooperative, and ecumenical aims of their cause to abolish Christian slavery. While British and French abolitionists set to work lobbying their governments, officials and merchants from Prussia and the Hanseatic cities promoted an equivalence between the “kidnapped” black slaves from Africa and the “dragged off” Christian slaves from Europe. Officials from Prussia, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck all realized the potential for uniting the states of Northern Europe in an alliance against a common threat. More pressing issues surrounding Prussian territorial acquisitions pushed Christian slavery off the agenda at Vienna. Although they failed to secure a firm declaration against the “illegal” activity of the Barbary Regencies, the issue remained a live, active, and pressing issue for Northern Europeans. They come back to the issue with more vigor and finally resolve this age old problem during the ministerial conferences after 1815.

CHAPTER III

Wilhelm von Humboldt's Action against Slavery and Post-Vienna Christian Enslavement

1816-1830

“The abolition of slavery,” argued Wilhelm von Humboldt in a proposed treaty for a pan-European naval force at the Congress of Aachen (1818), “is a principal object of this league.”¹ This treaty, with more than fifty articles, suggested the creation of an international police force to combat the slave trade in the waters surrounding Europe. The proposal sought a means of ensuring the common security of European states and their shipping interests—an odd choice for a man thoroughly opposed to government intervention in economic life.² Based in Paris, a commission made up of the European states would ensure the absolute neutrality of the joint naval force. Each nation would contribute to the maintenance of the fleet and each would send representatives to govern it. For Humboldt, “ensuring protection and security of navigation and commerce” in the Atlantic and Mediterranean meant ending the slave trade—for both black African slaves and Christian Europeans in North Africa. Nevertheless, Humboldt’s attention and intent centered more on resolving the problem of Christian enslavement associated with the piracy of the Barbary Corsairs, the so-called *Barbareskenfrage*, rather than the *Sklavenfrage*, the discussion for eliminating the Atlantic slave trade and black slavery.

Unlike his brother’s more celebrated survey of New World slave market operations, Wilhelm von Humboldt’s call for the abolition of slavery through international cooperation failed to gain lasting historical attention.³ Indeed, it is almost as unknown as the continued enslavement

¹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fols. 193-220: “*Projet d’Alliance contre la Piraterie des Barbaresques, redigé par Mr. de Humboldt et remis à la Conférence de Londres (1817-1818)*”: “L’abolition de l’Esclavage est un des buts principaux de la Ligue.”

² Frederick C. Beiser, *Enlightenment, Revolution, and Romanticism: The Genesis of Modern German Political Thought, 1790-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1992).

³ Michael Zeuske, “Humboldt, Historismus, Humboldtianisierung: Der ‘Geschichtsschreiber von Amerika’, Die Massensklaverei und die Globalisierungen Der Welt,” *HiN. Alexander von Humboldt Im Netz* II, no. 3 (2001); Michael Zeuske, ed., *Humboldt in Amerika* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2001), 30-82; For a brief

of Northern Europeans by pirates after Napoleon's defeat.⁴ Humboldt had worked on the treaty since he came to London as a diplomat the previous year.⁵ As he recorded his intent to bring Europe together against the Barbary States and end the threat of Christian enslavement, other officials in the Prussian government pursued similar programs.⁶ At the same time, in Hamburg, the Antipiracy Association [*Antipiratischen Verein*], made up of mayors and merchants, took shape with the intention of combatting the threat of Barbary enslavement.⁷ Individuals and groups such as these had been sending requests and proposals clamoring for a resolution to this problem for more than a decade. Humboldt's proposed treaty and the attention dedicated to slavery during the decade and a half which followed Vienna open a variety of questions. Why did they devote such effort to slavery in diplomatic relations during the early nineteenth century? How was it that slavery could continue to be discussed as a matter of Christian suffering at a time when the transatlantic slave trade reached its highest point during the nineteenth century?

Christian slavery remained a problem for German states after Vienna. For the two decades following Vienna's Final Act, representatives of Prussia and the Hanseatic cities continued to wrestle with how they could eliminate the threat of Christian slavery in the Mediterranean, through both international conventions and bilateral agreements, to access the lucrative markets

overview of the historiography on Alexander von Humboldt and abolition see, Nicolaas A. Rupke, *Alexander von Humboldt: A Metabiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 191-195.

⁴ Ernstpeter Ruhe eds., *Europas islamische Nachbarn: Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte des Maghreb* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1993); Salvatore Bono, *Piraten und Korsaren im Mittelmeer: Seekrieg, Handel und Sklaverei vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, trans. Achim Wurm (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2009); Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 198-212.

⁵ Bruno Gebhardt, *Wilhelm von Humboldt als Staatsmann* vol. 2 (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1896), 291-306.

⁶ Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Wilhelm von Humboldts Tagebücher, Vol. 2: 1799-1835*, ed. Albert Leitzmann (Berlin: B. Behr, 1918), 400-405. The finance minister Ludwig von Bülow worked on securing relations with the Barbary Regencies from 1814 until his death in 1825, see GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312-5316, *passim*; GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5322, *passim*.

⁷ Johann Christoph Dittmann and Karl Kreysing, *Kurze Darstellung des Geistes und Strebens des antipiratischen Vereins* (Hamburg: Selbstverlag, 1819); Karl Kreysing, *Ueber den zu Hamburg errichteten antipiratischen Verein* (Hamburg: G. H. Mahncke, 1819); Ernst Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken: Mit einem Anhang* (Kassel: M. Brunnemann, 1897), 150-151; Ernst Baasch, "Die deutschen wirtschaftlichen Einheitsbestrebungen, die Hansestädte und Friedrich List bis zum Jahre 1821," *Historische Zeitschrift* 122, no. 3 (1920): 454-85., "Christensklaven als Beute nordafrikanischer Piraten: "Das Bild des Maghreb im Europa des 16-19 Jahrhunderts" in *Europas islamische Nachbarn: Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte des Maghreb*, ed. Ernstpeter Ruhe (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1993), 159-186.

of Southern Europe. Meanwhile, the Atlantic slave trade reached a new, terrible apogee as Germans lamented the relatively low numbers of Christians enslaved in North Africa.⁸ Of course no liberal intellectual defended New World slavery after 1815.⁹ Nevertheless, the problem of Christian slavery, for Northern Europeans, became a more pressing problem for the governments of Prussia and Hanseatic cities than the Atlantic trade in slaves. Although the problem gave Germans a reason to oppose slavery and the slave trade, it put concerns for Christian slavery over the comparatively more wide-spread problem of New World slavery. Germans, thus, insisted on combining efforts to erect barriers to the transatlantic slave trade with efforts meant to police the Mediterranean against Islamic piracy at the ministerial conferences following Vienna. This worked against British efforts and played well with the opponents of abolition and antislavery, like the French, Spanish, and Portuguese, who looked for any means to prolong suppression and abolition.¹⁰

The failure of the powers to combat Christian slavery at the post-Vienna ministerial conferences increased German concerns for Christian slaves. German states had neither a navy nor international guarantees of security which allowed Islamic pirates to attack German ships in locations as far as the North Sea. German states saw British machinations behind the reluctance to eliminate these pirates and their slaving operations. The fact that the British promoted abolition of black slavery, allowed pirates to operate, and even released some after they were arrested,

⁸ The decade after 1815 saw the transatlantic slave trade practically outlawed, and by 1820 it was illegal everywhere except for Brazil and Cuba, Christopher Leslie Brown, "Slavery and Antislavery, 1760-1820," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, c.1450-c.1850*, eds. Nicholas P. Canny and Philip D. Morgan (Oxford: New York : Oxford University Press, 2011), 602-617.

⁹ Conservative intellectuals such as Ludwig von Haller, Adam Müller, Gustav Hugo, Heinrich Leo, and Ludwig von Gerlach wrote against abolition. See Rainer Koch, "Liberalismus, Konservatismus und das Problem der Negerklaverei: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des politischen Denkens in Deutschland in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Zeitschrift* 222, no. 3 (1976): 529-77; See also, Andreas Gestrich, "The Abolition Act and the Development of Abolitionist Movements in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations: The Long-Term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, ed. Marcel van der Linden (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 255-260.

¹⁰ Paul Michael Kielstra, *The Politics of Slave Trade Suppression in Britain and France, 1814-48: Diplomacy, Morality and Economics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 64-107.

contributed to this idea. It meant that Germans associated themselves with slavery as victims. This blunted German views of black African slavery as they continued to insist upon the mistreatment of “Christian” or “white” slaves. Failure to stop the enslavement of Christians also turned the ambitions of the Prussian merchants and ministers inwards. They began to look at consolidating and colonizing the newly acquired territories to the east rather than investing in costly international relationships, extensive overseas networks, and the creation of a naval force. Even though little changed until the British blockade of Algiers at the end of the 1820s, the Hanseatic cities and Prussian state continued to investigate the possibilities for action against Christian slavery. Not only do their plans and proposals demonstrate that the concern over slavery represented more than an academic exercise, but their concern over slavery contributed to a more self-referential vision of their relationship to slavery.

This chapter thus attempts to explain how in the press, in diplomatic circles, and in the ministries of government the problem of slavery helped to redirect and turn inwards the Prussian state’s attention. The threat associated with Christian enslavement in the Mediterranean contributed to Prussia’s withdrawal from the wider world. The continued discussion of the issue also made the attitude towards slavery become more self-referential at a time when the campaigners for suppression and abolition enjoyed their most incredible successes.

Post-Vienna Economic Recovery and Agricultural Disaster

German states’ concern over slavery and the slave trade grew after failed attempts at a resolution during Vienna and the increasing need for economic recovery. Even as the delegates representing British interests during the congress era continued to lobby, promote and propose measures against the transatlantic slave trade at international meetings, delegates from Prussia and the Hanseatic cities pressed for a resolution to Christian slavery in the Mediterranean. They

often described this problem as the “Barbary question” [*Barbareskenfrage*].¹¹ Overseas trade promised a speedier recovery for the devastated Northern-European economies—but only if the routes could be secured.¹² Merchants, ministers, the press and others remained optimistic that the suppression of the slave trade and abolition in the colonies could be twined with the problem of Christian enslavement in North Africa to achieve a favorable outcome for North German navigation at the post-Vienna ministerial conferences. From the Congress of London (1816) to Aachen (1818), Prussian delegates met with representatives from other powers fourteen times at such conferences to discuss the *Barbareskenfrage*.¹³ With almost continuous support of the Russian Tsar, who saw himself as the protector of Christendom in the East, and partial support from Austria and lesser powers, Prussia objected to measures against New World slavery that did not include a resolution to Christian slavery.¹⁴ Based on the available directives, memoranda, reports, and communications, Prussia pursued a policy intent on creating international cooperation, based on the system established at Vienna, in the hopes of eliding the problem of slavery with the problem of Islamic piracy. Humboldt’s proposed treaty for the abolition of slavery through the creation of a joint naval force serves as the best example of many such initiatives. These initiatives demonstrate how the persistent Northern European interest in slavery developed into a narrow interest in resolving Christian slavery

¹¹ GStA PK III. HA MdA I Nr. 7974, “*Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels: Maßnahmen gegen die Maghreb-Staaten (Barbaresken)*.”

¹² Carl Wilhelm Theremin, the first General consulate to Brazil, promised the Prussian government that Brazil offers great wealth, if the one can tolerate the maladies, the weather, and the dagger presented by the Barbary pirates, before he was given the position in Rio de Janeiro, see, GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 685, fols. 22-24, Report from Theremin to Bülow Aug. 12 1816.

¹³ GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7974, fols. 67-309; This also included bilateral meetings, such as those between Portugal and Brazil with Prussia, GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 4640, fols. 1-165; Eisermann, “Johann Smidt,” 16-24; GStA PK VI. HA Familienarchive und Nachlässe, NI Werther, Nr. 28, fols. 32-37.

¹⁴ In a confidential letter to Karl August von Hardenberg, Jacobi-Kloest assures Hardenberg that Russia will stand behind Prussia, and that England seemed interested in ending the problem of Christian slavery in the Mediterranean, which they would deal with alongside the trade in “Negro slaves” at London in 1816, GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7974, fols. 74-75, Jacobi-Kloest to Hardenberg, 13 Jun. 1816.; See also, Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, 222-224; Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 590.

Economic interest shaped concerns over slavery more than anything. Prussia had doubled in size after Vienna and the new state lost more than any other power from the reduction of French war indemnities after renegotiations.¹⁵ To make financial matters worse for the Prussian state, markets recovered slowly in the years after Napoleon.¹⁶ Vienna did little to solve the perpetual problem of internal or local trade barriers.¹⁷ Even though the Prussian state housed many economically liberal reformers, and Vienna had mandated economic unity, man-made trade barriers, such as tolls, tariffs, and monopolies, remained an obstacle to economic recovery.¹⁸ For Prussia, this meant that trade to its neighbors, by land or through the Baltic Sea, offered comparatively lower returns than more exotic ports.¹⁹ Prussian and Hanseatic merchants believed that overseas trade to more distant, diverse, and lucrative markets would be the best way to rejuvenate the Northern European economies. Merchants, ministers and adventurous entrepreneurs saw vast profits in trade with markets in South America, the West Indies, and the Mediterranean—all of which required protection from the Barbary Regencies.²⁰ Northern European grains and manufactured goods could fetch higher prices in these markets; not to mention the introduction of cheaper colonial goods, which tended to sap Prussian specie, would

¹⁵ Schroeder, *Transformation*, 590-594.

¹⁶ Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismark: 1800-1866* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 55-64; Hans Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte, Vol. II: Von der Reformära bis zur industriellen und politischen 'Deutschen Doppelrevolution,' 1815-1845/49* (München: C.H. Beck), 95-119; Koselleck, *Preußen zwischen Reform und Revolution*, 209-215.

¹⁷ For the effects of these trade laws and tolls after 1815 see John D. Post, *The Last Great Subsistence Crisis in the Western World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 66, 174-175; Wilhelm Abel, *Massenarmut und Hungerkrisen im vorindustriellen Deutschland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986), 241, 258-266; Hans H. Bass, *Hungerkrisen in Preussen während der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae, 1991); Schroeder, *Transformation*, 593-601; Katherine Aaslestad, *Place and Politics Local Identity: Civic Culture, and German Nationalism in North Germany during the Revolutionary Era* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005).

¹⁸ The absence of roads limited economic recovery: Schroeder, *Transformation*, 594-600.

¹⁹ This had to do with the cost of shipping as much as the variety of goods offered in different ports. For instance, it cost one tenth less to ship grain overseas to England than to ship grain via roads, where the cost per mile for each *Scheffel* grew with the distance: Bass, *Hungerkrisen*, 67-72.

²⁰ Carl Wilhelm von Thierstein, Ludwig von Bülow, and Heinrich Pütter, a Pomeranian merchant working for the Prussian government after 1815, are some of the best examples of those who believed the government needed to tap these new markets.

also promote independence from the sea powers.²¹ Trade relationships with England especially concerned the merchants and ministers interested in opening new markets. Before Napoleon, Prussia and the Hanseatic cities relied on the English domestic market to consume the bulk of Prussia's exported grain.²² After the English market reopened, the Prussian trade ministry panicked when those exports dropped to less than 200,000 quarters of grain in 1814 from the nearly half a million quarters shipped yearly before 1806.²³ The restrictive British Corn Laws of 1815 made foreign grain prohibitively expensive and reduced that figure to less than 20,000 quarters the next year.²⁴ British protectionism did much to convince the governments and merchants of Northern Europe that new markets had to be opened.

One revealing missive from the Austrian consul in Büyükdere, near Istanbul [*Buyukdere sur le Bosphore*], at the beginning of 1816, laid out the details for circumventing British trade through the development of new routes to the Mediterranean. He argued "Those people who want the holy alliance of the three monarchs" to combat "Islam" could point to the "horrible excesses which the Barbary Regencies are permitted more now than ever to take on the Christian nations."²⁵ Nevertheless, trade could be a boon to Prussia, in his opinion if good relations were developed with the Barbary Regencies, especially since Prussia's acquisition of the port city Stralsund.²⁶ Prussian ships could find "in the Levant a market for wool and other raw materials which our manufacturers now receive from England... and [Prussia's] porcelains, linen, and

²¹ Michael Zeuske, "Preußen und Westindien: Die vergessenen Anfänge der Handels- und Konsularbeziehungen Deutschlands mit der Karibik und Lateinamerika, 1800–1870," in *Preussen und Lateinamerika: Im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur*, eds. Sandra Carreras and Günther Maihold (Münster: Lit, 2004), 150-155.

²² Wilhelm Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe: From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2013), 222-223; Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 1, 491-493.

²³ During the years 1801 to 1805 half of all cereals, 489,000 Quarters of grain, came from Prussia, 255,000 from the Hanseatic cities; in 1806 only 77,000 quarters came from Prussia, 101,000 quarters from abroad came from German exports, Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations*, 222-223; Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 1, 491-493.

²⁴ Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 2, 27-29; Abel, *Massenarmut*, 314-322.

²⁵ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 139-140, Friedrich Christian Ludwig Senfft von Pilsack to a minister of foreign affairs (*Ministerium der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten* [MdA]), 25 Feb. 1816.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 140.

other productions of [Prussian] national industry would find in the markets of the East a more certain flow, since all these goods are quite dear to us since the commerce with France languishes.”²⁷ Prussia could cut out the British middle men, replace the French, and find a reliable new market for their goods in the Levant. Heinrich von Bülow, the Prussian finance minister, agreed and used this report as additional evidence to convince his colleagues for the need to expand relations with the Mediterranean.

Ships sailed to Southern and South American ports despite the failure of Prussia to secure a declaration against Christian enslavement at Vienna.²⁸ Prussian ships, from Emden to Memel, found some protection from the Scandinavian governments, but they paid higher insurance premiums to continue operations while ministers in Berlin fretted over how to provide security. With the hope for concerted action against the pirates on the table at future conferences, Berlin delayed opening relations with the Regencies, hoping to save money, and total outbound ships to Southern ports remained low.²⁹ Bremen believed that the future of its trade relied on opening the markets along the Southern border of Europe and sent increasing numbers of ships each year.³⁰ Likewise, Lübeck worked towards generating more substantial trade to Portugal and Spain, but the smaller city had resigned itself to the safer, if less profitable, use of foreign ships.³¹ Hamburg, on the other hand, immediately intensified its trade with the West Indies and Iberian states by

²⁷ Ibid., fol. 140.

²⁸ Johann Peter Friedrich Ancillon sent Hardenberg an extensive memo 25 Sept. 1817 to remind him of how important the trade was to Prussia’s trade interest: GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 176, “Memoire pour le Prince de Hardenberg, Chancelier d’Etat, sur la mediation demandée par l’Espagne dans ses démêlés avec ses colonies,” 25 Sept. 1817. See also, Manfred Kossok, *Im Schatten der Heiligen Allianz: Deutschland und Lateinamerika, 1815-1830: Zur Politik der deutschen Staaten gegenüber der Unabhängigkeitsbewegung Mittel- und Südamerikas* (Berlin : Akademie-Verlag, 1964), 57-60.

²⁹ On several occasions from 1814 to 1819 the representatives of the powers agreed to discuss further Christian slavery in the Mediterranean: GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7974, “Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels: Maßnahmen gegen die Maghreb-Staaten (Barbaresken).”

³⁰ Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 130-133. The number of ships passing through the Baltic carrying grain increased dramatically after 1814: Milja van Tielhof, *The “Mother of All Trades”: The Baltic Grain Trade in Amsterdam from the Late 16th to the Early 19th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 295-297.

³¹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 191-193, Memo Gröning to Curtius, 6, Nov. 1816.

increasing the number of ships sent to distant ports each year.³² Indeed, after Vienna, Hamburg's trade in colonial sugar grew steadily.³³ Like the Prussian merchants in the Baltic Sea, Bremen and Hamburg's senators continued to lobby for a means to secure the lucrative colonial markets.

In the meantime, the specter of Christian slavery prevented more widespread resumption and expansion of overseas trade. Advocates made the issue more prominent at Vienna and increased the anxieties of merchants after the powers failed to make a declaration against it as they had for the African slave trade. A last surge in piracy and coastal raids occurred during the period spanning the Congress of Vienna to the end of the next year (1814-1816). This last burst reinforced old notions and anxieties about the threat of Christian enslavement in North Africa.³⁴ For instance, it prompted a reaction from the Russian Tsar who then managed to convince British abolitionists to examine the issue of Christian slavery in early 1816.³⁵ The higher rate owes in part to the increasing desperation of the pirates, who, after being discouraged from engaging in trade, sought more valuable cargoes from Northern Europe as well as the more valuable German slaves.³⁶ Merchants from Stettin worried that North German shipping faced an existential threat at the start of the shipping season in 1816.³⁷ For instance, the senior merchants of Stettin, Königsberg, and Memel complained to Karl August von Hardenberg that the future of overseas trade seemed in doubt without intervention from the Prussian government.³⁸ Not only did insurance premiums for overseas trade (as opposed to river trade) rise to unsustainable levels for

³² Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 132-135.

³³ Gallois emphasizes the centrality of the sugar trade to Hamburg's recovery after 1814: Johann Gustav Gallois, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg, Vol. III: Spezielle Geschichte der Stadt seit 1814* (Hamburg: Ackermann & Wulff, 1856), 60, 127-200; Astrid Petersson, *Zuckersiedergewerbe und Zuckerhandel in Hamburg im Zeitraum von 1814 bis 1834: Entwicklung und Struktur zweier wichtiger Hamburger Wirtschaftszweige des vorindustriellen Zeitalters* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), 135, 122-193.

³⁴ Pirate raids increased between 1814 and 1815; 13 to 41 incidents from Tunisian pirates, and 19 to 53 from Tripolitania pirates, see, Daniel Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs: The End of a Legend, 1800-1820*, trans. and ed. Victoria Hobson and comp. John E. Hawkes (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 265-267.

³⁵ Kielstra, *Politics*, 64.

³⁶ Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 110; 115-117.

³⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fols. 149-152, Senior members of the Merchant community in Stettin to Johann Joseph Friedrich Zyka, 23 May 1816/ 18 May 1816.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 150.

most firms, they claimed, sailors and captains also refused voyages to the Iberian Peninsula. It was unthinkable to crew ships with destinations beyond the straits of Gibraltar. These merchants argued that some firms could simply relocate to nearby nations, who, through tribute payments and peace treaties, offered security from the Barbary Regencies.³⁹ These threats weighed heavily on Prussian ministers as they grappled with surveying, managing, and integrating their new coastal territories.⁴⁰ After pirates seized additional ships in 1817, some as far north as the English Channel and North Sea, agitators claimed that the pirates would soon be on German shores, invade continental river ways, and that they “will not tolerate Germans dragged into slavery.”⁴¹ Some Pomeranian families found it easy to relocate to Sweden and Denmark given their linguistic and cultural closeness as well as guarantees of protection.⁴² Other firms, having built extensive networks of relationships across the channel, over the last century, had sufficient contacts in France, Great Britain, and the Low Countries to easily relocate.⁴³ Little wonder that the Prussian minister of trade, Bülow, wrote that Prussian interest in resolving the *Barbareskenfrage* would endure.⁴⁴ He pushed for a government-sponsored resolution until his death the following decade.

While the desire for recovery and rejuvenation through overseas trade figured centrally, other contributing factors shaped German interest in combatting slavery. Several interdependent and closely linked ideas made antislavery fashionable outside the halls of government.

³⁹ Ibid., 151.

⁴⁰ GStA PK III. HA Mda II, Nr. 5313, fols. 231-261, Heinrich Pütter’s memo, “Representation of Prussian shipping and a description of the influence of the war with the pirate states on it, as well as proposals for peace treaties.” For more background, see Ressel, “Die Schifffahrt Schwedisch-Pommerns im Zeitalter der Revolution (1776-1815).”

⁴¹ “Sie glauben umso mehr die Hülfe Seiner Majestät in Anspruch nehmen zu dürfen, da Sie als mächtige Mitglied des Deutschen Bundes nicht dulden werden, daß Deutsche in Sklaverey geschleppt und daß der Deutschen Handel frach gestärk werde.” GStA PK III. HA Mda II, Nr.5313, fols.101-102, Christian Abraham Heineken to August Otto von Grote, 13 Aug. 1817.

⁴² Pütter’s *Denkschrift* makes claims as to the numbers of firms and the Bülow annotated the figure with exclamation points. GStA PK III. HA Mda II, Nr. 5313, fol. 231-261.

⁴³ Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority: German Merchants in London, Naturalization, and Global Trade, 1660-1815*, trans. Cynthia Klohr (New York: Berghahn, 2015), 37, 95-101, 111-112, 250.

⁴⁴ GStA PK III. HA Mda II, Nr. 5312, fol. 153-159.

Romantics, nationalists, and Christian activists saw combatting slavery as a means of fulfilling their respective programs.⁴⁵ Romantics included everyone from Philhellenists, who wanted to see the liberation of Greece, to liberals who wanted abolition in the colonies. Nationalists wanted to elevate Prussia's standing amongst the other powers and also saw an opportunity for greater German unity. They hoped that the states could be unified through the creation of a mutual defense force which would protect a common market. Not only could this market promote the removal of trade barriers like tariffs and tolls, bringing the German states closer together economically, but the state also could reinvigorate an imagined Prussian naval tradition in which a new generation of recruits from across Germany could take part. Serving together against a common enemy would instill in recruits a shared sense of destiny. Eventually, this would bring the states and people together in a common union.

The German press gave a voice to these programs and continued to incite public opinion against slavery after Vienna. Coverage of Christian slavery dwarfed African slavery during the first years after the declaration against the African slave trade. Newspapers, pamphlets, periodicals and other media described the unsavory pirates and corsairs [*Seeräuber, Korsaren, and Piraten*] who cruelly “dragged” Christians into captivity as being no better (and sometimes worse) than European slavers who bought and sold Africans for harsh labor on their colonial plantations.⁴⁶ Some periodicals closely followed military actions against the pirates. Sir Sidney Smith remained a popular figure for most newspapers. For several years after Vienna, papers tracked his progress in rallying Europe against slavery, and during 1816, the *Berlinische*

⁴⁵ Vick, *Congress*, 195-197; Frank Eisermann “Johann Smidt und die „Barbareskenstaaten“ (1814–1820),” *Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialgeschichte* 19, (2007): 5-34.

⁴⁶ “Die Slavery der Christen in Algier,” *Allgemeine Handlungs Zeitung*, no. 249 vol. 21, 21 Dec. 1814 (Nürnberg, 1814) 1001-1003.

Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen gave weekly updates on any news relating to the campaign of the British Admiral Lord Exmouth to free the Christian slaves in Algiers.⁴⁷

The press also infused the Barbary question with religiously-charged language despite state actors' efforts to resist the idea that such motives played a role in their thinking.⁴⁸ The European powers, for the most part, wanted to maintain peaceful relations with the Ottoman Empire and did not want to give the Ottoman government any indication that states sponsored a new crusade. Nevertheless, newspapers continued to campaign for the release of all Christian captives in Barbary.⁴⁹ Numerous brief passages marking the release of Christian sailors, who had origins from across Europe, especially Germans, after long periods of captivity testified to the continued dangers of Christian slavery. Reports of church collections dedicated to ransoming these slaves during the post-Vienna years spread this message and also revived old memories from the last century (see fig. 1).⁵⁰ Papers celebrated Sir Sidney Smith as "a holy crusader" who would free the unfortunate slaves from the holy land.⁵¹ The rumored figure of "49,000 Christian slaves" held in slave markets across North Africa took on a new life after being introduced by the papal delegate at Vienna and went through several permutations.⁵² Ernst Moritz Arndt called for the unification of European peoples to combat the Turks to prevent their ceaseless aggressions

⁴⁷ The paper consistently reported on the assault by the Barbary Regencies, the ransom of captives, and the military action against those states during the six year period between 1815 and 1820, *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, 1815-1820.

⁴⁸ Vick, *The Congress of Vienna*, 220, 233; Schroeder, *Transformation*, 512-521; 637-642.

⁴⁹ These included the papers such as *Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*; *Allgemeine Zeitung*; *AHZ*; *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, in addition to others.

⁵⁰ 15 Mar. 1816 Schleswig Holstein extended church collections to ransom Christian slaves. *Chronologische Sammlung der im Jahre ... ergangenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Verfügungen für die Herzogthümer Schleswig-Holstein: 1816*, (Kiel: Königl. Schulbuchhandl.), 28.

⁵¹ Christian August Vulpius, *Curiositäten der physisch-literarisch-artistisch-historischen Vor- und Mitwelt : zur angenehmen Unterhaltung für gebildete Leser*, (Weimar: Verl. des Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs, 1817) "Der Admiral Sir Sidney Smith und seine Ritterfahrt zum heiligen Grabe" 41.

⁵² Updates from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Leipziger Zeitung*, and others introduced these figures in 1815 following reports of Consalvi's activities at the congress. For more on Cardinal Consalvi at the congress, see Ernstpeter Heiniger, *Ideologie des Rassismus: Problemsicht und ethische Verurteilung in der kirchlichen Sozialverkündigung* (Immensee: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1980), 84-85; Kielstra, *Politics*, 33; Betty Fladeland, "Abolitionist Pressures on the Concert of Europe, 1814-1822," *The Journal of Modern History* 38, no. 4 (1966): 355-73.

and free the “45,000 wretched Christian slaves.”⁵³ In the post war years, his periodical, *Der Wächter*, examined the unfortunate situation of the Christians in captivity, but also expressed his disappointment that the Great Powers at Vienna had done nothing to stop the New World slave trade or force the colonial powers to relinquish their slaves (see fig. 2).⁵⁴ The papal ambassador’s insistence that Christian slavery in the Barbary Regencies be dealt with first frustrated abolitionists like William Wilberforce, who, in 1816 petitioned the pope’s representative to embrace his cause.⁵⁵



Figure 1. “Wood Sculptures of Chained and Enslaved Sailors used for Collecting Donations for Hamburg’s Sklavenkasse.” Photo, Museum für Bergedorf und die Vierlande, Bergedorf, ca. 1650.

⁵³ “Und die Barbarei und die Barbaresken? Wir lesen und hören von 45,000 unglücklichen Christensklaven, die von den kleinen Raubstaaten Afrika's wie das Vieh zu ihrer Plage und Arbeit an das Licht hervor und dann den Abend wieder in ihre düsteren Kerker zurückgetrieben werden; Wir hören von den scheußlichsten Verheerungen und Gräueln, die die Barbaren auf den Inseln an den Küsten der italischen und spanischen Christenheit ungestraft begehen. Und das haben sie nun seit Jahrhunderten ungestraft geübt, so daß sie die Länder und Flaggen der Großen Christenstaaten schonen und die der kleinern plündern und brandschatzen. Und doch ist die Stimme Der Menschlichkeit, die sich für die armen Schwarzen in Afrika und Westindien lange Jahre heiser geschrien hatte, endlich durch alle Verwände und Hindernisse durchgedrungen, welche Grausamkeit und Habsucht entgegen schieben konnten. Sollte denn hier in der Mitte des reichsten und schönsten Europa die Vertilgung eines die Menschheit und die Christenheit entehrenden Gräuels nicht möglich seyn, wenn dies in so fernen Welttheilen möglich ist?” Arndt, *Der Wächter*, vol. II, 1816, 140-141.

⁵⁴ Arndt, *Der Wächter*, vol. II, 128-129; 140-143; 320-325.

⁵⁵ John S. Harford, *Recollections of William Wilberforce, Esq., M.P. for the County of York during Nearly Thirty Years: With Brief Notices of Some of His Personal Friends and Contemporaries* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865), 71-81.



Figure 2. “Landing of the Barbary [Pirates] at Alighieri in Sardinia, on the 9th of April 1816.” Engraving from Johann Baptist Pfitzer, Vienna, 1816.

Prussian officials had faith in the post-Vienna system of international law. If not for their faith in this system, Hardenberg, Humboldt, and Bülow, might not have concentrated on the Barbary question.⁵⁶ Combatting the practices of these rogue states became an important component of Northern European diplomatic efforts in the years after Vienna.⁵⁷ Ministers drew on this argument for over a decade after Vienna starting with the military expeditions undertaken

⁵⁶ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313 to GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5315 demonstrates the extensive and sustained concern for the *Barbareskenfrage* and the hope that the new international system could be used to deal with the it.; GStA PK VI. HA Familienarchiv und Nachlässe, NI Werther, no. 28, fol. 32-37, Werther hoped for a resolution through the Congress and for unity and stability within Europe.

⁵⁷ GStA PK VI. HA Familienarchiv und Nachlässe, NI Werther, no. 28, fol. 32-37.

by the British Admiral Lord Exmouth. Initially, the Prussian government celebrated the bombardment of Algiers by the British and the subsequent release of captives by the Dey of Algiers with an anniversary address.⁵⁸ Prussia also believed it could use the new system established at Vienna to gain concessions for protection from the British government. Given that another British Admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, had promoted an expedition against the Barbary Regencies the year before at Vienna, Philipp Wilhelm von Jacobi-Kloest, the Prussian Diplomat in London, inquired as to whether or not England would be able to offer the same sorts of protections for Northern German ships against the Barbary Regencies as it had for Sardinia.⁵⁹ Rober Stewart, the Viscount Castlereagh gave a measured response. Consistent with the British attitudes at Vienna, Castelreagh assured the Prussian government that Sidney Smith did not represent the true feelings of the British government.⁶⁰ Exmouth's expedition had only been sent to enforce the agreed upon terms between the British Government and the Ottoman Empire as well as ensure the protection of Sardinia. Lastly, England was more than willing to work together with Prussia. If only the Prussian government had asked sooner, the British government would have made similar arrangements for the Northern German states. Castlereagh regretted to inform the Prussian government that arrangements had already been made and could not be changed at this late moment.⁶¹

Agricultural calamity offered an opportunity for Prussia and the Hanseatic cities' economic rejuvenation and recuperation. After the lean years in which Napoleonic requisitions had cleared granaries and fields across Europe, Mt. Tomboro's eruption, thousands of miles

⁵⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 5357, *Glückwunschadresse an Lord Exmouth für seinen Sieg am 27. August 1816 über die Magrebstaaen* (Barbaresken).

⁵⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II Nr. 5312, fol. 149-152 18 Mai, 1816, to Zyka from the Elders of the Merchant community [*Alterleute der Kauffmannschaff*] in Stettin; GStA PK III. HA MdA II Nr. 5312, fol. 165, 11 and 29 Jun, 1816 Jacobi-Kloest to Hardenberg.

⁶⁰ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5312, fol.191-193.

⁶¹ GStA PK I. HA Rep. 81 (Residenturen) u. (General-) Konsulate *nach 1807*, Ges. London nach 1807, Nr. 285-286; GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 5173-5174. Also see Herta Freilinghaus, "Preussen und England vom Wiener Kongress bis zum Tode Castlereaghs 1822" (PhD diss., Universtät Köln, 1936), 99-102.

away, during April 1815, set into motion a chain of ecological events leading to widespread crop failures, dearth, and eventually famine in states to the south and west of Prussia.⁶² In the so-called “*Year without a Summer*,” (1816) extreme variations in usual temperature patterns, increased rainfall, and decreased sunlight ravaged agriculture and husbandry in Southern and Western Europe.⁶³ Crops failed and dearth struck repeatedly, especially during the depression of 1819. After they raised internal barriers to food exportation, several German states exacerbated food shortages. Incomes dropped with the reduction in wages from the lack of seasonal work following the first failed crops.⁶⁴ Diminished purchasing power slowed manufacturing. High rains had consequences other than washing out newly-planted crops—the Rhineland experienced an industry-damaging shortage of firewood and charcoal.⁶⁵ Rains also killed millions of domestic animals—especially sheep and cattle.⁶⁶ European states sought a means to address what was increasingly being described as an apocalyptic situation.

The Prussian government hoped to cash in on the subsistence crisis by increasing exports to old and new markets.⁶⁷ Northern Germans saw the increase in grain prices as an opportunity to boost revenues through grain exports from Eastern Prussia to the harder-hit areas of Western Europe. In Hannover, for instance, the price of rye more than doubled in less than a year from March 1816 to January 1817.⁶⁸ In French and English markets, wheat prices in 1817-1818 were

⁶² For an overview of the most recent work on the effects of the “Year without Summer” in social, political, economic and cultural life, see, Wolfgang Behringer, *Tambora und das Jahr ohne Sommer: Wie ein Vulkan die Welt in die Krise stürzte* (München: C.H. Beck, 2016); Post, *Last*; See also, Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations*, 220-230; Bass, *Hungerkrisen*; Abel, *Massenarmut*, 302-346.

⁶³ Post, *Last*, 17-23.

⁶⁴ Abel, *Massenarmut*, 318-326.

⁶⁵ Prices doubled for these essential industrial materials like charcoal, Post, *Last*, 148, 16-20.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 20-22, 148-151; Some farmers in Prussia complained that even though grain sales increased, they lost profits when as many as half their livestock perished; Jerome Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 140-147.

⁶⁷ After Vienna, it seemed like the British market had been closed. Opening new markets grew increasingly attractive after the first series of crop failures in 1816 and British trade policy made it difficult to resume trade relations, see, GStA PK I HA. Rep. 151 Finanzmin. IA Nr. 108; For analysis of the postwar trade cycle, see Post, *Last*; Abel, *Massenarmut*, 314-345; Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations*, 222-228.

⁶⁸ Abel, *Massenarmut*, 316-319.

as much as triple what they had been in Danzig or Berlin. This owes to the fact that Eastern Prussia did not experience the same temperature fluctuations as Southern and Western Europe during the subsistence crisis. The heartier Prussian cereals also resisted crop failures better than the wheat grown in warmer climates. Prussia suffered less dearth, fewer popular protests, and did not experience the same increases in crime as other German or European states.⁶⁹ In fact, Eastern Prussia, alongside Russia, saw increases in grain production as farmers sought to capitalize on the rise in grain prices.

Grain production in Eastern Prussia and Russia increased through the 1820s in reaction to higher prices.⁷⁰ Even though exports to the British market dramatically increased, from nearly nothing to 1.25 million quarters during the height of the catastrophe, Prussian producers still stood atop grain “heaps, almost as high as Egyptian pyramids” from speculation and overproduction beginning in 1816 and lasting into the 1820s.⁷¹ Shipping cereals to Mediterranean ports, especially to Marseille—a region hit hard by crop failures with the highest regional prices—promised an outlet for this grain and substantial returns.⁷² Merchants and ministers hoped that these returns would help the post-war commercial crisis looming over much of Prussia’s hinterland. But merchants first needed security for their vessels.

Just before his reassignment to the newly-created commerce ministry, Heinrich von Bülow, wrote to Hardenberg addressing some Prussian merchants’ urgent concerns about the

⁶⁹ Ibid., 322-326, 342-343; Post, *Last*, 165-174. Prussia was also shielded by Friedrich II’s policies of planning for dearth: Dominik Collet, “Storage and Starvation: Public Granaries as Agents of Food Security in Early Modern Europe,” *Historical Social Research* 35, no. 4 (134) (2010): 238-243.

⁷⁰ Part of the increase owes to the 29 May 1816 decree which allowed East-Elbian agricultural interests to reverse some of the recent emancipatory gains for peasants. The decree gave more power to large landholders. This permitted larger and more intensive grain-production; Koselleck, *Preußen*, 208, 289-292, 487-526; Robert M. Berdahl, *The Politics of the Prussian Nobility: The Development of a Conservative Ideology, 1770-1848* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 150-154.

⁷¹ Abel, *Massenarmut*, 346, 344-351: “unzählige Haufen, hoch fast wie ägyptische Pyramiden.”

⁷² Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries.*, 222-237; The increased Russian production of wheat had helped to displace North African wheat in Mediterranean ports, Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 315-316.

appropriate security papers—the so-called “Turkish passes.”⁷³ After a Tunisian “flotilla” seized four German vessels sailing in the English Channel, and “forced the crews into unfortunate slavery” during May and June 1817, the need to resolve the *Barbareskenfrage* again intensified.⁷⁴ Bülow followed up reports of the seizure with a reminder to Hardenberg and other ministers that he had sent a request for security the previous month and hoped a means could be found to secure Prussian ships.⁷⁵ The consulate in Amsterdam reported to him that the Tunisian ships specifically “hunted Prussian and Hanseatic ships.” That the British navy captured those ships, released most of the German sailors, and took no punitive actions against the pirates, led many Germans officials to believe that the British government supported piracy as a means to exclude Prussia and the Hanseatic cities from free trade after the Corn Laws lost their effect with higher prices.⁷⁶ This accusation that “the British were in no way guided by a Humanitarian spirit” had been made at the start of the year by another minister.⁷⁷ Indeed, the British government made certain to inform the governments of Prussia, Lübeck, and Hamburg that not only was Tunisia’s predation a legitimate act, carried out by a sovereign state at war, but that British intervention was limited to this case because it happened in British waters.⁷⁸ It was all the more egregious given that Prussia had been excluded from the peace settlement following the Bombardment of Algiers by Exmouth

⁷³ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fol. 14, Bülow (Berlin) to Hardenberg, 15 April 1817.

⁷⁴ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fols. 1-4, Grote to King 16 June 1817.

⁷⁵ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fol. 79, “*Wegen der den Preußischen Schiffen mangelnden Sicherheit gegen die Barbaresken*“ from Bülow to Hardenberg, 17 June 1817.

⁷⁶ These officials included ministers in Bremen, Hamburg, Bülow and Humboldt, and the representatives of the Prussian port cities, see the correspondence between July and November 1817 in GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fol. 79-115.

