

Frank Mehring

## Karl (Charles) Follen: Zwischen radikalem Revolutionär und demokratischem Reformier

Der Giessener Freiheitskämpfer Karl/Charles Follen (1796–1840) gehört zu den umstrittensten Figuren des politischen Vormärz. Kritiker nennen ihn einen Revolutionär ohne Revolution, warnen vor einem gefährlichen Demagogen und radikalen Burschenschaftler; andere erkennen in ihm den wegweisenden deutsch-amerikanischen Kulturbotschafter und repräsentativen Widerstandskämpfer im amerikanischen Abolitionismus. Dank der Unterstützung der Universität Giessen und der Giessener Hochschulgesellschaft konnte ich 2004 die erste umfassende deutsche Biographie vorlegen, die das Wirken Follens auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks kritisch beleuchtet (erschieden in der von Peter Moraw, Heiner Schnelling und Eva-Marie Felschow herausgegebenen Gießener Hochschulreihe *Studia Giessensia*). Die Biographie spürte der Frage nach, inwiefern Follens Tätigkeiten als erster Professor für deutsche Literatur an der Harvard-Universität, sein En-

gagement für die Emanzipation der Sklaven und seine Visionen als Prediger als Fortsetzung oder Bruch mit den kulturellen Prägungen seiner Zeit als radikalem Burschenschaftler in Gießen und dem nachfolgenden politischen Kampf im Vormärz gesehen werden kann. Eine ideologisch unverstellte Analyse der Kontinuitäten und Wandlungen in Follens Denken und Wirken auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks wirft ein neues Licht auf das Leben des deutsch-amerikanischen Freiheitskämpfers. Drei Jahre nach Erscheinen der Biographie folgte eine Auswahl von Follens Schriften aus Deutschland, dem Exil in der Schweiz und seinem Leben in den USA unter dem Titel *Between Natives and Foreigners: Selected Writings of Karl/Charles Follen* (Peter Lang, 2007). Im März 2014 erscheint meine Habilitationsschrift *The Democratic Gap: Transcultural Confrontations and the Promise of American Democracy* (Winter: Heidelberg, 2014). Darin



Abb. 1: Schilder der Karl-Follen-Strasse nahe des Philosophikum I der Justus-Liebig-Universität in Giessen und der Follen Street nahe der Harvard Law School in Cambridge, USA.  
(©: Frank Mehring)



Abb. 2: Die nach Follen benannte Follen Community Church in Lexington, Massachusetts, wo ich 2005 meine Follen-Biographie vorstellte und der Pastorin Lucinda S. Duncan überreichte. (©: Frank Mehring)

geht es um die Frage, wie deutsche Immigranten auf die Diskrepanz zwischen demokratischem Anspruch und Wirklichkeit in den USA reagierten. Dem Giessener Freiheitskämpfer Karl/Charles Follen kommt in der Monographie eine zentrale Rolle zu. Die Arbeit wurde unlängst von der European Association for American Studies als bestes Manuskript der europäischen Amerikanistik mit dem Biennial Rob Kroes Award ausgezeichnet. Beim folgenden Beitrag handelt es sich um eine gekürzte Fassung des zweiten Kapitels.

### Unconditional Abolitionism: Charles Follen<sup>1</sup>

When young academic hotheads wrote revolutionary pamphlets, composed radical political poetry and distributed manifestos about a future constitution for a unified Germany during the political period known as the *Vormärz*, little did they know about the developments of abolitionism in the United States. Nevertheless, for many of these young freedom fighters the critique of the political establishment, the rhetoric of liberty and the praise for a democratic America served as a basis for their dissent regarding the reality of slavery in the United States. One of the most active and controversial public fig-

ures on both sides of the Atlantic was Charles Follen (1796–1840).