⁷⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7974, fols. 128-139, Reinhold Otto Friedrich August von Schoeler, 2 Jan. 1817: “Mémoire historique et politique sur la traité des Nègres.” Schoeler based his opinion on a Portuguese memorandum criticizing “the sect of human rights” activists who had “recently joined with the Methodists” in the British Parliament. GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 4640, fols. 1-54, 114-117, 182-189: During the negotiations for new trade arrangements with the still unified Portugal and Brazil, Prussian ministers, including Hardenberg, Bernstorff, Werther, Flemming, and Bülow, complained bitterly about British tariffs and the Portuguese government’s prevarications over the total abolition of the slave trade between the years 1814 and 1820.

⁷⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fol. 101-103, from President of the Senate in Bremen Heinecken to Grote, 13 Aug. 1817,

the previous year. They had not forgotten Castlereagh's response to Jacobi-Kloest, nor had they forgotten British insistence on suppression of the black slave trade.

Prussian ministers investigated new approaches to the *Barbareskenfrage* in 1817. British evasiveness over the issue of security only increased these ministers' frustrations as they lost specie, cargoes and crews to pirates. After years of looking for a peaceful solution, ministers now took seriously the idea of a German naval expedition against North Africa to end predation and slavery. This renewed interest in finding a solution within the government prompted the statistical section of the foreign ministry to keep explicit records of acts of piracy for use in future ministerial negotiations.⁷⁹ Prussian ministers, together with representatives from the Hanseatic cities, now took the *Barbareskenfrage* to the Frankfurt Bundesversammlung.⁸⁰

The Barbary Problem at the Bundesversammlung

In the middle of June, a representative for the three North German Free Cities, Lübeck, Hamburg and Bremen, gave a desperate address to the German Confederation on the "*Seeräubereien der Barbaresken*".⁸¹ Dr. Johann Ernst Friedrich Dauz argued that the Barbary Regencies had to be defeated to promote trade, to uphold international law, and to end slavery. "It is well known in public papers," their representative began, "the outrageous manner in which Tunisian corsairs conduct piracy in the North Sea and English Channel." Reports from merchants and consuls in Madrid and Lisbon confirmed the belief that ships routinely cruise the Atlantic Ocean hunting for Hanseatic and especially Prussian ships. This, he argued, meant that the

⁷⁹ GStA PK I. HA Rep. 75A, Nr. 382, "*Seeräuberei der Barbaresken*."

⁸⁰ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fol. 18-43: "Beylagen zu dem Protokolle der vierzigsten Sitzung vom 3. Juli 1817; 66. Allgemeine Vorschläge in Betreff der Seeräubereien der Barbaresken; 26. Protokoll der deutschen Bundesversammlung, Frankfurt den 3ten Juli 1817 § 290 Seeräubereien der Barbaresken.; 42. Auszug aus dem Protokoll über die 40te Sitzung der deutschen Bundesversammlung, Frankfurt 1 Juli 1817."

⁸¹ Johann Ernst Friedrich Dauz represented the Hanseatic cities, see: *Protokolle der deutschen Bundesversammlung*, vol. 11-12 (Frankfurt am Main: Andreäische Buchhandlung, 1820), 229-235; for a detailed overview of the proceedings see, Leopold Friedrich Ilse, *Geschichte der deutschen Bundesversammlung* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1971), 1:277-293.

Barbary Regencies existed in a state of perpetual war with German states. The pirates had been a smaller problem for overseas trade when they operated exclusively in the Mediterranean. After peace had settled over Europe, he argued, prices for products to that region had increased and German trade continued to be limited due to the high cost of insurance and security. Declaring them a public misfortune for all of Europe, he reminded the *Bund* that their removal has long been a goal of Europe and even caught the attention of the great powers at Congress of Vienna.⁸² The representative hyperbolically suggested that no merchant and no German manufactured good, for export, would be safe if the pirates continued to operate freely all the way to the Baltic Sea. That they operated in violation of the standard practices of peace and international law gave more reason to act. Their declarations of war come only with sudden attacks on unsuspecting merchants. Most importantly, he argued that they “steal not only property, but also men, fellow Germans, whose anguished cries resound from their friendly shores, which they are still in sight of when African pirates drag them into the dark dens of slavery.”⁸³ That there was no insurance against such acts, he claimed, only increased insecurity, anxiety and prevented merchants from engaging in distant shipping. The representative for the Hanseatic states felt confident that the *Bund* would feel “the strongest indignation” to these “revolting events”, which affected all of Germany, and that all members of the *Bund* would take steps to “uphold the honor of the German flag and the wellbeing of the German nation which is endangered by each outrage on the sea [Seefrevel].”⁸⁴

⁸² *Protokolle der deutschen Bundesversammlung*, vol. 11-12 (Frankfurt am Main: Andreäische Buchhandlung, 1820), 229-235: “ein Unglück für ganz Europa,”

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 230. “[W]o rauben nicht nur Eigenthum sondern auch Menschen, deutsche Mitbürger, von deren Angstgeschrey die befreundeten Küsten wiederhallen, in deren Angesicht afrikanische Seeräuber sie zu den finstern Höhlen der Sklaverei fortschleppen.”

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 230-231: “Gefahren dieser Art lassen sich nicht berechnen und eben deshalb giebt es keine Versicherung dagegen. Schon einzelne Vorgänge dieser Art verbreiten ein Gefühl von Unsicherheit was auf lange hin Schifffahrt und Handlung stört weil niemand weiß wann sie sich wiederholen können und die angefühlten Frevel haben für den Augenblick eine gänzliche Stockung zur Folge gehabt. Das Unbestraftbleiben dieser Seeräuber das Gelingen einzelner Versuche wird sie immer kühner machen. Wer steht dafür daß sie nicht auf ihren Streifzügen mitunter an

The states agreed to take action and a commission representing five states took shape to determine the “most effective arrangements for securing the German sea-trade.”⁸⁵ After deliberations, the Prussian representative reported to the assembly, in early July, the few options available. All parties involved agreed that a solution to the *Barbareskenfrage* had to be found. Concerted, multilateral action remained the favored option, but several nations already had agreements with the Barbary Regencies—they did not want to lose the advantages in trade this had secured for their merchants. A second option to persuade England, with the support of the other powers and a few warships, to join with Austria and Prussia and punish the pirates operating outside of the Mediterranean also met with favor. While the assembly applauded this plan, it lacked boldness for the representative from Baden. Two weeks later, Baden’s representative demanded more direct action in an impassioned speech that was reprinted in newspapers from Bremen to Vienna.⁸⁶ Ultimately, this speech proved cheap talk when a solid plan failed to materialize by the end of the year. Nevertheless, von Bülow followed the *Bundesversammlung*’s discussions closely and used them to draw up new plans.

Heinrich von Werther, the Prussian consul in Madrid, offered his thoughts in response to Bülow’s memorandum after the *Bundesversammlung* discussions.⁸⁷ He acknowledged that the trade ministry needed “the secure operation of trade” and assured Bülow that the “Piracy of the *Barbaresken*” created enough danger of enslavement for all “European sailors”. Unfortunately, as

unbewachten und wehrlosen Stellen der deutschen Küsten landen und auch dort ihr Gewerbe Plünderung und Menschenraub treiben und Angst und Noch verbreiten würden? Wer sichert uns daß sie nicht zu allem Ungemach worunter Deutschland nach so schweren Zeiten leidet noch die schrecklichste der Plagen die bey ihnen einheimische Pest hinzufügen werden? ...welche in seiner Macht sind um die durch jene Seefrevel gefährdete Ehre der deutschen Flagge und Wohlfahrt der deutschen Nation aufrecht zu erhalten.”

⁸⁵ Ibid., “Wirksamsten Vorkehrungen zur möglichsten Sicherung der deutschen Seehandlung gegen die Räubereyen.” By the end of the year, Prussia agreed to send ships, GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fol. 44-45, memo from Friedrich von Raumer, Dec. 1817.

⁸⁶ “Seeräuberei der Barbaresken,” *Bremer Zeitung: für Politik, Handel und Literatur* no. 219 vol. 7/9, 7 Aug. 1817, n.p.; “Ausländische Nachrichten: Teutschland,” *Österreichischer Beobachter*, no. 183 vol. 3, 31 Aug. 1817, 937-940;

⁸⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fols. 82-100, Werther to Bülow, 21 Jul. 1817.

it stood, Prussia had no naval power and no means to protect its subjects at sea, leaving the state two options: it either could unite with other states in a union [*Verein*] to combat pirates or enter into a friendship treaty with the Barbary Regencies. The first option appealed most to Werther. Negotiations for neutrality at sea had been discussed in London, an important part of which concerned the “Elimination of the Negro slave trade,” for which no agreement between the powers had been reached and Prussia had not yet taken a stand.⁸⁸ The second alternative, as he had reported during the Congress of Vienna, continued to be more difficult and costly. Werther’s contacts, including the recently appointed diplomat to Turin, Georg Friedrich Alexander Graf von Blankensee, confirmed these difficulties—especially since the tribute funds would have to travel overland through Italy. Lastly, the Prussian state’s finances could not afford large payments to foreign powers. Indeed, this last point explains much of the anxiety surrounding the problem of securing overseas trade.

The Prussian state teetered on the edge of financial disaster in 1817. Its high debts, the operation of the state, and the agrarian crisis, brought Prussia to near insolvency.⁸⁹ Debt payments amounted to almost tenfold the cash on hand in the Prussian *Seehandlung* bank, for which the director, Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Nicolai, feared the state would fail to pay.⁹⁰ Conservative members of government used the debt crisis to their full advantage by cautioning against liberal trade policies—one of the king’s closest advisors reminded him of Louis XVI’s

⁸⁸ Of course, by all accounts the Prussian government supported the abolition of the Atlantic Slave trade on humanitarian grounds, but had not consented to the right of reciprocal search, Kielstra, *Politics*, 64-66; Werther had some knowledge of these negotiations from discussions with the court in Madrid as they prepared to leave for London in October 1816: GStA PK VI. HA Familienarchive und Nachlässe, N1 Werther, no. 28, fol. 32-37.

⁸⁹ S.A Eddie, *Freedom’s Price: Serfdom, Subjection, and Reform in Prussia, 1648-1848*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 302-314; Lawrence J. Baack, *Christian Bernstorff and Prussia: Diplomacy and Reform Conservatism 1818 - 1832* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 71-72.

⁹⁰ Alexander von Witzleben, *Staatsfinanznot und sozialer Wandel: Eine finanzsoziologische Analyse der preussischen Reformzeit zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985), 196”: Nicolai wrote 20 Dec. 1817 that obligations exceeded four million Rtl. by January and the state had barely five hundred thousand Rtl.

fate.⁹¹ Bankruptcy was only narrowly avoided with a loan secured by Wilhelm von Humboldt in London, for 34 million Reichsthaler (Rtl.), using the Prussian Royal estates as the primary collateral.⁹² Debt also hit estate owners particularly hard and roughly one sixth of the agrarian, East-Elbian manors in Prussia entered bankruptcy in the decade after Napoleon.⁹³ The state's precarious financial situation left little possibility for substantial tribute payments.

Although the German states agreed on the problems associated with the Barbary Regencies, they failed to act. Prussia reported that it would be willing to send ships to the Mediterranean, but at a final meeting of the Bundesversammlung in late December, the idea was put on hold so that the five-member committee could continue to investigate the costs and practicality for such a solution.⁹⁴

Humboldt's International Naval Force Against Slavery

Wilhelm von Humboldt began work on a treaty for an international naval force to end slavery shortly after the Bundesversammlung met in July. International delegates did little to combat slavery when the five powers resumed ministerial talks in London during August 1816. Nevertheless, antislavery remained a priority as the African slave trade accelerated and Barbary predation continued. Between their meetings in London (1816) and the Congress of Aachen (1818), delegates met fourteen times to discuss the African slave trade and Christian enslavement

⁹¹ Baack, *Christian Bernstorff*, 34.

⁹² Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 2, 369-380; Richard H. Tilly, *Kapital, Staat und sozialer Protest in der deutschen Industrialisierung: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 35; Hanna Schissler, "Preußische Finanzpolitik nach 1807: Die Bedeutung der Staatsverschuldung als Faktor der Modernisierung des preußischen Finanzsystems," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 8, no. 3 (1982): 367-85; Witzleben, *Staatsfinanznot*, 196-198.

⁹³ Blum, *The End*, 246; Berdahl, *Politics*, 265-267.

⁹⁴ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fols. 222-227, "Overview of the Prussia's relations against the Barbary Regencies," 22 Dec. 1817; GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5314, fol. 35, memo from Zyka, 8 Feb. 1819.

in the Maghreb.⁹⁵ Alfred Stern, a late nineteenth-century historian, described Aachen as an important moment when “the suppression of the slave trade and defense against the Barbary Regencies came closely together.”⁹⁶ Reports from negotiations confirm that Prussian representatives believed that humanity would be just as well served by the suppression of Christian slavery as that of black African slavery.⁹⁷ Frustrated by recent acts of piracy, British snubbing, and the lack of action taken by the *Bund*, Prussian ministers pursued three separate courses of action for a solution to Atlantic slavery aimed at resolving the question of what to do about the Barbary Regencies. Two independent proposals for a cooperative naval force took shape, one from Hardenberg in Berlin and another from Humboldt in London. Meanwhile, Bülow put the trade ministry to work investigating a means to reduce the costs of establishing relations with the Barbary Regencies.

Just before Humboldt began drafting his treaty, Hardenberg asked Metternich for an opinion on a separate cooperative naval force intended to combat slavery. Starting with a smaller group of states, he proposed sponsoring a joint fleet between the German states and several of the Italian states.⁹⁸ Hardenberg hoped to bring Austria and Prussia closer together as he believed the states’ economic and diplomatic interests could align in the future. Johann Gottfried Hoffmann, Hardenberg’s trusted statistical advisor, presented research on the issue in an extensive

⁹⁵ See for instance, GStA PK III. HA MdA I Nr. 7974, “Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels. Maßnahmen gegen die Maghreb-Staaten (Barbaresken)”; GStA PK I. HA Rep. 81, (Residenturen) u. (General-) Konsulate *nach 1807*, Ges. London nach 1807, Nr. 285, “Conferenz-Protokolle betreffen Maßregeln gegen die Barbaresken und Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels”, passim.

⁹⁶ “Mit der Frage der Abwehr der Barbaresken hing die Frage der Unterdrückung des Negerhandels eng zusammen.” Alfred Stern, *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871* (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1924), 474.

⁹⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7974, 81-82, “Protocole no. 1 des Conférences pour l’abolition de la traité des Nègres, Séance du 28 Aout 1816.” Ibid., fol. 83-89.

⁹⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fol. 220-227, Hardenberg to Metternich, 30 Sept. 1817. See Pütters Memo: GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fol. 231-261, “Darstellung der Preußischen Schifffahrt nebst Schilderung des Einflusses welcher der Krieg mit den Raubstaaten auf dieselbe hat; so wie Vorschläge zu Friedensverträge auf Befehl Seiner Excellenz des Herrn Grafen von Bülow Minister der Finanzen und des Handels” Pütter, 29 Sep. 1817. A second, shorter copy is found in, GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5322, fol. 5-21.

Denkschrift which Hardenberg sent to Metternich.⁹⁹ It gave consideration to every facet of the international situation. Given that France competed with Russia and England for influence in the Ottoman East, it would be difficult to turn to those powers for help. Sweden and Denmark would not be keen to join Prussia as they had long-standing relationships with the Barbary Regencies and found it easier to purchase protection. Similarly, the Dutch prospered from negotiating trade deals between Ottomans and the Northern and Southern European ports. Even though the Dutch, Swedish, and Danish would benefit from the freedom of navigation, public opinion in those states would never allow their governments to afford Germany the same freedom as it would directly impact their merchants. Insurrections in the colonial world made Spain and Portugal unlikely to participate meaningfully. Because the Italian states shouldered significant burdens from the constant threat of their citizens' enslavement in North Africa, it seemed that a loose federation of German and Italian states would be best suited to join their strength in a common naval alliance. If the tiny city Venice could successfully repel the pirates for centuries, and the relatively weak United States could equip a new navy to combat the Barbary Regencies, it stood to reason that the other small Italian states and the small German states could maintain a mutual naval force.

Hardenberg thus hoped to forge a bond between the German and Italian states that would prevent English influence from growing on the continent, which he feared might reduce Prussia and Italy's ability to combat the pirates. Lastly, ending the pirates' illicit slaving operations, the Prussians argued, fell within the confines of international law because the Barbary Regencies made no formal declarations of war. They existed in a state of constant warfare against the Christian powers of Europe. In the spirit of peace and stability, Hardenberg believed that it would be necessary to take each ship the Regencies sent out until they accepted the agreed upon practices established by European powers at Vienna. Since the US equipped a squadron to

⁹⁹ The research was prepared for Ludwig von Bülow, by Heinrich Pütter, for whom the statistical minister Hoffmann had some reservations.

bombard Algiers after the *Philadelphia* disaster, and the British sent the expedition led by Lord Exmouth, Prussia and Austria would be within the boundaries of acceptable behavior to equip a naval force. Even though Hardenberg and Humboldt agreed on little, the problem of Christian enslavement proved to be an issue large enough for both Humboldt and Hardenberg to consider similar courses of action to deal with it.

Metternich's response to Hardenberg fit his program for stability in Europe. Metternich assured him that, after the emperor read the proposal, negotiations with Prussia would soon follow.¹⁰⁰ In the meantime, the Prussian government believed they would find a sympathetic partner in Austria for a variety of reasons. The emperor had expressed a sincere desire to combat Christian slavery in the Ottoman Empire during the Congress at Vienna.¹⁰¹ Hardenberg also knew that the Emperor had attended Sir Sidney Smith's banquet sponsoring action against the Barbary pirates and had pledged financial support.¹⁰² That no immediate response came from Austria surprised the Prussian ministers. Given that Metternich and the Austrian government feared insurrection in the Kingdom of Lombardy after 1814, it should come as no surprise that the Austrian government would want to prevent a strong alliance between Prussia and the Italian states from growing.¹⁰³ Metternich sat on the proposal until the start of 1819.

Around that time, Humboldt, leaving Paris for London, began work on a treaty for the creation of an "European league" to combat the slave trade in August of 1817.¹⁰⁴ Humboldt's plan built upon a foundation of other European efforts to combat slavery. Several other European statesmen and abolitionists had proposed similar plans, starting with the Tsar in 1801, and most

¹⁰⁰ Alfred Zimmermann, *Geschichte der preussisch-deutschen Handelspolitik aktenmässig dargestellt* (Oldenburg: A. Schwartz, 1892), 119-120; Gertrud Steckhan, "Preussen und die Neuorientierung der europäischen Staatengesellschaft auf dem Aachener Kongress 1818" (PhD diss., Universität Berlin, 1934), 97-98; Herta Freilinghaus, "Preussen und England," 85-87.

¹⁰¹ Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, 199.

¹⁰² Karl August von Hardenberg, *Tagebücher und autobiographische Aufzeichnungen*, ed., Thomas Stamm-Kuhlmann (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2000), 807-808.

¹⁰³ Schroeder, *Transformation*, 565.

¹⁰⁴ StA HB Best. 2-3.11.ee.5d.2: Emil Friedrich Bentheim-Tecklenburg to Bremen's Mayor Gröning, Feb. 1818.

recently realized by the treaty of *Alcalá de Henares* between Spain and the Netherlands.¹⁰⁵

Humboldt took into consideration the British government's insistence on measures to end the African slave trade to support action against the Barbary Regencies. He knew that the Iberian states and Russia had made the case during the previous ministerial conference in London (1816) to combine the issues.¹⁰⁶ Though the British government supported the humanitarian principle of combining the two issues, it wanted neither Russian ships to threaten the Ottoman Porte from the Mediterranean, nor did it want to encumber itself with the additional costs of policing the Barbary Regencies.¹⁰⁷ Yet Humboldt worried that the British government would continue to resist any resolution to the *Barbareskenfrage*, as they had done during his time in Paris and London since Vienna.¹⁰⁸

Humboldt introduced his treaty with two addresses at the London ministerial conference held during early December 1817. He told his government, and then declared to the other powers that "the suppression of Barbary pirates" should be their first goal and "the abolition of the trade in Negroes" their second goal in any effort against slavery.¹⁰⁹ Prussia, Humboldt stated "has never believed it to be more urgent to find a means of repressing the piracy of Barbary" and that

¹⁰⁵ Humboldt's idea built upon other proposals with which he became familiar. The idea for a united European coalition to fight off the pirates had its origins with Tsar Alexander's proposition for a united European naval force in 1801. Sir Sidney Smith revived the idea, discussing a similar plan with Humboldt in Paris during the summer of 1814. Smith had approached Wilberforce with the idea for a coalition navy designed to combat the Christian and African slave trade. Humboldt subsequently received polemics and other materials from the Hanseatic cities, as a delegate representing Prussia at Vienna. Additional efforts to influence him continued through the intervention of the Bremen mayor Johann Smidt, who, just before Humboldt left for London, arranged a meeting in Paris. Lastly, the seeming lack of concrete action at the *Bundesversammlung* prompted Humboldt to take the issue to the other great powers. Also see Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 270-272; Kielstra, *Politics*, 66-69.

¹⁰⁶ Kielstra, *Politics*, 64.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

¹⁰⁸ Wilhelm von Bippen, *Johann Smidt, ein hanseatischer Staatsmann* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1921), 101-133, 141-142, 180-212.

¹⁰⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7974, fols. 176-179, Humboldt, 30 Dec. 1817; GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7974, fols. 180-251, correspondence Humboldt.

Prussia “persisted in the opinion that the only remedy” would be to establish “a permanent fleet along the coasts of Africa.”¹¹⁰

First of all, the pirates, Humboldt argued, would not be brought as easily into the system of international relations used by the European powers due to their historic relationship with the Ottoman Empire.¹¹¹ Over the last three centuries, the international structures of the regencies developed through a feudal system in which the Ottoman ruler had loose promises of loyalty. Humboldt rightly recognized that the Ottoman ruler’s authority made him a nominal head of state for the Regencies.¹¹² Since the last decades of the eighteenth century, the Barbary Regencies had proven that the Ottoman Porte had almost no authority over the rulers of Algiers, Morocco and Tunis. Secondly, Humboldt argued that the current conference needed to achieve three basic goals, discussing what level of engagement needed to be taken to suppress the Barbary Regencies, how to maintain harmony with the Ottoman Empire, and urge the other powers to join a perpetual defensive league.¹¹³ He suggested the treaty of *Alcalá de Henares* (1816), the recent agreement between Spain and the Netherlands to police the Mediterranean with naval squadrons,

¹¹⁰ GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7974, fol. 223, Declaration of the Prussian minister [Humboldt] at the conference [London] 4 Dec. 1817: “La Prusse croit qu’il est, plus que jamais, urgent de s’occuper des moyens de réprimer les pirateries des Barbaresques, puis qu’il est clair que le mal, déjà très-grand et très allemant aprésent, ira toujours en croissant, si l’on ne se hâte pas d’y porter remède.

Le gouvernement Prussien persiste dans son opinion que le seul remède l’offence terra d’établie sur les côtes de l’Afrique en croisière permanente une flotte qui empêche les Corsaires de sortir de leurs ports et les puivre, s’ils en avoient l’audace une pareille mesure en pourra révolser que de la réunion de toutes les puissances et la Prusse s’occupe sérieusement des moyens d’y concourir.”

¹¹¹ Wilhelm von Humboldt, “Sure les rapports des Etats Barbaresques avec la Porte Ottomane. Dezember 1817,” in *Wilhelm von Humboldts Gesammelte Schriften, Volume 12: Politischen Denkschriften III, 1815-1834*, ed. Bruno Gebhardt (Berlin: B. Behr Verlag, 1904), 202-207.

¹¹² For the area consisting of the modern coast of Libya, the Eyalet of Tripolitania, this had been the case since the 1550s: Panzac, 9-17; Oded Lowenheim, *Predators and Parasites: Persistent Agents of Transnational Harm and Great Power Authority* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 81-124; 147-152.

¹¹³ Wilhelm von Humboldt, “Ueber Massregeln gegen die Raubzüge der Barbaresken. Dezember 1817,” in *Wilhelm von Humboldts Gesammelte Schriften, Volume 12: Politischen Denkschriften III, 1815-1834*, ed. Bruno Gebhardt (Berlin: B. Behr Verlag, 1904), 207-216; Wilhelm von Humboldt, “Über Friedensschlüsse mit den Barbaresken und die Anknüpfung von Verbindungen mit den südamerikanischen Kolonien, (1818?),” in *Wilhelm von Humboldts Gesammelte Schriften, Volume 12: Politischen Denkschriften III, 1815-1834*, ed. Bruno Gebhardt (Berlin: B. Behr Verlag, 1904), 216-225.

as a basic outline. The treaty created a “purely defensive”, naval pact against the Barbary Regencies. It intended to secure maritime commerce and property rights. The treaty called for an end the tribute payments, the seizure of property, the unlawful arrest of diplomats, and the interference in legal commerce; in other words, the treaty imposed European rules and conventions of war on the Barbary Regencies. Other naval powers, excluding Austria, France, and Great Britain, would eventually be invited to join. Humboldt expanded the treaty to include Great Britain, Russia, France and Prussia and he more than doubled the number of articles.¹¹⁴ Most importantly, Humboldt shifted the focus and language to the abolition of the slave trade. He produced the final draft a few months later during February 1818 and circulated it to the great powers. The press gave it favorable coverage and it appeared that the problem would be resolved after all.¹¹⁵

Humboldt seemed an unlikely figure to pursue a plan for an unified European naval force designed to bolster the economic fortune of Central Europe. His *Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu bestimmen* (1795) represents one of the most significant early statements of classical liberalism as it almost entirely rejected government intervention in the life of its citizens.¹¹⁶ Government could serve its citizens best through the process of self-cultivation [*Bildung*]. Enhancing the wealth or welfare of its citizens, through the support of trade or industry, worked against that goal. Humboldt could, nevertheless, develop a plan for an expensive naval treaty to support the freedom of trade and protect industry because Humboldt also believed that the government’s role should be limited to securing the property of its

¹¹⁴ Full text in GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fol. 188-209.

¹¹⁵ Hamburg’s largest paper hoped that Humboldt’s plan would bring a new era of profitability for Northern Europe: GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7974, fol. 310, extract from *Staats-und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*, no. 28, 18 Feb. 1818.

¹¹⁶ Beiser, *Enlightenment*, 135.

citizens.¹¹⁷ Without security there could be no freedom. The certainty of property that arose from security allowed a people to self-cultivate, which he viewed as a necessary element of lawful freedom, as self-cultivation encouraged self-reliance. Additionally, his early denunciations of paternalism and slavery made a pact devoted to the end of slavery an easy choice for Humboldt.¹¹⁸

The Prussian state did not support Humboldt's naval force. Liberal elements within the government, reformers, and even conservatives could agree that a problem existed. They could not agree on a course of action to remedy the problem.¹¹⁹ Bülow responded that the plan seemed untenable.¹²⁰ He found little value in the expansive treaty. First of all, the states involved had interests too diverse for such an agreement to succeed. Secondly, the Ottoman Empire had grown too fragile in the last several decades. The inhabitants of North Africa could barely be controlled by their Ottoman lords and what little stability was there would not survive without their "single industry"—piracy. Rooting out this traditional occupation would destroy the "predators," free Christian slaves, and help other states, but Prussia would be bound to the allied states of Europe. The more powerful maritime states would gain tighter control over the seas. As an exponent of Adam Smith's liberalism, Bülow believed that Prussia would thus lose its "free hand" in trade relationships. This meant that merchants from less powerful maritime states would lose their

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 132-136.

¹¹⁸ Even though Humboldt's *Ideen* looked to the ancients for inspiration, it denounced the ancient Greeks for practicing slavery, Ibid., 133-135; Finley sees a German jurist, Johann Friedrich Reitemeier, the author of *Geschichte und Zustand der Sklaverey und Leibeigenschaft in Griechenland*, as an intellectual breakthrough in the assessment and condemnation of ancient slavery: Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1992), 35-42. Reitemeier instructed the Humboldts and kept frequent company with them.

¹¹⁹ Various liberal and conservative factions had formed over the years, but ministerial reorganizations at the end of 1817, and in subsequent years, meant that what tenuous factions existed split and could barely cooperate as colleagues. For more on the ministerial crisis see, Baack, *Christian Bernstorff*, 60-66; Brose also presents the disunity within the government well, Eric Dorn Brose, *The Politics of Technological Change in Prussia: Out of the Shadow of Antiquity, 1809-1848* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

¹²⁰ GSStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fol. 1-3, 1 Bülow to Jordan, 5/20 Aug. 1818.

ability to operate profitably. Entering into the treaty would negate the economic benefits of such an arrangement.

Humboldt not only had a hard time selling his treaty to his fellow countrymen—he also failed to impress foreign governments. At the conference held in Aachen later during 1818, only the Russian and French governments saw value in policing the Mediterranean and declaring piracy illegal.¹²¹ Trade between North Africa and the Southern French ports had been on the rise at the end of the eighteenth century and slavery, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord knew, would end soon enough. Nevertheless, France rejected all British efforts to suppress the trade and sponsored Humboldt's plan in an effort to frustrate British objectives.¹²² Metternich prevaricated, waiting to see how the other powers would react. Castlereagh said it required too much of English treasure and manpower. They had already spent huge sums bombarding Algiers during 1816. He hoped to find more support for his government's effort to force the Iberians to abandon the trade and of extending the right of visitation to tackle the African trade.

If historians generally view the autumn of 1818 as the apogee of European cooperation during the congress era, then little of that cooperation existed on the matter of North Africa.¹²³ The meeting of the powers failed to take effective measures to end the slave trade once again. In the end, the powers produced another declaration against the “traffic in negroes” which they sent to the King of Portugal who continued to support the commerce from exile in Rio de Janeiro.¹²⁴ Humboldt's plan might have had more support if not for the variety of intrigues threatening to

¹²¹ The Tsar rejected the initial treaty and proposed they follow through with the same idea on November 7, 1818; Kielstra, *Politics*, 89-90; Irby Coghill Nichols, *The European Pentarchy and the Congress of Verona, 1822* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972), 170; for an overview of the proceedings from a contemporary news source: “Verhandlungen zu Aachen über die Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels,” *Deutscher Beobachter oder privilegierte hanseatische Zeitung*, no. 712, 26 Feb. 1819.

¹²² Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, 329; Kielstra, *Politics*, 47, 61.

¹²³ Baack, *Christian Bernstorff*, 48, Schroeder, *Transformation*, 593-600; Nichols, *European Pentarchy*, 171-181; Kielstra calls it a massive failure as far as eliminating the slave trade went, Kielstra, *Politics*, 85-94.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 86-87; Nichols, *European Pentarchy*, 170; Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 189-190.

derail European cooperation. Even though the concert of Europe failed to agree on how to suppress the slave trade years after the first proposals to end it, German attention and efforts towards Christian slavery did not end with Humboldt's treaty. Good news for German northern Europe came at the start of the next year when the British offered support against the Barbary Regencies. Castlereagh hoped to reassure Bülow that gains had been made to combine the issues, into one effort "for the final abolition of the slave trade, and the repression of piracy on the part of the Barbary powers" which Prussia had so keenly "contemplated" at Aachen.¹²⁵ To foster goodwill the British relayed the news that Tripoli had agreed to cease enslaving Christians as a "public step" to influence the conduct of the other Barbary powers, serve as an "example," and ultimately "facilitate the attainment of the object" agreed to at the Congress.¹²⁶ Prussia and the Hanseatic cities now had only to wrest concessions from the three other of the Barbary Regencies.

Heinrich Pütter's Mission to the Mediterranean

While Humboldt and Hardenberg worked on plans for an international naval force, Bülow investigated the costs of establishing relations with the Barbary Regencies. As Humboldt's plan fell through, and negotiations at Aachen failed to achieve a satisfactory result, Northern Europeans look to other solutions for the problem of Christian enslavement in the Mediterranean. To resolve this slavery problem, the Prussian state accepted a proposal, from a Pomeranian merchant named Heinrich Pütter, and the Hanseatic cities created an "Anti-Piracy Association". Both the sponsorship of Pütter, as well as the creation of this association demonstrates how the Northern Europeans' vision of slavery continued to be based more on the idea of Christian enslavement than the more common perception of black African, plantation-

¹²⁵ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5314, fol. 33, Castlereagh to Bülow, Jan. 22, 1819.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 33.

based slavery in the New World. After Humboldt's plan failed to unify the international community, plans to deal with Christian slavery continued, but moved away from such a direct, active foreign policy approach.

Northern Europeans turned to these alternate solutions to eliminate Christian slavery because the full-force of the state's foreign policy centered on issues closer to its territory, issues which required more immediate attention at the international ministerial conferences. Indeed, the number of problems diplomats faced at Vienna, as well as the ministerial conferences that followed, grew over time and the question of Christian slavery in the Mediterranean took a backseat to preserving domestic tranquility. Prussian fears of revolutionary forces in France grew to a more general fear of revolutionary forces in Central Europe.¹²⁷ A backlog of seemingly unresolvable issues piled up for the Prussian state and its neighbors.¹²⁸ Little wonder that the Great Powers found it difficult to work on issues beyond Europe's borders when those within Europe proved so contentious. Without support for Humboldt's treaty and with the Austrian silence on Prussia's proposal for a joint German and Italian naval force, the prospects for international cooperation to end slavery in North Africa grew dim. Cooperation amongst the German powers also decreased. No concerted action from the German confederation happened after the Bundesversammlung had agreed to take joint action against the Barbary Regencies. Northern European agricultural interests knew grain prices remained high in Southern Europe, but had to rely on merchants from other nations to export their product. With the fading prospects for an international naval force taking shape, the Prussian state entertained other, more affordable solutions to the problem of Christian enslavement in the Mediterranean.

¹²⁷ Sabine Freitag et al., *British Envoys to Germany, 1816-1866: Volume 1: 1816-1829* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 139-146; A classic on the topic remains: Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Problems of Peace, 1812-22* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).

¹²⁸ Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck*, 237-250.

As the possibilities for working with the international community to secure overseas trade dwindled and merchants complained to Berlin, the Prussian trade ministry set into motion two plans. First, the king approved a plan to establish relations with the North African governments through a Pomeranian adventurer who served the finance minister Bülow, Heinrich Pütter.¹²⁹ The justification for this first plan owed to the mounting problem of state debt and rising expenditures. Bülow believed that the state could generate much needed revenue through increased trade, which seemed after Prussian insurance brokers [*Versicherungsanstalten*] announced that they would no longer offer insurance for Prussian ships heading to or near the Mediterranean.¹³⁰ Shortly thereafter, during negotiations at Karlsbad, Hardenberg granted permission to Bülow to investigate purchasing ships for the organization of a Prussian navy. Meanwhile, prominent merchants from Hamburg also established an “Antipiratical association” [*Antipiratischen Vereins*] dedicated to abolition of Christian slavery and “fighting the mischief of the African pirates”.¹³¹ Prussia and the Hanseatic cities spent the next decade testing solutions to the so-called “Barbary question” before other nations mostly put an end to the threat of the Barbary Regencies by the end of the 1820s.¹³²

The sponsorship of the filibuster from Pomerania named Pütter arose from a desire for an inexpensive peace with the Barbary States. Scholars know little about Pütter, yet his influence with the head of the trade ministry, Bülow, contributed to the lasting, Prussian interest in

¹²⁹ Friedrich Wilhelm approved the plan sent to Hardenberg, GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5314, fol. 90, Berlin 6, Apr. 1818.

¹³⁰ Reported by Bülow in GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5314; Peter Dietrich Wilhelm Tonnies, *Merkantilisch-geschichtliche Darstellung der Barbaresken-Staaten* (Hamburg, 1826), 195-200; Alfred Zimmermann, *Handelspolitik*, 128; Alfred Stern, *Geschichte Europas seit den verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871* (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1924), 215-218, 473-476.

¹³¹ Ernst Baasch, “Die deutschen wirtschaftlichen Einheitsbestrebungen, die Hansestädte und Friedrich List bis zum Jahre 1821,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 122, no. 3 (1920): 454–85; Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 150-152.

¹³² Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 155-170.

combatting Christian slavery to expand overseas trade to Southern ports.¹³³ The son of a Rügen mayor, Pütter worked across the Near East, where he established contacts in Odessa, Smyrna, and Constantinople, during the Napoleonic wars. The eminent investment banker Wilhelm Christian Benecke von Gröditzberg introduced Pütter to Bülow, who then employed him to survey Pütter's native Pomerania for tariff reform.¹³⁴ Pütter used this position to lobby for establishing relations with the Barbary Regencies—a task for which he believed himself to be best suited. Bülow ordered him to investigate the problems associated with Prussian shipping. This report succeeded in convincing the appropriate parties to fund Pütter's mission. Pütter then spent the next several years traveling to Southern Europe and North Africa with his expenses covered by the Prussian state.

Pütter's initial report on the problems with Prussian shipping included both a broad examination of the economic conditions in Pomerania and a prospectus for enhancing trade. His argument centered on the fact that the Prussian government had lost out on tens of millions of Rtl. in trade by failing to negotiate a peace with the Barbary Regencies.¹³⁵ Indeed, he went on, the people of the newly-acquired territory suffered deprivations under their new sovereign where they had formerly enjoyed healthy employment in industries maintained by profitable overseas trade. This had to do with Prussia's reluctance to pay for a peace treaty with the Barbary Regencies to ensure security against enslavement. His report argues that locals in Pomerania believed that Berlin was the only place where people see little value in peace treaties because "Berlin is not a coastal city [*Seestadt*]."¹³⁶ After describing the vast new resources Pomerania

¹³³ Ressel refers to Pütter as "Heinz": Magnus Ressel, "Die Schifffahrt Schwedisch-Pommerns im Zeitalter der Revolution (1776-1815)," *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte* 22, no. 2 (2012): 235–65; A few details on Pütter's life appear: Zimmermann, *Handelspolitik*, 120-128.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹³⁵ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5313, fols. 231-261, Sep. 29. 1817, "Description of Prussian Shipping and Description of the Influence with which the War with the Predator States has on Prussian Shipping, as well as Proposals for Peace treaties,"

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. 232-233.

offered, such as coastal towns with skilled traders and merchants, Pütter claims that the new territory will allow Prussia new access to the seas because no other country has “so much, so good, and so inexpensive ship-building wood as Prussia.”¹³⁷ The new territory’s oak would allow Prussia to build large ships necessary for distant trade as well as export ships for other maritime states. This would immediately increase domestic manufacturing and decrease unemployment, but only if the ships could sail to Southern ports.¹³⁸

Pütter’s plan for the expansion of Prussian shipping hinged upon developing routes to the Mediterranean. “Prussia had no foreign colonies, manufactories, or settlements” he writes, “freedom of trade in the Mediterranean allows connections to three parts of the world...allows the infinite territorially expansion of [Prussia’s] enterprises...a greater market for its products, and allows an independent supply of its needs.”¹³⁹ The same could not be said for local conditions in the Baltic. Looking to earlier times, Pütter reminds his readers that the Prussian coast had no coherence before the acquisition of Pomerania. Goods met numerous logistical obstacles as well as local taxes. In the past, shipping had less utility because Prussian and Polish products could not move as freely as in the present.¹⁴⁰ Now, with a more contiguous shoreline Prussia had the opportunity for enormous profits for a relatively small investment. Using a series of speculative calculations, Pütter estimated profits for shipping to Southern Ports could reach as high as 100 percent of the initial investment.¹⁴¹ This investment included establishing peaceful relations with the Barbary Regencies which would curb the threat of Christian enslavement.

¹³⁷Ibid., fols. 233-234, “so viel, so gut und so wohlfeil Schiffbauholz als Preußen nach jetzt.”

¹³⁸ As Ressel points out, the exports of timber and wood from the Baltic westwards was “enormous” in importance: Ressel, “Die Schifffahrt Schwedisch-Pommerns im Zeitalter der Revolution (1776-1815),” 8-85.

¹³⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5314, fols. 238-239: “Preußen hat keine auswärtige Kolonien, keine Faktoryen, keine Niederlassungen in irgendeinem fremden Welttheile. Durch den Freyheit der Fahrt ein Mittelländischen Meer bekommt es aber Verbindungen mit drey Welttheilen. Es kann das Gebiet seiner Unternehmungen unendlich erweitern, seine Schifffahrt umworben, seinen Ehren Produkten um Fabrikaten eine leichteren und größern Absatz verschaffen, seine Bedürfnisse selbstand ohne fremde Vermittlung beziehen.”

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., fols. 239-240.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., fol. 235.

Peace made more sense than war for several reasons. First of all, war cost too much. Using the example of past expeditions against the Barbary Regencies, Pütter argued that Lord Exmouth's expedition the previous year cost, according to public documents, as much as one million pounds sterling and did little to end the enslavement of Christian sailors. A more permanent military solution would require significantly more money and time.¹⁴² Pütter based the last two considerations on his own experiences as a Christian merchant in the Near East. Religious differences in the region would make conquest and occupation nearly impossible.¹⁴³ To end the threat of enslavement, without a peace treaty, would mean a large-scale invasion of the various North African states. Prussia could not conduct a land war in Africa for practical, logistical reasons which began with transporting its troops.¹⁴⁴ Not to mention, such an action, based on the recent meeting of the Bundesversammlung, would leave Prussia to do it alone despite the "beautiful and expansive declamations" other states had made in support of eliminating Christian enslavement.¹⁴⁵ With this in mind, Pütter ended the report by stating that Prussian shipping would profit only after ending the threat of enslavement by securing peace with the Barbary Regencies.¹⁴⁶ In so doing, he demonstrated how Prussia could benefit financially from antislavery.

A report from Madrid buttressed Pütter's argument for making tribute payments and demonstrates the extent of concern to rectify the problem of Christian enslavement. Andreas Berthold von Schepeler, a former Prussian officer, now in the service of Spain, shared notes from his travels in the Barbary Regencies with the consul in Madrid, Heinrich von Werther, with the

¹⁴² Ibid., fols. 242-243.

¹⁴³ Ibid., fols. 245-246.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., fols. 246-247.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., fol. 247, "schönen und weitläufigen Deklamationen."

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., fol. 247.

hope that they could be used to secure a peace with the Regencies.¹⁴⁷ Werther sent these notes to Berlin after Bülow requested additional information on the possibility of negotiating peace.¹⁴⁸ As a good Prussian nationalist, Schepeler claimed to intervene for love of country and, referencing Christian enslavement, his “*liberal* and *philanthropic* political principles.” This information helped Bülow to make his case for the support of Pütter’s mission to other members of the Prussian state ministry.

By early 1818 Hardenberg warmed to Bülow’s plan to entrust Pütter with peace negotiations. Hardenberg asked that Pütter quietly begin establishing the necessary contacts for a Prussian embassy in North Africa, but not to draw attention to himself or claim that he acted in any officially-sanctioned capacity.¹⁴⁹ Not all of the Prussian ministers shared Bülow’s confidence in Pütter, and instead wanted to invest in the creation of a pan-German navy. Johann Gottfried Hoffmann, the statistical minister and Hardenberg’s protégé, had doubts about Pütter’s mission to secure peace with the Barbary Regencies. It was as much Pütter’s character, the type capable of innumerable peculations, as it was the peculiar situation of the “German people, who, ask for special security at sea for their ship owners without doing anything to protect them.”¹⁵⁰ It seemed that a peace treaty would never be able to afford the security Prussia needed to operate sufficient trade. Additionally, Prussia, Hoffmann feared, would not be able to maintain its “cultural level”

¹⁴⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5322, fols. 2-4, “Transcript 5/12 Sep. 1816 Werther in Madrid” Werther to Bülow, 20 Nov. 1818; GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5314, fol. 38, notes from Schepeler to the MdA.

¹⁴⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5314, fols. 29-35, copy of report from Zyka, 5 Feb. 1819.

¹⁴⁹ Merchants and manufacturers had petitioned the government and complained about England’s unfair trade relationship with Prussia. Heavy duties on Silesian linens and Baltic timber created a more favorable market for competing British-market Irish linens and Canadian timber. The complaints about England’s trade relations with Prussia continued from Humboldt’s time in London through the 1820s. For instance, a Königsberg merchant named Küh, and his associates, sent complaints to Bülow and Bernstorff: GStA PK III. HA MdA II Nr. 5314, fol. 94, Küh & Co. to Bernstorff and Bülow, 4 Jul., 1820; Ancillon had warned Hardenberg that Prussians were approaching a critical moment in which they had to realize and address the unfavorable trade relations between England and Prussia. Ancillon to Hardenberg in GStA PK VI. HA Familienarchive und Nachlässe, NI Ancillon, no. 28, “*Ses (Englands) relations commerciales avec elle (Preußen) sont dans ce moment très avantageuses pour L’Angleterre, elle voudrait à tout prix les conserver dans leur intégrité, et le moment où la Prusse éclairée sur ses vrais intérêts apporterait des entraves au commerce de l’Angleterre, serait un moment critique.*”

¹⁵⁰ GStA PK III. HA MdA II Nr. 5314, fols. 91-93, Hoffmann to Bülow, 4 Mar. 1820.

without access to export trade. The last two decades of war and reorganization of Europe had altered permanently Prussia's trade status within Europe. France, Great Britain, and Holland all wanted German states out of the sea export business. To his mind, the Hanseatic cities and Prussia should no longer compete as their trade interests now aligned and significant trade could only operate through North Sea ports. If the Maltese, as the smallest sea power, could instill fear in the regencies, than so could a larger power like Prussia with a small squadron maintained by the German states. A navy would allow Prussia independence at sea. Bülow went to work on planning for the construction of a navy. Pütter left for Marseille en route to Spain. In the meantime, a Prussia representative, Alexander von Miltitz, requested that the British and Dutch ministers in Tripoli, Algiers and Tunis ask the Barbary Regencies to stop capturing Prussian ships 20 May 1818.¹⁵¹

Pütter's first report presented a dire problem for Prussia. Peace would be costly, difficult, take longer than he anticipated, but war would be ruinously expensive. Based on reports from public newspapers, he argued that it would cost much more to fight the pirates than securing peace.¹⁵² Disarming the pirates from the Barbary Regencies would be impossible. The example of Exmouth's expeditions to Algiers demonstrated the high cost of bombardment alone as well as its inefficacy. The harbors of Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco were too shallow to bombard. This meant a land-based invasion, that would require the help of other European states, and it seemed unlikely to have any successes. Such a war would cost more than paying tribute for fifty years.¹⁵³ Even though establishing relations with the Barbary Regencies would require a large initial investment, the increased commerce that came with security, as well as the end to Christian

¹⁵¹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 8-11, letters from Alexander von Miltitz to the British and Dutch ministers in Tripoli, Algiers and Tunis, 20 May 1818.

¹⁵² GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 12-13, report from Pütter to Bülow, 17 Jul. 1818.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, fol. 13.

enslavement for Germans would make this well worth the cost. Pütter assured Bülow that he could end Prussia's slavery problem with proper financial support.

Bülow agreed with Pütter's assessment and hoped that favorable, formal relations with North Africa could be established. He left Pütter to the business of ascertaining the latest news on the Barbary Regencies from Marseille.

Prussia's Debt Crisis and the Failures from Karlsbad to Verona

Northern German states continued to search for a solution to the problem of Christian enslavement after Humboldt's plan failed. This failure and the threat of Northern African corsairs made Christian slavery a more pressing problem for Northern Europeans than the far more deadly problem of black African enslavement in the New World. The idea of Christian slavery refused to die because the states of Northern Europe would not invest capital necessary to protect their subjects at sea. Other problems, including the growing conservatism within Central Europe and a financial crisis brought about by the state's tremendous debt prevented reformers from taking meaningful action against the Barbary Regencies. At this moment the state's focus gradually turned away from costly foreign engagements in the Mediterranean towards investigating how to best integrate its new eastern territories. Because Germans remained enslaved in Middle East, albeit a relatively small number, and shipping remained insecure for the majority German vessels, ministers, newspapers, and merchants continued to complain about Christian enslavement.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Bülow collected stories from newspapers across Northern Germany: GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 36-37, report from Bülow. A merchant from Goslar, as a former Prussian subject, wrote to the government in Berlin asking to do something about the problem and proposed the creation of a navy so that he could fight for his former king, for the glory of the "fatherland" in the hopes of saving the Germans who had been "taken off into slavery": GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 40-41, Johan Simon Warnecke Farbefabrikant zu Goslar to Bernstorff, 1 Feb. 1819: "Bekanntlich leidet, :/ wie ich aus den Zeitungsblättern ersehen habe:/ auch die Preußische Schiffahrt und der Handel zur See von den Barbarischen Seeräubern sehr; so wie nicht weniger Hamburg, Bremen und Lübeck."; The treasury minister told him that expert government officials were working on to resolve the issue: GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fol. 42, Carl Friedrich Heinrich von Wylich und Lottum to Warnecke, 2 Mar. 1817; Lottum dismissed the proposal quickly, GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 45-48.

This meant that the idea of Christian slavery competed with the more prevalent problem of black, African slavery at the center of British antislavery efforts throughout the 1820s.

If not for the revolutionary uprisings across Europe that followed the Karlsbad Conference of August 6, 1819, the Prussian state might have been able to resolve the problem of Christian enslavement in the Mediterranean with the assistance of the other great powers. Conferences continued at regular intervals for the next four years which dealt more with revolutionary elements and popular uprisings than the slave trade or the Barbary Regencies.¹⁵⁵ Even with most attention directed towards outlawing student groups, limiting press freedoms, and subduing revolutionaries across Europe, the Prussian state continued to promote a resolution to the so-called Barbary problem, much to the consternation of the British and French antislavery societies.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, northern Europeans managed to elicit considerable support from most of Europe, alongside their British counterparts, for declarations against slavery. These words did not often translate into action because the oft-contested problem of visitation rights and the definition of piracy remained central to negotiators. British efforts to outlaw the slave trade insisted upon visitation rights and outlawing the trade as “piracy.” Prussia resisted these agreements without language including the attack and enslavement of Christians as piracy. British resistance to acting as a free police force to aid their economic rivals in Northern Europe contributed to the German idea that the British did not truly want to end slavery, but rather wanted to limit other states’ ability to compete at overseas trade.

At the same time, serious plans for a Prussian navy took shape as European ministers made more efforts to secure a multilateral solution aimed at ending slaving on the coasts of North

¹⁵⁵ Article VI of the Final Settlement at Vienna in November 1815 called for periodic meetings of the five powers to discuss matters of common interest for Europe. They met to discuss revolutionary groups and revolutionary activity in Naples and Southern Italy. England did not officially participate at Laibach or Troppau, but used its representatives to continue discussions over ending the slave trade.

¹⁵⁶ For instance, the papal delegate to the Ionian Islands thanked “The heir of Fredrick the Great” for cooperation in the matter of ending Christian slavery through the “abolition of African Piracy”: GStA PK III. HA Mda II. Nr. 5314, fols. 65-69, Don Carlos de Ribas Pieri to King, 24 Feb. 1819.

Africa.¹⁵⁷ Heinrich Pütter reported regularly, to his sponsor Bülow, on the state of affairs in the Barbary Regencies. The newly appointed Christian Bernstorff began a substantial reorganization of the ministry of foreign affairs.¹⁵⁸

The Prussian government became more open to the idea of a navy just before the Karlsbad Conference.¹⁵⁹ Part of this has to do with the expansion of Prussia's northern borders to include ports ready for the manufacture and crewing of naval vessels. The governor of Pomerania, Johann August Sack, said as much his petitions for a navy beginning when he took office during 1816.¹⁶⁰ The idea gained momentum after Bülow asked Hardenberg for a war fleet (*Kriegsflotte*) when Hardenberg joined the king at Karlsbad during the fall of 1817.¹⁶¹ Hardenberg entertained the idea, but believed that it would be unnecessary given the new spirit of cooperation amongst the great powers and the promise of cooperation at Aachen. The statistical minister Hoffmann demurred based on the burdensome cost of a navy.¹⁶² Arming a navy would further strain the state's coffers which had heavy burdens from fortresses and garrisons along the Prussia's western border. Indeed, the bulk of the state's debt owed to the substantial cost of the army and of maintaining fortresses.¹⁶³ By the start of 1820 Hoffmann added another reason to his list. He did not want to jeopardize the gains made from international cooperation since the defeat of Napoleon. He also believed that building a navy of sufficient strength could signal bellicose intentions to the other powers.¹⁶⁴ Hoffmann cautioned Bülow that unity of action from Europeans against the pirates would be the best way to proceed—if it came to military action. The

¹⁵⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 69-73, Report from Bernstorff.

¹⁵⁸ Baack, *Christian Bernstorff*, 48-77.

¹⁵⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 50-64, 69-90.

¹⁶⁰ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5312, fols. 153-159.

¹⁶¹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5313, fols. 79-100, Bülow to Hardenberg, Zyka, and Werther.

¹⁶² GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5313, fols. 160-163, Hoffmann to Bülow, 30 Sep. 1817.

¹⁶³ The repair and maintenance of the fortresses was a large burden to the state for the first five years after Napoleon, Sabine Freitag, *British Envoys to Germany*, vol. I, 15, 67, 74, 84, 121.

¹⁶⁴ Bülow relayed Hoffmann's reservations to the other ministers during discussions later that year, GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, 104-120, 17 Nov., 1820 Memo on the Barbary problem from Bülow to Bernstorff.

“unmitigated failure” of Aachen to resolve either the African slave trade or the Barbareskenfrage gave proponents of naval ambitions new hope.¹⁶⁵

Austria crushed Prussia’s hopes for an international naval force at the start of 1819 when Metternich rejected Hardenberg’s proposal after more than a year of prevaricating. Metternich sent word through the Prussian consul in Vienna Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig von Krusemarck. Krusemarck assured ministers in Berlin that Metternich shared their desire for an end to the disadvantages caused by the “system of slavery,” in the Mediterranean, the operations of which existed to the “shame of mankind.”¹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Austria’s government could only offer moral and verbal support at the time for two reasons. First, Metternich believed that joint action would be expensive and only lead to a temporary solution. Second, the successful outcome of any such venture seemed doubtful to the Austrian government. Changes would have to come organically, from within the Barbary Regencies, for a lasting change. With unsettled business and mounting state debts paralyzing the governments of Central Europe, Austria suggested that they wait for a more favorable time to effect changes on a distant part of the world. This rejection led Prussian ministers to reconsider Johann Smidt’s proposal for developing a royal Prussian navy at Coeslin (Koszalin).¹⁶⁷

Domestic disturbances and continued financial problems prevented any real progress on the creation of a Prussian navy. Prussia’s acute domestic and financial problems left most ministers almost totally preoccupied with the reorganization of government, the drafting of a constitution, cutting the budget, and raising additional funds.¹⁶⁸ The finance ministry worked alone as it continued to propose a means of generating a long-term economic stability by

¹⁶⁵ Kielstra, *Politics*, 86.

¹⁶⁶ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fol. 32, Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig von Krusemarck to a minister of the MdA in Berlin, 30 Jan 1819.

¹⁶⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 75-79, 79-80, 81-90.

¹⁶⁸ Eddie, *Freedom’s Price*, 313-314.

increasing shipping to the Mediterranean. The new state debt law at the beginning of 1820 made it more difficult to invest the sums necessary for constructing a navy. Even though the budget had been repeatedly slashed in the last months of 1819, the state's debt stood at just under 220 million Rtl., a four-fold increase from 1806, and the interest on bonds continued to grow.¹⁶⁹ The promise of future prosperity through such a significant investment seemed like a gamble to the increasingly conservative Prussian state.

Frustrated representatives from the Hanseatic cities brought the question of what to do about Christian slavery to the Bundesversammlung shortly after the body issued the Karlsbad decrees. They had little faith in the international community, as Karlsbad and the meeting in the subsequent meeting in Vienna did little to address slavery. Indeed, little happened in the Anglo-French world to address the African slave trade after Aachen until Verona in 1822.¹⁷⁰ Representatives from Bremen and Hamburg sent a collection of their polemics against Christian slavery and piracy to the *Bund*.¹⁷¹ Representative Smidt, the mayor of Bremen, who had lobbied hard against the Barbary pirates during the Congress of Vienna, published a short, historical letter assessing the problem. He hoped that the powers, seeking peace and stability, would use this moment to end both the slave trade and Christian slavery in North Africa and along the western coast. Dittmann and Kreysing from Hamburg, who founded the Antipiracy Association [*Antipiratische Verein*] the year before, sent similar tracts.¹⁷² The legislative body responded by thanking the authors for their efforts and promised to study the issue. Shortly thereafter, the Karlsbad decrees made the Antipiracy Association illegal and the representatives from Bremen

¹⁶⁹ Hanna Schissler, "Einleitung: Preussische Finanzpolitik 1806-1820," Eckart Kehr, *Preussische Finanzpolitik, 1806-1810: Quellen zur Verwaltung der Ministerien Stein und Altenstein*, eds. Hanna Schissler, and Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 13-64, esp., 36-37.

¹⁷⁰ Kielstra, *Politics*, 91-115.

¹⁷¹ "15th Sitting, 6 Jul. 1820" *Protokolle der deutschen Bundesversammlung*, vol. 11-12 (Frankfurt am Main: Andreäische Buchhandlung, 1820), 138-141.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 139.

and Hamburg continued their campaign without an official body.¹⁷³ Their lobbying continued in the press and this allowed the idea of Christian slavery to compete with New World slavery.¹⁷⁴

With little money for a naval force of its own, Prussia once again had the intention, at Troppau and Laibach, to end the threat of Christian enslavement through the international community.¹⁷⁵ Bernstorff asked the department heads for proposals in early 1820. After revolutions across the Italian states during the summer of 1820 made another congress necessary, the foreign and finance ministries came up with a cynical and self-serving plan. They suggested binding the issue of the “Negro-trade” [*Negerhandel*] with the question of how to combat Islamic piracy [*Barbareskefrage*].¹⁷⁶ Peter Beuth, a rising star in the finance ministry who helped draft the tax laws of 1817, proposed that Bernstorff investigate the issue at Troppau.¹⁷⁷ British plenipotentiaries would certainly want to discuss suppression of the slave trade and that would be the ideal moment to secure some protections for Germans against enslavement. Bernstorff agreed and asked Bülow for a report on the matter.

Bülow presented a solution to Christian slavery in the Mediterranean with a detailed memo sent to Bernstorff and Hardenberg during Troppau.¹⁷⁸ His research included the complaints and petitions from merchants across Northern Germany and answered one primary question: “Is the absence of a peace treaty between the Prussians and Barbary States a main cause of the decline of Prussian shipping?”¹⁷⁹ Bülow explored the multiplicity of ways that this had negatively

¹⁷³ Baasch, “Die deutschen wirtschaftlichen Einheitsbestrebungen,” 468-470.

¹⁷⁴ Commentators in Hamburg demanded help from the other powers to civilize North Africa: Wilhelm Benedict von Schirach, ed., *Politisches Journal nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und andern Sachen*, vol., 77, (1820), 31-39.

¹⁷⁵ Copies of the instructions for Laibach and Troppau suggested discussing the issues surrounding the Barbary Problem as the issue of the Ottoman Empire and the slave trade arose: GStA PK III. HA MdA I Nr. 1748; GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 1758. Also see Hardenberg’s correspondence on the issue: GStA PK III. HA MdA I Nr. 1766.

¹⁷⁶ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 98-99, Memo from August Friedrich Christian Heim, Hoffmann to Bülow, 1. Sept. 1820

¹⁷⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fol 97, Beuth to Bernstorff, 17 Sep. 1820.

¹⁷⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 104-105, Bülow to Bernstorff, 15 Nov. 1820.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 105: “Ist der Mangel eines friedlichen Zustandes zwischen Preußen und der Barbarischen Raubstaaten ein Hauptursache des Verfalls der Preußischen Rhederei?”

impacted the Prussian economy and charted how much potential revenue had been lost. If Prussia could convince the British to include Christian slavery in North Africa in their efforts to abolish the slave trade, then it might be possible to turn their economic misfortunes into healthy profits. Bülow augmented his assessment with a report on recent Algerian piracy from Pütter in Marseille.¹⁸⁰ Pütter argued that the regional rulers of the Barbary Regencies [*Deys*] had preyed upon, murdered, and enslaved Europeans for centuries and would continue to do so if the powers did not unite to stop them.¹⁸¹ In his opinion Exmouth's efforts to extinguish the Christian slave trade [*Sklavenhandel der Christen*], did little more than free some captives and destroy some ships at enormous expense.¹⁸² Pütter did not see a means of resolving the problem through military force without a significant and long-term investment from all of the European powers—the sort of unity and investment Humboldt had sought at Aachen.

Fortune seemed to favor the Prussian effort to combat Christian slavery when the Tsar breathed new life into Humboldt's proposed treaty at Troppau.¹⁸³ Russia, Prussia, and Austria worked harmoniously at the start of Troppau. With the security of Greek Christians threatened by radicals in the Ottoman Empire, Tsar Alexander expressed renewed interest in several elements of Humboldt's treaty if they could be reworked to the satisfaction of the other powers. Together, Russia, Austria, and Prussia planned to construct a naval force like Humboldt's international defense force, with the offer for other powers to join, only this one would limit operations to the Atlantic Coast of North Africa with a mission aimed at condemning Christian and black slave trade operations as piracy. In so doing, they would end the piracy of French, Iberian, and Anglo-American slave-traders while also combatting pirates from the North African Barbary Regencies.

¹⁸⁰ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fol. 121, Bülow to Bernstorff, 27 Nov. 1820.

¹⁸¹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 122-129, Transcript of report from Heinrich Pütter, 20 Oct. 1820.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, fols. 124-125: Pütter estimated that the cost of war would be ten times the amount spent by Exmouth, a sum which was estimated to be a million pounds sterling.

¹⁸³ Nichols, *European Pentarchy*, 179.

The French had already signaled their willingness to join such a force. The British wanted more in exchange for such an agreement as they felt much of the financial burden would fall to them. They had sought broader consent for the right of search in bilateral treaties and wanted this language included in the proposed treaty.¹⁸⁴ While some Germans did trade in slaves, they had not been caught near the coast of Africa, so they, along with the Russians, Austrians, and Prussians felt that it was not they, but rather the Iberians, French, and Anglo merchants who should have to consent to the right of search and visitation as proposed by the British. Prussia did not want to freely concede maritime rights without assurances of some maritime security. This resistance to the right of search, the historian Frank Tannenbaum observed “had the effect of playing into the hands of those who were engaged in the traffic.”¹⁸⁵ Even though Hardenberg gave his assurances to Hamburg’s representative Dittmann that he would work to alleviate the problem, the issue again fell off the docket at Troppau as ironing out all of the elements to secure international cooperation proved too difficult.

Events in the Mediterranean once again gave legitimacy to the Northern Germans’ concerns over Christian slavery. Even with the difficulties preventing a multilateral response to the *Barbareskenfrage*, a modicum of international cooperation prevented Algerian pirates from taking Prussian and Hanseatic cities’ ships at the start of the Congress at Laibach in early 1821.¹⁸⁶ Prussia’s consul in London and a British consul both warned that they had uncovered a plot by the Algerians to steal ships and enslave their crews.¹⁸⁷ British and Spanish warships narrowly foiled the plot according to British sources. Prussia’s representative in London sent Bülow and Johann Peter Friedrich Ancillon, a minister close to the king, additional British reports warning

¹⁸⁴ Allain describes the failures of international, multilateral action and the rise of bilateral efforts during this period. Jean Allain, *The Law and Slavery: Prohibiting Human Exploitation* (Nijoff: Brill-Nijoff, 2015), 62-65.

¹⁸⁵ Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 34.

¹⁸⁶ The British refused to participate at Laibach.

¹⁸⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 130-134, correspondence between Friedrich Karl Albrecht von Maltzahn and Patrick Colquhoun, 12 Jan 1821/10 Jan 1821, to Bernstorff and Ancillon.

that pirates had been spotted patrolling near the Cape of St. Vincent at the Southern tip of Portugal.¹⁸⁸ Bülow cast doubts over these British gestures of goodwill when he sent a damaging report concerning the abolition of the slave trade, from his agent Pütter in Marseille, to Bernstorff and Hardenberg, who had been thwarted by the British in their negotiations to increase Prussia's overseas shipping.¹⁸⁹

Pütter's report mirrored other critics' complaints that British abolition had the surreptitious intentions to serve British interests.¹⁹⁰ It also shows how Germans could repurpose the arguments used by defenders of the slave trade to support of their own interest in eliminating slavery to protect Germans. After reporting what means could be taken to effect an end to slavery, Pütter repeated earlier French criticisms of Britain and added new voices from Iberian merchants. He wrote "In Spain, as here [Marseille], one is not in doubt about the intentions of the English."¹⁹¹ It was "not because of philanthropic intentions" that the English hoped "to extinguish the slave trade", but rather that they might "completely obliterate all foreign nations from those coasts and countries" where slavery operated.¹⁹² "In such a way the English may soon be all over Africa," he continued. Anticipating the arguments of twentieth century Marxists, Pütter used the example of Barbados to argue that abolition only happened after the English had their fill with some "8000 negroes per square mile."¹⁹³ Because the "English colonies had been supplied by it [the slave trade], forever and in abundance," referring to the idea that natural reproduction would supply British colonies, Pütter argued that the British wanted to eliminate

¹⁸⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fol. 135, Friedrich von Maltzahn to Bülow, 27 Jan. 1821.

¹⁸⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 138-139, to Hardenberg from Bülow, 5 Feb. 1821.

¹⁹⁰ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 140-145, Heinrich Pütter to Bülow, 6 Jan. 1821/5 Feb. 1821.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., fols. 140-141: "In Spanien, so wie hier, ist man über die Absicht der Engländer dabei nicht in Zweifel."

¹⁹² Ibid., fol. 141: "Man sagt, dass die Engländer die Sklavenküste nicht etwa aus Philantropischen Absichten, sondern nur deswegen mit großen Kosten so strenge bewachen und den Sklavenhandel seinen, um alle fremden Nationen von jener Küsten und Ländern gänzlich zu verschwünschen."

¹⁹³ Ibid., fol. 141: "Aufsolche Art werden die Engländer vielleicht bald ganz Afrika umstricken; /: in Barbados wesend man 8000 Neger auf freien □ Meile."

competition from Spain and Portugal.¹⁹⁴ This referred to the fact that after 1820 the Atlantic slave trade overwhelmingly served Brazil and Cuba, which both required a constant stream of slaves to maintain their slave systems.¹⁹⁵

Pütter's report suggested that the British would never work to abolish slavery in North Africa and allow German competition to their new system. The British put into place the "near development of what is believed to be the long-prepared English system."¹⁹⁶ Pütter described the English system as a series of trading posts from which the British could exploit the weak rulers of Africa through the domination of trade in manufactured goods for precious African commodities. These rulers had long been accustomed to the "considerable sums of money from the sale in slaves" and would now be forced to bring their "most important and valuable products of their land" to sale for British goods.¹⁹⁷ A source working to supply British outposts told Pütter at least fifty permanent and fortified settlements, "from the shores of the Atlantic to the Red Sea", existed.¹⁹⁸ The British had established these permanent settlements "alone in all places known to be habitable for the climate and accessible to ships" as a part of their plan to exclude others from the lucrative trade in Africa.¹⁹⁹ For these reasons, and more, it would be necessary to negotiate a treaty with the Barbary Regencies for the "full security and protection of [Prussian] merchants." That Bülow hoped to use Pütter's conspiratorial report, from sources with obvious hostility to the

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., fol. 141, "Man sagt, dass die Aufhebung des Sklavenhandels erst dan in Parlemeute durchgegangen, als die Englischen Kolonien damit für immer und bis zum Überfluss versorgt waren."

¹⁹⁵ David Northrup, "Overseas Movements of Slaves and Indentured Workers," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery: Volume 4: AD 1804–AD 2016*, eds. David Eltis et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 49-70.

¹⁹⁶ GSStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fol. 141, Heinrich Pütter to Bülow, 6 Jan. 1821/5 Feb. 1821: "In diesem Jahre soll und muß nun auch, der dem Spanien und Portugieschen bis dahin verstärkter Sklavenhandel aufhören und man erwartet dann die nähern Entwicklung des, wie man glaubt, lange vorbereiteten Englischen Systems."

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., fol. 142: "Die Neger-Regenten, gewohnt durch den Verkauf der Sklaven bedeutende Summen zu erhalten, werden diese in Zukunft nicht entbehren wollen, und statt Neger die wicksten Erzeugnisse ihres Landes zum Handel bringen; diese ihnen abnehmen und gegen ihn Manufactur-Waaren eintauschen."

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., fol. 141: "Dem von der Sklaven und Goldküste bis zum Roten Meere hin, besitzen sie gewiss schon 50 solchen befestigten Niederlassungen."

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., fol. 141: "Weil sie allein an allen bekannten Plätzen, den wegen des Klimas bewohnbar und für Schiffe zugänglich sind, feste Niederlassungen erweicht haben."

British efforts to end the slave trade, to influence Bernstorff's negotiations demonstrates how Christian slavery persisted in Northern European conceptions of slavery.

Financial problems once again prevented Prussian action against the Barbary Regencies, when, a few months later, Russia asked Bernstorff to end Christian slavery in North Africa at the end of July 1821. After the other representatives departed Laibach, Bernstorff addressed the Russian minister in Berlin over the problem of Greek Independence.²⁰⁰ Although it was in the interest of Prussia to eliminate the threat of the Barbary Regencies by supporting a Russian-backed insurrection in Greece, attacking the Ottoman Empire, he believed, would only create greater instability within Europe. Bernstorff repeated the Prussian frustrations over the continued attacks on German shipping and the enslavement of German crews in the Mediterranean. He assured the Russian government that Prussia offered full support, not including monetary support, in their grievances against the Porte.²⁰¹ The Russian government had little idea of the dire financial straits under which the Prussian government operated.²⁰² They agreed to revisit the Greek Independence and the problem of enslaved Christians under Ottoman rule at the next meeting in Verona.

Before Verona took place Hardenberg ordered Bernstorff and Bülow's ministries to convene over the issue of resolving the problem of Christian slavery in the Mediterranean.²⁰³ Over the next several months they discussed some fifteen means of resolving the problem, but the various ministers found problems with each approach.²⁰⁴ They reached a consensus by March

²⁰⁰ Baack, *Christian Bernstorff*, 84-86. Russia had supported insurgents in the Greek independence movement during a conference which authorized Austrian intervention to put down an Italian independence movement.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 86.

²⁰² Freitag, *British Envoys*, vol. I, 175-176.

²⁰³ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 155-165.

²⁰⁴ Prussian ministers decided against asking the Ottoman government for assistance because they had their own problems with Russia, more problems with Greek insurrectionists, and had helped little to alleviate the problem in the past. Sending a navy to the Mediterranean could not directly confront the pirates who avoided direct confrontation on the open seas and seized opportunities as ships neared the coast. It would be too expensive to arm all the merchant vessels. If the Hanseatic cities recently had negotiated treaties with some of the Barbary Regencies

1822 and reported to the king that a solution would have to wait until after Verona.²⁰⁵ In the meantime Hamburg had secured a treaty with the Barbary powers.²⁰⁶ This combined with earlier proposals from Hamburg to take action against the pirates prompted the king asked for a report on the situation of the Prussian exports. The trade ministry, eager to justify the cost of peace with the Barbary Regencies, reported that grain exports had fallen and the export of manufactured goods had all but collapsed.²⁰⁷ England, on the other hand, sent some 21 Million Rtl. in wares to Italy alone—a market from which “Prussian shipping had been completely excluded.”²⁰⁸ With royal lands, domains, and forests still pledged as security to foreign bankers, the king insisted that his ministers work to increase Prussia’s overseas trade to the Mediterranean.²⁰⁹

Prussia failed to secure declarations against Christian slavery at Verona for financial reasons. Other reasons also contributed to the failure. The powers entered the conference in a state of mutual distrust, with unrest and revolutions plaguing their lands.²¹⁰ It did not help Prussia’s aims that its king and foreign minister skipped the meeting and sent in their place a proxy to negotiate Prussian interests. As the powers set about resolving the Eastern Question and Greek Independence, Wellington proposed an ambitious end to the transatlantic slave trade with

for small, yearly sums, and if that could be done for Prussia as well, the payments could be worth it. Bülow estimated that tribute payments would cost 500,000 Rtl. the first year and nearly 200,000 Rtl. for each year after for maintaining relations based on payments other states made: GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5314, fols. 166-180, 15 Nov. 1820: Contains an updated copy of the Bülow’s summary. Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 158-159.

²⁰⁵ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5315, 31 Mar. 1822; At the same time, the state was undergoing negotiations with banks to remain solvent. For a brief overview see Witzleben, *Staatsfinanznot*, 196-201.

²⁰⁶ This occurred on 22 Nov. 1822: Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 159-160.

²⁰⁷ Meanwhile Silesian wool prices and demand in English markets remained high: Freitag, *British Envoys to Germany*, vol., 1, 178; Eddie, *Freedom’s Price*, 301.

²⁰⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II. Nr. 5315, report on export trade from Bülow to King Friedrich Wilhelm, 20 Nov. 1822.

²⁰⁹ Niall Ferguson, *The House of Rothschild: Money’s Prophets: 1798-1848* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 131-132.

²¹⁰ The Verona Protocols include a variety of reports complaining about British incisiveness and the different powers intentions towards one another another vis-à-vis territorial gains, see, GStA PK III. HA MdA I. Nr. 1785.

six points.²¹¹ All of the powers agreed to reaffirm the declaration from Vienna that the slave trade went against Christian morality. The other five points found little resonance. Prussia supported the idea of the trade in black slaves being declared piracy with a caveat—the definition of slavery had to be expanded to include piracy from the Mediterranean.²¹² France refused outright. Chateaubriand felt that the British would abuse the right of search and visitation to prevent French merchants from trading freely.²¹³ Freedom on the seas remained essential to French interests. They further argued that suppression of the slave trade could hardly be enforced if the powers most engaged in it, the Spanish and Portuguese, did not freely consent to renouncing the trade. Prussia knew that without the Spanish and Portuguese representatives at Verona, not much more could be done to end the trade in black slaves let alone Christian slaves. Like France, neither Austria nor Russia wanted to cede maritime rights to the British.²¹⁴ The powers could still agree that the transatlantic slave trade had to end. Their representatives reaffirmed prior commitments, from Vienna and Aachen, to work towards the eventual abolition of the trade. The question of what to do with the Barbary Regencies remained unresolved. This helped to contribute to a sense that the other powers worked against eliminating Christian slavery, to the detriment of Prussia, and reinforced the North German's self-referential idea of slavery.

Ancillon later remembered Prussia fully adhering to the spirit and intent of abolishing slavery and ending the slave trade during these congresses. In a memo to the British, who had asked for evidence of Prussia's efforts to end slavery in 1830, he argued that Prussians had always hated slavery, always been opposed to it, and would continue to hate slavery as Germans

²¹¹ On the 29 Nov. 1822, see Betty Fladeland, "Abolitionist Pressures on the Concert of Europe, 1814-1822" *The Journal of Modern History* 38, no. 4 (1966): 355-373; Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), xx.

²¹² Nichols, *European Pentarchy*, 71, 181.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 184-185.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 169-172.

historically suffered as slaves to foreign masters—including the Ottomans.²¹⁵ As late as 1835 he offered some solutions to assist the British in combatting the trade.²¹⁶ It is true that Hardenberg sent his personal assurances to Castlereagh, Wellington, and other abolitionists that Prussia stood with humanity and justice against the African slave trade.²¹⁷ Nevertheless, Prussians followed the lead of other powers in helping to thwart British efforts at abolition—not because they feared the economic consequences of abolition in their colonies like the French or Iberian powers—but rather, Prussians resisted British efforts at abolition because it lacked the expansiveness and inclusivity in definition that their manufacturing and merchant interests sought. In this way Prussian interest in abolishing Christian slavery helped to stymie the abolition of the trade in black African slaves as it reached its nineteenth century apogee.

Prussia's Christian Slavery Problem Ends

Prussia continued to focus on a solution to Christian slavery in the Mediterranean after Verona. Each year the prospects for Prussian security on the seas seemed less likely as old liberal reformers resigned, retired, or died and some young liberals became old conservatives. A new conservatism in the Prussian government replaced the reformist programs of the previous decade and the various interests within the bureaucracy worked to hold each other in check.²¹⁸ Reformers like Humboldt, Hardenberg, and Bülow fell out of favor or died. Few other leaders saw much value in expending capital to increase Prussian shipping to the Mediterranean. While the press continued to cover both Christian slavery in North Africa and the controversies surrounding New World slavery, the king and ministers concerned themselves more with the injustices of the North

²¹⁵ GStA PK I. HA Rep. 81, Gesandtschaft Petersburg, Nr. 4392, fols. 380-382, Ancillon to Ludwig von Bülow, 9 Sep. 1835.

²¹⁶ Kielstra, *Politics*, 170.

²¹⁷ Karl August von Hardenberg declared himself against the slave trade after the British prompted him on the 2 June 1814: *British and Foreign State Papers, Volume 3: 1815-1816* (London: James Ridgeway and Sons, 1838), 888-889.

²¹⁸ David F. Lindenfeld, *The Practical Imagination: The German Sciences of State in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 89-101; Baack, *Christian Bernstorff*, 74-77.

African capture and enslavement of Christians.²¹⁹ This culminated in one final push to deal with Christian slavery from 1824 to 1826 that ended without a solution. Although British and French military engagements ultimately ended North African piracy, the discussions, research, and effort expended by the Prussian government demonstrates how Christian slavery became the central reference point to a Northern European idea of slavery. Similar efforts to describe and define black slavery did not occur until the following decade.²²⁰

Discussions in newspapers and other publications ensured that the public's interest in a resolution to Christian slavery continued after negotiations stalled at Verona. From 1823 to the 1840s Christian slavery in North Africa and the Middle East remained a popular topic. As one example, Carl August Böttiger's *Abend-Zeitung* in Dresden, dedicated a review to a translation of Philipp Panantis' "Travels on the coasts of Barbary" [*Reise an der Küste der Barbarei*].²²¹ The book represented a trend in the publication, circulation, and consumption of captivity narratives which blossomed in the decades after Verona. Most importantly, the increased production of these narratives accelerated as the instances of attacks on North German shipping had nearly ended. These novels and stories show a continued cultural fascination with the Christian slavery after it had ceased to affect Germans. Berlin's state newspaper also kept up with developments in North Africa. It carried frequent reports of redeemed European sailors over the 1820s and followed the blockades and other efforts to rein in the pirates. This helps to explain how the Berliners, August Ferdinand Hopfgarten, a member of the Berlin Academy, and Karl August Schinkel, the court architect, could sketch two scenes of Christian slavery taken from Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. Schinkel designed the stage for Christoph Willibald von Gluck's

²¹⁹ Karin Schüller, *Die deutsche Rezeption haitianischer Geschichte in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: ein Beitrag zum deutschen Bild vom Schwarzen* (Köln u.a.: Böhlau, 1992), 201-207, 293; This concern over Christians in the Mediterranean extended to the Greeks as well: Schwarz, *Despoten – Barbaren – Wirtschaftspartner*, 116-124.

²²⁰ The extensive discussions over how to define and penalize slavery and the slave trade can be found in: GStA PK I. HA Rep 84a Justizministerium, Nr. 4772 to Nr. 4776.

²²¹ "Literarischer und Kunst-Wegweiser: Philipp Pananti's *Reise an der Küste der Barbarei*," *Abend-Zeitung*, vol. 1-2, eds. Carl August Böttiger and Theodor Winkler, 5 Mar. 1823, 73-76.

opera “Armide” in 1819 and Hopfgarten sketched “Christian slaves and Barbarians (carrying Italian women and monks in the orient)” in 1840 (see fig. 3 and fig 4).²²²



Figure 3. “Christian Slaves and the Barbaresken,” Engraving by Carl Funke from a sketch by August Ferdinand Hopfgarten, Sammlung Archiv für Kunst und Geschichte, Berlin, 1840.

²²² The sketch derived from earlier works, including the “Predatory Saracens” [Räuberische Sarazenen] and portraits inspired by Torquato Tasso, the famous producer of the epic *Jerusalem Delivered*.



Figure 4. “Cowering Slave” Sketch by Karl August Schinkel, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, 1819.

Bülow continued to push for an end to Christian slavery after Verona, albeit with less support after Hardenberg’s death that year. As a disciple of Adam Smith, Bülow believed that free trade would encourage industry, spur trade, enrich the people, and increase the state’s revenue. Hardenberg shared his ideas and had long supported Bülow as a protégé. After Humboldt’s resignation, and the chancellor’s death, other ministers, like Christian Rother and Friedrich von Raumer, gained more favor with the king. Bülow found himself swimming against the current amongst other, more favored ministers. Conservatism and reaction did not totally dominate the plans for economic expansion through overseas shipping. Many ministers within the government, especially those with the ear of the indecisive king, believed in increasing shipping just as Bülow, Hardenberg, and Humboldt had, but they believed that the future of German trade

lay in South America—not the Mediterranean. Indeed, state funding increasingly went west, rather than south, as the state sponsored naturalists, merchants, and diplomats destined for the Americas. Rother used funds from the state bank to sponsor expeditions to South America and the West Indies to prove the viability, profitability, and possibility of major transatlantic trade from Northern European ports.²²³ The state accompanied this effort with the investment in new consulates across the Americas.

Bülow invoked the specter of Christian slavery after financial pressures induced King Friedrich Wilhelm III to ask for another report on how to alleviate the Prussian debt at the start of 1824.²²⁴ As finance minister, Bülow could once again take up his *bête noire*—Islamic piracy against German ships in the Mediterranean. He proposed that Prussia conclude treaties with the Barbary Regencies and purchase warships to enforce Prussian sovereignty in the Mediterranean.²²⁵ Raising the potential for increased profits promised by Pütter, secure shipping to Southern ports appeared to be the fastest means to increase revenues and spur domestic industries. Distressing reports from Pomeranian merchants held that shipping had fallen to the lowest levels in living memory.²²⁶ Local officials complained that the rash of foreclosures across northern Germany limited workers' wages and drove the able-bodied to distant shores.²²⁷ Shoring up Prussian shipping could reinvigorate this troubled province and prove a boon to industries from Silesia to the Rhineland, but only if the government had the fortitude for long-term investment.²²⁸

Other Prussian ministers saw the problem of Christian slavery, but opposed the finance minister's plans for political and financial reasons. Raumer, as an increasingly influential

²²³ Kossok, *Im Schatten*, 30-33, 61-62, 136-140, 180.