During the first five years after his arrival in the United States in 1825, the former revolutionary leader of the underground organization “the Unconditionalists” [Unbedingte] led a comparatively quiet life, keeping a surprisingly low political profile. What was the reason for this remarkable change? Follen wanted to become a naturalized citizen and to acquire all the rights and privileges of a native-born American. His wife, Eliza Lee Cabot Follen, remembered the feeling of joy, pride, and deep commitment, which he ascribed to the occasion of his naturalization on January 18, 1830. “[Charles Follen] brought me the certificate, that he was an American citizen, with a glow of joy in his face, and declared, that the naturalized foreigner alone had a right to boast of his citizenship, for with him it was choice” (*Works* 1: 267). In a letter to his parents, he described the day of naturalization explicitly as a “festival for me” (*Works* 1: 266).<sup>2</sup> As a new citizen of the Republic, married to an American woman, who belonged to the elite Cabot family often referred to as the Brahmins of New England, and with a newly born American son, Follen believed he had truly earned the right to say “I am an American” (*Works* 1: 267). Despite this new

sense of belonging and following a series of flights from Germany, France, and Switzerland, he remained spiritually restless.

Follen's case is complex yet prototypical for intellectual immigrants with the political background of the German *Vormärz* of 1848 and who confronted the force field of abolitionism in the Jacksonian Era. This astounding transformation from a quiet immigrant to a daring American reformer who called for unconditional abolitionism occurred around the time of Follen's naturalization. One of the triggering events of this transformation was his conversation with an African American about the death of the African American antislavery activist David Walker. This nexus between achieving Americanness by means of naturalization and Follen's connecting spiritually with the African American cause for the abolition of slavery seems to be essential in order to understand his transition from a radical patriotic revolutionary in Germany into a democratic reformer in the United States.

Charles Follen is one of the most controversial figures in the history of transatlantic cultural exchange and the search for freedom. On the one hand, contemporaries like William Ellery Channing admired his "all-sacrificing devotion to the rights, dignity, and happiness of mankind" (*Works* 3: 243). The poet John Greenleaf Whittier dedicated a poem to him calling him "friend of my soul", praising enthusiastically his "godlike energy of thought" (*Works* 76) after having read Follen's essay "On the Future State of Man". Historians like Albert Faust recognized him as an outstanding cultural ambassador in American academia (*German Element* 216), Henry Pochmann emphasized his influence on the so-called "German mania" among the New England transcendentalists (*German Culture* 116), and literary scholar Ursula Brumm praised him as a pioneer in transatlantic encounters ("Follen" 146), while conservative historians condemned him as an evil demagogue (438). Others denounced him as an anti-modern spirit (Hardtwig 14).<sup>3</sup> Marxist historians like Günter Steiger questioned his activities by labeling him a "revolutionary without a revolution", whose promotion of vio-

lence contributed nothing to the rise of Socialism and democracy in Germany (*Urburschenschaft* 186).<sup>4</sup> The ideological lore of two World Wars has overshadowed the evaluation of his oeuvre. However, by focusing on his transcultural confrontations and the patriotic dissent of German immigrants, Follen moves from the margins to the center of American culture.<sup>5</sup> His writings on "America" differ from those of Gottfried Duden, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Ludwig de Wette, Prinz Maximilian zu Wied, and Charles Sealsfield. While the latter had his gravestone in the Swiss town of Solothurn inscribed with the phrase "Charles Sealsfield, Bürger von Nord Amerika", Sealsfield had never been a citizen of the United States. In fact, he had a fake American passport to cover up his immigrant identity (Sammons 4).<sup>6</sup> All of these writers strove to offer an affirmative picture of American freedom to their European audiences. Follen, however, actively participated in American reform movements and identified slavery as a key issue in his self-fashioning into a representative American.

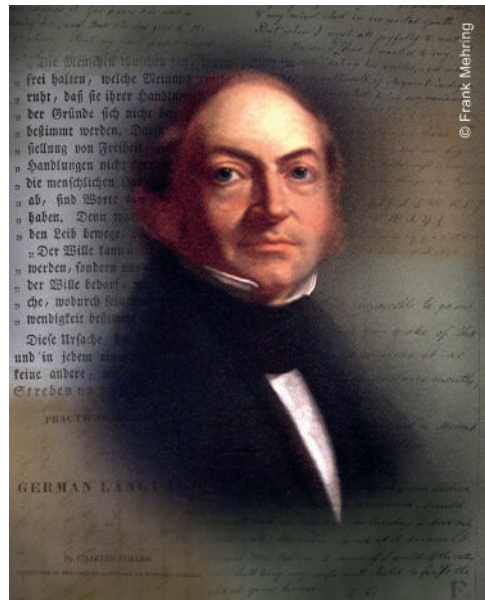


Abb. 3: Portrait of Charles Follen in his 30s. Photo montage with excerpts of his writings and letters by Frank Mehring.

His keen sense of what it means to be an American citizen put him in the spotlight of the early socio-political reform movements, which flourished with the advent of transcendentalist free thinkers such as Bronson Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Theodore Parker, and Henry David Thoreau. Long before Frederick Douglass posed the question "What to the slave is the 4th of July?", on the day after the celebration of Independence Day in 1852, Follen unmasked the event by pointing out the gross shortcomings and the widespread hypocrisy regarding the issue of slavery and women's rights. His ideas were inspired by the French Revolution, characterized by the rise of nationalism, rooted in philosophical idealism and theological liberalism. These roots propelled him to fight for the abolition of slavery and to call for democratic reforms in the United States. His biographer Edmund Spevack argued that Follen's methods to transform his beliefs into action remained fundamentally the same in Germany, Switzerland, and the United States (3).<sup>7</sup> This approach is problematic in many ways. Spevack charged Follen with obscuring his identity and hiding his papers and diaries from public view. In his efforts to understand Follen's conduct in the United States, he relied largely on memories of fellow students, friends, foes, as well as court files. My analysis redirects the attention to Follen's writings in order to decode the function of patriotic dissent, his self-fashioning into an American reformer and spokesperson for the African American cause.<sup>8</sup> How did he translate his concept of moral integrity, his code of honor, and his commitment to the cause of equality from a specific German context to the socio-political sphere of the Jacksonian era? What kind of changes affected his image of "America"? What were the frictions that his bi-national identity caused in his efforts to bring about abolitionist reforms? A comparison with one of the most influential black freedom fighters in the early phase of abolitionism, David Walker, will reveal differences and similarities in argumentation, methods, and concrete reform programs during the transformation from an aristocratic to a democratic society.

## **Great Expectations: Freedom, Equality, and Fraternity**

In the second half of the eighteenth century, new economic relationships, means of transportation, as well as regional and horizontal mobility of upper class citizens in central Europe brought about a different code of cultural community. The traditional markers of collective identity, namely rank, region, and confession had become too narrow. In the wake of universalistic cosmopolitan perspectives offered by such thinkers as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Johann Gottfried Herder, Alexander von Humboldt, and Immanuel Kant, patriotism represented a key factor in the evolution of a German identity. As Bernhard Giesen points out, culture acquired an unprecedented importance for Germans. They could not define their national identity along the lines of political unity, as was the case, for example, in France or Great Britain. In response to this lack, various societies [Vereine] emerged. Their activities were dedicated to the establishment of a sense of community, which was unique in the European cultural landscape. Among them were language, patriotic, and music societies. The reading societies [Lesegesellschaften] were among the most influential institutions in the discourse on German nationhood and national identity. The members consisted predominantly of civil servants and professors. When Follen and his brother August Adolf Ludwig established the *Teutsche Gesellschaft* [German Society] in the city of Giessen in 1815, the importance of the German nation and the function of literature had reached a new group of people who were destined to pave the way for future democratic developments: liberal academics and patriotic students.

While publications in Latin reached an all-time low of four percent by the end of the eighteenth century, German language publications and literary magazines like Christoph Martin Wieland's *Teutscher Merkur*, Friedrich Nicolai's *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, or the Hamburg *Patriot* created a reading public and a new space of communication.<sup>9</sup> Not surprisingly, the glowing patriot Follen discontinued the use of