²²⁴ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5315, fol. 75 Memo from King, 21 Jan. 1824,

²²⁵ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5315, fol. 76, 5 Feb. 1824 Bülow to King.

²²⁶ Abel, *Massenarmut*, 321-350.

²²⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5315, fol. 175, Bülow to King, 12, Feb. 1824; Blum, *The End*, 246-247.

²²⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 4640, fols. 114-117, Report from Flemming to Bülow and Hardenberg, Jan. 1818.

minister, formulated his concerns for Bülow's program in pragmatic, conservative, and moralistic language. Using the example of the Wars of Liberation, and his literary aptitude, Raumer argued that Prussia had a moral duty to civilization, history, freedom, and religion to not pay tribute to the Barbary Regencies. He asked if Prussia, as "the high, splendid power, after troubled times, through a high moral power, splendid in history, rose up to free itself, Germany, Europe, and the whole civilized world, and saved all of them from moral demises," which was now led by a "high noble monarch," who had "bestowed upon posterity the blessing of the holy alliance," should now "buy peace from the African predators", seemed to Raumer a "contradiction with [Prussia's] truly moral and religious *point d'honneur*."²²⁹ Raumer affirmed religious and moral considerations to be "higher than those of figures and profits."²³⁰ Instead, he suggested that attempts at multilateral action should continue, as "political opinions strengthen" his position, and cautioned against acting alone in this "African thing," for it would signal a dangerous example to the other powers.²³¹ The best course of action, he concluded, would be to "persist in a common measure in this case" so as to prevent instability arising from animosity amongst the European states.²³²

²²⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5315, fol. 190, Memo from Raumer, 21 Feb. 1824: "Dieselbe hohe herrliche Macht, die nach schwierigen Zeiten, durch hohe in der Geschichte glänzende moralische Kraft, sich erhob, um sich selbst, um Deutschland, um Europa, um die civilisirte Welt zu befreuen, vom moralischen Untergänge zu retten, diese nämliche Macht und, — der hohe edle Monarch, welcher mit seinen Verbündeten die heilige Allianz schloß, und dadurch der Nachwelt ist Aussicht auf Segen zeigt, wie ihn die Welt ist zum ersten Male ahndete—diese Macht, dieser Monarch soll im Widerspruch mit diesem wahrhaft sittlichen und religiösen *point d'honneur* Frieden erkaufen, durch Tribut erkaufen von afrikanischen Räubern?"

²³⁰ Ibid., fol. 190: "Es giebt Ansichten, die höher sind als die der Ziffern und des Gewinnes, und dazu gehöret diese sittlich, religiöse Ansicht."

²³¹ Ibid., fol. 191: "Aber eine politische Ansicht verstärkt sie an noch, wenn sie einer Verstärkung bedürfte...Jetzo soll, in dieser afrikanischen Sache, mit einem Mal Preußen sich absondern und seinen eigenen Gang gehen. Ein gefährliches Beyspiel!"

²³² Ibid., 191: "Besser auch hier, wenn auch bisher gemeinschaftliche Maßregeln in diesem Fache schwer zu erzielen waren — besser immer fortwährend harren auf einen günstigeren Zeitpunkt zu gemeinschaftlichen Maßregeln in diesem Fache, als durch einseitiges Abspringen von demselben, ein Signal geben zu ähnlichen Absonderungen in andern bisher gemeinschaftlichen Angelegenheiten."

The king compromised. He took Raumer's criticism under consideration and delayed taking immediate action on Bülow's plan. The king ordered further investigations and preparations for securing peace treaties at the end of the summer.²³³

Meanwhile, Bülow reported an inter-ministerial commission's findings to the king at the end of October 1824.²³⁴ The report, composed with the help of Ancillon, reiterated the conspiratorial idea that the British interest in abolition served British interests, did nothing to prevent the more proximate Christian slave trade, which prevented Germans competitiveness on the seas. Bülow's report estimated that Prussia owed a great deal of its economic misfortunes to two forces working in tandem, English landowners [*Grundbesitzers*] in the British Parliament and the Barbary Regencies. Together they squeezed Germans out of international trade with the Americas, Southern Europe and even Asia.²³⁵ If Northern German sailors had security from enslavement by North African pirates, then they could compete with British merchants, but the landowners in control of the British Parliament schemed to limit Prussia and the Hanseatic cities' trade.²³⁶ This seemed most apparent in the grain trade, which British slave interests controlled, amongst other means, through unfair tariffs like the Corn Laws.²³⁷ Furthermore, these landowners allowed and even encouraged the pirates to prey upon German sailors to exclude Prussia and the Hanseatic cities' from direct trade to the Mediterranean.²³⁸ Without security, Northern European trade could not effectively reach ports in the Americas, and had no hope of penetrating distant,

²³³ GStA PK III. HA MdA II Nr. 5315, fol. 195.

²³⁴ GStA PK III. HA MdA II Nr. 5316, fols. 23-46, Memo from Bülow and Ancillon, 26 Oct. 1824.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

²³⁶ The French, Spanish and Portuguese had made a similar argument, that the British did not believe in limiting the slave trade or abolishing slavery for philanthropic reasons, but rather to prevent other states from competing with British dominance of the market in colonial goods.

²³⁷ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5316, fols. 32-33, Memo from Bülow and Ancillon, 26 Oct. 1824: Specifically, the report highlights the damage done to the "Prussian grain trade."

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 40-42.

new markets across the world in places like China.²³⁹ Christian slavery, and the British inattention to it, thus jeopardized independent northern European trade.

Bülow's foreboding report appeared prescient when, at the end of 1824, the Barbary Regencies again captured ships from the Hanseatic cities.²⁴⁰ These attacks continued for the next several years.²⁴¹ In keeping with the slow pace of Prussian policy after Verona, Friedrich Wilhelm did not decide to resolve "the present serious stagnation of trade and shipping," until the start of following year (1825).²⁴² Bülow's sudden death silenced the most vocal advocate for a solution to the problem with the Barbary Regencies still left in the Prussian government.

Even if Prussia's plans for peace with the Barbary Regencies ended with Bülow's death, predation and Christian enslavement continued. Moroccan cruisers attacked German ships during the summer of 1826.²⁴³ Algiers and Morocco had once again, in a move that caught the Northern Europeans unaware, declared war against Prussia and threatened Hamburg.²⁴⁴ This threatened Hamburg's growing trade with Latin America which had helped the city's economic recovery. Even though the number of northern European sailors taken during the 1820s never exceeded more than triple digits, they remained captives to the idea of white, Christian slavery.

The invasion and occupation of Algiers ended most of the threat of German enslavement by the North Africans. The invasion also brought home some of the last prisoners captive in North Africa (see fig. 5).

²³⁹ Ibid., 43.

²⁴⁰ Peter Diedrich Wilhelm Tönnies, *Chronik des Hamburgische See-Assecurrenz Geschäftes im Jahre 1825* (Hamburg: 1825), 12-15.

²⁴¹ Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 161-163.

²⁴² GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 5316, fol., 68, Memo from the King, 16 Jan. 1825.

²⁴³ Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 161-162.

²⁴⁴ Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken*, 163.



Figure 5. “The Galley Slave.” Engraving from *Bildungsblätter, Eine Unterhaltungsschrift für die Jugend und ihre Freunde. Jg. 1, Wesel, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, 1838.*

The Prussian consulate in Florence reported the recovery of one such individual, a tailor from Königsberg, who had been in captivity for decades when the French invaded Algiers. Franz Saleski had been captured as a youth during the days of Napoleonic Wars.²⁴⁵ The return of individuals from captivity and the publication of some of their experiences made slavery self-referential for Germans. An excellent example includes one former German slave who had visited Brazil as a miner. His captivity narrative includes six engravings from his captivity in Algiers but no scenes from Brazilian life (see fig. 6). A steady stream of such reminders, from the periodic attacks during the conferences following Vienna, to the failure of Humboldt’s treaty, and the reluctance of other naval powers to assist the Prussians, made Christian slavery a more active issue than the enslavement of black Africans in the New World.

²⁴⁵ I. HA Rep. 81 Florenz/Toskana nach 1807, Nr. 44, fol. 5, 1833, “Freeing the tailor from Königsberg, Franz Saleski, who had been taken into slavery in Tunis.”



Figure 6. Wendelin Schlosser, “The author with Bedouins en route to Algiers.”
Engraving from *Reisen in Brasilien und Algier*, (Erfurt, 1839).

At a time when the slave trade approached its pre-Revolution levels (1828), the governments of northern Germany had soured on international antislavery efforts. Increased French naval patrols in the Mediterranean and the invasion of Algiers ended, for the most part, the problem of Christian slavery for the Prussian state, but the memory stayed alive for far longer than it should have. While the British continued to push for international agreements to end the slave trade during the nineteenth century, Prussia and the Hanseatic cities continued to invoke the specter of Christian slavery and insist upon definitions of slavery that included Islamic slavery in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. The inability and unwillingness of the Northern Europeans to invest in securing their overseas trade left them vulnerable to predation and exacerbated economic stagnation at the start of the nineteenth century. Frustrations over these occasional

episodes changed Northern European frame of reference for slavery. It became a more self-referential one at the moment when black African slavery in the New World became widely recognized as one of the great moral evils of the nineteenth century. Germans' slavery problem became the inability to distinguish the difference between New World slavery and Christian slavery in size, scope, and scale during the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER IV

Germans Describe New Ideas of Slavery in Brazil, 1815-1850

When he first arrived in Rio de Janeiro, Ernst Ebel, a Prussian noble from the Baltic coast, hardly remarked upon one of the most distinctive features of the city in 1824—the abundance of enslaved peoples.¹ Many foreigners recorded their belief that they had landed in Africa rather than Rio de Janeiro upon arrival.² Ebel, instead, concentrated on the sublime beauty of the city's unique landscape.³ He only recognized slaves and slavery after witnessing a slave ship unload its cargo. He certainly would have recognized slaves when he “hired” a black servant as no white servants could be found as well as when considered using a *port chaise* at the start of his journey.⁴ Given that most foreign travelers took note of the disparity between the free and unfree in the streets almost as soon as they landed, this lacuna distinguishes Ebel.

¹ Ernst Ebel, *Rio de Janeiro und seine Umgebungen im Jahr 1824: In Briefen eines Rigaers* (St. Petersburg: Kaiserlich Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1828), 7: Ebel's travelogue and several of the more difficult to find travelogues used for this chapter were accessed at the research library at Sammlung Perthes Gotha: Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Sammlung Perthes Bibliothek [FBG SPB], SPB 8° 6130.00012. Contemporary estimates from public sources and German travelers note the huge disparities in European and black inhabitants. See Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 24-30.

² Karasch, *Slave*, 39.

³ Carl Schlichthorst, *Rio de Janeiro wie es ist: Beiträge zur Tages- und Sitten-Geschichte der Hauptstadt von Brasilien mit vorzüglicher Rücksicht auf die Lage des dortigen deutschen Militärs* (Hannover: Hahn, 1829): Schlichthorst saw a “paradise” in which large palaces occupied the slave quarters, which were described by others as vile and repulsive. Similarly, Prussia's Prince Adalbert described the same scenes during the 1840s, Adalbert von Preußen, *Aus meinem Tagebuche: 1842-1843*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Deckerschen Geheimen Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei, 1847), 243-249; A second travelogue from the Adalbert appeared the following decade: Adalbert Prinz von Preußen, *Reise Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Prinzen Adalbert nach Brasilien: Nach dem Tagebuche Seiner Königlichen Hoheit*, ed. Hermann Kletke (Berlin: Hasselberg'sche Verlagshandlung, 1857)

⁴ Ebel, *Rio*, 29-30; Other Germans recorded hiring or buying slaves, see for instance, Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen über Brasilien: Mit gewissenhafter Belehrung für auswandernde Deutsche* (Heidelberg: Verlag von Karl Groos, 1821); J. Friedrich von Weech, *Brasiliens gegenwärtiger Zustand und Colonialsystem: Besonders in Bezug auf Landbau und Handel. Zunächst für Auswanderer* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1828), 80-102; Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege, *Journal von Brasilien: Oder vermischte Nachrichten aus Brasilien, auf wissenschaftlichen Reisen gesammelt*, vol. 1 (Weimar: Verl. des Industrie-Comptoirs, 1818): FBG FSP, Geogr 8° 04117/01 (02); Johann Baptist von Spix and Karl Friedrich Philipp von Martius, *Reise in Brasilien, auf Befehl Sr. Majestät Maximilian Joseph I., Königs von Baiern, in den Jahren 1817 bis 1820: Mit Karten und Abbildungen, gemacht und beschrieben von Joh. Bapt. von Spix und Carl Friedr. Phil. von Martius*, vol. 2 (München: I.J. Lentner, 1828); Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege, *Pluto Brasiliensis: Eine Reihe von Abhandlungen über Brasiliens Gold-, Diamanten- und anderen mineralischen Reichthum, über die Geschichte seiner Entdeckung, über das Vorkommen seiner Lagerstätten, des Betriebs, der Ausbeute und die daraufbezügliche Gesetzgebung* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1833), 38-43.

As he discussed slavery and the slave trade, his unsympathetic and racially insensitive account reads at first as an apology for New World slavery. Ebel's description of the slaves as both "poor, emaciated-wretches" and "lined up like monkeys" distances his account from those of most other Germans.⁵ From his perspective "their journey was not so long," and "their masters treat them generally well, as the government has forbidden masters from beating their slaves."⁶ Not only does their music, in all of its "terribleness" offend him, but they also appear strikingly ugly to Ebel.⁷ Having read many "exaggerated, sentimental stories of the Negroes" he cannot help but see them as "ridiculous" after having witnessed them first hand.⁸ Germans, it seems, have been misled by the English promoters of human rights [*Menschenrechte*], through exaggerated stories and ideas to further abolition their "hidden purposes," as they "have tolerated the ignominious human trafficking [*schändlichen Menschenraub*] of the Barbary Regencies [*Barbaresken*]."⁹ Even though Ebel's initial encounters with New World slavery separated him from the more strenuously antislavery accounts of other Germans, and most other foreign travelers to Brazil, they do fit a pattern of caution, restraint, and subdued criticism.

Ebel's disgust for the black slaves in Brazil did not represent support for slavery. After a sustained attack on the appearance, character, and conditions of enslaved Africans, as well as a nod to the idea of self-centered English abolition, he wrote, "If you think what I said is an apology for the slave trade then you have mistaken my opinion."¹⁰ To his mind the trade left deep

⁵ Ebel, *Rio*, 32.

⁶ These claims are analyzed in more detail below. Two examples include: Adalbert, *Aus meinem Tagebuche*; 346; Carl Seidler, *Zehn Jahre in Brasilien während der Regierung Dom Pedro's und nach Dessen Entthronung: mit besonderer Hinsicht auf das Schicksal der ausländischen Truppen und der deutschen Colonisten*, 2 vols. (Quedlinburg, 1835): FBG FSB, Geogr 8° 04119/02 (01).

⁷ Ebel, *Rio*, 31.

⁸ Ebel hurled abuses at the enslaved black Africans: "Es hat mir immer übertrieben geschienen, wenn ich die vielen sentimentalischen Geschichten von Negern gelesen habe, seitdem ich aber diese Menschen näher kennen gelernt, kommen sie mir vollends lächerlich vor." Ebel, *Rio*, 32.

⁹ Ebel, *Rio*, 34-33.

¹⁰ Ebel, *Rio*, 33: "Wenn Du das Gesagte für eine Apologie des Sklavenhandels hältst, so irrst Du Dich in meiner Meinung."

marks on the civilization and culture of black Africans. Though many appeared “ugly,” lazy, and without the hallmarks of civilization, he admitted that many capable people existed amongst them, like Henri Christoph and Toussaint l’Ouverture, or those born in Brazil rather than those imported from Africa.¹¹ As he believed that they had the capacity for improvement, he hoped to present the reader a more accurate image of slaves, slavery, and the slave trade—albeit through his aristocratic eyes. Other travelers followed his example. German accounts self-consciously distinguished themselves from that of their French, Luso-Spanish, and English counterparts in that they often made claims of supposed “unbiased” [*Unparteyish*] views.¹² For instance, another officer traveling at the same time, assures his readers that his allegiance belongs to the truth rather than “sentimentality.”¹³

This chapter intends to explain how Germans witnessed and described slavery in Brazil, and follows how German views changed from the late-eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. The chapter measures how much German travelers’ attitudes towards slavery matched the antislavery rhetoric, which accompanied debates over Christian slavery in the Mediterranean, in Prussia and the Hanseatic cities during the *Vormärz*. The chapter draws on a diverse group of more than thirty German travel accounts. It includes emigrants, soldiers, government officials, naturalists, and academics taken from the more than one hundred and fifty distinct German-language accounts of Brazil published from the time of the French Revolution to the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ These works represent a range of ideas, perspectives, and opinions on

¹¹ Ebel, *Rio*, 32.

¹² A contemporary description includes: Johann Christoph Adelung, *Auszug aus dem grammatisch-kritischen Wörterbuche der Hochdeutschen Mundart, Volume, 3: M–Sor*. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1801), 652;

¹³ Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Sammlung Perthes Bibliothek [FSB], Theodor von Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien oder Reise von Berlin nach Rio de Janeiro und von dort zurück* (Berlin, Mauer 1820), v-iii, 227-228.

¹⁴ This study draws on Rescher’s comprehensive bibliographic sketch of German language production on Brazil: Hubertus J. Rescher, *Die deutschsprachige Literatur zu Brasilien von 1789-1850: Widerspiegelung brasilian. Sozial- und Wirtschaftsstrukturen von 1789-1850 in die deutschsprachigen Literatur desselben Zeitraums* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1979). Other bibliographies consulted include: *United States of Brazil. A Geographical Sketch, with Special Reference to Economic Conditions and Prospects of Future Development*, (Washington: Govt. Print.

the nature of slavery in Brazil. The diversity of their experiences represents the wide range of individuals and their own backgrounds, social status, education, and travel itineraries. Acting as witnesses to slavery, these travelers recorded the trade, business operations, and life of slavery in details often overlooked by other travelers.

Before scrutinizing the travel accounts of Germans in Brazil, the chapter first examines New World slavery in the context of the increasing connections between Northern Europeans and Brazil through trade and settlement. While Germans had long been a part of the West Indies, the nineteenth century saw a striking increase in German trade and emigration to more diverse destinations across Latin America.¹⁵ More trade and intercourse also heightened Germans' visibility in Brazilian society and made Brazil more important as a destination for Germans. New German settlements across Brazil's vast provinces triggered debates over slavery with local and foreign authorities as well as officials in Northern Europe.¹⁶ Brazil's government saw opportunities in German settlers to reform the nation. Germans could be used to transition away from slavery, develop domestic industry, and secure contested borders. Because German settlers provided the possibility for a new labor regime not based in slavery, they threatened the planter

Off., 1901); Rubens Borba de Moraes, *Livros e bibliotecas no Brasil colonial* (Briquet de Lemos Livros, 2006); Rubens Borba de Moraes, *Bibliographia Brasiliiana: A Bibliographical Essay on Rare Books about Brazil Published from 1504 to 1900, and Works of Brazilian Authors Published Abroad Before the Independence of Brazil in 1822* (Colibris Editora, 1958); Paulo Berger, *Bibliografia do Rio de Janeiro de viajantes e autores estrangeiros, 1531-1900*. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria São José, 1980); Abeillard Barreto, *Bibliografia sulriograndense: A contribuição portuguesa e estrangeira para o conhecimento e a integração do Rio Grande do Sul*, vols. 1 and 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Conselho Federal de Cultura); Robert Conrad, *Brazilian Slavery: An Annotated Research Bibliography* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1977); Baretto; França, Jean Marcel Carvalho, *Viajantes estrangeiros no Rio de Janeiro joanino: Antologia de textos (1809-1818)* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio 2013).

¹⁵ Steve Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820-1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler, *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Klaus J. Bade, *Migration in European History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2003); Giralda Seyferth, "The Slave Plantation and Foreign Colonization in Imperial Brazil," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 34, no. 4 (2011): 339-87.

¹⁶ Giralda Seyferth, "German Immigration and the Formation of German-Brazilian Ethnicity," *Anthropological Journal on European Cultures* 7, no. 2 (1998): 131-54.

class as the newly-arrived settlers competed with traditional labor forms and sources of labor.¹⁷ With fewer legal protections than Catholics, the mostly Protestant Germans faced the possibility of abuse at the hands of Brazil's rulers. Mistreatment became manifest in social relations, civil status, labor contracts, and indentured servitude.¹⁸ These abuses gave rise to the idea of white enslavement in Brazil amongst Germans.

Scholarship on slavery has long reduced how Germans interacted with slavery in Brazil during the nineteenth century to a few paragraphs or footnote.¹⁹ This partially owes to the fact that Brazil's slave labor regime and the Atlantic slave trade after 1830 has received less attention than other Atlantic slaveries.²⁰ Even though historians of Brazil have drawn liberally from translations of German texts, only one other modern study has looked at Germans as a whole to understand the specifically German perspective on the practices of New World slavery in Brazil.²¹ It concentrates on how Germans developed an image of themselves as the bearers of "civilization and industriousness," to present an image of Germans as essentially "ambivalent" to slavery. This owes to the lower rate of German slave holders in relation to the general population. The study also emphasizes the period after 1850, when Germans increasingly migrated to regions in Brazil without a large numbers of slaves. Other scholarly works examining the German

¹⁷ Anke K. Finger, Gabi Kathöfer, and Christopher Larkosh, eds., *KulturConfusão: On German-Brazilian Interculturalities* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 78–79; Mark Abrahamson, *Urban Enclaves: Identity and Place in America* (New York: W. H. Freeman and Co., 2005), 72–89; Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 93-109.

¹⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 686, fols. 86-88, Theremin to Bernstorff, 7 Apr. 1830: Carl Wilhelm Theremin, the first consulate to Brazil, links the abolition of slavery directly to the mistreatment of German colonists by Brazilians in this report from 1830.

¹⁹ David Brion Davis, *Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1966) 172, 212; other examples include the two references to Germans in, Gad J. Heuman and Trevor G. Burnard, eds., *The Routledge History of Slavery* (London; New York: Routledge, 2011). Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *Slavery in White and Black: Class and Race in the Southern Slaveholders' New World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

²⁰ João Pedro Marques, *The Sounds of Silence: Nineteenth-Century Portugal and the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (New York: Berghahn, 2006).

²¹ Eugene S. Cassidy, "Germanness, Civilization, and Slavery: Southern Brazil as German Colonial Space (1819-1888)" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2014); "Eugene S. Cassidy, "The Ambivalence of Slavery, The Certainty of Germanness: Representations of Slave-Holding and Its Impact Among German Settlers in Brazil, 1820–1889," *German History* 33, no. 3 (September 1, 2015): 367–84;

relationship to imperialism, colonialism, racism, and other “isms”, marginalize, ignore, or overlook numerous, and important sources which fit into a longer tradition of antislavery writing, but also those writers who cautioned against Germans settling abroad.²² This chapter emphasizes that most Germans found the institution incompatible with humanity, culture, and civilization. Admittedly, some critical voices rang out to elevate German culture. Their criticisms of Brazilian slavery put Germans at odds with local authorities, who, at the same time, required German colonists to seed their underpopulated provinces to the South of the wealthy slave-holding provinces.

Brazil underwent significant economic, demographic, geographic, and political transformations during the first half of the nineteenth century. The disruptions brought by the Napoleonic period not only brought the Portuguese royal family to Brazil (1808), but it also reconfigured its industry and trade relationships, diversified its population, and more clearly defined its territory. Booms in the production of coffee made it a more important commodity than the traditionally important sugar export business by the 1830s.²³ Sugar remained important, but the significant capital and intense labor required for the production of coffee, drove demand for slaves and Brazil’s importation of black Africans increased to over 200,000 for the first time in a five year period from 1806-1810.²⁴ The empire became the greatest importer of slaves by volume in the Atlantic world at the same time the first waves of non-Portuguese migrants settled the

²² Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany: Expansionism and Nationalism, 1848-1884* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008).

²³ Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Ricardo E. Salles, *E o Vale era o escravo—Vassouras, século XIX: Senhores e escravos no coração do Império* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2008)

²⁴ For one of the best sources for analyzing totals for the slave trade, see, <http://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates>; For more on coffee cultivation and the intensification of the slave trade and plantation slavery in Brazil, see, Leslie Bethell, *Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930* (Cambridge: University Press, 1989), 85-94; 116.

country. As a consequence of this remarkable increase in human traffic, the government grappled with political pressure from international forces to end slavery.²⁵ In the meantime, revolutions across colonial Americas put pressure on the monarchy to grant Brazil independence. By the early 1820s the Brazilian Empire took shape, the planter class grew with an influx of speculators as the economy increased its focus on monoculture exports, society had more Africans, Europeans, and North Americans with an immigration background, and the state's boundaries became more clearly defined.

Several events during this period make it particularly significant for the study of Germans and slavery. First of all, the intensification of the slave trade to Brazil from 1815 to 1850 made slavery a major topic of discussion in the Atlantic world. Secondly, the “new discovery of Brazil after 1808,” in which travel descriptions underwent a significant change, accompanied the first major German migration to Brazil.²⁶ This began with the first wave of new travel accounts that coincide with European revolutionary upheavals and loosening of travel restrictions brought by the Portuguese Royal family's move to Rio de Janeiro. A decade later the Brazilian independence movement allowed freer trade to the new state and northern Europe increasingly made efforts to establish new trade relations with South America. Finally, the chapter ends in 1847 with a series of events that changed German migration to Brazil. Senator Pereira de Campos Vergueiro began an experiment, at his estate *Ibicaba*, using about eighty German families as indentured servants.²⁷

²⁵ After 1820 only Brazil and Cuba imported slaves under nominal legal authority to do so, see, Christopher Leslie Brown, “Slavery and Antislavery, 1760-1820,” *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, c.1450-c.1850*, eds. Nicholas P. Canny and Philip D. Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 604.

²⁶ Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, “A Herança Colonial—Sua Desagregação,” in *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira: Tomo 2, vol. 1: O Progresso de Emancipação*, eds. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda and Pedro Moacyr (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Difusão Européia do Livro, 1965), 11-13; Mario Carelli, *Culturas cruzadas: Intercâmbios culturais entre França e Brasil* (Campinas, São Paulo: Papirus, 1994), 30-31; 80-92, 129-134; Travel narratives were often derivative and little changed from the sixteenth century until the French Revolution according to França, see, Jean Marcel Carvalho França, *A construção do Brasil na literatura de viagem dos séculos XVI, XVII, e XVIII: Antologia de textos, 1951-1808* (Rio de Janeiro: Unesp, 2012), 240-243.

²⁷ Jeff Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 28-39.

This set off a movement calling for Prussia to ban foreign recruitment of emigrants, the creation of a navy to protect Germans abroad, and new demands for German colonies.²⁸ The chapter closes just before the passage of the *Lei de Terras*, the Land Law of 1850, which changed Germans' ability to settle in Brazil and the suppression of the slave trade in 1850.²⁹

Why Germans in Brazil?

This section intends to provide context for the migratory relationships between Central Europeans and Brazil during the nineteenth century. Slavery became a central issue in these relationships. Nineteenth-Century Brazil saw increasing numbers of foreign settlers with a notable German element amongst them. From the start of settlement in the late 1810s, their numbers grew from a few hundred to just over six thousand by 1830.³⁰ This does not include many of those working temporarily, like the hundreds of German soldiers, musicians, merchants, engineers, foresters, and other laborers, which explains how the Prussian consul frequently overestimated the number of Germans in Brazil, putting the figure at ten thousand.³¹ In fact, he believed that some 3,000 had arrived in Porto Alegre by 1828.³² An unscrupulous recruiting agent, Georg Anton Schäffer, claimed to have transported 4600 people between 1823 and 1825.³³ More Germans also chose Brazil over the United States during the first decade and half after

²⁸ Fitzpatrick, *Liberal*, 138-148, 155; for the later instances see, Stefan Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora: The "Greater German Empire," 1871-1914* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 63-65.

²⁹ The new law gave the state more power to partition land and dole it out for cultivation to foreign subjects. Seyferth, "German Immigration and the Formation of German-Brazilian Ethnicity," 131-133.

³⁰ Luebke ascertains that earlier research presented a flawed view of the number of Germans that went to the new world and that during the 1820s the number of Germans going to Brazil likely surpassed the total going to the United States for the same year: Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 94-96.

³¹ Theremin reported "the majority of colonists" as originating from German ports: GStA PK, III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7958.1, fol., 77, Theremin to Bernstorff; Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798-1852* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 150-151.

³² GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 686, fol. 86-88, Theremin to Bernstorff, 29 Apr. 1829.

³³ Klaus Richter, "Hamburgs Rolle im Interessenkonflikt um die ersten Auswanderungen nach Brasilien," in *Zeitschrift des Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte*, LXIII (1977), 88-93; Georg Anton von Schäffer, *Brasilien als unabhängiges Reich in historischer, mercantilischer und politischer Beziehung: Geschildert Vom Ritter von Schäffer Dr. Major der K. brasilischen Ehrengarde* (Alton: Hammerich, 1824) FBG SPB Geogr 8° 04119/01.

Vienna, until the 1830s when instability and military conflict in Brazil made the US a more attractive alternative.³⁴ Although few immigrants chose Brazil until the 1850s, Germans accounted for six of every ten new migrants to Brazil during the 1840s.³⁵ More Germans attempted to settle in Brazil than any other country in Latin America during the nineteenth century.³⁶ Brazil's acting government used German settlers as an informal colonial instrument to police its porous borders as the state struggled to define its boundaries.³⁷ For a variety of reasons explored in this section, the German presence in Brazil contributed to the discussion over the slave trade and slavery in Brazil during the nineteenth century.

Serious German settlement in Brazil first began after 1818 with the establishment of São Jorge dos Ilhéus, Frankental, and Nova Friburgo. Historians have described German emigration patterns to Brazil as fitting into distinct stages, the first of which lasted from 1818 to 1830. The Brazilian government aimed at settling Germans in regions not already inhabited by large slave-plantations of the sorts that had only recently developed.³⁸ Brazil's imperial government founded four specifically German colonies, São Leopoldo in Rio Grand do Sul (1824), São Pedro de Alcântara and Mafra in Santa Catharina (1824), Rio Negro in Paraná (1829).³⁹ Other German settlements also took shape without the same level of government involvement, including São João das Missões, Três Forquilhas, Catucá, Santa Amélia and Santo Amaro. Political instability in Brazil, economic hardship in German countries, a lack of established German communities in

³⁴ The so-called Farrapos War, as one example, reduced German migration but also brought many Germans to Brazil as mercenaries, see, Hilda Agnes Hübner Flores, *Alemães na Guerra dos Farrapos* (Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 2008).

³⁵ Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 95; Bade, *Migration*, 83-91.

³⁶ Seyferth, "German Immigration and the Formation of German-Brazilian Ethnicity," 150; Ulrike Brisson and Bernard Schweizer, *Not so Innocent Abroad: The Politics of Travel and Travel Writing* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 135-139.

³⁷ Seyferth, "German Immigration and the Formation of German-Brazilian Ethnicity," 146.

³⁸ Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 202-212.

³⁹ Seyferth, "German Immigration and the Formation of German-Brazilian Ethnicity," 132; São Leopoldo was the largest of these with some 2000 colonists by 1825, Barman, *Brazil*, 126.

Brazil, and other factors made this stage relatively sparse in terms of total settlers. Theremin estimated that by the mid-1830s there were around 10,000 to 12,000 Germans in Brazil, of which at least 7,000 and as many as 8,000 were Prussians, with at least 2,000 Prussians in Rio alone.⁴⁰ Most historians believe the numbers to be half of Theremin's estimates.⁴¹ Official recruitment paused in 1830, then again between 1835 and 1845 due mostly to social and political instability in Brazil. Settlement intensified after 1850 with the so-called Land Law as well as with the abolition of slavery.

The abolition of slavery stood at the heart of the Brazilian project for the colonization of Germans. According to the most prominent historian of German migration to Brazil during this period, the idea of free labor became linked with immigration so much that they were “complementary terms for the government ministry charged with promoting settlement.”⁴² Indeed, the government's pragmatism in the face of international efforts to limit the spread of slavery and end the slave trade accounts for much of the impulse that brought Germans to Brazil. More liberal and reform-minded elements in the government knew that the slave labor regime upon which Brazil based its economy could not endure. Administrators feared abrupt cessation of slavery would create such cataclysmic disruptions to the economy and social order that the government would be overthrown.⁴³ Foreign, European settlers—especially Germans—appeared to be an excellent alternative to gradually wean the country off of slave labor. Prussia's “Association for the promotion of commercial industry in Prussia” [*Verein zur Förderung des*

⁴⁰ His estimates vary across the years from 1824 to 1830, which can be found in his regular reports: GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7958.1, Theremin to Bernstorff and GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7958.3, Theremin to Bernstorff.

⁴¹ Samuel L. Baily and Eduardo José Míguez, *Mass Migration to Modern Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003), 227-242; Seyferth, “The Slave Plantation and Foreign Colonization in Imperial Brazil,” 344-347.

⁴² Seyferth, “German Immigration and the Formation of German-Brazilian Ethnicity,” 135.

⁴³ Robert Edgar Conrad, “The Struggle for the Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: 1808-1853” (PhD Diss., Columbia University, 1967); Robert Conrad, “The Contraband Slave Trade to Brazil, 1831-1845,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 49, no. 4 (1969): 617-638; Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869* (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), 53-59; David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 81-123.

Gewerbefleisses in Preußen], recently established by the Prussian finance minister and promoter of industry Christian Peter Wilhelm Friedrich Beuth, recorded the importance of German colonists as substitutes for the gradual replacement of slaves and transformation of the Brazilian economy after Brazil agreed to end the slave trade in 1831 (though it continued until the British put pressure on the Brazilian government to end the traffic in 1850).⁴⁴ The porous borders of the Brazilian Empire also needed reinforcement. Brazil's provisional government broke with a centuries of tradition and custom when they invited non-Catholic immigrants to the country in 1818.⁴⁵

To attract these desirable settlers, the state offered families generous 75 hectare lots, on which they hoped the Germans would grow more diverse comestibles and produce more domestic products.⁴⁶ Land hungry Germans, who had recently experienced enclosures across northern German states, saw these lots as particularly attractive to recently-unbound peasants.⁴⁷ Fluctuations in market prices for the few monoculture commodities on which they depended had long given administrators anxiety. Policymakers hoped that German settlers would create a more consistent agricultural harvest, less bound by market pressures, and also bolster domestic manufacturing. Many German travelers recognized that the nature of Brazil's agricultural

⁴⁴ Daniel Christian Lehmus, "Bemerkungen eines Preußen über den Handel mit Brasilien," *Verhandlungen des Vereins zur Beförderung des Gewerbefleisses*, ed. Ernst Ludwig Schubarth (Berlin, A. Petsch 1832), 90-112. For the illegal continuation of the slave trade after 1830 see Celso Thomas Castilho, "Abolition and its Aftermath in Brazil," in *Cambridge World History of Slavery: Vol. 4: 1804 to the Present Day*, eds. Seymour Drescher, David Eltis, Stanley Engerman, and David Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 486-509; Michael Zeuske, *Amistad: A Hidden Network of Slavers and Merchants*, (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2015); Sidney Chalhoub, *A força da escravidão: ilegalidade e costume no Brasil oitocentista*, (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2012); Bethell, *Abolition*, 88-94; Eltis and Conrad cover well the illegal trade after 1830, see, Conrad, "The Contraband Slave Trade," 617-622; Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 125-199.

⁴⁵ For more details on the debates within the Brazilian government and the responses from these first settlers, see Martin Nicoulin, *La genèse de Nova Friburgo: Emigration et colonisation suisse au Brésil, 1817-1827* (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1978).

⁴⁶ Seyferth, "The Slave Plantation," 342; Lesser, *Immigration*, 28-29; Celso Furtado, *The Economic Growth of Brazil: A survey from Colonial to Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 134-39.

⁴⁷ S. A Eddie, *Freedom's Price: Serfdom, Subjection, and Reform in Prussia, 1648-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) 287-328; Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Vol. 2* (München: Beck, 1987), 410-411; Reinhart Koselleck, *Preußen zwischen Reform und Revolution: allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung und soziale Bewegung von 1791 bis 1848* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1967), 487-490.

economy meant that Brazil had to rely on imports for everything. Even commonly available commodities like leather and paper could not be purchased domestically.⁴⁸

Local conditions and national problems held back German settlement.⁴⁹ Brazil's officially-sanctioned Catholicism, its disadvantageous labor regimes for immigrants, and lack of connections to and for border regions represented the chief complaints for German settlers. The mostly Protestant Germans could not abide by the overarching temporal powers of the Catholic Church. Without a means for civil marriage (non-Catholic marriages were considered concubinage and complicated the inheritance of Protestant children) or the legally recognized practice of sacraments like Baptism outside of the Catholic Church, combined with the difficulties of naturalization, German Protestants held second-class status.⁵⁰ Indentured servitude locked Germans into an unfair position within the labor market while the operations of slave labor excluded them. Slavery also prevented institutions for the preservation of the small cultivator, like crop and livestock insurance and agricultural credit, from taking root.⁵¹ Lastly, Brazil's backwards infrastructure, especially along its frontiers, where the government expected Germans to settle, created a substantial barrier to the expansion of German settlement. Transportation and communication networks had little reach. This reduced the ability of settlers to reach markets and for settlers to react to trends and fluctuations. Finally, the absence of public education across the country made it less desirable for the particularly literate Germans.

⁴⁸ Julius Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien im Jahre 1826*, vol. 1 (Magdeburg: Bänsch, 1828), 147.

⁴⁹ Luebke points to the negative press Brazil received in German lands, the "elitist" regime of Dom Pedro, as well as religious discrimination against Protestants, Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 97-98.

⁵⁰ Lehmus, "Bemerkungen," 92; Lesser, *Immigration*, 18-19; 30-34; Rudolf von Sinner, *The Churches and Democracy in Brazil: Towards a Public Theology Focused on Citizenship* (Eugene, Or.: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 32; Roland Spliesgart, *Verbrasilianerung und Akkulturation: Deutsche Protestanten im brasilianischen Kaiserreich am Beispiel der Gemeinden in Rio de Janeiro und Minas Gerais (1822-1889)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 19-42; Protestant status became a larger issue after 1850 when the bulk of German settlers migrated to Brazil, see for instance, Sebastian Conrad, "Globalization Effects: Mobility and Nation in Imperial Germany, 1880-1914*," *Journal of Global History* 3, no. 1 (March 2008): 43-66; Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 98.

⁵¹ For more on the importance of small-cultivator, or peasant credit and insurance, see, Friedrich Karl Lütge, *Deutsche Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschicht* (1966), 344-345; John Gagliardo, *From Pariah to Patriot: The Changing Image of the German Peasant 1770-1840* (Louisville: University Press of Kentucky, 1969), 49-50.

Efforts taken by the Brazilian government to recruit German settlers, approval and cooperation from German states for these efforts, and the position of Germans within Brazilian society meant it was conceivable for the idea of white slavery to compete with real, existing black African slavery during this period. Dishonest recruitment agents like Georg Anton Schäffer and pro-immigration officials like the Brazilian finance minister Miguel Calmon du Pine Almeida, otherwise referred to as the Visconde d'Abrantes, played a crucial role in the promoting emigration to replace enslaved Africans.⁵² Schäffer had a reputation for deceit earned as a physician, and military officer, and filibuster who attended Hawaii's regent before attempting to seize the country from him.⁵³ After those and other adventures working for the Russian government, Schäffer used his position as a bodyguard for Dom Pedro I to secure another position in the Brazilian government as Brazil's first German recruiting agent.⁵⁴ The emperor granted land to Schäffer and other court Germans to promote foreign colonization. Brazil paid transportation fees as well as the costs of settling immigrants after spontaneous immigration failed to occur. Scholars attribute Schäffer with recruiting about five thousand Germans, many of which he removed from Mecklenburg's prisons, to settle Southern Brazil during the five years between 1824-1829.⁵⁵ His deceptive methods became such a problem that he was banned from recruiting in Germany.⁵⁶ Migration slowed during the 1830s as the Brazilian government cut funds and land grants to foreigners, but resumed during the 1840s.

⁵² Richter, "Hamburgs Rolle," 87-88, 122-123; Marlon Ronald Fluck, *Basler Missionare in Brasilien: Auswanderung, Erweckung und Kirchenwerdung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), 81-85.

⁵³ For a sensational account of Schäffer's indiscretions: Seth Author, *Sharks upon the Land: Colonialism, Indigenous Health, and Culture in Hawai'i, 1778-1855* (New York, Cambridge University Press: 2008), 119-129.

⁵⁴ Karl Heinrich Hunsche, *O Biênio 1824/25 da imigração e Colonização Alemã no Rio Grande do Sul (Província de São Pedro)* (Porto Alegre: A Nação, 1975), 17, 28-30.

⁵⁵ For more information on the emptying prisons by recruiters, see one comprehensive study from Caroline von Mühlen, *Degredados e imigrantes: Trajetórias de ex-prisioneiros de Mecklenburg-Schwerin no Brasil Meridional (século XIX)* (Santa Maria: EDUFMS, 2013).