his father's Latinized name, Christoph Follenius. During his student years at Giessen University (then called Ludoviciana) between 1813 and 1818, Follen was spurred by the rise of German nationalism, liberalism, and the call for German national unity. Informed by the writings of nationalist agitators like Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and Ernst Moritz Arndt, Follen believed in the unifying ideals of a German ethnic identity, which would form the basis for a new national entity. In early spring of 1814, Follen and his brother August volunteered to fight Napoleon's Grande Armée and to drive it back deep into French territory. The nationalistic heroic poetry of Theodor Körner mythologized the wartime experience of the naïve students. Despite their lack of actual combat experience, the march to Lyon gave Follen and his student companions a sense of national identity and pride, allowing them later to reminisce about their allegedly self-sacrificing fight for freedom. The young generation of freedom fighters, who dedicated their lives to a fictitious German fatherland in the Wars of Liberation, moved away from the enlightened patriotism of earlier generations. Their belief in a unified German nation based on a shared culture and political creed created a bridge over seemingly disparate claims of cosmopolitanism and the uniqueness of one's fatherland. Follen emphasized an extremely strict code of honor. Calling for a quasi-religious dedication to moral responsibilities, he brought a new radical element to German patriotism. "The code of honor," he and his brother August wrote in the "Gießener Ehrenspiegel" [Giessen Code of Honor] of 1816, "shall be the foundation for conditions of equality and justice, which will enable the fraternity to establish itself as a Christian and German, as a free community. And in this process, it shall provide the basis for giving life and power to the spirit of honor among the students" (Follen, *Between* 3).<sup>10</sup> Follen emerged as a leading figure among the influential Giessen Blacks, radical students who wore dark clothes. From this circle, he later recruited the so-called "Unconditionalists" who were willing to sacrifice themselves and who were prepared to commit assassinations for the sake of a German Revolution.

Follen's sense of honor would become crucial for his attitude towards slavery in the United States. At the time, however, the complexity of the American slave system and its impact on cultural dispositions escaped both Follen and transatlantic reporters in German newspapers.<sup>11</sup> Instead, German notions of "America" were guided by glorious accounts on historical events such as the American Revolution, circulations of German translations of the Declaration of Independence, the American Constitution, and pictorial narratives of the fight for freedom in the British colonies. The copperplate engravings by Daniel Chodowiecki in *Allgemeines historisches Taschenbuch oder Abriß der merkwürdigsten neuen Welt-Begebenheit* are striking examples.<sup>12</sup> These visual narratives supported the notion of a utopian experiment on the other side of the Atlantic. The German engraving by Carl Guttenberg from 1778 commenting on the Tea-Tax Tempest and the Anglo-American Revolution reveals the construction of the events as a German-English-French projection in the literal sense of the word. The illustration shows Father Time who employs a magic lantern to project a dramatic American scene on a screen. Long before audiences learned about American events and culture via Hollywood movies, the illustration created a political satire using techniques similar to film. The magic lantern is placed on the globe. By supernatural force, four figures representing world opinion can witness the spectacular events across the Atlantic. The scene in front of the screen is as fantastic as the one projected.

The onlookers are not just European. It is striking that an Indian warrior and an African American woman assume positions as outsiders of the events on the American continent. Two white women, one with a lantern (allegorically representing Asia) and a woman with a shield and spear (representing Europe) discuss the struggle for independence. The icons of military engagement in the hands of the European woman, her explanatory gesture pointing at the screen highlight the significance of the Anglo-American Revolution for Europe. The need for militant action to gain independence



Abb. 4: Carl Guttenberg, *Ungewitter entstanden durch die Misslage auf den Thee in Amerika*. Copper engraving, Nuremberg 1778.<sup>13</sup>  
(Bildquelle: <http://prometheus.uni-koeln.de/pandora/de/>)

resounded strongly in the minds of freedom fighters in the Wars of Liberation. The image also echoes Thomas Paine's exuberant belief in an "America", where oppressed people could fight for and ultimately would find freedom. At the end of his pamphlet *Common Sense*, written shortly before the *Declaration of Independence* in 1776, he contrasts the "old" with the "new world":

O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose, not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her – Europe regards her like a

stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! Receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind (*Common Sense* 624).<sup>14</sup>

The American Declaration of Independence served as a guideline for the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" during the French Revolution of 1789, which in turn became the ideological basis for democratic movements in Europe, particularly the German Wars of Liberation 1813–15 and the liberal student movement. [...]<sup>15</sup>

Contrary to the hopes of the freedom fighters of the Wars of Liberation, the Vienna Congress did not provide the basis for a free German

national republic. Ignoring national and liberal forces, the treaty strengthened reactionary aristocratic forces. During his studies in Giessen, Follen fashioned himself into a leader of the student movement to bring about a democratic revolution in Germany. The use of violence as part of a revolution for the sake of establishing a republic based on democratic principles seemed the only solution to overcome tyrannical oppression. Follen drew heavily on patriotic poetry from Schiller to Theodor Körner. In his propaganda poem *Das Große Lied* (1815), the political radicalism of his elite group "The Unconditionalists" demanded unconditional dedication to the cause of revolution. The people needed to rise against German princes to release themselves from political enslavement. "Brüder, so kann's nicht gehen, / Lasst uns zusammenstehen, / Duldet's nicht mehr! / Freiheit, Dein Baum fault ab, / Jeder am Bettelstab, / Beißt bald ins Hungergrab; / Volk ins Gewehr!" (Follen, *Between* 61). From that time on, "America" functioned as a reference point to press forward with political changes in Germany for many politically active students.

The phase after the Wars of Liberation marks the beginning of European mass emigration to the United States. In Germany, the peace treaty between the United States and Great Britain created a stronger sense of security for emigration and embarking at ports such as Le Havre and Liverpool. In addition, the unfavorable Vienna Peace Treaty and major crop failures in the years 1816–17 started the first major wave of 20,000 emigrants mainly from southwestern Germany.

In 1818, shortly after the Wartburg Fest, Follen and his brother drafted a constitution, which they modeled to a certain degree after the American Constitution.<sup>16</sup> It resembled a German declaration of independence from all aristocratic ties. The basic assumption held that "all Germans are completely equal in their rights" (45).<sup>17</sup> Authority was based on majority vote of all Germans. The legal omnipotence and exclusive power resided with the German people. Follen insisted that all people had access to all court trials. Who were these "Germans" according to Follen? The *Deutsche Bund*

represented a loosely formed confederation or 35 sovereign states and four free cities. The five most important monarchies, which were part of the confederation (Austria, Prussia, Denmark which controlled Holstein and Lauenburg, the Netherlands which controlled Luxembourg, and the English King as King of Hanover), had large territories outside of the *Deutsche Bund*. Follen called for a different kind of unity based on ethnic self-discovery and self-assertion by what he called the German Volk. In the first paragraph of his "Draft of the Constitution for a Future German Empire", he defined Germans as people who have access to a common biological and cultural background, share a common language, history, and religious faith. The borders for such a "Germany" would transcend those of the *Deutsche Bund*: "The German Volk also encompasses people from Switzerland, Alsace, Frisia, etc." (45).<sup>18</sup>

The concept behind Follen's "Constitution" was visionary and militaristic in its trajectory. Taking his clues from the student enthusiasm for the Wars of Liberation, Follen outlined a society, which was ready to defend its (future) achievements, namely a unified German nation state based on democratic ideals. Among the echoes of American models were freedom of press and freedom of speech. These issues became even more potent after the assassination of the writer August von Kotzebue by Follen's student Karl Ludwig Sand on March 23, 1819. While Follen considered the king and princes still part of the future German Empire, they became executing agents of the will of the people in their territories. Ultimately, Follen's "Draft of the Constitution for a Future German Empire" (1818) resembled a fantasy rather than a program, which could be applied immediately to the socio-political realities. Germany was far from being a homogeneous culture in terms of language, education, religion, politics, or a sense of national identity. With its political aspirations, however, Follen's draft functioned as a roadmap of the political *Vormärz* and the (failed) Democratic Revolution of 1848/49.