⁵⁶ Another agent, who also served as a naturalist, Dr. Philipp Jakob Kretschmar, had been arrested and banned years before by Frankfurt's assembly, see Dietrich von Delhaes-Guenther, *Industrialisierung in Südbrasilien: Die deutsche Einwanderung und die Anfänge der Industrialisierung in Rio Grande do Sul* (Köln: Böhlau, 1973), 37-38.

Lastly, Germans wrote these travel narratives during a significant time for the history of Brazilian slavery. The British blockade also targeted slave ships and hindered the trade until 1815. Shortly thereafter, the Atlantic slave trade's volume almost reached the terrible heights of the decades just before the French Revolution, with a yearly average of about 50,000 slaves arriving in Brazil between the years 1815 and 1850.⁵⁷ Brazil dominated the overall traffic from Africa. Nearly 70% of all slaves went to Brazil from the years between 1806 and 1830.⁵⁸ Just under half a million slaves embarked for the journey to the New World between 1826 and 1830 with about 350,000 destined for Brazil.⁵⁹ This increase represented the highest five year period for the slave trade in the nineteenth century and had to do first with the reemergence of importance for sugar production, for which Brazil became the most important producer by 1807 following the Haitian revolution and other slave rebellions.⁶⁰ Brazilian coffee also dominated the European market and this served to increase the demand for slaves as well.⁶¹ Mortality remained high but the prominence of slaves in Brazilian social life reached new heights as well. The total numbers of slaves in Brazil peaked at over 50% of the total population in 1825.⁶² This meant that the German settlers and travelers in Brazil witnessed a more pervasive slave society than those Germans in North America who tended to settle more densely in free-soil states and territories.⁶³

⁵⁷ The peak of the African slave trade had a volume of over 80,000 slaves a year in the decades before the French Revolution, David Eltis "Africa, Slavery, and the Slave Trade, mid-Seventeenth to mid-Eighteenth Centuries," *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, c.1450-c.1850*, eds. Nicholas P. Canny and Philip D. Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 272.

⁵⁸ Brown, "Slavery," 605.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 602-603.

⁶⁰ João José Reis, "Slave Resistance in Brazil: Bahia, 1807-1835," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 25, no. 1 (1988): 111-113.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 605; Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), *passim*.

⁶² Brown, "Slavery," 605.

⁶³ Luebke, "Germans in the New World," 94-95. Few Germans settled in the American South before 1850, Texas became the central destination for German migrants to the American South after 1830: Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 8, 21-24, 40-41, 50-52; John C. Inscoe, "Frederick Law Olmstead: A Connecticut Yankee in King Cotton's Court," *The Human Tradition in the Old South*, ed. James C. Klotter (Wilmington, DE: SR Book, 2003), 117-136.

Rio de Janeiro as the “Epicenter of World Trade”

This section also explores the economic interest compelling Germans to settle Brazil and investigates the Northern European states’ interest in developing stronger interstate bonds and trade relationships with Brazil. The section traces the early formation of the German consulate at Rio de Janeiro and the negotiations to settle Germans in colonies throughout Brazil while paying attention to the place of slavery within these plans and discussions.

Northern European states saw the period after 1815 as an opportune moment to carve out a place for itself in Latin America’s markets. Scholars have emphasized these desires as representing a new, albeit short-lived, impulse towards globalization.⁶⁴ The ability to trade with Spain, Portugal, and their colonies meant an opportunity for lucrative, new markets for both merchants and policymakers. These groups felt the British unfairly prevented trade through tariffs and duties that, for example, protected the Irish linen and Canadian timber industry and hurt the Baltic timber and Silesian linen.⁶⁵ Prussian ministers needed to find markets for wheat and linen—their most important agricultural and manufactured goods.⁶⁶ They believed that increasing the export of linen would not only resuscitate and stabilize the economy, but it would also better integrate the newly acquired Pomeranian, Saxon, and Rhineland territories into the state economy based on the idea that linen exports would drive other industries.⁶⁷ Hamburg and Bremen also

⁶⁴ Michael Zeuske, “Preußen und Westindien: Die vergessenen Anfänge der Handels- und Konsularbeziehungen Deutschlands mit der Karibik und Lateinamerika 1800-1870,” in *Preussen und Lateinamerika: Im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur*, eds. Sandra Carreras and Günther Maihold (Münster: Lit, 2004), 145-216.

⁶⁵ GStA PK, VI. HA, NL Werther, Nr. 28, Report from Madrid, 13/26 Oct. 1816.

⁶⁶ German states made new efforts to trade linen in Mexico, Brazil, and other Latin American destinations during the 1820s: Klaus Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel 1680-1830: Unternehmen und Familien in Hamburg, Cádiz und Bordeaux* (München: C.H. Beck, 2004); Carreras and Maihold, eds., *Preussen und Lateinamerika*; Felix Becker, *Die Hansestädte und Mexiko: Handelspolitik, Verträge und Handel, 1821-1867* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1984); Lawrence J Baack, *Christian Bernstorff and Prussia: Diplomacy and Reform Conservatism 1818-1832* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1980); H. Hinden, *Deutsche und deutscher Handel in Rio de Janeiro: Ein hundertjähriges Kulturbild zur Zentenat Feier der Gesellschaft “Germania,” 1821-1921* (Rio de Janeiro: Hoepfner, 1921).

⁶⁷ Manfred Kossok, *Im Schatten der Heiligen Allianz: Deutschland und Lateinamerika, 1815-1830: Zur Politik der deutschen Staaten gegenüber der Unabhängigkeitsbewegung Mittel- und Südamerikas* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), 190-197.

wanted to recover their central position on the continent as importers of coffee and sugar.⁶⁸

Developing strong ties with the former Iberian colonies would produce a satisfactory result for all of in their opinion Northern Germany.

After the disaster of the continental blockade during the Napoleonic wars, a need to revitalize the economy hinged upon newly “awakened gigantic hopes related to Atlantic-American trade.”⁶⁹ This idea, based in part on the high price of tropical cash crops like coffee, sugar, tobacco, and the myth of unlimited American wealth, put renewed emphasis on Prussia developing new trade routes.⁷⁰ The influential brothers Humboldt believed that the growth of trade between European ports and the Americas could be profitable and mutually beneficial for all during the start of a new phase of globalization based on concepts of *freedom* and *freetrade* which represented “well-being for everyone” [*Wohlstand für Alle*].⁷¹ Hamburg’s senate had “an euphoric hope for a new epoch in the history of world trade.”⁷² Indeed, Prussia’s first consulate to Rio de Janeiro believed that Europe would experience positive changes in its political systems through more vigorous exchanges with the Americas since Brazil declared independence.⁷³ As trade increased between the continents, a new relationship between the Prussian hinterlands, in which the production of goods for colonial export, and the Hanseatic cities, who shipped those goods to the New World, came about between 1815 and 1825.⁷⁴ This relationship developed further with new trade agreements and formal diplomatic recognition after 1825.

⁶⁸ Ernst Baasch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Hamburg und Amerika* (Hamburg: L. Friederischen & Co., 1892), 171-191; Hermann Wätjen, “Die Hansestädte und Brasilien 1820 bis 1870: Eine wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Studie,” *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, 22 (1925): 221–50.

⁶⁹ Zeuske, “Preußen und Westindien,” 154.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 147-151.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁷² Ernst Baasch, *Die Hansestädte und die Barbaresken: Mit einem Anhang* (Kassel: M. Brunnemann, 1897), 141.

⁷³ GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7958.1, fol. 34, Theremin to a minister of the MdA, 12 Dec. 1821: “Il y aura bien des changements dans les systèmes politiques des états d’Europe vis avis l’Amérique in General.”

⁷⁴ Zeuske, “Preußen und Westindien,” 148-150.

This desire for economic expansion explains much of the new German attention to Brazil. German interest in Brazil grew, in part, due to a widely held belief that Rio de Janeiro, rather than the ports of the United States, had a natural position as the center of the world's trade.⁷⁵ Both states and individuals saw great potential in the newly independent Brazil as a means to increase their fortunes.⁷⁶ Merchants and ministers primarily sought coffee and sugar, but also exotic woods, precious dyes, as well as skins and hides.⁷⁷ As the new director of the Prussian state bank in 1820, Christian Rother supported the growth and development of international shipping for Prussia. He believed that the economic independence and the survival of Prussian rural industries depended on the more vigorous integration of Prussia in markets like Brazil.⁷⁸ Prussia's foreign minister, finance minister, and many of the consulates and merchants agreed with Rother on expanding trade relations.⁷⁹ The Prussian state sponsored expeditions to Brazil and other ports in South America with the hope that such ventures would increase trade relations.⁸⁰ To this end, it

⁷⁵ "Die Natur hat Rio de Janeiro als den Mittelpunkt des Welthandels bezeichnet, der diese Stadt zum großen Stapelplatz des 'europäischen Kunstfleißes und der Producte Afrikas, Ostindiens und Asiens erwählen wurde." Eduard Theodor Bösche, *Wechselbilder von Land- und Seereisen, Abentheuern, Begebenheiten, Staatsereignissen, Volks- und Sittenschilderungen während einer Fahrt nach Brasilien und eines zehnjährigen Aufenthalts daselbst, in den Jahren 1825 bis 1834* (Hamburg, 1836), 2.

⁷⁶ A summary of efforts made for increased trade relations between Prussia and Brazil, GStA PK, HA I. rep. 89 Geh. Zivilkabinett, Jüngere Periode, Nr. 13357, fols. 2-6. A Dr. L. Ritter from Berlin petitioned the government to move his family to Brazil to strengthen commercial bonds between Berlin and Rio de Janeiro, He was granted permission to leave with his three children via Hamburg in 1818. He wrote reports for the next two years as he established himself in the new country: GStA PK III. HA MdA III, Nr. 19004, fols. 1-5, Dr. L. Ritter to a minister of the MdA, 29 Jun. 1818.

⁷⁷ Astrid Petersson, *Zuckersiedergewerbe und Zuckerhandel in Hamburg im Zeitraum von 1814 bis 1834: Entwicklung und Struktur zweier wichtiger Hamburger Wirtschaftszweige des vorindustriellen Zeitalters* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), 136-141; Ursula Becker, *Kaffee-Konzentration: Zur Entwicklung und Organisation des hanseatischen Kaffeehandels* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002), 71-83; Wätjen, "Die Hansestädte," 221-250. Hide exports to the US and Europe reached an apogee in the 1840s accounting for almost 10% of the total value of all Brazilian exports.

⁷⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 686, fols. 1-13, "Instructions to Theremin 1828": The Prussian government instructed Theremin to preserve and increase trade relations for a variety of goods.

⁷⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 685, fols. 22-29, Theremin to Bülow, 13 Nov. 1817: Theremin reported a sense of unrest in the country and hostility to most European nations, except the Prussians who were well-liked because of their noble ties.

⁸⁰ Some of the journals for these ships reported on the best means of creating firmer connections for colonial goods at distant markets including ports in Brazil: GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 109 Seehandlung, Nr. 1001-1005. The effort to establish connections motivated Prince Adalbert to journey in Brazil: GStA-PK, HA I. Rep 89 Geh. Zivilkabinett, Jüngere Periode Nr. 13357, 7-10. The Prussian state also sponsored ethnographic and botanical expeditions in the

bought or built nine ships to encourage the production and development of cotton products, wool, iron wares, beer, alcohol, glass for export, and encourage the import of coffee, exotic woods, sugar, skins, and dyes.⁸¹ Prussia wanted to avoid the high transport costs associated with underwriting voyages with foreign ships by engaging in direct trade [*Direkthandel*].⁸² Their state-subsidized shipments intended to show Baltic merchants the feasibility and profitability of such routes. Likewise, the Hanseatic cities supported a number of private ventures. F.E. Delius, one of Hamburg's most prominent merchants, established a series of trade relations during this period with a ship, named *Amerika*, filled with linens from Silesia and Westphalia which returned from Rio de Janeiro with coffee, sugar, and cotton.⁸³

With these efforts Germans gradually became a more conspicuous part of Brazilian economic life in the first decades after Napoleon. Of the roughly three hundred trading houses in Rio de Janeiro for the year 1820, eighty belonged to English merchants, the northern Germans had six, and the French had none.⁸⁴ By 1825 the German number had increased to seventeen, and then to twenty by 1830 and the Germans counted fifty by 1850, which was two more than the English.⁸⁵ Exports of Brazilian sugar and coffee to Hamburg and Bremen accounted for over half of Brazil's total production during these years—an astonishing figure given the prominence of those two commodities for the Brazilian economy.⁸⁶ Hamburg took in 642,000 sacks of coffee,

hope that they would produce more mercantile intercourse with Brazil: GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 109 Seehandlung, Nr. 3429, fol., 2-5, Dr Fr. Förster, Hofrat to Christian Rother, 9 Nov. 1830; Baack, *Christian Bernstorff*, 141-146.

⁸¹ Johann Friedrich Meuss, *Die Unternehmungen des Königlichen Seehandlungs-Instituts zur Emporbringung des preussischen Handels zur See: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Seehandlung und des Seewesens in Preussen in der 1. Hälfte des 19. Jh: Auf Grund der Akten dargestellt* (Berlin: Mittler, 1913), 60-64. Also see GStAPK, III. HA Mda II, Nr. 5176-5178.

⁸² Zeuske, "Preußen und Westindien," 154.

⁸³ GStA PK, III. HA Mda II, Nr. 5176, Mentor Delius aus Bremen, Kaufmanns Johann Friedrich Bothe 1817; Wolfgang Penkwitt, *Preussen und Brasilien: Zum Aufbau des preussischen Konsularwesens im unabhängigen Kaiserreich (1822-1850)* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983).

⁸⁴ Hinden, *Deutsche*, 9-25.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁸⁶ Karl Heinrich Oberacker, *Der deutsche Beitrag zum Aufbau der brasilianischen Nation* (São Leopoldo, Brasil: Federação dos Centros Culturais 25 de Julho, 1978), 189.

weighing 84,744,000 lbs., from Brazil in 1849.⁸⁷ For the year 1850 alone Prussia also sought access to Brazilian coffee and sugar for which earlier commercial relations had become synonymous.⁸⁸ By the 1830s, Prussia's exports of grain, leather, paper, textiles, like linen, cotton, silk, wool, had increased favorably, but British and American competition kept grain and linen exports relatively low and made metal wares roughly half of all Prussian goods exported to Brazil.⁸⁹

Prussia financed voyages not only to encourage trade, but also in the hopes that more Germans would open more large trading houses and establish permanent residences in Brazil.⁹⁰ Brazil's German merchant community grew to include prominent names like Christian Stockmeyer, Karl Sieveking, the Frölich brothers, Friedrich and Wilhelm, Christian Ten Brink and the founder of Commerzbank, Theodor Wille.⁹¹ With so much new intercourse between the northern Europeans and Luso-Brazilians, one can hardly find it surprising that a variety of German mutual aid societies sprang up across Brazil. These societies aimed to protect not just merchants, but also skilled labor and settlers taking advantage of Brazil's generous land grants, which is discussed further below.

German professionals became more prominent participants in Brazilian life as well. Hundreds of German officers took up leadership positions in the Brazilian army.⁹² They relied upon the connections fostered during the army's creation during the previous decades. Others

⁸⁷ Hinden, *Deutsche*, 154.

⁸⁸ The Prussian state bank had authorized several merchants to build ships with the intention of increasing their import of Brazilian coffee and sugar: GStAPK, I. HA, Rep. 109, Nr. 1001-1003; For Hamburg's efforts, see also Wätjen, "Die Hansestädte," 87-126.

⁸⁹ Lehmus, "Bemerkungen," 97-100; For more on competition in the wheat and flour market, see Daniel Rood, *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race, and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 122-140.

⁹⁰ Hinden, *Deutsche*, 25-34; Meuss, *Die Unternehmungen*, 60.

⁹¹ A company still bears the name of Wille today. Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein, *An Economic and Demographic History of São Paulo, 1850-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018); Michael B. Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World: A Twentieth Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 139-142; Hinden, *Deutsche*, 147-166.

⁹² Germans helped to create the Brazilian officer corps in the eighteenth: Oberacker, *Der deutsche Beiträge*, 137-152.

joined as engineers, agronomists, foresters, musicians, and other specialists employed by the Brazilian court. Stories from these successful few contributed to the image of Brazil as a place of wealth and opportunity for the first waves of colonists arriving during the 1820s.

The presence of North European states also grew during this period with new consulates. To support the development of new industry, establish connections, and protect Germans abroad, the Prussian consular apparatus grew, from around 70 to 117 consuls during the two decades marking the beginning of the Continental blockade to the middle of the 1820s.⁹³ The Hanseatic cities quickly had developed a mercantile-diplomatic corps with three merchants, Caspar Friedrich Stuhlmann, Johann Hermann Christian Ten Brink, and Peter Peycke in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia. Merchants believed that the governments of Europe had to develop and maintain formal relations during Latin American independence movements if they were to remain competitive with other states. Conservative elements within the Prussian government felt reluctance to engage in such relations as they maintained a so-called “legitimacy principle” (*Legitimitätsprinzip*) which put a premium on stability and rejected the idea of recognizing governments produced through independence movements.⁹⁴ The discussion over how to separate Brazil and Portugal occupied state ministers for almost a decade and best illustrates their conservative reticence.⁹⁵ The North German governments also had struggled to negotiate with Spain, which sought to increase punitive tariffs on the rebellious Brazilians.⁹⁶ For these reasons,

⁹³ Kossok, *Im Schatten der Heiligen Allianz*, 201; Penkwitt, *Preussen und Brasilien*, 154-160.

⁹⁴ Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 530, 581; Baack, *Christian Bernstorff*, 141-147.

⁹⁵ GStA PK, III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7965-7968, *Trennung Portugals und Brasiliens: Erhebung Brasiliens zum Kaiserreich. Übertragung der Würde eines Kaisers von Brasilien auf den Prinzen Peter. Einführung der konstitutionellen Regierung. Brasilianische Angelegenheiten*, 1824-1833; GStA PK, III. HA MdA III, Nr. 1677, fols. 7-16, Hardenberg to Prince, n.d. Nov. 1818: In a confidential report from Hardenberg to the prince in 1818, Hardenberg said that it would be in the “interest of humanity” if they could reconcile the colonies as they needed “to stop the progress of the insurrection to prevent it from spreading too deep of roots.” [“d’arrêter les progrès de l’insurrection, de l’empêcher de jeter des racines trop profondes.”].

⁹⁶ Herbert S. Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, *Slavery in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), passim.

Prussian representation in Brazil developed slowly and formal trade agreements took years to establish.⁹⁷

For all of their bluster regarding enslavement and pious declarations against New World slavery and the Atlantic slave trade, the Prussian state ministers' decision to found a consulate and their choice of person did not match their antislavery rhetoric. They chose to increase formal relations with the largest single slave-holding state as Brazilian slave imports climbed to their highest sustained volume. After a short visit to Rio de Janeiro, Carl Wilhelm Thering became Prussia's first general consul to an independent Brazil, against the recommendation of the Prussian *Charges d'Affaires*. Initially, the finance and trade ministry responded with some skepticism to Thering's request in early 1816 for the post.

It took agricultural calamity and losses in the Mediterranean before the ministry acceded to Thering's wishes and granted him the post in Rio de Janeiro. As the agricultural, financial and economic crisis in Prussia grew in early 1818, Thering reported that Rio de Janeiro imported at least 300,000 Rtl. in Prussian wares during 1817.⁹⁸ He believed that number could grow as high as a million in 1818 with many of the wares coming from economically devastated towns and provinces of Prussia, like Solingen, Remscheid, Bielefeld, and Silesia amongst others. He returned with a ship full of coffee to prove the value of increasing interstate relations. His reports impressed the finance and trade ministry. Graf Flemming, the Prussian *Charge d'Affaires*, acknowledged Thering's competence as a merchant. Nevertheless, Flemming said that Thering "had become so enchanted with the work and life on the coffee plantation" that he did not know if Thering should represent Prussia or become a planter.⁹⁹ Despite these objections,

⁹⁷ Kossok, *Im Schatten*, 182-227; Prussia did not recognize Brazil until 1825, GStA PK, III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7965.

⁹⁸ Penkwitt, *Preussen und Brasilien*, 161.

⁹⁹ GStA PK, III HA MdA I, Nr. 7958.1, fols. 42-92, Thering to Bernstorff: In several reports he sent from Rio de Janeiro in the early 1820s, Thering uses the language of slavery to describe a variety of relationships between European and colonial states.

the foreign minister granted Theremin the post and sent him on a trip through the Rhine provinces to assess what products would build more solid relationships between Prussian manufacturers and Brazilian planters.¹⁰⁰ Not only did many elements of the state bureaucracy have few compunctions over increasing the importation of goods produced from slave labor, but Prussia's new top diplomat seemed eager to engage in New World slavery. His reports, and those of his son, greatly influenced how Prussian administrators thought of slavery in Brazil during this period and helped in international negotiations for the suppression of the slave trade.

Germans Encounter Brazilian Slavery

Germans played an important role as observers, gatherers, and collectors of knowledge in Latin America. Looking at how they described New World slavery reveals a more nuanced image of slavery and the slave trade. Alexander v. Humboldt, one of the most famous naturalist travelers, made Latin America a popular subject for Central Europeans. Not only did he become one of the most influential proponents of exploring the Americas, but also one of the most famous, scholarly voices for abolition. Although he never traveled to Brazil, his work, his patronage, and his sponsorship, helped the efforts of other naturalists to investigate and generate more interest in Latin America during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁰¹ Over thirty distinct, published accounts make up the bulk of evidence for what these travelers witnessed. These sources, combined with consular reports and instructions, memoranda, and other documents from the Prussian government and Hanseatic cities provide additional material to contextualize these travel accounts. This section first examines the different groups of travelers. It

¹⁰⁰ Penkwitt, *Preussen und Brasilien*, 163.

¹⁰¹ Humboldt helped to secure a position for Franz Julius Ferdinand Meyen's travels around the world corresponded with him about slavery in Brazil, see GStA PK I. HA rep. 109 Seehandlung Nr. 3429, fols. 58-60; The Prussian government expressed great pleasure with the objects obtained during his voyage: GStA PK I. HA rep. 89 geh. Zivilkabinett, jüngere Periode, Nr. 21361.

then analyzes the common themes related to the slave trade and slavery within these accounts, and shows how those accounts change between the first decades of the nineteenth century and the late 1840s. Finally, it demonstrates, that while almost no German supported slavery or the slave trade, their views present an array of different attitudes, opinions, and representations of New World slavery in Brazil.

The travel narratives indicate the success of abolitionists and antislavery writers during the late Enlightenment to bring awareness of slavery to a broader public. Not a single German travel narrative fails to mention or describe slavery during this period. The educated and increasingly mobile public represented by these narratives demonstrate more sensitivity to the subject of New World slavery and of the Atlantic slave trade than those of the previous century. Translators, since the American Revolution, worked hard to spread British and French abolitionist materials within Central Europe.¹⁰² As these materials spread throughout the continent, slavery could not be ignored or else subscribers would question the authenticity of an account.¹⁰³ By the early nineteenth century travelers looked for slavery to either confirm the horrors they believe it represented, or to dismantle the “*false*”, “*untrue*,” “*sentimental*”, or “*exaggerated*” descriptions produced by abolitionists. For instance, the Prussian mercenary Carl Seidler, like the Prussian noble Ebel, maintained that slavery operated against humanity, but also argued that he had been misled about the conditions aboard slave ships. They did not at all appear “as herring, packed and salted together” in a barrel.¹⁰⁴

These accounts can be split into three broad groups, naturalists, military personnel, and skilled-labor or professionals. The groups overlap, as is the case with many naturalists who also

¹⁰² Sarah Lentz, “Abolitionists in the German Hinterland? Therese Huber and the Spread of Anti-slavery Sentiment in the German Territories in the Early Nineteenth Century,” in *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680-1850*, eds. Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2016), 187-212.

¹⁰³ Rescher, *Die deutschsprachige Literatur*, 21-22.

¹⁰⁴ Seidler, *Zehn Jahre*, 120-121: “Schon hieraus ersieht man wie unwahr es ist, wenn gewisse Schriftsteller behaupten daß sie gleich den Häringen eingepöckelt und während der Reise durch beständiges Hungern gequält würden.”

served as surgeons or engineers. The first group, naturalists, offer some of the richest, detailed, and influential accounts of the slave trade and slavery's operations in Brazil. Many returned to German states and took up university positions in Berlin, Leipzig, Göttingen, and Halle, while others undertook further expeditions. This group includes individual accounts such as the celebrated but now forgotten Friedrich Sellow,¹⁰⁵ the physical scientist Wilhelm Friedrich A. Zimmermann, the physicist Carl Gottfried Wilhelm Vollmer, the geographer Johann Eduard Wappäus¹⁰⁶, the Amazon navigator Eduard Poeppig¹⁰⁷, the world circumnavigators Adolph Erman and Franz Julius Ferdinand Meyen,¹⁰⁸ as well as Prince Adalbert of Prussia. With the exception of Prince Adalbert of Prussia, much of this first group has been overlooked by scholars investigating the history of Brazil during the first half of the nineteenth century. Other, more cited works include materials from the large, state-sponsored expeditions undertaken by Baron Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss, Adam Johann von Krusenstern and Otto von Kotzebue, Prince Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied, Johann Baptist von Spix & Karl Friedrich

¹⁰⁵ A student of Alexander von Humboldt, Friedrich Sellow found sponsors for his work in the Prussian state as the son of Sansoucci's court gardener. He accompanied the famed Baron von Langsdorff and Prince von Wied-Neuwied expeditions from which he gained a reputation as a tireless explorer. While his extensive travelogue, over seventy books total, was never published, his reputation as an explorer in Brazil made him one of the most well-known Prussian naturalists of the first half of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, his unpublished writings remained as obscure as those of Henry Darger, and his journals remained obscure for almost two centuries in Berlin's Natural History Museum; For a biographical sketch see, Ignaz Urban, "Biographische Skizzen: Friedrich Sellow 1789-1831," in *Botanische Jahrbücher für Systematik, Pflanzengeschichte und Pflanzengeographie*, ed., Adolf Engler (1881), 177-200; Sabine Hackthal has recently published information on his journals.

¹⁰⁶ Wappäus was born in Hamburg in 1812. He considered himself a geographer and took up a position at Göttingen in 1838, after traveling to Brazil between 1833 and 1834. He became a professor of geography at Göttingen in 1845.

¹⁰⁷ Eduard Theodor Poeppig, a professor of Medicine at Leipzig, was born in Plauen and traveled extensively through North America, Cuba, and Brazil for over ten years. His travels came to an end when he nearly died after being bitten by a poisonous snake and suffered for months in the jungle with the local indigenous people periodically treating his wound. He survived, wrote a book, and later he became a full professor at Leipzig.

¹⁰⁸ Meyen's work stands out as one of the most ferocious critiques of slavery in Brazil and the slave trade amongst the pilgrims to Brazil. Meyen, a native of Tilsit, began his career not as a naturalist but as a surgeon. Alexander von Humboldt groomed the young Meyen and secured a position on the *Prinzessin Louise* as the ship's doctor. Meyen became a favorite of Humboldt and their correspondence indicates Humboldt's influence on Meyen's observations. The sponsorship of Meyen for the trip around the world began during 1825 when Rother and Altenstein discussed having this young *Schiffs-Chirurgus* join the expedition around the world that would establish contacts from to Chile and Canton: GStAPK, I. HA, Rep. 109, Nr. 903, fols. 6-25, Rother to Altenstein, 21 April 1825 and Altenstein to Rother, 16 May 1825.

Philipp von Martius. This last group of explorers and naturalists have been translated extensively and used as important sources for the history of Brazil.¹⁰⁹

The second group includes the skilled professionals who served as mining engineers, writers, consular officials, and even laborers.¹¹⁰ It is made up of the painters Johann Moritz Rugendas, Eduard Hildebrandt, as well as the painter, writer, and revolutionary Paul Harro Harring.¹¹¹ This group also includes the revolutionary preacher trained at Jena, Gottlieb August Wimmer, the writer Adolf Ebeling,¹¹² the merchant, mining engineer, writer, and abolitionist Johann Jakob Sturz, the common mining laborer Wendelin Schlosser, the diplomat Franz Tietz, the horse manager Friedrich Wilhelm Kloss (*Stallmeister*),¹¹³ the immigrant ship captain P.H. Schumacher, the consul Louis Friedrich Kalkmann and his co-colonist and co-writer Julius Friedrich Koeler, and other proponents of colonization, Hermann Blumenau and Georg Friedrich Schmidt.¹¹⁴ A professional like Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege, a mining engineer, could overlap with the naturalists in his rich and detailed publications on more than the status of Brazilian mines.¹¹⁵ Others accounts have much less detail, but still have considerable value. One exceptional person, the miner Wendelin Schlosser, provided a unique perspective as one of the only accounts to come from a person of humble means.

¹⁰⁹ The Austrians Johann Baptist Emanuel Pohl, Heinrich Wilhelm Schott, Ida Pfeiffer, and others were not included.

¹¹⁰ Several accounts have been omitted due to a lack of evidence that they traveled to Brazil. This is the case for the account of Dr. Louis Kayser, a pseudonym used by both Josias Ludwig Gosch and Karl Julius Lange.

¹¹¹ Friedrich Hagedorn started his residence in Brazil in 1848 just at the chronological end of this chapter, and Karl Linde did not arrive until the late 1850s. Both are excluded.

¹¹² Ebeling was born to a Brazilian mother in Hamburg during 1827. He worked for a newspaper in Cologne before he traveled to the Bahia region of Brazil in 1845.

¹¹³ Friedrich Wilhelm Kloß, *Geschichte meines halbjährigen Aufenthaltes in Brasilien: Zum Nuß und Frommen seiner deutschen Landsleute, die zu Tausenden in Brasilien das Paradies suchten und die Hölle fanden* (Berlin: A.W. Hayn, 1827); Based on the title of his memoir alone one can surmise that Kloß found life in Brazil disappointing. Unlike many unfortunate colonists he was appointed for the job he wanted, and returned to Germany less than a year later. He moved to Lychen in Brandenburg. His short account appears in the library of Goethe: Siegfried Seifert, *Goethes Leben von Tag zu Tag: Eine dokumentarische Chronik* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 214.

¹¹⁴ A number of colonization advocates did not travel to Brazil and thus are excluded from this study.

¹¹⁵ The Austrian Virgil von Helmreichen zu Brunsfeld is also not included.

Soldiers make up the final group. Hundreds of soldiers and officers participated in Brazil's independence movement, the Cisplantine War, and other conflicts during the nineteenth century.¹¹⁶ Both groups, soldiers and emigrants, suffered mistreatment at the hands of unscrupulous colonial agents, Brazilian officials, and local inhabitants. Many had independently sought their fortunes in Brazil, and, all but a few left broken and bitter about the experience. Josef Friedrich von Weech, a wealthy agronomist, for instance, became a prospector and invested in a plot of land and purchased ten slaves in a failed effort to become a planter.¹¹⁷ Agents with few scruples, like Georg Anton Schäffer, published pamphlets which told Germans that fabulous opportunity and great fortune awaited them in Brazil. Soldiers and officers like Samuel Gottfried Kerst,¹¹⁸ Carl Schlichthorst, Johann Gottfried Theodor von Leithold, Friedrich Ludwig von Rango, Karl Friedrich Gustav Seidler, Ernst Ebel, Julius Mansfeldt, Franz Xaver Josef Ackermann and others wrote their accounts to contradict this idea. They did not believe Brazil offered the limitless possibilities and opportunities for Germans which were promised in pamphlets and the press.¹¹⁹ Soldiers held a status just above a slave in Brazilian society.¹²⁰ Agreement came from many of the other soldiers, including Johann Friedrich von Lienau, Eduard Theodor Bösche, Carl Baron von Leenhof, Wilhelm Christian Gotthelf von Feldner, and Friedrich Ludwig von Varnhagen. Their accounts show an unvarnished representation of Brazil and provide one of most critical examinations of slavery.

¹¹⁶ Heinrich Trachsler, a mercenary from Zürich has been excluded from the cohort as well. For more on German soldiers in Brazil, see, Marcos Antônio Witt, *Em busca de um lugar ao sol: Estratégias políticas: Imigração alemã Rio Grande do Sul século XIX* (São Leopoldo: Oikos, 2015); Mühlen, *Degredados e imigrantes*; Flores, *Alemães na Guerra dos Farrapos*; Oberacker, *Der deutsche*; Michael Charles McBeth, "The Politicians vs. the Generals: The Decline of the Brazilian Army during the First Empire, 1822-1831" (Phd Diss., University of Washington, 1974).

¹¹⁷ Weech, *Brasiliens*, 132-133.

¹¹⁸ Kerst did not publish an account until the 1850s and therefore is excluded from this cohort.

¹¹⁹ Ludwig von Rango and Leithold both repeat that Germans, without significant capital investment, will not find a fortune in Brazil, but rather return home poorer: Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, iii-x; Franz Xaver Ackermann, *Das Kaiserreich Brasilien: Beobachtungen und praktische Bemerkungen für deutsche Auswanderer nebst der Ansicht einer Facende und einer Karte von den Stromgebieten des Rio-Doce* (Heidelberg: Groos, 1834): FBG FSP, Geogr 8° 04119/04.

¹²⁰ McBeth, "The Politicians vs. the Generals," 60: General Cunha Mattos declared, "A common soldier is considered a miserable slave."

All groups of travelers viewed Brazil as a land of contradictions and contrasts marked indelibly by slavery. Nearly every account recorded the splendor of the immense Sugarloaf monolith (see fig. 1) in Rio de Janeiro’s harbor (see fig. 2). Leithold confessed “my pen could not describe it with dignity.”¹²¹



Figure 1. Heinrich Wilhelm Adalbert Prinz von Preussen, “Westseite der Einfahrt in die Bau von Rio de Janeiro den 5ten September 1842.” Sketch from *Skizzen zu dem Tagebuche von Adalbert Prinz von Preussen*. (Berlin: Winckelmann u Söhne, J. Storch , Königl Hof, 1842-1843)

¹²¹ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht*, 15: “Der Eingang des Hafens ist sehr malerisch; zu beiden Seiten erblickt man hohe Felsen mit Palmen-bäumen, Klöstern, kleinen niedlichen Landhäusern & umgeben...so weit mein Auge ungestört von allen Seiten in die Ferne reichen konnte, die Schönheiten des Hafens, und ich gestehe es, daß meine Feder viel zu schwach ist, um auch nur einen Theil desselben nach Würde beschreiben zu können.” Another typical example: Carl Gottfried Wilhelm Vollmer, *Natur- und Sittengemälde der Tropen-Länder, Skizzen einer Reise durch Süd-Amerika und um die Welt in 14 Vorlesungen* (München: F.W. Michaelis, 1828), 44-46.

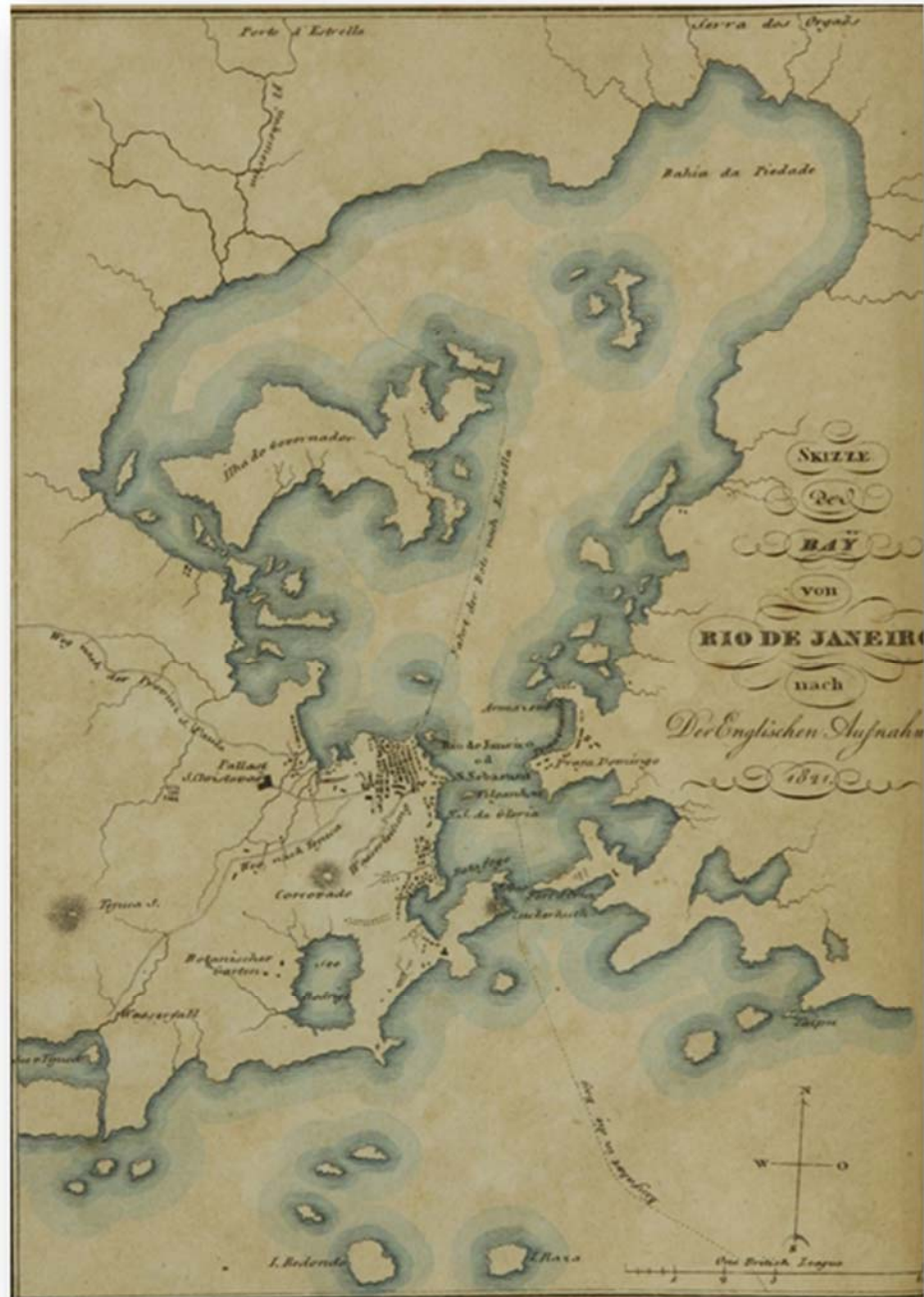


Figure 2. “Skizze der Bay von Rio de Janeiro nach der Englischen Aufnahme, 1821.” Copper engraving from Ernst Ebel, *Rio de Janeiro und seine Umgebungen im Jahr 1824*, St. Petersburg, 1828.

Often Germans contrasted this beauty and surreal landscape with the foul-smelling *Valongo*, the wharf which was built to hold the slave market in 1811, one saw farther as they came into port

(see fig. 3 and fig. 4).¹²² For Julius Mansfeldt, “The colorful mixture [of peoples] imparted upon the foreigner a more interesting sight than anywhere else; because Rio is the quintessence of individual contrasts.”¹²³



Figure 3. Johann Moritz Rugendas, “Disembarkment at the Rua do Valongo.” Colored Engraving from *Malerische Reise in Brasilien: Vol. 4, Leben und Gebräuche der Neger*, (Paris: Engelmann, 1827).

Often described in terms of racial contrasts, many German observers also extended their criticism to class, behavior, customs, and culture. Leenhof, another officer, with a mind for order and discipline, saw things differently from Mansfeldt. For him “The social intercourse formed by these contrasts of different races and slavery bears everywhere the marks of an unnatural, artificial, torn state, which at the moment may be of interest by its novelty, but which in the long

¹²² Examples of these typical descriptions include: Ebel, *Rio*, 35-36; Joseph F. von Weech, *Reise über England und Portugal nach Brasilien und den vereinigten Staaten des La-Plata-Stromes während den Jahren 1823 bis 1827*, vol. 2 (München: Auer, 1831), 85-88.

¹²³ Julius Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien im Jahre 1826*, vol. 1 (Magdeburg: Bänsch, 1828), 109-110: “Das bunte Gemisch gewährt dem Fremdling einen interessanteren Anblick als irgendwo da Rio die Quintessenz von individuellen Contrasten ist.”

run can arouse only distaste and dislike.”¹²⁴ Many accounts followed a similar formula. They described the unrivaled beauty in the city and countryside, both with sprawling vistas, beautiful landscapes, and beautiful homes, all blighted by ramshackle buildings, poor city planning and administration, as well as the inefficient use of land, labor, and animals. To make a point of this wastefulness, their accounts contrasted the lush and resource rich country against the abominable poverty, intellectual and spiritual, of the vast majority of people. Eduard Theodor Bösch drew on the imagery of Rousseau’s *Social Contract* to describe the contrasts. He wove an image of the “free savage” living in a lush Eden, bow in hand, fruit at arms’ length, in the Brazilian jungle set against the confinement of civilization and slavery—the “Sad, sad gifts of civilization and so-called Christianity!”¹²⁵ Moreover, the religiosity and piety of this officially Catholic country contrasted with the tolerance and acceptance of slavery by the Church. City life that matched the elegance of European fashion, entertainment, and dining, came into tension with the barefooted slaves running through the streets, who reminded one of their distance from proper European cities (see fig. 4).¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Carl von Leenhof, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Krieges zwischen Brasilien und Buenos-Ayres, 1825-28* (Berlin, 1834), 92: “Der aus diesen Kontrasten der verschiedenen Raçen und der Sklaverei gebildete gesellige Verkehr trägt überall die Spuren eines unnatürlichen, erkünstelten, zerrissenen Zustandes an sich, der momentan durch seine Neuheit interessiren, auf die Dauer aber nur Widerwillen und Abneigung erregen kann.”