Apart from his political aspirations, Follen's revolutionary rhetoric played a crucial role in how he was perceived in Germany which included

the charge of demagoguery and by extension, a threat to public peace. Follen's poetry and reports from student members of the Unconditionalists suggest that he acted as a "ceremonial priest" in midnight masses on German mountaintops and in woods. Following the aestheticization of suicide initiated by Goethe's *Werther* (1774) and Schiller's *Sturm und Drang* dramas such as *Die Räuber* (1781) and *Wilhelm Tell* (1803/04), patriotic poets like Follen reinterpreted romantic suicide for patriotic political purposes. Creating secret fraternities, performing midnight initiation rituals, and reciting patriotic poetry, Follen transferred what the historian Dieter Düring described as the "matrix of German national festivities" (70) to a violent theater of self-sacrifice.<sup>19</sup> Calling for "unconditional commitment" to the cause of the fatherland, Follen manipulated his young student followers to become martyrs for his German Revolution. I have shown elsewhere that Follen's youthful enthusiasm and his radical political program created a critical mass, which gave vent to a dangerous combination of assassination and martyrdom for the cause of a militant revolution among his followers.<sup>20</sup> After Kotzebue's assassination, Follen knew that he faced a charge of high treason.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, he entertained the idea of emigration. His "Memorandum on the Founding of a German-American University" from 1819 offers the first explicit reference to the function of "America" in the process of establishing a German republic. It documents Follen's growing awareness of US-American political power and how it could be harnessed for the German democratic cause. He did not think of himself as a future American, but rather as an exile who would use his democratic liberties to re-organize an army of intellectual German refugees. American democracy functioned foremost as an alternative space for German intellectuals where they could freely express their ideas on democratic reforms towards a united Germany.<sup>22</sup> Follen continued to envision himself as a leader of a German Revolution. Therefore, Americanization had to be avoided in order to establish a German-American university. Its ultimate purpose lay outside US borders. Follen's main goal

was to unite all German Americans and immigrants.<sup>23</sup> While Follen conceded that "America" offered a universal model of equality, freedom, and democracy, the cradle of all knowledge and action would still be in Germany. Thus, the memorandum is a striking example of chauvinism. In the guise of democratic commitment, Follen established a patriotic code based on cultural ranks, which would prove to be highly problematic in the history of German idealism and nationalism.

Von Deutschland aber, als dem Mittelpunkt der ganzen neueren Bildung muss auch für Amerika der tiefe geistige Gehalt ausgehen, der allein die Grundlage seines Weltstrebens ausmachen kann. Dies ist der letzte Zweck der in Nordamerika zu gründenden deutschen Bildungsanstalt, wodurch zugleich die große Bestimmung der in Deutschland wurzelnden tiefen und allseitigen Bildung erfüllt werden möchte (Follen, *Between* 82).

Considering these visions of German superiority and his own qualities of leadership, why did Follen abandon German patriotism in favor of acculturation after his arrival in the United States? The first instances regarding a change of heart can be found in the diary, which he wrote during his voyage across the Atlantic in 1824. One of the poems composed in the familiar fashion of emigrant literature, addresses the quest for a better world and a new home. Keywords include "freedom", the "West", and references to a new fatherland. "Hast du mich lieb, o so gib mir die Hand; / Lass uns wandern, lass uns ziehen / Mit der Sonne nach Westen hin; / Dort an des Meeres andrem Strand, / Dort ist der Freiheit, dort der Menschheit Vaterland" (166). Despite his dedication to the German revolutionary cause and the dream of an intellectual German outpost in the United States, the transatlantic voyage marks a turning point in his stance towards "America". Among the first challenges, which he tackled after his arrival in New York, was a six-month sojourn in Philadelphia to learn English. According to his wife, he "declared his wish, immediately after his arrival in Philadelphia, to be made a citizen



of the United States" (*Works* 1: 148). Obviously, Follen's focus of attention had shifted from German culture to American culture. Similar patterns can be found among his student friends from Giessen. His younger brother Paul Follen and Friedrich Münch founded the *Gießener Auswanderungsgesellschaft* [Giessen Emigration Society] in 1833 to establish a German community in the United States following German political ideals.<sup>24</sup> At the time, they coordinated emigration procedures with a group of Hessian settlers in 1834; Charles Follen warned them of their idealized conceptions and the reality of slavery in certain territories (*Works* 1: 318–20). Living in the United States called for a readjustment of the German fantasy construction of "America". Changes of political attitudes following their arrival in the United States can also be observed among Follen's allies such as Karl Beck, Franz (Francis) Lieber, or Friedrich Münch. For Follen, being an American meant getting actively involved in making the promise of equality come true.