¹²⁵ Bösche, *Wechselbilder*, 64-65: “Welcher Contrast, ein brasilianischer Urwald und ein brasilisches Kriegsschiff: dort das Werk der göttlichen Natur und hier das der armseligen Menschheit! Dort wandelt der freie Wilde in der freien Natur und der ewige Frühling webt seinen Blühtenteppich in das Immergrün der duftenden Wälder. Der Odem der Freiheit webt ihm entgegen in dem Donnerstürmen furchtbarer Gewitter, wie im Gefäusel des Lauen Zephirs, goldene Früchte laden ihn ein zum Genuß und sein kräftiger Arm spannet den mächtigen Bogen. Hier aber kriecht in enger Sklaverei der zertretene Slave in dem begrenzten Raum eines dumpfen und schierigen Kastens. Dort blüht Gesundheit auf seinen Wangen und sein Freudengesang begrüßt den Auf- und Niedergang, aber hier nagen ekliche Krankheiten am Keime seines Lebens und dumpfes Hinbrüten und horrische Fühllosigkeit sprechen aus den sinistern Zügen. Trauriges, trauriges Geschenk der Civilisation und des sogenannten Christenthums!”

¹²⁶ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 166-167; Adalbert, *Aus meinem Tagebuche*, 234-244.



Figure 4. Paul Harro Harring, “Inspection of newly unloaded negresses from Africa. Mrs. Quickly’s business man. The modern Mr. Quickly and Dolly.” Watercolor from *Tropical Sketches from Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro, 1965).

On the whole Germans saw slavery as a backwards institution. In every sense it had debased the politics, society, culture, religion, industry, and economy of Brazil. In this way, German travelers re-inscribed many of the critical narratives established by abolitionists during the late eighteenth century that emphasized the corrupting influences of slavery.¹²⁷ They argued that the institution perverted and destroyed society at every level, beginning first with the Emperor’s house—an important symbol of state administration. Schlichthorst argued:

¹²⁷ For more on abolitionists’ arguments: David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1966); R. J. M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1975); Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Paul Michael Kielstra, *The Politics of Slave Trade Suppression in Britain and France, 1814-48: Diplomacy, Morality and Economics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 7-14; Christian Grieshaber, *Frühe Abolitionisten: Die Rezeption der antiken Sklaverei zur Zeit der schottischen Aufklärung und deren Einfluss auf die britische Abolitionsbewegung (1750-1833)* (Hildesheim: Gerog Olms, 2012).

“...the traces of a Negro-economy are as evident in the palace of the Emperor as in any other Brazilian household. This uncleanliness and lack of order, the most striking contrast between knick-knacks and waste, a miserable service with countless numbers of black and white slaves, the incessant scolding and beating, are almost unbearable to the arriving European; only gradually do you get used to it.”¹²⁸

Inefficiency of service plagued other houses with large numbers of slaves as well.¹²⁹ The lack of order extended to city management and justice. Dead animals littered the poorly maintained streets of Rio de Janeiro, trash burned openly in front of dwellings, and the police did little more than hassle foreigners.¹³⁰ In fact, Schlichthorst believed one found little justice in Brazil as slavery perniciously affected justice, law, and order—bedrock principles most German accounts idealized.¹³¹

In the opinion of German observers, disregard for natural law fostered and nurtured Brazil’s criminality, corruption, and allowed its people to violate human rights.¹³² Partially, this owed to the Roman Catholic Church’s domination over the laws in Brazil, which allowed slavery, one of the most important distinctions between natural law [*ius naturale*] and Roman law, to exist.¹³³ No explicit laws pertaining to slavery [*Sklaverei*] or specifically to blacks

¹²⁸ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 59-60: “...die Spuren einer Negerwirthschaft sind ebenso gut im Palaste des Kaisers bemerkbar, als in jeder anderen Brasilischen Haushaltung. Diese Unreinlichkeit und Mangel an Ordnung, der schneidendste Contrast zwischen Knickerei und Verschwendung, eine elende Bedienung bei einer zahllosen Menge von schwarzen und weißen Slaven, das unaufhörliche Schelten und Schlagen ist dem ankommenden Europäer fast unerträglich; nur nach und nach gewöhnt man sich daran.”

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 184.

¹³⁰ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, vol. 1, 111-119.

¹³¹ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 56.

¹³² Vollmer described the thefts and losses which take place in the customs houses: Vollmer, *Natur- und Sittengemälde*, 48-50. Poeppig described the slave trade as creating a dangerous situation, in which adventurers people without a country disobey international law, Eduard Friedrich Poeppig *Reise in Chile, Peru und auf dem Amazonenstromen: Während der Jahre 1827-1832*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1835), 8-9. For more on the philosophic grounding for human rights in the Latin American context, see Fernando Inciarte and Berthold Wald eds., *Menschenrechte und Entwicklung: Im Dialog mit Lateinamerika* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 1992).

¹³³ Peter Stein, *Roman Law in European History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 12-13, 94-110, 112-114; Examples of the German rejection of Roman Law in Brazil include: Friedrich Tietz, *Brasilianische Zustände: Nach gesandtschaftlichen Berichten bis zum Jahre 1837* (Berlin: Voss’sche Buchhandlung, 1839), 67; Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 172-31. Vollmer pointed to the sale of indulgences and redemptive promises of the Catholic Church as encouraging lawlessness and robbery: Vollmer, *Natur- und Sittengemälde*, 189; Bösche also ties the Church to the “human misery” of Rio and the mistreatment of slaves: Bösche, *Wechselbilder*, 236. The same criticisms appear in: Weech, *Reise über England*, vol. 2, 82.

existed.¹³⁴ Furthermore, *Polizei*, concepts relating to the proper administration of society, had suffered as a consequence of slavery. One Prussian officer wrote “The sense for law and order is alien to them.”¹³⁵ Slavery had made “Lies, deceit, theft and even murder and stabbings common among them, less abhorrent,” and it created a society in which such vices were celebrated and intimidation prevented just punishment.¹³⁶ Meyen recorded “seething riots,” that could not be subdued by the police, “who were in such a state of limbo that they could not maintain public order,” as a consequence of slavery.¹³⁷ Indeed, Meyen believed that “it was not extraordinary when there were four to six murders at night,” which prompted many of the lords to chain their slaves in the evening, so that the lords [*Herrschaften*] could sleep undisturbed.¹³⁸ Julius Mansfeldt described the horrors of a prison system, filled only with slaves, as a truly evil institution which emerged from slavery.¹³⁹ Poeppig, a naturalist who spent ten years traveling from Baltimore to Cuba and around South America, compared the lawless immorality of the slave traders to the seal clubbers [*Robbenschläger*] and whalers, who had respect for neither life nor property.¹⁴⁰ Rango claimed that the government’s enforcement of slavery was “contrary to all

¹³⁴ Tietz, *Brasilianische Zustände*, 67-68: “Eigentlich findet man ein Gesetz der Sklaverei nirgends ausgesprochen.” and “Es existirt eigentlich kein besonderes Gesetz die Neger betreffend, und man befolgt, in den meisten Fällen, das oder die gewöhnlichsten Grundsätze des Rechts und der Billigkeit.”

¹³⁵ Leenhof, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, 92: “Sinn für Recht und Ordnung ist ihnen persönlich fremd.”

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 92: “Lüge, Betrug, Diebstahl, selbst der Mord und die Gewohnheit der Messerstiche sind unter ihnen so gäng und gäbe so wenig verabscheut.”; Kalkmann suggested that it was difficult to miss these evils and that people in Brazil were too quick to draw knives: Louis Friedrich Kalkmann, *Reisebriefe aus Brasilien, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Auswanderung* (Bremen: Schünemann, 1847), 50-51.

¹³⁷ Franz Julius Ferdinan Meyen, *Reise um die Erde: Ausgeführt auf dem Königlich preussischen Seehandlungsschiffe Prinzess Louise, commandirt von Capitain W. Wendt, in den Jahren 1830, 1831 und 1832*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Sander, 1834), 74: “Wir waren Augenzeuge der gährenden Unruhen, die später diesen merkwürdigen Mann seinen Thron zu verlassen zwangen. Die Polizei und die Gerechtigkeits-Pflege befanden sich schon damals in einem so schlaffen Zustande, dass sie, die öffentliche Ordnung zu erhalten, nicht mehr vermögend waren.”

¹³⁸ Meyen, *Reise um die Erde*, 74: “Es war zu unserer Zeit daselbst nichts Ausserordentliches, wenn Nachts 4 bis 6 Mordthaten vorfielen; in manchen Häusern wurden Abends die Sklaven angekettet, damit die Herrschaften während der Nacht ungestört schlafen konnten.” Adalbert found “chained negroes” disgusting as well: Adalbert, *Aus meinem Tagebuche*, 246-250.

¹³⁹ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, vol. 1, 154.

¹⁴⁰ Poeppig, *Reise*, vol. 2, 9.

the laws of nature, and hence those of man.”¹⁴¹ Leithold, his cousin and also a Prussian officer, described an incredibly dangerous society in which slavery had atomized and dehumanized the lion’s share of the population through the use of corporal punishment.¹⁴²

Nearly every German recorded acts of corporal punishment and the dehumanization which accompanied such events. Rugendas, famous for his depiction of the interior of a slave ship, believed that he had a responsibility to depict the suffering of black slaves to bring an end to the trade.¹⁴³ Germans also recognized the huge levels of mortality, illness, death and suffering that accompanied slave society as a consequence of this dehumanization and discipline.¹⁴⁴ According to a French naturalist, such events became so common that the cries of the victims elicited little attention from the Brazilian public.¹⁴⁵ In fact, most contemporary Luso-Brazilian authors neglected this aspect of Brazil’s slave society.¹⁴⁶ Germans did not (fig. 5 Rugendas).

¹⁴¹ Ludwig von Rango, *Tagebuch meiner Reise nach Rio de Janeiro in Brasilien und Zurück: In den Jahren 1819 und 1820: In Briefen, vol. 1* (Leipzig: Baumgartenersche Buchhandlung), 190: “Wenn gleich das Interesse einer ganzen Nation diese Schändlichkeit zu entschuldigen scheint, wenn selbst Gesetze diese unerhörte Tyrannei in Schutz nehmen, so kann mich doch alles diess nicht von der Ueberzeugung, dass es gegen alle Gesetze der Natur, föhlich unter der Würde des Menschen ist, zurück bringen.”

¹⁴² Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 94-96.

¹⁴³ Moritz Rugendas, *Das Merkwürdigste aus der malerischen Reise in Brasilien: Vol. 4: Leben und Gebräuche der Neger* (Schaffhausen: Brodtmann, 1836), 42-43.

¹⁴⁴ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien* 55-68, 94-96; Poeppig, *Reise*, vol. 2, 192-195; Karasch, *Slave*, 150-184.

¹⁴⁵ Karasch, *Slave*, 151.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 151-2.

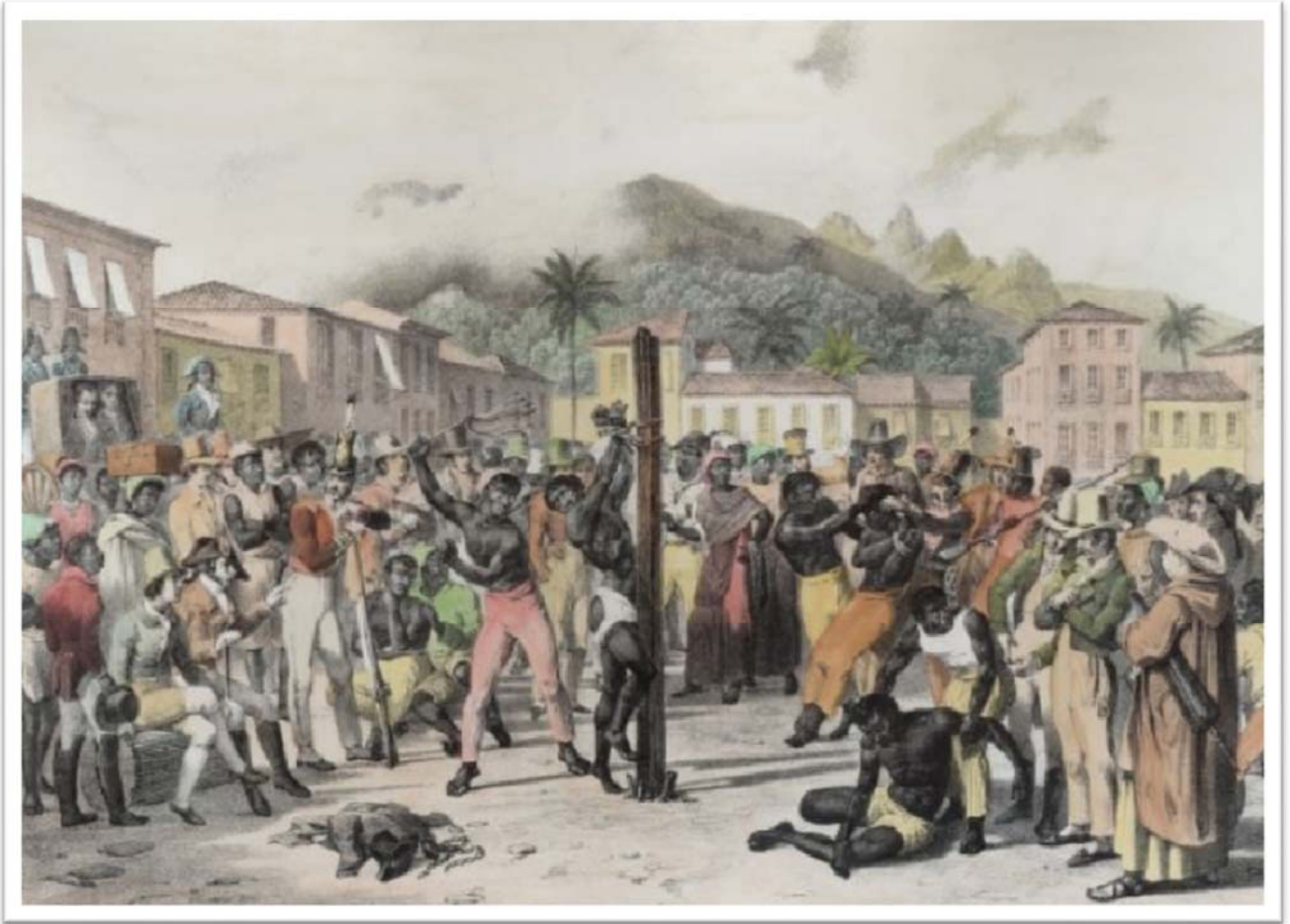


Figure 5. Johann Moritz Rugendas, “Slavery, the Public Flogging of an African Slave in Brazil.” Colored Lithograph from *Malerische Reise in Brasilien: Vol. 4, Leben und Gebräuche der Neger*, 1835.

Leithold recorded a scene in which the police arrested his servant, a runaway slave Leithold had hired as a servant, and took the slave back to Leithold’s apartment. There, the police questioned his former servant, and, using a thumbscrew device, tortured the slave (see fig. 6). Unable to bear such a scene, Leithold begged them to stop while in his presence.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 76-77.

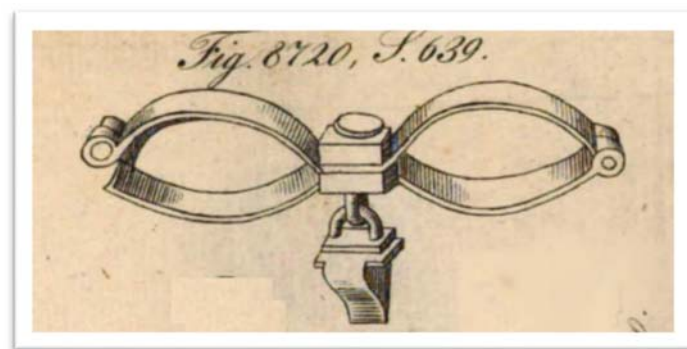
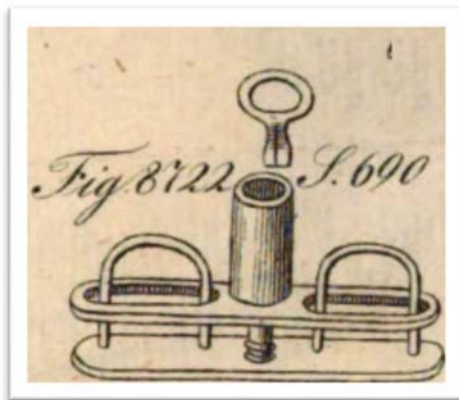
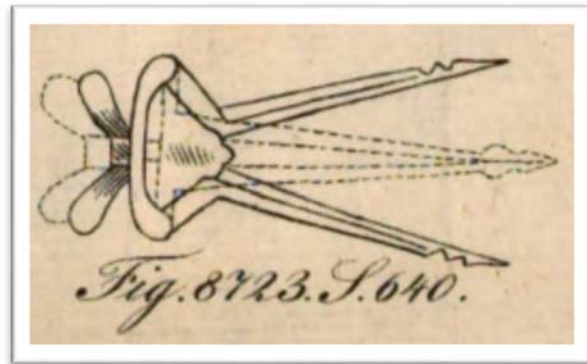
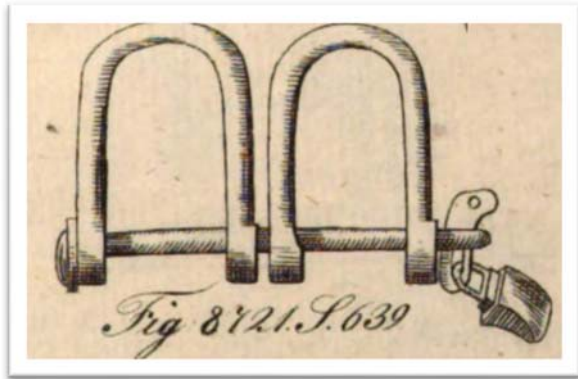


Figure 6. “Fig. 8720-8723. Pair of handcuffs, leg cuffs, thumb screw, and jaw lock.” Copper engraving from the workshop of Joachim Pauli, Berlin for Johann Georg Krünitz, *Oekonomisch-technologische Encyklopädie*, vol. 154, Berlin, (1831): Reproduction from FBG FSP, Phil 8° 01735-1738 (154).

Other travelers also found the torture of slaves particularly noteworthy. Schlichthorst recorded the use of a muzzle device, used to torment slaves who sought to end their own lives, which “outraged me more than anything else” (see fig. 7).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 170: “Einer Barbarei muß ich noch erwähnen die mich mehr als alle andere empört hat.”

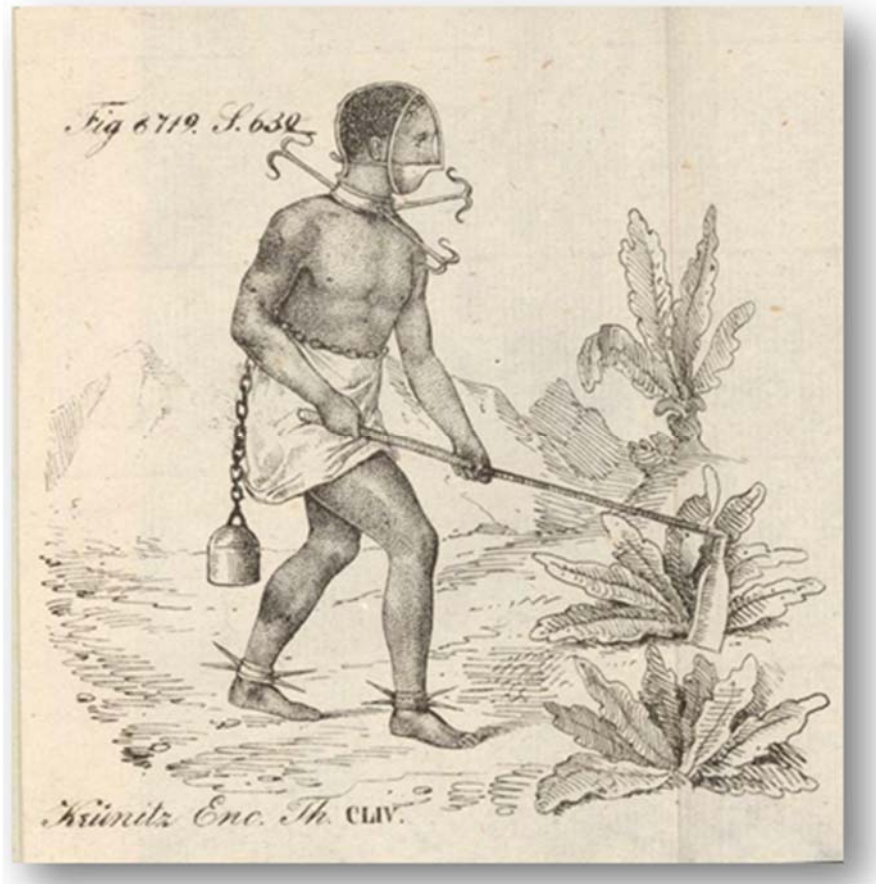


Figure 7. “Fig. 8719 shows bound slaves at work; a, is a muzzle; b, the neck iron or collar with spikes; c, the heavy iron chain with a weight; d, the leg bands.” Copper engraving from the workshop of Joachim Pauli, Berlin for Johann Georg Krünitz, eds., *Oekonomisch-technologische Encyclopädie* vol. 154, Berlin, (1831): Reproduction from FBG FSP, Phil 8° 01735-1738 (154).

Mansfeldt claimed that Brazilian authorities used the device for drunkenness or the theft of delicacies.¹⁴⁹ In an appendix dedicated to the origins of the slave trade, Mansfeldt explored other cruel, inhumane punishments. The Portuguese maintained order, he claimed, by whipping the slaves and throwing salt and pepper into their exposed wounds.¹⁵⁰ Bösche claimed that it was long-standing and unbearable treatment of slaves that dehumanized them.¹⁵¹ Vollmer implied that some of this owed to the harshness of the natural environment, combined with the indolent

¹⁴⁹ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, vol. 1, 140.

¹⁵⁰ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, vol. 2, 99.

¹⁵¹ Bösche, *Wechselbilder*, 243.

lifestyle of Brazilians, which prematurely aged the people. This embittered women, who, in his opinion, owing to their particular vanity born out of a slave-society, caused them to torture their attendant slave women.¹⁵² These observers, as a cohort, saw the conditions, and the accompanying behaviors, of slave society as inevitably dehumanizing slave, master, and free people (see fig. 8 and fig. 9).



Figure 8. Paul Harro *Harring*, “Slave being punished.” Watercolor from *Tropical Sketches from Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro, 1965).

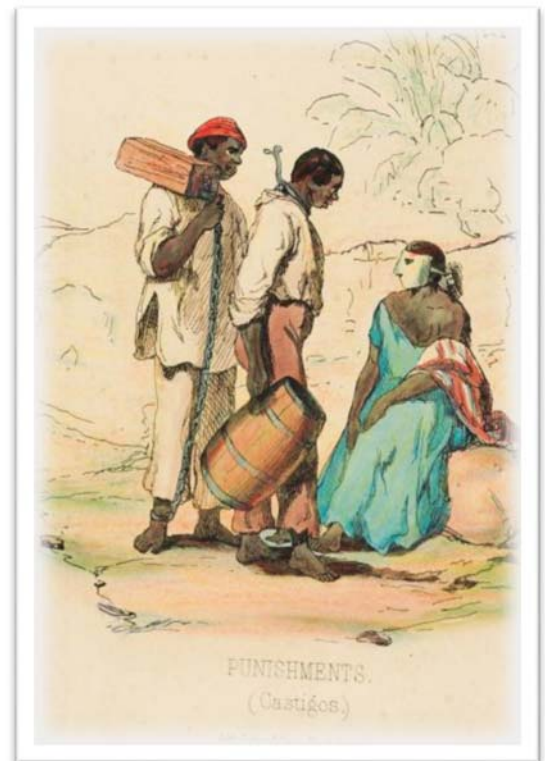


Figure 9. Eduard Hildebrandt, “Punishments.” colored engraving from Frederico Guilherme Briggs, *The Brazilian Souvenir: A Selection of the most Peculiar Costumes of the Brazils*, (Rio de Janeiro ca. 1846).

¹⁵² Vollmer, *Natur-und Sittengemälde*, 58-59.

Germans saw slavery as encouragement for the middle and lower orders of society to live in a dull apathy. Brazil's middle orders had failed to produce significant domestic industry within the cities as a consequence of slavery. Consumers therefore relied on imports for the simplest materials, like paper or leather.¹⁵³ Liberal reformers within Brazil's government recognized the lack of skilled artisans and sought a solution to this problem with the invitation for German colonization.¹⁵⁴ Within the interior of Brazil, slavery had reduced the culture of the middling class. Their homes could not be compared with the Germans, the quality being hardly as good as a crofter's cottage (*Käthner-Wohnung*). This did not refer to homes occupied by "the rich or first rank," the wealthy merchants within the suburban areas of the cities, but what one in Germany "called the middling tenant, grange, or estate farms."¹⁵⁵ The owners of these Brazilian versions of a *Landgut*, or *Fazenda*, walked barefoot like their slaves, ate a simple diet like their slaves, and had few aspirations like their slaves.¹⁵⁶ Their life in the country became more isolated, "raw and wild", in terms of clothing, food, habitation, and occupation.¹⁵⁷ Part of this owed to a culture which bound slave ownership and social status together. The relative expense of slaves compared to the widespread poverty in Brazil made slaves a "luxury" property—especially in the city.¹⁵⁸

Numerous observers recorded how slaves could be used more for ostentatious displays of status

¹⁵³ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, 147.

¹⁵⁴ In fact, Theremin reported to the Prussian government that Schäffer's order for German colonists included 5000 farmers and skilled laborers, GStA PK, III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7958.1 fol., 365, Theremin to Bernstorff, 18 Sep. 1824. Also see Kossock, *Im Schatten*, 190-193.

¹⁵⁵ Lienau, *Darstellung*, 122: "Man vergleiche ja nicht ein Brasilisches Landgut mit einem Deutschen. Die Wohnhäuser sind kaum einer guten Deutschen Käthner-Wohnung gleich zu stellen. Die Brasilischen Eigenthümer einer *Fazende* (Plantage) gehen in der Regel barfuß, wie ihre Sklaven, und leben, wie erwähnt, von *Carno seca*, *Farin*, schwarzen Bohnen, Cachas, Caffé und Früchten. Ihr einzigstes Trachten ist: viele Negersklaven und Maulthiere zu haben. Major Schäffer sagt in seiner Schrift über Brasilien, der Negersklave esse im Innern des Landes mit seinem Senhor an einem Tische; besser aber würde er sagen, der Neger bekommt dieselbe Speise, wie sein Senhor, oder der Herr ißt wie der Sklave. Ich spreche hier nicht von den reichen und ersten Standespersonen, deren Zahl die wenigsten ausmacht, auch nicht von den schönen Landhäusern in der Umgebung der vornehmsten Städte, die größtentheils von Europäischen Kaufleuten bewohnt werden, besonders von Engländern und Portugiesen; sondern von dem was in Deutschland ein mittelmäßiges Gut, Pächter- oder Bauer(n)hof heißt."

¹⁵⁶ For more on the life on the *Fazenda*: Nancy Priscilla Naro, *A Slave's Place, a Master's World: Fashioning Dependency in Rural Brazil* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 50-69; Alida C. Metcalf, *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580-1822* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

¹⁵⁷ Leenhof, *Beiträge*, 88: "roher und verwilderter."

¹⁵⁸ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 60-62.

and wealth than for practical labor. Not only did Brazilian ladies, or “wenches”, use vulgar and rudely constructed palanquins, with a number of slaves under them, but they also traveled with no other purpose than to be seen in society.¹⁵⁹ When they did walk, they did so with a procession of well-dressed slaves in tow to signify the lady’s status. Schlichthorst described the laziness, vanity and pride of the Europeans who insisted on having multiple slaves for no other reason than such displays.¹⁶⁰ This disinclination to work extended to the free population as well. Only slaves walked in the streets during business hours.¹⁶¹ In this way, Germans pointed to both slavery’s decadence and lack of reason and rationale.

Leenhof believed that slavery had the effect of dragging down the lower societal orders. “The under or lower class [*Klasse*], intermingled with numerous slaves, leads a purely sensuous, vegetative life, and with them [the slaves], gives itself over to crude debauchery, without shame, so that their immorality arouses aversion and disgust.”¹⁶² Bösche described the streets of Rio at night as being “where the brush of Hogarth would have found sufficient material for his burlesque” scenes.¹⁶³ Looking at the lower classes, others compared it to serfdom [*Leibeigenschaft*], and argued that slavery not only corrupted, debased, and degraded both master and slave, but the institution also slowed the development of economies and stunted the cultural growth of its people as serfdom did in the Russian Empire.¹⁶⁴ Incentive to work had been robbed from the majority of the population. Leithold admitted that most slaves were given laziness, or

¹⁵⁹ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, vol. 1, 133-134.

¹⁶⁰ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 184-185.

¹⁶¹ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 55; Vollmer, *Natur- und Sittengemälde*, 60.

¹⁶² Leenhof, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, 92: “Die untere oder geringere Klasse führt, mit den zahlreichen Sklaven vermischt, ein rein sinnliches, vegetatives Leben und überläßt sich mit ihnen den rohen Ausschweifungen ohne Schaam, so daß ihre Sittenlosigkeit Ekel und Abscheu erregt.”

¹⁶³ Bösche, *Wechselbilder*, 31-32.

¹⁶⁴ Leithold said that like serfdom, abolition will be difficult to achieve: Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien* 81; Erman described the serfs as being more free than the slaves of Rio de Janeiro because the Russian serf markets did not require guards: Georg Adolph Erman, *Reise um die Erde durch Nord-Asien und die beiden Ozeane in den Jahren 1828, 1829 und 1830: Ausgeführt von A. Erman. Part I: Historischer Bericht, Vol. 1: Reise von Berlin bis zum Eismeere im Jahre 1828* (Berlin, 1833), 512-513.

“sleepiness,” (*Schlafsucht*) using the language of slavery’s defenders, and thus they had to be treated severely to extract any labor.¹⁶⁵ Schlichthorst attributed their time spent in idle pursuits, whether singing, drinking or dancing, to the uncertainty of their future.¹⁶⁶

Slavery also debased, corrupted, and altered the foundational unit of a civilized society—the family. Germans criticized how the reliance upon slave labor degraded familial relationships from the top of society down. The Brazilian monarchy described itself as the father of the country, and yet had allowed the abuses of slavery to continue in what some saw as an affront to the role of a good father.¹⁶⁷ Within the slave owner’s household, a microcosm of the nation, the man of the house [*dono de casa*], and his wife became listless with their lack of work.¹⁶⁸ Slaves maintained the household and the women did little. White women, critics pointed out, did not nurse their babies if they had female slaves.¹⁶⁹ As they sat in their idle decadence, according to German travelers, Portuguese settlers fell into a state of apathy, from which their fall, in terms of culture, education and civilization, continued, due to their reliance on slaves as caretakers for their children. “The domestic life of the family [held] no attraction,” for Vollmer, who believed that the plantation life had debased the otherwise pleasant women, who offered little which “can interest the cultivated man.”¹⁷⁰ Slavery created an artificial representation, “like a mosaic piece of the populations painting” of family relationships within the household which were a pale

¹⁶⁵ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 81: “Es ist nicht zu läugnen, daß der größte Theil der Sklaven, in Schlafsucht versunken.”; Prince Adalbert also described the slaves as lazy, but attributed their laziness to their condition as slaves, Adalbert, *Aus meinem Tagebuche*, 245. For more on this accusation: Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1997), 171.

¹⁶⁶ Schlichthorst, *Rio, wie es ist*, 185.

¹⁶⁷ Vollmer described the relationship between the empire and metropole using the German analogy for a bad mother, “Wenn dies eine Mutter ist so ist’s eine Rabenmutter”, Vollmer, *Natur- und Sittengemälde*, 61.

¹⁶⁸ Lienau, *Darstellung*, 171.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 172.

¹⁷⁰ Vollmer, *Natur- und Sittengemälde*, 53: “Das häusliche Leben der Brasilier hat nichts Anziehendes. Seit der Hof dort ist, haben die Damen mehr Freiheit erhalten, dies macht die Gesellschaften angenehmer, und die ausserordentliche Leichtigkeit, mit der dem Fremden entgegen gekommen wird, kann nicht anders, als willkommen seyn; doch sind die Brasilier selbst nicht von einer Art, die den gebildeten Mann interessiren könnte.”

imitation of European culture. In so doing, it had, for all parties involved, “degraded completely the better bonds of family life.”¹⁷¹

At the bottom, of course, slavery hurt most the enslaved. Slavery created “dissatisfied marriages” as the masters, who sometimes enforced *primae noctis*, arranged marriages against the “design of heaven” and in contradiction to free will.¹⁷² It ripped wives from husbands, children from mothers, and created impermanent relationships as slaves did not know where they would go or what their futures held. Slavery thus weakened the emotional ties and bonds of family and created resignation amongst slaves, travelers opined, and this contributed to the enslaved population’s aberrant rate of child death and lowered fertility rates.¹⁷³ One traveler believed that black slaves seldom had more than four children as a “design of heaven” which shielded them from undue suffering.¹⁷⁴ Franz Julius Ferdinand Meyen painted a particularly grim picture of how slavery impacted families. The “thirst for profit” had denatured the family and reduced man to the level of a domesticated beast. “Humanity will not believe it, when we report, that people keep negroes for breeding, as we breed horses on our stud farms.”¹⁷⁵ He described how planters buy young black women only for child-bearing, and that they are worth more pregnant, the children are torn from their mothers breasts, sold, then the parents are separated

¹⁷¹ Leenhof, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, 88; 93-94.

¹⁷² Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, 139-140: “Da die Vollziehung der Ehen zwischen den Negersclaven ganz der Willkühr der Besitzer anheim gestellt ist, so kann man wohl nicht annehmen, daß diese Verbindungen im Himmel geschlossen werden... Es ist sehr natürlich, daß aus den Verbindungen, die die Herren unter ihren Slaven schließen, öfters sehr unzufriedene Ehen entstehen,... Bei den von dem Eigenthümer der Slaven getroffenen Wahlen steht demselben ein Zehnter zu, der im Fall der Insolvenz *in natura* und von menschenfreundlichen Herren zwar durch das *jus primae noctis* erhoben wird.”

¹⁷³ Tietz, *Brasilianische Zustände*, 71-72.

¹⁷⁴ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 172.

¹⁷⁵ Meyen, *Reise um die Erde*, 79-80: “Der Durst nach Gewinn hat jedoch noch andere Wege einge schlagen, um schnell zum Ziele zu gelangen. Die Menschheit wird es einst nicht glauben, wenn wir mittheilen, dass man zuweilen die Neger selbst, zur Zucht hält, wie man bei uns die Pferdezucht in Gestüten betreibt.” Meyen quoted and cited Schlichthorst’s description of the slave market in Rio de Janeiro: “dieser Menschenhandel ist das was in Europa der Pferdehandel ist,” Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 165.

never to see one another again.¹⁷⁶ Meyen completes this description by painting the slaves as domesticated beasts, much like the antislavery painters Johann Moritz Rugendas or Paul Harro Haring, who equated the slave trader to a horse trader in one painting (see fig. 10). Meyen presented an even more arresting comparison. He suggested that due to the scarcity of cows' milk (a frequent complaint in other travel narratives), that the milk of slave mothers could be traded and sold as cows' milk in Europe.¹⁷⁷



Figure 10. Paul Harro Haring “Scene of the Opening of a Public Sale of Negroes. A Merchant of Negroes and his Horse-dealer.” Watercolor from *Tropical Sketches of Brazil* (Rio De Janeiro 1840, 1965).

¹⁷⁶ Meyen, *Reise um die Erde*, 80: “Man kauft junge Negressen bloss zum Kinder-Erzeugen; im schwangeren Zustande gilt eine Negresse schon gegen 100 Millreis (50 Piaster) mehr, als vorher. Die jungen Kinder reisst man vom Busen der Mutter, und verkauft sie zu 60 bis 80 Millreis (30 bis 40 Piaster). Dem Herren der Slaven steht Alles frei, er macht diese angeblichen Ehen und er trennt sie, wenn er es will; er entreisst den Eltern die Kinder, und verkauft Mann und Frau, dass sie sich vielleicht nie wiedersehen.”

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 80: “Auch die Milch der Negressen benutzt man zum Handel und verkauft sie als Kuhmilch; deshalb kommt zu Rio, in den Häusern der Fremden, wenn sie nicht selbst Kühe besitzen, niemals Milch zum Vorschein, die hier überhaupt sehr theuer ist.”

Slavery and the slave trade allowed Protestant Germans to criticize Brazil's Catholicism with ease. Tietz, like many English abolitionists, described the origins of slavery as owing to the Roman Church's indifference towards redemption and true spiritual instruction.¹⁷⁸ Slaves had long been defined by the Church as "redeemers" [*Resgatados*] and "the deplorable state of affairs", meaning slavery in Brazil, continued due to the "covetousness" of the Catholics and the poverty [*Zahlungsunvermöge*] of the Africans prevented slaves from ever purchasing their own freedom.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, these supposedly religious people did not show much evidence of their sensibilities in the treatment of slaves. Numerous decrees commanded the lords to teach their slaves in religion, and the Catholic Church expressly stated that slavery would only be permitted with religious instruction. Yet, slave masters neglected religious instruction.¹⁸⁰ An anonymous officer from Prussia, Leenhof, described the spiritual poverty created by slavery. Religion did nothing to temper the harsh relationship between slave and master as it should.¹⁸¹ The celebration of the mass on feast days and Sundays interrupted the dull monotony of plantation life and gives a brief respite to the outward signs of servitude that, if they were guided by religion, would not exist.¹⁸² He described how the Portuguese had settled the interior of Brazil and brought civilization there with agriculture, husbandry, and their products. The clergy had begun to invest in the spiritual lives of the inhabitants, and while "the material wealth of the country" had increased with the "introduction of Negro slaves, who work on the *Fazendas* and *Harquedorias*,"

¹⁷⁸ Tietz, *Brasilianische Zustände*, 68-69; Vollmer argued that the slaves were completely devoid of spiritual instruction, and argued that the sale of indulgences allowed the abuses of slavery to occur and contributed to lawlessness: Vollmer, *Natur- und Sittengemälde*, 54; Bösche, *Wechselbilder*, 231-232: Bösche also saw most of the murder, lawless, and *Unruhen*, as being a direct symptom of slavery.

¹⁷⁹ Tietz, *Brasilianische Zustände*, 66-67: "Eigentlich findet man ein Gesetz der Sklaverei nirgends ausgesprochen. Die römische Kirche läßt sie nur als einen lästigen Contract zwischen der Gewalt und der Schwäche gelten, jedoch mit der ausdrücklichen Bedingung des Loskaufs, weshalb die Sklaven auch lange Zeit „*Resgatados*“ d.h. Loszukaufende genannt wurden. Die Habsucht der Unterdrücker und Zahlungsunvermöge der Unterdrückten haben diesen so Beklagenswerthen Stand der Dinge, der durch die Schwierigkeit ihn zu ändern geschützt wurde, fortdauern lassen."

¹⁸⁰ Tietz, *Brasilianische Zustände*, 69-70. Weech complained that the Portuguese taught their slaves only the outward signs of religion as a means of controlling them: Weech, *Brasiliens*, 115-116.

¹⁸¹ Leenhof, *Beiträge zur Geschichte* 87.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 90.

this economy had made Brazil “poor in every spiritual relationship.”¹⁸³ Schlichthorst and Vollmer criticized the vanity of wealthy slaveholders who required large processions of slaves to follow them to the Catholic Church on Sundays.¹⁸⁴ Leithold, in a charged passage which described the ills caused by slavery, the slave trade and serfdom. Leithold reported his anger at witnessing a clergyman abuse a slave in a manner unbecoming of his station and foreign to Europeans. This man, quite popular with the people, kicked a slave, who did not give way fast enough into excrement. Not only was this unbecoming of his spiritual station, but it was also foreign to Leithold’s European sensibilities.¹⁸⁵ One observer, Bösche, extended this critique even further than others. Rather than lay the blame for slavery at the foot of Catholicism, he described the slave owners, on a number of occasions, as simply “Christians” in a more general repudiation of Christianity.¹⁸⁶

Germans became more perceptive about the shades of enslavement during their travels in Brazil much like they had during the American Revolution. Just as Hessians visiting the New World during the eighteenth century, this group of Germans offered a rich description of the different enslaved races in Brazil. The majority distinguish slaves as “Indian slaves” “creole slaves,” “negro slaves,” “mullato slaves” and even “white slaves” in distinction to simply “slaves,” “black Africans,” or “negroes.”¹⁸⁷ This owes to the fact, as one pioneering historian of Brazilian slavery put it, “Slavery was so ingrained in the mores of Brazil as to reduce the

¹⁸³ Ibid., 57: “Es trat den fernern Fortschritten jedoch auch hier wie in ganz Brasilien die Einführung der Negersklaven entgegen, welche man zur Arbeit in den *Fazendas* und *Harquedorias* verwandte, die, wenn sie auf der einen Seite den materiellen Reichthum des Landes erhöhten, es in jeder geistigen Beziehung arm machten.”