### Foreign Meddlers Between Integration and Dissent

It is no accident that the most powerful visions of what Orm Øverland calls an "open, all-inclusive concept" (52) of American identity have been expressed by cultural outsiders like Jean de Crèvecoeur, Israel Zangwill, and Alexis de Tocqueville.<sup>25</sup> At the same time that Tocqueville was struck by the "equality of conditions" he encountered during his travels in the United States in 1831, Charles Follen entered the political arena in the guise of an Emersonian reformer to critically evaluate American democracy. Instead of reporting to the Old World or strengthening the communal sense of German-American immigrants, he engaged actively in shaping the new republic. As a naturalized foreigner, Follen was writing from within the culture of the Jacksonian era. Nevertheless, his imaginary construction of "America" played a crucial role in his efforts make the United States live up to its democratic principles. In his socio-political criticism, problems of cultural clashes and conflicts in German-American encounters become visible.

After his arrival in the United States, Follen altered his plan of using his exile as a vantage point from which he could control and direct his young German revolutionaries recruited earlier. Instead of establishing a German-American university, he moved to Boston in order to teach German and French literature to an enthusiastic group of young American scholars at Harvard. He quickly abandoned political interests regarding a future Germany in favor of creating cultural bridges to his new friends among the New England intelligentsia. In letters, he talked about his happy arrival in the "homeland of freedom".<sup>26</sup> On December 19, 1826, he assured his father and stepmother that in the United States with its successful democratic framework there was "no more quiet citizen than I" (Follen, *Between* 427).<sup>27</sup> In order to "retain my reputation and place" (Follen, *Works* 1: 163) he set out to leave his mark in the field of education. As early as 1826, he published a *German Reader*, which ran through many editions, the latest appeared in 1857. His *German Grammar* (1828) became a standard work at American universities. These publications and his lectures on German and French literature established Follen as an influential transatlantic mediator for New England transcendentalist thinkers. In his inaugural speech at Harvard University, he presented his personal democratic vistas to Boston's intelligentsia. In teaching foreign literatures he envisaged an act of serving the cause of the United States of America. Follen's work on German and French literature at Harvard reflected the responsibility he envisioned in being an American citizen. Analyzing the concept of freedom in writings of Lessing, Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Schiller, Richter, Goethe, and Molière meant to Follen creating a dialogue between language, literature, and politics. "New Americans", an expression Goethe used to describe those young aspiring students who went to Germany or followed in the footsteps of his own Italian journey (Long 138), were inspired by Follen's enthusiastic lectures.<sup>28</sup> George Bancroft and Ralph Waldo Emerson were among those who carried Follen's *German Grammar* book in their luggage while overseas.<sup>29</sup>

Academic Year 1826 — 7.

## DEPARTMENT OF Modern Languages.

German and French.

3d Term.

Instructor, Charles Follen.

Term—beginning, April 10th; ending, July 15th.

No. of Exercises required of the Instructor, *none*.No. of Lectures required of the Instructor, *none*.Hours given daily, on an average, to instruction, *7, every other day.*