¹⁸⁴ Vollmer, *Natur- und Sittengemälde*, 187-188; Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 184: “Dagegen schmeichelt es dem Stolze und der Eitelkeit des Brasiliers sich zur Kirche und auf Spaziergangen von einem langen Train Sclaven und Sclavinnen folgen zu lassen und selbst der Müßiggang dieser Menschen macht.”

¹⁸⁵ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 82; Vollmer pointed to the abuse suffered by the slaves and poor at the hands of the clergy: Vollmer, *Natur und Sittengemälde*, 60-62.

¹⁸⁶ Bösche, *Wechselbilder*, 64-65; 105-106; 127; 231-232; 243-245; 256-257.

¹⁸⁷ Poeppig described the slaving practices of Brazil’s indigenous people over other indigenous people and black Africans: Poeppig, *Reise*, vol. 2, 495.

importance of race as a criterion of slave or free status.”¹⁸⁸ Feldner, a mining engineer working in Brazil, produced a rather simple description of Brazil’s society, and limited his analysis of slaves to their color and variety.¹⁸⁹ While Brazil’s national assembly referenced white slaves in official documents, scholars have long relied on German travel accounts as sources for this variety of slaves in Brazil. Many Germans’ perceived status as victims of white enslavement contributed to their attention.¹⁹⁰ The soldier Leenhof, who described German colonists as victims of white slavery, for instance, makes certain to distinguish them from the colored [*kolorirten*] or colored slaves [*farbigen Sklaven*].¹⁹¹ Thereimin, the first General Consul for Rio de Janeiro, most often included the color of slaves in his reports to Berlin during his first decade in Brazil.¹⁹² This heightened awareness of the different enslaved peoples in Brazil also found expression in the fears of a potential “race war”, or “war of colors.”¹⁹³

Travelers commonly commented upon possible dangers of such a society when they described the racial disparity created by Brazil’s slave-labor regime. A unifying feature of most of these German travelogues included a discussion of the racial imbalances created in Brazil.¹⁹⁴ Numerous Germans commented on the deleterious effects of such a situation.¹⁹⁵ Most felt concerned for the insurrectionary potential, or, as they put it, what should have been “learned at

¹⁸⁸ Robert Edgar Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 12.

¹⁸⁹ Wilhelm Christian Gotthelf von Feldner, *Reisen durch mehrere Provinzen Brasiliens: Aus seinen nachgelassenen Papieren, Part I: Allgemeine Uebersicht* (Liegnitz: G.W. Leonhardt), 34-41: FBG FSP, Geogr 8° 04116/04 (01); Meyen likewise described slavery in terms of a variety of colors. Meyen, *Reise um die Erde*, 68-82.

¹⁹⁰ Bösche most often described German soldiers as slaves, Bösche, *Wechselbilder*, 41, 64, 85, 105, 177.

¹⁹¹ Leenhof described slaves as colored twice on the same page: Leenhof, *Beiträge*, 132, for other instances: *ibid.*, 92, 100.

¹⁹² GStA PK III. HA MdA II, Nr. 7958.1, 236-237, 316.

¹⁹³ Leenhof, *Beiträge*, 84-85: “Konflikt der Raçen”; Tietz, *Brasilianische Zustände*, 71: “Die Gefahr eines „Kriegs der Farbe,“ scheint mir in Brasilien eingebildet, und könnte ein solcher nur in Folge der unverzeihlichsten Schwäche und Unklugheit der Regierung ausbrechen.”

¹⁹⁴ One example cited frequently amongst migrant Germans about this imbalance: Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 60.

¹⁹⁵ Adalbert, *Aus meinem Tagebuche*, 225-228; Poeppig, *Reise*, vol. 2, 192-195; Vollmer, *Natur- und Sittengemälde*, 59, Eschwege, *Pluto Brasiliensis*, 8-45; Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 53-54; Lienau, *Darstellung*, 41; Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 55-66; Meyen, *Reise um die Welt*, 80-82; Kalkmann, *Reisebriefe*, 50; Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, 140-141.

St. Domingue [Haiti] and Jamaica.”¹⁹⁶ Another German invoked the classics with an argument that the Brazilians had not learned the “lesson of Athens, Rome, or the Helots of Sparta” who kept “colored slaves.”¹⁹⁷ Others felt less danger because the Portuguese supposedly had learned a lesson from the rebel state *Palmares* which had ended in 1696.¹⁹⁸ Leithold, for instance, argued that the disparity did not cause the same problems as it did in Jamaica because the slaves in Brazil received better treatment after this insurrection over a hundred years prior.¹⁹⁹ Kalkmann, a proponent of emigration, agreed. Race relations, for him, did not appear terrible but could become a problem because the blacks outnumbered the whites 9:1, and the potential for revolution, to end slavery, had caused great suffering in the last few years.²⁰⁰

One naturalist saw the confrontation of races in Brazil as an imminent problem. After spending a great deal of time amongst slaves in harsh labor regimes, in Cuba, the United States, and then South America, the Saxon naturalist Eduard Friedrich Poeppig had learned firsthand the hate slavery created.²⁰¹ He dedicated significant attention to the racial imbalance and the potential problems inherent from such a situation. The continued growth of the black population in comparison to that of the white population portended a dark future for the slave empire.²⁰² The fate of Brazil, because it was filled with black slaves, will be “flooded with blood and transformed into a desert, where civilized man” will never establish a state after a “dreadful war of extermination.”²⁰³ He compared the supposed ethnic and racial homogeneity and absence of caste found in Chile to the caste-based regime of Brazil, where he found a great mixture of white

¹⁹⁶ One observer used the recent uprising in Monte Video in 1825 served as an example along with St. Domingue, Lienau: *Darstellung*, 41; Bösche warns of another catastrophe like St. Domingue: Bösche, *Wechselbilder*, 231-232.

¹⁹⁷ Leenhof, *Beiträge*, 131-132.

¹⁹⁸ One of the most valuable studies on the insurrection is, Edison Carneiro, *O quilombo dos Palmares* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1947); Robert Nelson Anderson, “The Quilombo of Palmares: A New Overview of a Maroon State in Seventeenth-Century Brazil,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 3 (October 1996): 545–66.

¹⁹⁹ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 65-68.

²⁰⁰ Kalkmann, *Reisebriefe*, 49-50.

²⁰¹ Poeppig, *Reise*, vol. 2, 192.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 192-193.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 193.

Europeans, indigenous Indians, and enslaved blacks had intermingled in an “uneasy way.”²⁰⁴ It seemed to the naturalist Poeppig that Chile would recover quickest from the independence movements and revolutions because it had more racial homogeneity and fewer African blacks. Likewise, Prussian officier Leenhof, without the same antipathy for racial mixing, compared Brazil to Buenos Aires, and suggested that Brazilians sank in freedom and courage while Buenos Aires, who had ridded themselves of slavery, rose splendidly as a model state.²⁰⁵ Another naturalists, Meyen, feared an imminent conflict. As an Humboldtian scientist, Meyen used a geological analogy. The capital appeared as a volcano to him—one feared an “eruption” but could not predict the results of the explosion.²⁰⁶ Meyen did feel certain, however, that through the disparity in blacks and whites, in which only a quarter were white, that Brazil’s lot was to see “destiny avenge itself against the whites for the evil misdeeds inflicted upon millions and millions of Negroes for centuries.”²⁰⁷ Several observers contributed the imbalance to the swell in slave importations that had in fact risen to their highest levels during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Insisting on the humanity of black slaves played an important role in the discussion over slavery for Germans in Brazil. For some, like the Prussian noble Leithold, the adoption of European customs and manners went far to prove their capacity and ability. He defended their humanity time and time again based on how well they served his meals, occupied themselves, and observed proper decorum (mostly at meals). He commented on the fact that his cousin, a Portuguese official in charge of supervising the gradual cessation of the slave trade, owned a

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 193. Poeppig demonstrated both contempt and compassion for the slaves but believed that the mixing of races would only lead to conflict and destruction because the offspring of such unions only inherit the vices of their parents and not the virtues.

²⁰⁵ Leenhof, *Beiträge*, 148,

²⁰⁶ “Die Hauptstadt gleich einem Vulcan, dessen Ausbruch man befürchtete, aber nicht mit Gewissheit vorhersagen konnte, wie sich die Explosion gestalten würde.” Meyen, *Reise um die Welt*, 74.

²⁰⁷ “Das Schicksal wird sich, an den Weissen, für die Unthaten rächen, die sie seit Jahrhunderten an Millionen und aber Millionen von Negern begangen haben. Unabänderlich ist jetzt das Loos Brasiliens, drei Viertel der Einwohner-Zahl ist farbig und nur ein Viertel von kaukasischem Stamme.” Ibid., 74.

young slave who, despite being quite ugly, “never rattles his plate at dinner.” In fact, Leithold’s last thought on a chapter dedicated to slavery and the slave trade ventured into the absurd with this proclivity for *Sittlichkeit* at the table. He expressed great regret to lose his hired servant, not because he would return to a cruel master and likely be sold to work on a plantation, but because Manuel could fold napkins so well.²⁰⁸ Schlichthorst, likewise, observed a preternatural resilience in recently arrived black female slaves, who had a “natural grace” one did not find amongst the “lower orders” of Europe.²⁰⁹ He also attributed to black African slaves a unique gift for alliteration in poetry and a high level of national patriotism from their respective nations in Africa.²¹⁰

Germans concentrated on exploring the diversity within the slave populations from Africa to show their human variation. Tietz, like many others, assured his readers that Africans came from a great variety of nations (*Nationen*) and, that while Europeans found it difficult to discern due to their dark skin, these people wore quite distinct facial features.²¹¹ Mansfeldt contrasts the inhumanity of the Portuguese with a sympathetic description of slaves to turn the idea on its head.²¹² In fact, many criticized the trade for its efforts to dehumanize African slaves by using analogies to the trade in livestock. Leithold, for instance, surveyed the buildings in Rio de Janeiro, but refused to visit the slave market. He could not bring himself to visit the building in which “the slaves are paraded, inspected, handled, and sold like precious cattle.”²¹³ Others

²⁰⁸ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 77.

²⁰⁹ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 165-66: “Merkwürdig ist es, wie schnell sich bei reichlicher Nahrung und guter Behandlung das äußere Ansehn dieser neuangekommenen Schwarzen zu ihrem Vortheile verändert. Vorzüglich gewinnen junge Mädchen in wenig Wochen eine Körperfülle, die überraschend ist; die Haut erneuert sich und nimmt eine glänzende Schwarze an das Auge wird lebhaft und feurig und in allen ihren Bewegungen entwickeln diese jungen Afrikanerinnen eine natürliche Grazie, die man bei den niederen Ständen in Europa durchgangig vermißt.”

²¹⁰ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 181.

²¹¹ Tietz, *Brasilianische Zustände*, 67-68; Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 177-178.

²¹² Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, 82-84.

²¹³ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht aus Brasilien*, 147: “Unter den öffentlichen Anstalten muß ich auch noch das Gebäude erwähnen, worin der Sklavenmarkt abgehalten wird. Ich konnte mich nie dazu entschließen ihn zu besuchen, weil die Sklaven hier wie das liebe Vieh vorgeführt, besichtigt, betastet und verkauft werden.” Two other travelers had similar descriptions: Rango, *Tagebuch*, 136-137; Weech, *Brasiliens*, 201.

referred to the slave markets in terms of their dehumanizing effects, as “flesh houses,” or “stud farms,” or sheep or cattle markets.²¹⁴ Even if some attributed discernable physical differences, and innate differences, nearly every traveler, even Poeppig and Ebel, agreed on their capacity for improvement and basic humanity.

Part of their need to verify the humanity of slaves owed to the search for African slaves’ *capacity*. Capacity and incapacity [*Fähigkeit* and *Unfähigkeit*], or the ability and aptitude for mental, moral, and social improvement had been at the center of the debate over slavery, freedom, and black Africans’ position in the world. Hegel and other philosophers had based the justification for slavery, or at least the need for gradual abolition, in a racialist understanding of black Africans based on their supposed lack of *capacity*.²¹⁵ Many acknowledged inherent differences in appearances between Europeans and Africans, but held that they had similar potential and the capacity for improvement. Leithold, in a chapter dedicated to Brazilian slavery, described a preternatural ability to adapt to European customs which demonstrated their incredible *capacity* (*Fähigkeit*) and keen memory.²¹⁶ Likewise, Schlichthorst expressed wonder at their sense of ceremony and deference (*Standesverhältnisse*).²¹⁷ Mansfeldt’s history of the slave trade made a case for the capacity of enslaved Africans. Even though they acted dull,

²¹⁴ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 165: “In diesem Aufzuge sieht man lange Reihen Neger, die wie Schafe in die Magazine der Slavenhändler getrieben werden, wo der Handel ununterbrochen fortgeht und mit derselben Vorsicht betrieben wird, als bei uns der Pferdekauf... Man kauft für baar Geld, auf Zeit mit oder ohne Verantwortlichkeit des Verkäufers für den künftigen Gesundheitszustand des Slaven, mit Einem Worte, dieser Menschenhandel ist das, was in Europa der Pferdehandel ist.”; Joseph F. von Weech, *Reise über England und Portugal nach Brasilien und den vereinigten Staaten des La-Plata-Stromes während den Jahren 1823 bis 1827*, vol. 2 (München: Auer, 1831), 80: Weech compared the ownership of slaves to pets. “Eine Abhandlung über das Thema, mit welchem Rechte der weiße Mensch den Schwarzen seiner Freiheit beraubt und ihn gleich dem Hausthiere kauft, verkauft und aufzieht, wird man mir erlassen; man hat hinreichend darüber geschrieben, schöne Reden gehalten, und es ziemlich beim Alten gelassen.”

²¹⁵ For Hegel’s thinking on freedom, slavery, and the capacity of Africans: Mark Tunick, *Hegel’s Political Philosophy: Interpreting the Practice of Legal Punishment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 42-43, 39-46. Numerous studies have concentrated on Hegel’s racialism and his attitudes towards slavery to condemn the roots of German philosophy and history as racist: Sandra Bonetto, “Race and Racism in Hegel: An Analysis.” *Minerva* 10 (2006): 35-64.

²¹⁶ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 74-82.

²¹⁷ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 182.

listless and did little else than drink and dance during their free time, it was precisely because of their treatment under slaver traders and Brazil's brutal slave-regime that slaves cared only for hedonistic pursuits.²¹⁸

Black Africans' ability to do productive work, and labor as well as Europeans, as one recent scholar has argued, played a central role in the discussion of slavery. This is certainly "an undeniable trope" that German observers often placed their countrymen above other Europeans, the indigenous peoples of Brazil, and black laborers.²¹⁹ Of course Germans believed that Germans worked harder and produced higher quality work than others—in the Brazilian context as well other regions in which Germans settled. In the case of Brazil, before agitation for colonies and a navy began during the 1850s, Germans saw the structures of Brazilian society as directly contributing to these workers' flaws. Brazilian slavery was the principle structure inhibiting productivity and quality in work. They construed the argument in such a way as to put the blame on this slave-based society for debasing and devaluing labor from black Africans and other enslaved peoples, which not only corrupted the labor of Europeans, but also allowed Germans to become trapped in servile labor conditions. For many observers it was part and parcel of the irrational and unnatural conditions created by slavery that the quality and quantity of work suffered. All of society had the capacity to improve following slavery's abolition. The Prussian officer Mansfeldt, impressed by the labor done by black slaves, and by the fact that they could sing so happily while working under such conditions, attributed this not to some sort of servile destiny, but to Diogenes's observation that habit is second nature (*consuetudo est altera natura*).²²⁰ In his opinion better treatment would demonstrate the black Africans' equal capacity for freedom.

²¹⁸ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, vol. 2, 93-99; Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 185.

²¹⁹ Cassidy, "The Ambivalence of Slavery."

²²⁰ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, vol. 1, 110.

Many travelers attempted to temper the view of New World slavery in Brazil. Few voiced opinions that could be construed as outright support for Brazil's slave-labor regime. Instead, a number of Germans emphasized that their experience and observations did not match the frequently translated accounts of abolitionists. Their reactions to slavery varied based on their destinations, their duration in the country, their social position in Germany, in addition to their ability to travel. Numerous observers compared Brazil to other slave societies and created a hierarchy of slave abuses, with comparisons to the enslavement of whites, as well as blacks, in an attempt to present a more subtle image of Brazilian slavery.²²¹ It seemed to Schlichthorst that profit made slavers protect their investment through more humane trading, treatment, and even transportation. He expressed surprise when he described the slave markets "completely filled with Negroes" as relatively and unexpectedly clean, in which "one notices little of the unpleasant odors characteristic of European correctional or work houses."²²² His wonder continued, "Even aboard the slave ships" wrote Schlichthorst, "the room is not nearly as limited as one usually believes."²²³ Aboard the ship the slaves were fed, cared for by a doctor, and given spiritual instruction according to his source. Lust for profit [*Gewinnsucht*] amongst the captain and officers ensured they would not suffer mortal abuse or neglect. He even described the middle passage as less deadly, with a mortality rate of 5%, for black Africans than the "white slaves from Europe to Brazil", who die at double the rate because the death of white slaves increased a ship's

²²¹ Rugendas believed that the "exaggerated and sentimental stories" surrounding slavery hurt the cause of abolition: Moritz Rugendas, *Das Merkwürdigste aus der malerischen Reise in Brasilien* (Schaffhausen: Brodtmann, 1836), 42.

²²² Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 162-163. "...dies ist das sogenannte Slaven-Magazin. Durchgängig herrscht eine große Reinlichkeit, der Boden wird täglich mehreremale gefegt und gewaschen. Die frische Seeluft hat allenthalben den freiesten Zugang; wenn diese Magazine ganz mit Negern angefüllt sind, bemerkt man wenig von jenem widrigen Geruche, der europäische Zucht- oder Arbeits-Häuser characterisirt."

²²³ *Ibid.*, 163: "Selbst auf den Slavenschiffen ist der Raum lange nicht so beschränkt, als man gewöhnlich glaubt."

profit.²²⁴ In such a way, Schlichthorst found that the ideas he had about black slavery in the New World did not match the reality he witnessed in Brazil. This experience reinforced and strengthened, rather than disabused him, of the notion that indentured servitude represented white slavery.

White slavery continued to compete with the idea of New World Slavery in Brazil. The memorial strength and passions invoked by the Barbary Corsairs continued to animate German perceptions of slavery. Mansfeldt included a brief assessment of the slave trade's history, which, as he saw it, began in the Mediterranean at the hands of "Arab" pirates.²²⁵ The second half of the miner Schlosser's account details his years as an enslaved captive in the Mediterranean. In fact, he included six sketches with his travelogue, all of which detail his capture and servitude in North Africa (see fig. 11).²²⁶ Even as late as the 1840s Prussia's Prince Adalbert recorded the sight of galley slaves on a trip to the straits of Gibraltar.²²⁷ Several accounts perpetuated the idea, popular in Northern European discussions over the slave trade, that the British supported abolition to further their mercantile goals rather than abiding by the principles of humanity.²²⁸ Thereimin, the consulate in Rio de Janeiro, expressed similar outrages and suggests that their philanthropy comes from commercial considerations and that they continued to allow the "white slave trade" in the Mediterranean and through the settlement of German colonists in Brazil.²²⁹

²²⁴ Ibid., 163-164: "Die Sterblichkeit während der Reise ist selten über 5 Procent und wird jedesmal in den Listen des Zolls bemerkt. Auf manchen Transportschiffen, welche weiße Sclaven von Europa nach Brasilien brachten, betrug sie über 10 Procent."

²²⁵ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, vol. 2, 68.

²²⁶ Wendelin Schlosser, *Reisen in Brasilien und Algier, oder, Lebensschicksale Wendelin Schlossers: Zuletzt gewesenenes Bombaschia des Achmed Bey von Constantine* (Erfurt: Hennings und Hopf, 1839).

²²⁷ Adalbert, *Aus meinem Tagebuche*, 95-96. He wrote a Memo to Manteuffel over the of Barbary piracy in the 1850s, suggesting the need for a navy to combat piracy and enslavement in the Mediterranean after a ship from Stettin was captured the day before Christmas: GStA PK, III. HA Mda I, Nr. 7988, "*Die Maaßregeln gegen Seeräuberei.*"

²²⁸ Leenhof, *Beiträge*, 154 ; Weech, *Brasiliens*, 118-119; Rugendas, *Das merkwürdigste*, vol. 4, 42-43.

²²⁹ "Le semble être une prévue de plus que la philanthropie anglaise, tant vantée, par rapport à la traite des Noirs n'a pour base qui un insurété commercial, lorsque l'on voir que l'on permet sur les frontières du Hanovre, patrimoine de leur Roi, que l'on fasse la traite des Blancs!" GStA PK III. HA Mda I, 7958.1, fols. 366, report from Thereimin to Bernstorff, 18 Sept 1824.



Figure 11. Wendelin Schlosser, “The Imprisonment of the Author by Bedouins.” Engraving from *Reisen in Brasilien und Algier*, (Erfurt, 1839).

Therein continued with a complaint that Hanover, the British sovereign’s ancestral state, allowed the unscrupulous recruitment agent Schäffer to take advantage of Germans and sell them into slavery.²³⁰ Langsdorff, the naturalist, compared the situation of Germans in Brazil and the US, stating that Germans found themselves swindled and enslaved in the US but had more opportunity for freedom in Brazil.²³¹ Schlichthorst blamed Germans as well. He viewed Hamburg’s ports as a center of the white slave trade due to their “immoral” participation in these colonial experiments.²³² Mansfeldt blamed the Brazilian government. He described the colonists

²³⁰ He complained a few years later about the abolition of slavery and the problem of the Barbary pirates when he returned to Berlin. He feared they would attack en route to Brazil during 1828: GStA PK III. HA Mda II, Nr. 686, fol. 57-59, Therein to Bernstorff, 9 Feb. 1829.

²³¹ Langsdorff, *Bermerkung*, 19-20.

²³² Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 18-19.

as living under the slave yoke [*Sclavenjoche*] on three separate occasions.²³³ Schlichthorst noted that white slavery existed in Brazil due, as mentioned above, to the domination of Roman law, which determined slave status based on the status of the mother.²³⁴ These observations all demonstrate the ways in which the language of antislavery could be marshalled to criticize a variety of oppressive labor regimes. This took some steam out of the abolitionists' rhetoric, as far as these travelers were concerned, and shows how antislavery could become more self-serving in the German-Brazilian context.

This more tempered view of slavery found considerable expression in comparisons to other slave societies. Louis Friedrich Kalkmann, a proponent of German emigration, claimed that North Americans found the freedom afforded to blacks a thing of wonder.²³⁵ To demonstrate the greater latitude in Brazil, he recounted a brawl between a white man and slave, in which the slave beat the white man bloody.²³⁶ "For a crime such as raising a hand against a white, in New Orleans, a Negro would have been hanged," but, in the more free and equal Brazil, the police released the slave when it became clear that the white man started the fight.²³⁷ Likewise, the diplomat Tietz commented on the greater freedom afforded Brazilian slaves compared to the United States.²³⁸ Asschenfeldt recorded that they were given feast days and Sundays to rest.²³⁹

²³³ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, vol. 2, 5, 33, 34; For another example: Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 175-176.

²³⁴ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 172: "Ich habe einen Sklaven gekannt, der sich in Hinsicht seiner Weiße mit manchem Europäer messen konnte, also wahrscheinlich schon fünf oder sechs Generationen hindurch freie Vater gehabt hatte. Der Preis solcher farbigen Sklaven pflegt bedeutend höher zu seyn; auch die im Lande geborenen Schwarzen gelten gewöhnlich mehr, als die aus Afrika eingeführten Neger. Man nennt sie Creolen; in Westindien heißen die dort geborenen Weißen so."

²³⁵ Kalkmann, *Reisebriefe*, 6: "Der Nordamerikaner wundert sich über die große Freiheit, welche man hier den Afrikanern einräumt."

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-7: "So sah ich, daß ein Sklave mit einem Weißen Schlägerei hatte, Letzterer hatte den ersten Schlag gethan, zog aber den Kürzern, eilte mit blutigem Kopfe zur Polizei, der Schwarze wurde arrestirt, aber, (weil er den Kampf nicht begonnen) gleich wieder freigegeben."

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 7: "In New Orleans würde man den Neger für ein solches Verbrechen, seine Hand gegen einen Weißen zu erheben, gehängt haben."

²³⁸ Tietz, *Brasilianische Zustände*, 65.

²³⁹ Friedrich Asschenfeldt, *Memoiren aus meinem Tagebuche, geführt während meiner Reisen und meines Aufenthaltes in Brasilien in den Jahren 1843 bis 1847* (Oldenburg in Holstein: Fränckel, 1848), 95-96.

The common laborer Schlosser saw these routine breaks as tempering the harshness of how he imagined slavery.²⁴⁰ “As hard as the word slavery rings for the European ear,” Schlichthorst wrote, “it is an almost bearable condition in South America”²⁴¹ Vollmer also knew that slaves suffered, masters abused and beat them, but saw it as better treatment than that of the Dutch he had seen in the West Indies.²⁴² “Without question”, wrote Schlichthorst, “the Spanish and Portuguese treat their slaves better than the West Indian planters, whether it be an Englishman, Dutchman, or Frenchman.”²⁴³ Prussia’s Prince Adalbert barely commented upon slaves or the slave trade in Brazil.²⁴⁴ When the subject came up during a visit to a plantation, Adalbert noted that they did not seem badly mishandled, “Although a variety of chastising instruments of every kind and size hung on the wall of the [dining] room,” and though they were worked hard, he had expected far worse treatment based on what he had believed from descriptions of the West Indies.²⁴⁵ Despite his opposition to slavery, Mansfeldt admitted that depictions of slavery in Brazil did not match his experience and argued against the view that slaves were badly tyrannized.²⁴⁶ Divorced of context this statement indicates a defense of Brazilian slavery. This was not the case. Mansfeldt explains that more humane treatment was “not based on true humanity, but rather on political grounds,” to prevent the bitter sorts of insurrections which have

²⁴⁰ Wendelin Schlosser, *Reisen in Brasilien und Algier, oder, Lebensschicksale Wendelin Schlossers: Zuletzt gewesenenen Bombaschia des Achmed Bey von Constantine* (Erfurt: Hennings und Hopf, 1839), 9-14.

²⁴¹ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 168: “So hart auch das Wort Slaverei einem europäischen Ohre klingen mag, so erträglich ist fast durchgängig dieser Zustand in Süd Amerika.”

²⁴² Vollmer, *Natur- und Sittengemälde*, 185.

²⁴³ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 169: “Der Portugiese und Spanier behandelt seinen Slaven gut, ohne Frage als der westindische Pflanzer, er sey Engländer, Holländer, oder Franzose.”; Rugendas, *Das merkwürdigste*, 42.

²⁴⁴ He records seeing black Africans in dozens of instances.

²⁴⁵ Adalbert, *Aus meinem Tagebuche*, 412-413: “Obgleich eine Auswahl von Züchtigungs Instrumenten jeder Art und Größe an der Wand des Zimmers herabhing, so scheinen doch die Neger in Brasilien im Allgemeinen weniger gemäßhandelt zu werden, als man es bei uns denkt.” Like others, Adalbert claimed that it was in the interest of the planters to not abuse their slaves. He also recorded that the loaded weapons in a planter’s bedroom belied the sense of peace presented to his party: “Die geladenen Flinten und Pistolen, die in seinem Schlafzimmer hingen, bemiesen aber hinlänglich, wie wenig er dem Frieden traute; denn mehr als einmal war er genöthigt gewesen, seinen Negern mit dem geladenen Gewehr drohend entgegen zu treten.”

²⁴⁶ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reisen nach Brasilien*, 110: “Wenn man aber hört, daß dieselben gar nicht so tyrannisirt werden, als man sich allgemein denken mag, und wozu man sich auch durch frühere Schilderungen berechtigt glauben muß: so wird man sich leicht Aufklärung durch die Erörterungen verschaffen können, die ich weiter unten über diesen Punkt machen werde.”

occurred in the past.²⁴⁷ White Portuguese planters treated them better so as to prevent assemblies that might lead to future insurrections.

How was it possible for so many to at once criticize the circumstances of slavery and present such tempered descriptions? Several Brazilian practices, conditions, and circumstances made this possible. For one, masters frequently attempted to restrain their slave beatings in front of guests and foreigners.²⁴⁸ The government also tried to prevent foreigners from visiting prisons, and did their best to hide press and chain gangs. Only a handful of Germans recorded visiting the prisons. Moreover, conditions for the enslaved varied depending on the region. Brazil's urban slave environment operated differently from the large plantations in the West Indies.²⁴⁹ It is most likely that those travelers, like Ebel or Schlichthorst, who spent the majority of their time in Rio de Janeiro, had a limited perspective on slavery.²⁵⁰ The cities, especially Rio de Janeiro, had far more *escravos de ganho*, the slaves that hired themselves out as day laborers, than other regions in Brazil. Historians of Brazilian slavery have seen this practice as explaining why so many foreigners saw slavery in Brazil as relatively mild.²⁵¹ The capital city's abuses did not match the deadly conditions on West Indian plantations which Germans had in mind. Travelers reported the horrible conditions in which Rio's slaves lived, the deformities they endured from excessive work on the docks, or porting large loads through the streets. Even if Rio promised a gradual weathering of the slave, a grinding of his constitution down to the point of lameness and death, it

²⁴⁷ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reisen nach Brasilien*, 141: "Ich habe nie einen Sklaven einer harten Behandlung ausgesetzt gesehen. Daß die Milde der Weißen gegen die Farbigen aus wahrer Menschlichkeit entspringt, wage ich nicht zu behaupten; glaube vielmehr, daß dem Politik zu Grunde liegt: denn ehe die Weißen das jetzige Verfahren annahmen, haben sie durch eine schreckliche Revolution der Neger im Innern von Brasilien bittere Erfahrungen gemacht."

²⁴⁸ Karasch, *Slave*, 153-154.

²⁴⁹ Laird W. Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 44, 88; Punishments could be much more severe in Rio de Janeiro compared to the United States, Thomas H. Holloway, *Policing Rio de Janeiro: Repression and Resistance in a 19th-Century City* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 29-45.

²⁵⁰ Sylvia Ewel Lenz, *Alemães no Rio de Janeiro: Diplomacia e negócios, profissões e ócios (1815-1866)* (Bauru: Editora da Universidade do Sagrado Coração, 2008). Schlichthorst described the great freedom of these *escravos de ganho*: Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 168-169.

²⁵¹ Klein and Luna, *Slavery in Brazil*, 139-145.

may have been less brutal than the quicker death offered in the cane fields of the West Indies.²⁵² Schlichthorst admits as much in an anecdote in which he reveals that slave masters threatened their slaves, first with a warning, second with corporal punishment, and third with the threat of transfer to a plantation.²⁵³ Tietz argued that even though this punishment could often be brutal, the master at least did it himself rather than rely on an overseer.²⁵⁴

Germans did own slaves. The first officially German colony, *Leopoldina*, started in 1818, with royal land grants to Germans of the court, did eventually become a slave economy.²⁵⁵ An analysis of evangelical records and communities in South Brazil, where Germans predominantly settled, reveal the presence of slaves in owned by Germans in the community, but not in significant numbers.²⁵⁶ Several Germans also petitioned the Prussian government for assistance in acquiring the plantations of their relatives in Brazil. Some travelers also recorded their ownership of slaves. On the whole, they described it in terms of necessity and expediency in a land corrupted by the practice. Scholars often overlook the context of how these slave-owning Germans wrote about slavery. The agronomist noble and failed planter Weech prefaced his explanation by insisting that he did not condone the trade but wished to explain how one could become successful as a slave trader.²⁵⁷ One had to become evil to participate in such an evil institution, in his opinion, and he explained the steps one had to take to make a profit.²⁵⁸ The mining engineer and technology evangelist for the Portuguese empire, Eschwege, purchased

²⁵² Nearly all the German travel narratives recorded instances of lamed and broken slaves.

²⁵³ Schlichthorst, *Rio*, 174.

²⁵⁴ Tietz, *Brasilianische Zustände*, 68.

²⁵⁵ Oberacker, *Der deutsche*, 165-166; Karl Fouquet, *Der deutsche Einwanderer und seine Nachkommen in Brasilien: 1808-1824-1974* (São Paulo: Instituto Hans-Staden, 1974), 96-97.

²⁵⁶ Spliesgart, "Verbrasilianerung," 335-372.

²⁵⁷ Weech, *Reise*, vol. 2, 80-103; Weech, *Brasiliens*, 5-6, 240.

²⁵⁸ Tietz, *Brasilianische Zustände*, 62-64.

slaves to work on his *lavra*, a sort of hydraulic mining operation (see fig. 12).²⁵⁹ He also bought an estate “equipped with slaves.”

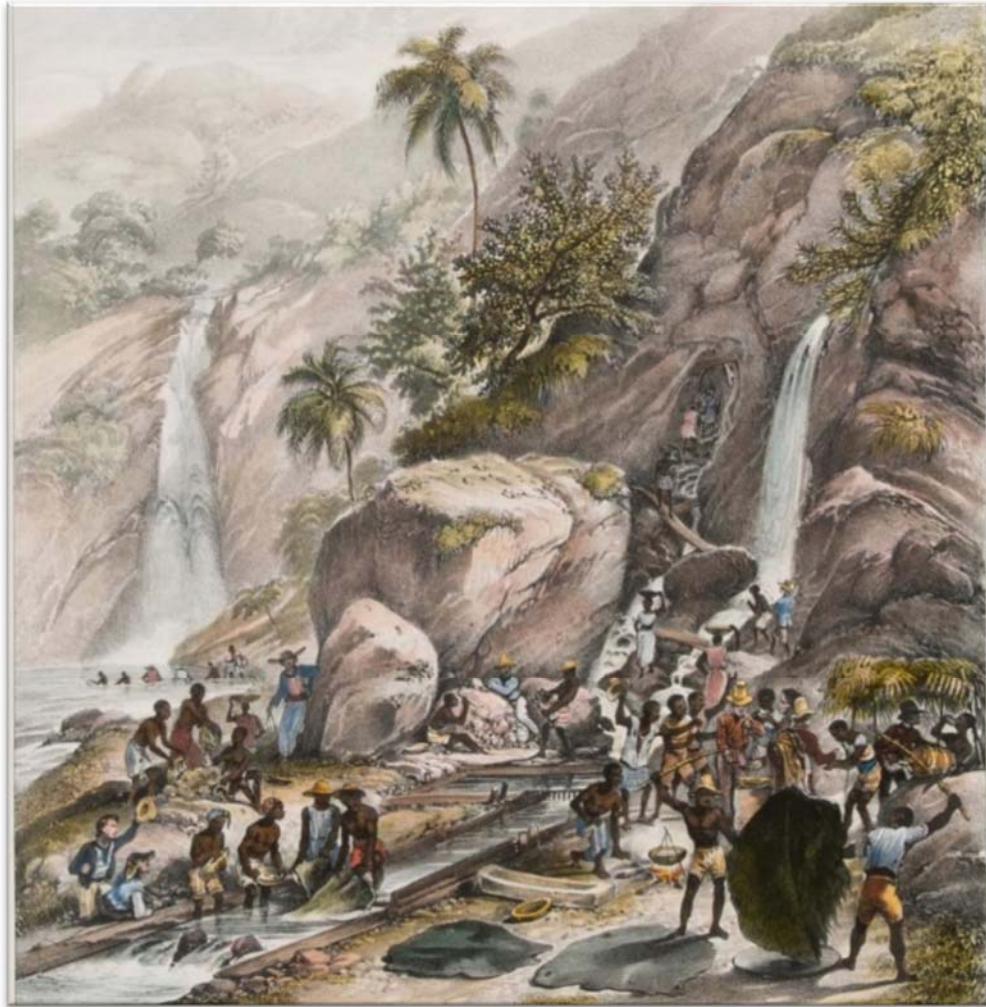


Figure 12. Johann Moritz Rugendas, “Washing Gold Ore near Mt. Itacolomi.” Colored Engraving from *Malerische Reise in Brasilien / 4, Leben und Gebräuche der Neger* (Paris: Engelmann, 1827).

Another aristocratic traveler from Riga, Ebel, purchased a black, female servant [*Diener*] upon his arrival in Rio de Janeiro. He justified this action as necessary because it was not

²⁵⁹ Klein, *Slavery in Brazil*, 43-44.

possible to hire a white servant. Later, correspondence from the Schramm family reveals that the female head of the house held a number of slaves. She excused slave-holding as unfortunate but unavoidable under the circumstances of Brazilian life.²⁶⁰ Schlichthorst, Leithold, Prince Adalbert and several other travels record instances of fellow Germans as slave holders. Leithold attributed this desire to the recent economic ruin of the great lords [*Herrn*] in the Prussian East, who hoped to once again establish themselves as a master.²⁶¹ All of these made it clear that they did in no way support the slave trade or the institution of slavery—even if they held slaves—seeing it as a necessity for the situation in which they found themselves. Mansfeldt encountered the colonists he accompanied to Brazil as they made plans to purchase slaves. This leaves little doubt that Germans participated in Brazil’s slave economy.

One traveler endorsed the slave trade and slavery after his initial rebuke. Baron von Langsdorff’s first major travelogue, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt: in den Jahr 1803 bis 1807*, records numerous instances of disgust in first witnessing New World slavery. “The number of Negro slaves, of both sexes, one sees here will likely appear strange to the unaccustomed eye of every European.”²⁶² He recorded an experience of “a very new and outrageous sensation” when he saw “the multitude of these wretched and helpless human creatures, bare and exposed” for sale with little more than a small piece of cloth to hide their shameful parts. Every educated European [*gebildeten Europäers*], he declared, should feel only revulsion for this trade and practice.²⁶³ It took less than two decades to change his mind about

²⁶⁰ Percy Ernst Schramm, *Neun Generation: Dreihundert Jahre deutscher „Kulturgeschichte“ im Licht der Schicksale einer Hamburger Bürgerfamilie: (1648-1948)*, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1964), 207-222.

²⁶¹ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 172.

²⁶² Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen*, 33: “Die Menge der Negerclaven beiderlei Geschlechts, die man hier antrifft, wird wohl das ungewohnte Auge eines jeden Europäers befremden.”

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 36: “Bei diesem Handel der, obgleich ihn auch in neuern Zeiten noch viele angesehene Männer vertheidigt haben, meiner Einsicht nach, so wie man ihn hier betreibt, das feine Gefühl eines gebildeten Europäers sich empören muß, wird von Seiten des Käufers noch besonders dahin gesehen, daß die zu kaufenden Slaven schon die Blattern überstanden haben, in welchem Fall bei weitem mehr dafür bezahlt wird.”

slavery. After he acquired a plantation and dozens of slaves, Langsdorff felt more than comfortable as a planter who defended the trade on moral grounds. He defended New World slavery in Brazil, using the same arguments taken up by Evangelical missionaries and imperialists like Cecil Rhodes. In one stunning passage:

“The English may preach so much out of humanity against the slave trade, that, in the end they will realize that they have done it to their own detriment. I consider it a far more meritorious and pleasing trade to God, to educate a civilized Christian from an uneducated Negro, and make him a useful citizen, than to let these men remain in their error, unbelief, and ignorance in Africa. Therefore, I still regard it as a special advantage offered in Brazil, that it is possible to buy slaves who, as the main capital of the landowners, must be well educated and cared for by every owner for their own benefit.”²⁶⁴

Drawing on the same arguments made infamous by Dominique Lamiral, Samuel Estwick, and Edward Long, who argued that the slave trade represented a potential for civilizing and evangelizing blacks, Langsdorff even encouraged Germans to take part in Brazil’s slave economy.²⁶⁵ The change in Langsdorff’s attitude towards slavery was unique, and likely owes a bit to his documented, diminished mental capacities in older age. It is also the case that he enjoyed a far longer visit to Brazil than other Germans. One other traveler, Poeppig, recorded the effect of a long stay (ten years). The Leipzig professor’s opinions on South America, the people, the land, the government, and its institutions, which likely included slavery, also had changed from when he first arrived.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen*, 21: “Die Engländer mögen noch so viel aus Menschlichkeit gegen den Sklavenhandel predigen, so werden sie am Ende einsehen, daß sie zu ihrem eigenen Schaden dagegen geeifert haben. Ich halte es für eine weit verdienstlichere und Gott wohlgefälliger Handlung, aus einem rohen Neger einen civilisirten Christen zu bilden und ihn zu einem brauchbaren Bürger zu machen, als diese Menschen in ihrem Irrthum, Unglauben und ihrer Rohheit in Afrika zu lassen. Daher sehe ich es auch allerdings noch als einen besondern Vortheil an, den Brasilien bietet, daß man dort Sklaven kaufen kann, die eben als das Hauptcapital der Gutsbesitzer von jedem Eigenthümer schon des eigenen Nutzens wegen physisch und moralisch gut erzogen und menschenfreundlich gepflegt werden müssen.”

²⁶⁵ Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance*, (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1990), 118-120.

²⁶⁶ Poeppig, *Reise*, vol. 2, 195.

Germans' experiences with New World slavery in Brazil had challenged their perceptions about slavery and created tension between ideas surrounding white, Christian, and black slavery. Slavery remained an evil for the vast majority of Germans who witnessed and discussed it. For many of these travelers, they saw the problems of the New World as being directly correlated to the tyranny of slavery. Others saw slavery with new eyes and wanted to present a more tempered account for audiences in Northern Europe. The reception of these accounts became important for not just the educated public or those wishing to leave German states, but also for the officials in charge of crafting laws and policy relating to emigration and the slave trade.

Travel Narratives' Impact on German Ideas about Slavery

These narratives enjoyed a broad readership and helped to shape how broader German audiences understood slavery. The surge in the production of books about Brazil makes this period particularly important.²⁶⁷ About sixty unique books on Brazil appeared from German authors between the sixteenth century and French Revolution.²⁶⁸ This number more than doubled from the publication of Friedrich Ludwig Langstedt's 1789 travelogue, describing his journey aboard an English warship, to the works of Prince Adalbert and Kalkmann published during the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁶⁹ Of the over two hundred books on Brazil that appeared during this period, travel narratives accounted for over half of the new books published on Brazil.²⁷⁰ The bulk of these, as first editions, appeared between 1819-1821 and 1824 and 1835. These two moments coincide with the first trade missions to Brazil, the first groups of German

²⁶⁷ Ana Cláudia Suriani da Silva and Sandra Guardini T. Vasconcelos, eds., *Books and Periodicals in Brazil, 1768-1930: A Transatlantic Perspective*, (London: Legenda, 2014).

²⁶⁸ Hubertus Rescher, *Die deutschsprachige Literatur zu Brasilien von 1789-1850: Widerspiegelung brasilianischer Sozial- und Wirtschaftsstrukturen von 1789-1850 in der deutschsprachigen Literatur desselben Zeitraums* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1979), 24-25.

²⁶⁹ Friedrich Ludwig Langstedt, *Reisen nach Südamerika, Asien, und Afrika nebst Geographischen, Historischen und das Komerzium betreffenden Anmerkungen von F.L. Langstedt* (Hildesheim: Verlage bei Johan Christian Luchthelf und Compagnie, 1789).

²⁷⁰ Rescher, *Die deutschsprachige Literatur*, 25.

colonists to arrive in Brazil, as well as the arrival in Brazil of hundreds of German mercenaries and skilled laborers.

Subscriptions in some of the works provide a means of measuring market penetration and readership. Vollmer, Spix & Martius, Schlichthorst, Feldner, and Leithold published the list of their first-edition subscribers. These lists demonstrate the geographically expansive readership of all but Vollmer's work, which had just under two hundred subscriptions, all of which came from Bavaria. Subscriptions for the books show that they penetrated markets across Central Europe with the majority concentrated in Prussia and Hanseatic territories.²⁷¹ The majority of subscriptions came from universities, libraries, and merchant houses, but a great many also came from nobles across the economically depressed regions of north-eastern Prussia.

Many of the German travelogues became important sources for immigrants in Northern Europe who had a desire to start a new life in the Americas. Most of the travelers knew this fact and wrote with the intention of influencing potential migrants to Brazil. Several accounts published during the 1820s and 1830s cautioned Germans that the local conditions and circumstances in Brazil did not match the rose-colored depictions in emigration propaganda that appeared at the same time.²⁷² Leithold presented a particularly powerful warning to German emigrants. He warned against the idea that only "blacks or Negro slaves" worked the land tirelessly under the inhospitable climate, and argued that poor Germans would be enticed by the "Siren's song" of prosperity in a distant paradise only to find misfortune and ruin.²⁷³ Meyen and

²⁷¹ Ibid., 76-92.

²⁷² Richter, *Hamburgs*, 119.

²⁷³ Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien*, 174-175: "Man denke sich, daß das Land nur mühsam von Schwarzen oder Negersklaven bearbeitet wird, weil Weiße wegen der brennenden Sonnenhitze hier zur Feldarbeit nichts taugen und schon in den ersten Tagen erschöpft zu Boden sinken und in die Spitäler kommen... und daher zur Auswanderung sich bewogen fühlende Familie vor der Lobpreisung und dem Syrenengesange so mancher Industrie Ritter warnt... Ich mache sie aufmerksam auf das Land, welches sie zu ihrem künftigen Wohnsitze erkoren, nämlich: das Land der unerträglichen Hitze, der Ohrfeigen und unwillkürlichen Körperbewegungen, (wegen der Muskitos), der Brüche, der dicken Beine, der Kröpfe, welche besonders in vielen Gegenden Brasiliens, stark angetroffen

Mansfeldt offered a similar warning. He claimed that only recent German emigrants, of the great influx of new migrants, suffered real abuses.²⁷⁴ Opinions on emigration changed by the 1840s when, for example, Kalkmann argued that more German settlement would help to end slavery and both actions would positively influence the economy of German lands and Brazil.²⁷⁵ His perspective, in addition to crop failures and economic distress within Europe, helps to explain the revival of interest in emigration to Brazil from German lands during the 1840s and 1850s.

Newspaper and magazine reviews of the travelogues and memoirs recognized the travel accounts' contemporary importance. The *Intelligenzblatt der Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, reviewed Schlichthorst's account, describing it not only as entertaining and energetic, but also as an important source for information given the increasing amount of commercial intercourse with Brazil, and the state's rising prominence in the European economy.²⁷⁶ The *Politisches Journal nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und andern Sachen*, similarly celebrated the wealth of information Schlichthorst and other German travel narratives from Brazil provided to the public.²⁷⁷ Magazines and journals also reprinted excerpts from many of the travel accounts such as Siedler, Vollmer, Langsdorff, and Schäffer.

It is worth noting that these sources also became important for modern Brazilian history. Brazil's modern historiography draws extensively from German efforts to describe the country and write its history. Beginning with a Brazilian government-sponsored essay contest during the 1840s, in which a German naturalist offered the best approach to writing Brazil's history, Germans investigated, developed, and established Brazilian historiography. Over the course of

werden, in welcher letzten Gegend die Kinder schon Kröpfe haben sollen, und vieler andrer Uebel und Unbequemlichkeiten.”

²⁷⁴ Mansfeldt, *Meine Reise nach Brasilien*, vol. 2, 5-6.

²⁷⁵ Kalkmann, *Reisebriefe aus Brasilien*, 53.

²⁷⁶ *Intelligenzblatt der Zeitung für die elegante Welt* vol. 29 no. 201, 13 Oct. 1829 (Leipzig: Voß'sche Buchhandlung, 1814), n.p.

²⁷⁷ Wilhelm Benedict von Schirach, ed., *Politisches Journal nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und andern Sachen*, Vol. 96, (Verlag August Campe: Hamburg, 1829), 920-924.

the next century, translators made German historians, commentators, and especially the travelogues analyzed in this section crucial sources for the history of Brazil. Luso-Brazilian historiography has mined the translated works of Schlichthorst, Siedler, Rango, Leithold, Prince Adalbert, Bösche, Weech, and especially Maritus & Spix, Eschwege, Neuwied, Langsdorff, in addition to the histories from Abeken, Handelsmann, Hahn, Varnhagen, and others.²⁷⁸ Rugendas's engravings provided some of the most influential and recognizable images of slaves' lives and other marginalized themes (Fig. 13).

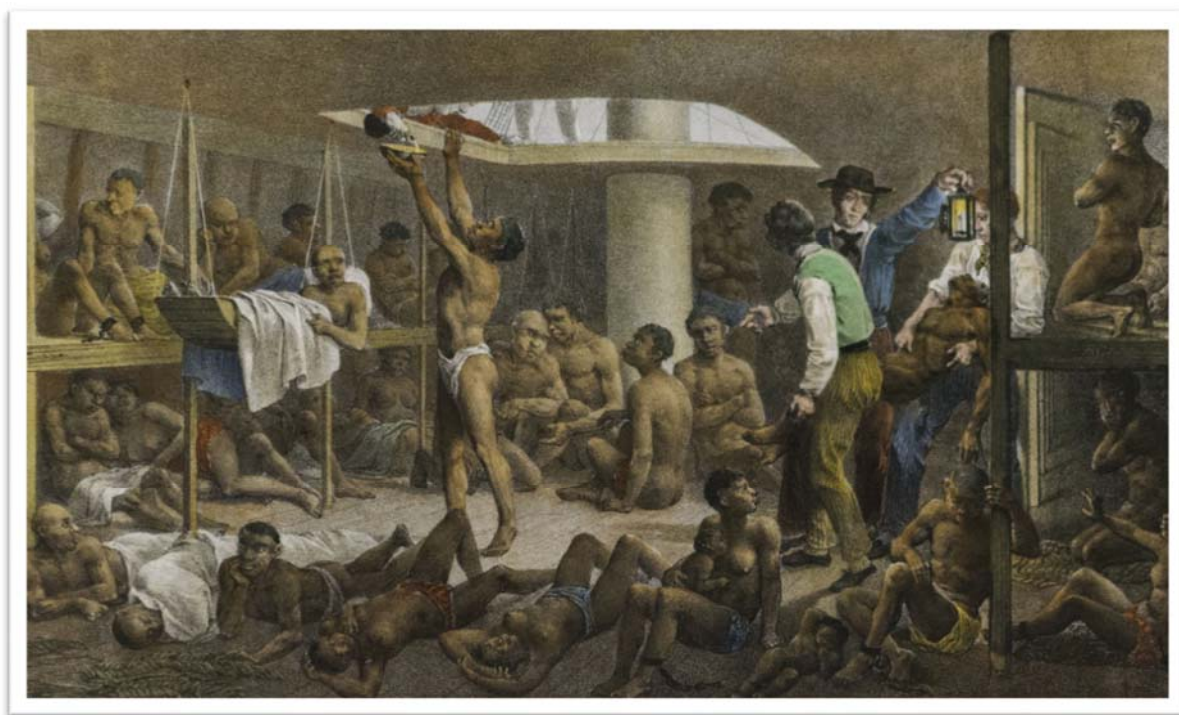


Figure 13. Johann Moritz Rugendas, “Negroes at the bottom of the hold.” Colored Engraving from *Malerische Reise in Brasilien: Volume 4, Leben und Gebräuche der Naeger* (Paris: Engelmann, 1827).

²⁷⁸ João Capistrano de Abreu, *Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History, 1500-1800*, trans. Arthur Brakel, pref. Fernando A. Novias, and intro. Stuart B. Schwartz (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998), xviii-xxxiv.

The travel narratives also became essential sources for the encyclopedia and lexica of Central Europe. Zedler's *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* from the 1730s for instance, contains just over a hundred references to Brazil.²⁷⁹ References to slavery remained relatively sparse aside from articles on Islamic regions, Russia, and antique slavery. By the 1820s the *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaft und Künste*, contained over five hundred references to Brazil with up to date information from these new travel narratives.²⁸⁰ The references to slavery had similarly expanded and explored every dimension of New World slavery and the African slave trade. Nowhere is this shift more dramatic than in Krünitz's *Oeconomischen Encyclopädie* from 1831 in which the main, expansive article on slavery, dedicated over a hundred pages to black slavery alone.²⁸¹ Even so, Krünitz's comprehensive, even global historical account of slavery recorded dozens of pages on Christian slavery in the Mediterranean and white slavery in the Americas.

These travel narratives influenced the governments of German states in important ways as well. Discourses concerning Brazil, slavery, and German settlers proved powerful enough to force the Prussian government's hand to limit both recruiting agents operating in their cities and emigrants ability to leave.

Examining the production and reception of these narratives also complicates Jürgen Osterhammel's contentious thesis about the nature of the German idea of freedom vis-à-vis slavery and abolition. His claim, that German discussions of slavery and antislavery were self-referential, has plausibility in the case of Northern Europeans witnessing slavery in Brazil. Most Germans travelers found it difficult to completely parse out the abuses suffered by enslaved, black Africans, who were bought and forcibly shipped across the Atlantic Ocean, and given

²⁷⁹ Rescher, *Die deutschsprachige Literatur*, 24.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁸¹ Johann Georg Krünitz and C. O. Hoffmann, eds., *Oeconomische Encyclopädie oder allgemeines System der Land-, Haus- und Staats-Wirthschaft*, vol. 154, (Berlin: C. H. Mowinkel, 1834), 598-750

heritable, slave status, from the abuses visited upon German sailors, colonists, indentured servants, or mercenaries, who both had more agency and did not inherit their slave-status. Travel narratives increased German knowledge of New World slavery and shed new light on the variety of conditions present in Brazil. Even though the bulk of this information related to black, African slavery as well as the injustices, abuses, and corruption that came with such an institution, these narratives demonstrate how, for many Germans, the idea of white slavery remained a problem. As the information on black, African slavery in Brazil reached more audiences it also carried with it a self-referential element owing to the abuse of German indentured servants, colonists and soldiers. This element brought the horrors of Brazilian slavery together with the traditional experiences of German enslavement in the Mediterranean and allowed a narrative of victimization, in which Germans became “enslaved” once again, to be perpetuated in a new, different context. This happened just as the publication of Barbary captivity narratives reached its apogee in the decade after the threat of Barbary piracy had been all but eliminated.²⁸² This transfer and reconfiguration of the idea of white enslavement makes the dissemination of these German travelogues important. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to claim that Germans did not feel passionately about the slavery of others. These narratives demonstrate much more disgust and distress over the enslavement of black Africans in the New World than Osterhammel’s critique suggests. Lastly, this reaction to slavery was not based on the imagined threats, but rather, the anxiety and fear of enslavement had a basis in centuries-long traditions of mistreatment in the Mediterranean which continued in new locales like Brazil.

²⁸² Ernstpeter Ruhe, “Christensklaven als Beute nordafrikanischer Piraten: “Das Bild des Maghreb im Europa des 16–19 Jahrhunderts,” in *Europas islamische Nachbarn: Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte des Maghreb*, ed. Ernstpeter Ruhe (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1993), 159-186. Martin Rheinheimer, “Identität Und Kulturkonflikt,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 269, no. 1 (2014): 317–370.

EPILOGUE

“What does Prussia have to do with Slavery?”: The ‘Final’ Abolition of Slavery in Prussia and a New Slavery Problem

The final abolition of slavery in Prussia began with a defamation lawsuit. In late 1853 a Pr. Dr. Ritter from Dresden settled in Berlin, arriving from Rio de Janeiro, where he had purchased a slave named Friedrich Wilhelm Marcellino in 1852.¹ A concerned citizen informed Marcellino that Prussian subjects could not own slaves. This information emboldened Marcellino to fight with his master and these quarrels drew the attention of neighbors, already curious about the sight of a black face, and word traveled. With the assistance of two Prussian justice ministers Marcellino brought a defamation suit against Ritter, at the Royal Prussian State Court, for claiming Marcellino as a slave in early 1854.² Although Prussia banned its subjects from holding slaves in the last century, foreigners’ rights to bring slaves with them into Prussian territory lacked clarification. Many government officials had feared such actions would unduly complicate relations with representatives from the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and, of course, the United States. After a series of hearings in which witnesses were summoned, evidence was reviewed, deliberations were made, and appeals were heard, an overly complex decision was reached. Marcellino lost his defamation case.³ Ritter’s passport listed Marcellino as a slave, and therefore, the court concluded, Marcellino was not defamed by the doctor and was not entitled to compensation. The court did, however, decide that because the doctor took residence in Prussian territory, Marcellino could not be claimed as a slave and was subsequently freed.⁴ By the end of

¹ Sometimes his name was spelled Marzellino. GStA PK, HA. I rep. 169 C Preußisches Abgeordnetenhaus Abschnitt 34c Nr 42, passim.

² R. Löffler, *Berliner Gerichts-Zeitung* [BGZ] vol. 2 no. 14, 2 Feb. 1854 (Berlin: Behrend, 1854), 55.

³ BGZ, vol. 2 no. 44, 13 Apr. 1854, 175-176.

⁴ BGZ, vol. 2 no. 136, 18 Nov. 1854, 549. Formal abolition of slavery for any slave in Prussia occurred a few years later on 9 Mar. 1857: GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 169 C Preußisches Abgeordnetenhaus, Abschnitt 34C Nr. 42, fol. 64, Decree Friedrich Wilhelm, 9 Mar. 1857.

the decade, Prussia definitively abolished slavery, declaring all slaves who set foot on Prussian soil would be immediately emancipated.⁵

Although Marcellino's case changed few words of the *Allgemeines Landrecht*, the legal motive for doing so, and the stenographic reports from both houses highlight why officials felt such legislation was necessary. This episode serves as an epilogue for how German understandings of slavery changed during the period from 1750-1850. It demonstrates how black African slavery became a more clear issue for Northern Europeans by the 1850s. This epilogue aims to explain the context of why Prussia abolished black African slavery within Prussia during this time. It also emphasizes the development of a new slavery problem for Germans after the *Vormärz*. Even though members of the Prussian house of representatives emphasized humanitarian and Christian principles as a justification for abolition, other concerns such as diplomatic prerogatives, legal precedent, economic expansion, and financial opportunity played important roles.

The Problem of International Pressures

A *Reichstag* memo concerning the *Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference (1889-1890)* began “Since the beginning of this century, the prevention of the slave trade has been an important subject of international negotiations.”⁶ For Prussia and its relationship with Britain this was especially true during the nineteenth century. The memo looked back to the Congress of Vienna to trace an unbroken line of humanitarian, pious eagerness by German officials assist in efforts to suppress the African slave trade beginning with the first act of antislavery in 1780. This

⁵ GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 169 C Preußisches Abgeordnetenhaus, Abschnitt 34C Nr. 42, fols. 1-7, 13-18, 64.

⁶ GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 89, Nr. 13050, fols., 84-122, “Measures against the Slave Trade.”; For a review of literature on humanitarian intervention at the conference see, Fabian Klose, “Humanitäre Intervention und Prävention in der internationalen Politik vom 19. Bis ins 21. Jahrhundert,” in *Vorsorgen in der Moderne: Akteure, Räume und Praktiken*, eds. Nicolai Hannig, and Malte Thiessen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 27-44.

dissertation has provided evidence, that while German states and their subjects were invested and interested in antislavery, the view of these events in the late-nineteenth century did not give an accurate picture of this interest or commitments to end slavery. Indeed, the debates within the various Prussian and Hanseatic ministries during the Congress of Vienna and later ministerial conferences indicate that economic interest drove interest in antislavery more than the principles of philanthropic humanity imagined by statesmen as Prussia sought to colonize portions of Africa. While the Northern Europeans had readied their governments to participate in abolition, their motivations centered more on protections for the subjects of Prussia and the Hanseatic cities to drive economic expansion through maritime trade.

A similar situation occurred when international pressures contributed to Prussia's final abolition of the slavery in Marcellino's case. Foreign diplomats and domestic ministers kept the issue of slavery and the slave trade a pressing and live one within the Prussian ministries. They wrote memos and convened with other great powers to abolish the slave trade at Vienna, Aachen, Aachen, and through other multilateral and bilateral meetings. Memos and drafts for legislation abolishing black African slavery circulated through the foreign ministry at a rate during the 1830s that prompted one conservative member of the Prussian Privy Council [*Geheimen Kabinetts*] to ask in 1840: "What business does the Prussian government have with the [African] slave trade? Nothing!"⁷ After all, Prussia had no foreign colonies, it had an insignificant navy, and while some Prussian subjects owned slaves, they lived under the sovereignty of foreign powers. Nevertheless, shrewd politicians noticed that making declarations against slavery, in a country without a major stake in slave-trading, could be politically expedient. According to Prussia's representative at the Bundesversammlung, their proposals to work with Britain in suppressing the "Negro slave trade" were the most charitable and popular decision that had been seen in years at

⁷ GStA PK, I. HA, rep. 89, geh. Zivilkabinet, Jüngere Periode Nr. 13050, fol., 3, comment from Friedrich August von Staegemann on a report from Heinrich von Werther to the King, Nov. 5 1839.

the gathering of German states.⁸ To combat the Atlantic slave trade, not including Mediterranean, British diplomats pressured Prussia and other German states to concede rights of visitation. This culminated in a treaty of 1841, the so-called Quintuple Treaty, between the five great powers, in which Prussia agreed to the right of search after over two decades of resistance to the practice.⁹ This resistance, as the second and third chapters demonstrate, owed to the fact that the British would not offer protection to German ships from attacks by Islamic pirates who captured and enslaved German sailors.

Defining slavery became crucial to Prussia and the Hanseatic cities during the negotiations over the suppression of the slave trade because of visitation rights. After the occupation of Algiers and the German turn away from Mediterranean trade during the 1820s, the British made frequent overtures to the Northern European States to join treaties promising to end slavery.¹⁰ Over a million signatures promoting abolition spurred the British on to renew their efforts in 1833.¹¹ The idea that all efforts at the slave trade's suppression "will be powerless so long as just one merchant flag remains sheltered from the right of search," drove British efforts for international cooperation in defeating the trade during the 1830s.¹² The Prussians were also interested in resolving the issue, but not with the same Christian zeal that carried British efforts. During the efforts to negotiate a peace with the Barbary Powers, the ministers had asked repeatedly for clearer definitions of slavery and took issue with the use of "*nègres*" "*noires*", cognates of the two German words for black Africans "*Negern*" or "*Schwarzen*", in international treaties. Prussians wanted the language to be simply "*esclaves*" to expand the definition of

⁸ GStA PK, HA I, rep. 75A, Preußische Gesandtschaft am Bundestag, Nr. 1202, fol. 42, report from August Graf von Dönhoff, Jun. 19 1845.

⁹ GStA PK, HA I, rep. 81, Gesandtschaft Petersburg, II, N. 4392: The treaties and negotiations can be found in the following collections: GStA PK, III, HA MdA, II Nr. 1066 and GStA PK, III, HA MdA, II Nr. 1067.

¹⁰ Paul Michael Kielstra, *The Politics of Slave Trade Suppression in Britain and France, 1814-48: Diplomacy, Morality and Economics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 90-139.

¹¹ Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 250.

¹² Kielstra, *Politics*, 164-165.

slavery to all peoples so that the British would be forced to protect German shipping interests from predation in the Mediterranean. This would save the Germans the cost of equipping and maintaining a naval force. Through an insistence on more inclusivity, slavery became self-referential for Germans, in these agreements, at a time when an average of 50,000 slaves embarked from the shores of Africa to work the coffee and sugar plantations of Brazil and Cuba.

After the treaty of 1841 the question of who counted as a slave took on new immediacy. Prussia's Ministry of Trade and Industry sought to define slavery and the slave trade as a practice and institution not bound to a specific location or people as the language of the recent treaty implied.¹³ This included indentured servitude, the Islamic practice of piracy in the Mediterranean, as well as Islamic slavery in the Ottoman Empire. The five powers had agreed to periodically furnish proof that they took measures to suppress and end the slave trade—including the illegal importation of slaves.¹⁴ Marcellino's case could serve as one such demonstration of Prussia's faithfulness to their obligations and help to promote a broadening of the treaty to include other acts of piracy.

Christian Charity and *Oheim Tom's* Success

It would be unfair to attribute the entire motivation for the abolition of slavery in Prussia to self-interest or a self-referential idea of slavery. Although international pressure played a role in Prussia's final abolition, the success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and a growing sense of Christian charity, fueled by a revival of Pietism, also contributed to the decision. In drafting the

¹³ GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 120 MfHuG, C XIII Nr. 28 Vol. II, fol. 1-7, draft for laws concerning the penalization of the slave trade, Rother to Finance Minister Ernst Albert Karl Wilhelm Ludwig von Bodelschwingh, 30 April 1843/ 12 May 1843.

¹⁴ GStAPK, III. HA MdA, I Nr. 94, "Audience of the British Ambassador Count Westmorland to the King to hand over a contract on the slave trade. Principles of petitions of foreign ambassadors for the personal presentation of handwritten letters from their rulers."

justification for abolition and debating the necessity of such a law, the members of the Prussian parliament demonstrated a commitment to Christian principles.

The authenticity of this sense of Christian charity appears clear enough in original drafts of the motive for Marcellino's case, which included several paragraphs of charged religious language excised in the final draft. Reflecting early antislavery tracts from the Scottish Enlightenment, these arguments turned on the importance of both Abrahamic commandments and natural law.¹⁵ One penciled note read "Through corporal punishment, working slaves to exhaustion, separating spouses from one another, the children from their parents, selling as human as if it were a mere working tool and object entirely at the disposal for use of another man...slavery is a degradation of God's image, a violation of the commandments," for which the members of the house could find no toleration.¹⁶ Much like the complaints of Hessians in North America or Germans travelers to Brazil, these members of the Prussian house believed that the slave trade and the institution of slavery threatened family cohesion, usurped paternal authority, prevented the practice of inwardness and introspection necessary for salvation, and disrupted the role of individual cultivation. This threatened the rights of everyone under the schema of natural

¹⁵ Christian Grieshaber, *Frühe Abolitionisten: Die Rezeption der antiken Sklaverei zur Zeit der schottischen Aufklärung und deren Einfluss auf die britische Abolitionsbewegung (1750-1833)* (Olms Weidmann: Hildesheim, 2012); Bernd Franke, *Sklaverei und Unfreiheit im Naturrecht des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Olms Weidmann: Hildesheim, 2009).

¹⁶ GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 169 C Preußisches Abgeordnetenhaus, Abschnitt 34C Nr. 42, fols. 29-30, transcription from reporting secretary of the parliament Walter Büchtemann for an amendment to the Allgemeinen Landrecht Theil II Titel 5 § 198 and the following contained provisions on slaves, 20 Jan. 1857: "Durch Züchtigung, Ausreibung durch Arbeit bestehen, die Trennung der Familien der Gatten voneinander, der Kinder von der Eltern durch Veräußerung der Verfügung des Eigentümers, der Verkauf eines Menschen als solchen, die Gesamtstellung bloßes Arbeitswerkzeug und Benutzungsobjekt für einen Andere und gänzlich zu seiner Verfügung zu sein, die eigne Rechtsfähigkeit, die überdies selbst jene Schutzgesetz unwirksam macht alles das einzelne und vollends zusammengenommen ist unbedingt eine Verrichtung des Rechts der Person, ein Herabwürdigung des Ebenbildes Gottes, ein Verletzung der Gebote Gottes durch Verhinderung des Sklaven an ihrer Beobachtung... Allein den Zustand der Sklaverei selbst festzuhalten, auch nur für irgend eine Zeit, giebt es Kein Rechtfertigung,"

law.¹⁷ Such language indicates that growing concern for the enslaved in the pious, Lutheran heart-religion spreading across Northern Europe.

Christian principles took center stage during lawmakers' discussions. One member of the house spoke for his colleagues when he rejected the arguments made invoking Kant, Rousseau or even Catholic jurists. He emphatically stated that his cohort stood not by principles of natural rights, international law or positive law. Rather, they stood by the principles of humanity, of Christian charity and of brotherly love guided by the Holy Scriptures, the principles of Christianity and the practices of true, Christian countries.¹⁸ In meeting minutes and in the motive for altering the law, legislators compared practices in Christian nations and other parts of the world where slavery still existed, including Russia, the United States, and the Ottoman Empire. This rhetoric partially owes to press reports of atrocities against the serfs in Russia, black African slaves in the United States, and also to the legacy of fear surrounding Christian enslavement at the hands of Barbary pirates. The memories of Barbary predation were not so distant. As late as the 1830s Prussian subjects had returned home and written narratives describing their enslavement in North Africa.

Marcellino's case came at a moment when the Prussian public had been primed to act against slavery, based on its Christian principles, with the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Harriet Beecher Stowe's hugely successful novel had arrived in 1852, the same year Ritter purchased Marcellino, as *Oheim* or *Onkel Tom's Hütte*. The increasing cultural ties which bound Prussian emigration and Hanseatic trade interest with the New World also drove interest in

¹⁷ This language was used by British abolitionists like Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay: Iain Whyte, *Zachary Macaulay 1768-1838: The Steadfast Scot in the British Anti-Slavery Movement*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011).

¹⁸ GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 169 C Preußisches Abgeordnetenhaus, Abschnitt 34C Nr. 42, fol. 8, transcription from reporting secretary of the parliament Walter Büchtemann for an amendment to the Allgemeines Landrecht Teil II Titel 5 § 198 and the following contained provisions on slaves, 20 Jan. 1857: "Das Charakteristische dieses Amendements ist, daß der Satz hergeleitet wird nicht aus Rousseau, nicht aus Kant, auch nicht aus den Büchern meines verehrten Freundes Stahl, sondern aus der heiligen Schrift, aus den Grundsätzen der christlichen Kirche und aus der Verfassungs-Urkunde, und gestützt auf die Praxis anderer christlichen Länder."

American literature which exploded as waves of German emigrants escaping economic hardship swelled across Northern America during the 1840s and 1850s. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* received not one translation, as it did in French, or Swedish, not two as it had in Dutch, but a full twelve translations, some with alternate titles, appeared in German following the book's first year of release. Already in 1855 a reviewer could say, "One of the greatest literary phenomena of our time was the success of the novel." He attributed this popularity to "something of the character of its time through the unexpectedness of its emergence, speed and universality."¹⁹ At least 75 separate editions appeared during the nineteenth century with more than 40 original translations produced by at least 16 different authors and 11 editions for children.²⁰ The novel's influence lasted throughout the century. Germans in America wrote home to suggest their family read the book to better understand slavery "as it was" in America.

Advocates for reform recognized the importance of the novel. A Leipzig translator and specialist in bringing constitutional and criminal law to a broader reading public, Friedrich Steger, dedicated considerable attention to reviewing Stowe's work due to its powerful and universal message.²¹ As a student, he had been a radical, in a student fraternity, and later dedicated his life to bringing knowledge to the people. Although the novel fits with the bill of a *Tendenzroman*, he suggested that the simplicity of the morality and universal message against bondage and slavery allowed it to become the runaway success it rightly deserved.²² *Uncle Tom's Cabin* served as an archetype for how to represent "The simple, unadorned, representation of real

¹⁹ "Die Onkel-Tomerie und Hackländer's europäisches Sklavenleben," in *Berliner Revue: Social-Politische Wochenschrift*, vol. 3, ed. Clemens Grafen Pinto (Berlin: F. Heinecke, 1855), 483: "Eines der größten literarischen Phänomene unserer Zeit war der Erfolg des Romans... Dieser Erfolg ohne Gleichen hatte unstreitig etwas von dem Charakter seiner Zeit durch das Unerwartete seines Hervortretens, seine Schnelligkeit und seine Allgemeinheit,"

²⁰ Grace Edith Maclean, "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*" in *Germany* (New York: Appelton & Company, 1910), 23.

²¹ Friedrich Steger, *Ergänzungs-Conservationslexicon: Ergänzungsblätter zu allen Conversationslexiken*, vol. 8, (Leipzig: 1853), 353-380.

²² *Ibid.*, 355.

slave life” in America for those looking to do the same with workers in Europe.²³ Friedrich Karl Biedermann, a liberal Saxon proponent of German unification, became increasingly concerned with the issue of slavery in the 1840s. As a socialist and academic he explored the social question during the early stages of German industrialization during the 1830s and 1840s. *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* brought the question of “Negro slavery,” to his thinking in which the social question became intertwined with the so-called “slavery question.” For him, worldwide abolition, beginning in the United States would be a necessary first step towards relieving the ills of the lower classes. Biedermann also used slavery as a means of discussing Germany, past, present and future. For him, the book became a mirror by which German society could be critiqued. Once again, Germans grappled with a self-referential understanding of slavery through the consumption of an important tract in the history of abolition.

Not everyone felt the same passion for *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Such was its popularity that a neologism—*Onkletomerie*—was coined to describe German sentimentalism towards the enslaved black Africans in the United States. During the debates following Marcellino’s case, legislators accused one another of falling prey to *Onkeltomerie*. for reaffirming the abolition of “Negro slavery” when other abhorrent institutions existed closer to Prussia. One member of the house declared that only two African slaves had been become an issue for Prussia in 130 years, referring back to the sale of Prussia’s slavery operations in the early eighteenth century. The first had settled the issue as far as he was concerned. The second slave’s case did not merit the attention that he believed should be focused on more endemic social ills. For him, Russian serfs, prostitutes, and child laborers were numerically more pressing a concern than the handful of slaves brought into Prussian territory.²⁴

²³ Karl Gutzkow, *Unterhaltung am häuslichen Herd*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1859) 771-75.

²⁴ GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 169 C Preußisches Abgeordnetenhaus, Abschnitt 34C Nr. 42, fol. 49.

Slavery, American Relations, and a New Slavery Problem

Abolition in Prussia also developed in response to increased migrations of peoples and the failure of international treaties. The numerous treaties following Vienna did not suppress the slave trade in the Americas. Marcellino's case demonstrates that these treaties did nothing to prevent American travelers from bringing their slaves into Prussian lands. Consular reports from abroad raised alarm about the potential for instability accompanying these developments across the Atlantic world. These reports gave abolition more appeal for those interested in protecting Prussian subjects and economic relationships.

For instance, general consuls to the United States directed Prussian officials' attention towards mounting tensions between slave-holding states and free-states. The first Prussian general consul Friedrich von Greuhm in Washington predicted imminent disaster for the US, reporting that slavery would create a "European organization" of the US with large standing armies, fortresses and border customs.²⁵ Later consuls saw portents of revolutionary upheaval in the years immediately after 1848.²⁶ The experiences of the revolutions, combined with the rapid pace of industrialization, put the discussions of the slave question into an entirely new context for Germans; no noteworthy intellectuals voiced conservative opposition to emancipation during the *Vormärz*.²⁷ Prussian consuls forwarded the interior and justice ministries sensational headlines highlighting revolutionary German agitators. One consul, Friedrich von Gerolt, even suffered an attack, in his Washington DC residence, by a young German radical demanding worldwide democratic revolution and abolition of slavery.²⁸ The same consul sent a German-language press article from the United States which reported a meeting where radicals promised to overthrow

²⁵ GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7879, fols. 3-9, "Report no. 77," 31 Jan. 1820, from Greuhm to Bernstorff. For his assessment of the problems presented by the "Missouri question" see GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7879, fols. 15-21, "Report no. 79," 28 Feb., 1820 Gruehm to Bernstorff.

²⁶ Charlotte Lerg, *Amerika als Argument : Die deutsche Amerika-Forschung im Vormärz und ihre politische Deutung in der Revolution von 1848/49* (Bielefeld: Transkript Verlag, 2011).

²⁷ Koch, "Liberalismus, Konservativismus und Negersklaverei," 572.

²⁸ GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7890, fols., 172-179, 21 Jun. 1852, Gerolt to king.

current governments, create a unified German state, and declare immediate worldwide abolition.²⁹ Combined with an estimated 60,000 Germans in gymnastic associations [*Turnvereine*] promoting abolition in chapters across the United States, these reports poked the raw nerve of memories of revolutionary unrest.³⁰ In the months leading up to Friedrich Wilhelm IV's abolition decree, articles and reports on the crisis caused by slavery in the US steadily streamed into his office.³¹ Daniel Webster and other representatives from the US periodically asked for reassurances from the Prussian consul that Prussia denounced the institution of slavery during the 1850s.³² Issuing a decree and amending the law to completely abolish slavery required little effort and won good will abroad.

Prussian consular officials in South America offered a more dire assessment of conditions in German-settled areas.³³ Officials and settlers, already second-class citizens by virtue of creed, anxiously observed Brazil practically abolish the slave trade during the years 1850-1851. Hundreds of handwritten pages analyzed and reported on the new Brazilian law, and panicked treatises circulated through the Prussian ministry. For instance, the Prussian minister in Rio de Janeiro estimated that 60 to 80,000 and up to 100,000 slaves were imported annually in the last five years of the Brazilian slave trade (1845-1850).³⁴ A Prussian veteran of the Ragamuffin Rebellion wrote to the ministry of trade that this labor shortfall would need to be filled and that the plantation owners would soon replace slaves with German settlers.³⁵ Concern for Germans

²⁹ GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7890, fols., 280-295, passim.

³⁰ GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7891, fol., 231, 14 Aug. 1856.

³¹ GStA PK, III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7891, passim.

³² GStA PK, III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7888, fols., 52-55, 18 Mar., 1850, "Political Report," Gerolt to a Minister of the MdA; GStA PK, III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7889, fols. 44-45, 3 Dec., 1850, Friedrich von Gerolt to the king; GStA PK, III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7890, fols., 14-21, 14 Mar., 1851 Gerolt to the king.

³³ Rio Grand du Sol, Pernambuco and St. Catharina, and other smaller colonies primarily in Southern Brazil were the main areas of concern.

³⁴ Alphons Graf von Oriolla, son of the Portuguese diplomat who worked to abolish the slave trade during the Congress of Vienna, GStA PK III. HA MdA I, Nr. 7960, Oriolla to the king, 12 Sep. 1851,

³⁵ GStA PK, I. HA Rep 120 MfHuG, C XIII NR 20, Nr. 8 Bd. 1, report from Gerst to Herrn v. d. Heydt, 15 Jan. 1853; Gerst sent a copy of his book to the ministry, Gerst Gottfried, *Über Brasilianische Zustände der Gegenwart, mit Bezug auf die Deutsche Auswanderung nach Brasilien und das System der Brasilianischen Pflanzer, den Mangel*

abroad, detention of Prussian ships by the British, fear of slaves attacking German settlements, and slave insurrections compelled legislators to take a public stand on the slave question.³⁶

On the day Robert E. Lee gave his final address to his troops after Appomattox, ministers in Berlin reported some successes in promoting the end of slavery for other peoples.³⁷ The British Royal Ambassador had written a favorable missive to the foreign ministry in Berlin two weeks prior to the end of the American Civil War. Prussia had informed the British of “the trade in slaves other than the Negro Race is being conducted in modern times” and the necessity now to take actions against it.³⁸ Following the end of Russian serfdom and the successful conclusion of the emancipation proclamation, the moment seemed perfect to tackle other slaveries as well. The British agreed and would work together for the modification of “existing legal provisions sufficiently consider” the elimination of this other slave trade. The news felt like a victory for some of the older members of the state apparatus who had complained about the issues surrounding the rigid definition of slavery during the 1830s. This helped to create the new slavery problem—the insistence on abolition in distant parts of the world as a pretext for colonization.

Marcellino’s case and the legacy of Prussian abolition proved important for later German imperial policy. Prussia’s early commitment to the abolition of black African slavery during the 1780s contributed to the image of Germans as abolitionists and champions of freedom, which later generations readily embraced.³⁹ Ministers pointed to the decision of Friedrich II, but especially to the proposals and efforts made between 1815 and 1822, as evidence of Prussia’s

an afrikanischen Sklaven durch deutsche Proletarier zu ersetzen, zugleich zur Abfertigung der Schrift des Kaiserlich Brasil. Prof. Dr. Gade Bericht über die Deutschen Kolonien am Rio (1853).

³⁶ In the year before Marcellino’s case, reports of marauding slave bandits, slave riots, and other slave-related problems appeared throughout their reports: GStA PK III HA, MdA I, Nr. 7960, Jan. 12 1853 / 20 Feb. 1853 Oriolla to king; See also, GStA PK III HA MdA I Nr. 7957, passim.

³⁷ GStA PK I. HA. Justizministerium Rep. 84a, Nr. 4768, n.p. report from Thiele to Itzenplitz and Lippe, 10 Apr. 1865.

³⁸ Ibid. “der Handel mit Sklaven anderen als der Neger Race in neuer Zeit betrieben werden.”

³⁹ Gottlieb Betz, “Die deutschamerikanische Patriotische Lyrik der Achtundvierziger und ihre historische Grundlage” (PhD diss., University of Philadelphia, 1916).

cooperation in the international suppression of slavery and the slave trade. This was also the case for articles following Marcellino's emancipation trial in later decades.⁴⁰ Indeed, in the articles which follow, it is a "matter of honor" that Prussians never had slavery. "German folk heroes who fought on the ground" for the freedom of the slaves in US during the American Civil War and this fact was celebrated by the Prussian press and Prussian historians.⁴¹ Through this self-styling a selective memory took hold, in which the concern for the enslavement of Christians at the hands of the Ottoman Turks was displaced by more recent memories of the participation in the ending of African enslavement. The law produced from Marcellino's case, alongside Prussia's participation in international suppression of the African slave trade, was printed and circulated over the years to demonstrate Prussian antislavery *bona fides*. The abolition of slavery in Prussia allowed legislators to claim an enlightened, humanitarian tradition that they could trace from the late enlightenment to the present. These documents formed the basis of a Prussian self-fashioning and this process eventually served as justification for why the *Kaiserreich* had to suppress the slave trade, and abolish slavery in German East Africa.⁴² By 1900 Germany's new slavery problem became the over 400,000 slaves living in the state's colonial possessions in Africa.

⁴⁰ R. Löffler, *Berliner Gerichts-Zeitung*, (Berlin: Verlag von Gustav Behrend, 1854), 23 Jun, 1864; *Ibid.*, 22 Feb. 1862; Johann Jacob and Max Burian, eds., *Juristische Blätter: Eine Wochenschrift*, vol. VIII (Wien: Carl Fromme, 1882), 12. Johann Jacob Sturz, *Brasilianische Zustände und Aussichten im Jahre 1861* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1862), 52-53.

⁴¹ For instance: H. J. Ruetenik, *Berühmte deutsche Vorkämpfer für Fortschritt, Freiheit und Friede in Nord-Amerika, von 1626 bis 1888: Einhundert und fünfzig Biographien, mit zwanzig Portraits* (Cleveland: Forest City Bookbinding Company, 1888).

⁴²GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 89, geh. Zivilkabinett, Jüngere Periode Nr. 13050, *passim*; on the concept, see, for instance, Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, 1001-1002.

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