CLASS.	No. of Students in each of a Class.	No. of Students attending required Lectures.	No. of Students attending substituted Lectures.	Study for which the attendance was discontinued.	No. of Students attending.	No. of Exercises given to each Class, Division, or Part of a Class.	No. of Lectures given to each Class, Division, or Part of a Class.	Time of each Exercise.	Time of each Lecture.	No. of Students examined in each Exercise.	No. of Students who took Notes of the Lectures.	Books used, and the progress made in each.	Written Exercises examined.	Times spent in examining them.	Exercises omitted and afterwards rectified.	Time spent in候ing them.	No. of Absences Excused.	No. of Absences not Excused.	REMARKS.
Thirty Students — Undergraduates	5					36		1 hour	all			Two thirds of Voltaire's <i>Caesar</i> ?	none	none					The descriptions of German & French were formed according to the attainments of the students; and as changes were being the terms, a number of absentees have not been made up; because the exercises were printed by volunteers, it seems to be desirable that the volunteers should not be required to make up the exercises they omit.
German Juniors	first 41	2				36		1 hour	all			'Ottob's French' the whole; and a part of M. Liguette's <i>Methodes</i> , which he translated into German; they also began to converse in German.	12	3 hours	3	1 hour	1	2	
	and 10	2				36		1 hour	all			12 copies of each of 10 papers; and the Elements of German grammar.	50	15 with 1 hour	15	10	18		
German Seniors	first 11	12				36		1 hour	all			Butcher's <i>deutsche</i> , 192 pages; and the Elements of grammar.	44	15 with 1 hour	15	12	28		
	and 9	7				36		1 hour	all			Butcher's <i>deutsche</i> , 192 pages; and the Elements of grammar.	44	15 with 1 hour	15	10	28		
French Juniors	first 12	2				36		1 hour	all			Butcher's <i>deutsche</i> , 192 pages; and the Elements of grammar.	44	15 with 1 hour	15	10	28		
	and 10	2				36		1 hour	all			Butcher's <i>deutsche</i> , 192 pages; and the Elements of grammar.	44	15 with 1 hour	15	10	28		
French Seniors	first 12	8				36		1 hour	all			Butcher's <i>deutsche</i> , 192 pages; and the Elements of grammar.	44	15 with 1 hour	15	10	28		
	and 10	15				36		1 hour	all			Butcher's <i>deutsche</i> , 192 pages; and the Elements of grammar.	44	15 with 1 hour	15	10	28		
French Juniors	first 11	9				36		1 hour	all			Butcher's <i>deutsche</i> , 192 pages; and the Elements of grammar.	44	15 with 1 hour	15	10	28		
	and 10	9				36		1 hour	all			Butcher's <i>deutsche</i> , 192 pages; and the Elements of grammar.	44	15 with 1 hour	15	10	28		

Harvard University, September 25th, 1827.

Charles Follen, Instructor.

By 1835, Follen hosted the aspiring young scholar from Concord, Ralph Waldo Emerson, at his home in Watertown and read his early lectures.<sup>31</sup> In a letter to Emerson, Follen sought out a meeting with the man who would become the leading spokesperson of the transcendentalist movement. "I return the lecture you kindly lent me with hearty thanks for the high intellectual and spiritual enjoyment you have given me. It is strong additional inducement to me to seek a more direct and frequent intercourse with you" (Follen, *Between* 433).<sup>32</sup>

The elimination of hierarchies, which Follen experienced during his fight for a democratic revolution in the early phase of the German political *Vormärz*, called for a new agenda in Follen's activities. His short-term goals included understanding his new socio-cultural environment, learning the English language, forming new alliances, and finding work to financially support himself. At Harvard University, where his efforts had earned him a position as the first professor of German literature, Follen saw his calling in serving his new homeland as an ambassador of German philosophy and literature. It was not before his naturalization that Follen responded to the challenge of transforming himself into a public persona. [...] <sup>33</sup>

Follen's contacts to leading New England intellectuals and his prominent position at one of the esteemed American universities turned him into a public figure of considerable influence. What Emerson described as the third essential resource for the new American scholar was by 1834 still underdeveloped: concrete action. With his antislavery activities, speeches, and publications, Follen drew attention to himself as a public intellectual. He gained recognition as a defender of democracy. This in turn triggered a process of misrecognition. Ostracized as a "foreign meddler" (Follen, *Works* 1: 342), Follen's life unfolded under the conflicting banners of integration and dissent. In the early phase of his abolitionist activities, his criticism of the conservative New England establishment and the Southern slave owners resulted in a growing sense of self-esteem. His statements became increasingly self-assured, daring, and

provocative. However, during the process of radicalization of the Follen persona, his status as a naturalized immigrant came under scrutiny. The first instance of harsh criticism of his activism and reference to his national background occurred in response to his speech "Address to the People of the United States on the Subject of Slavery" at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston on May 27–29, 1834. Follen reworked his speech into a petition, which he sent to every member in Congress and to influential representatives in the South. A series of warnings ensued. His position at Harvard was put in question should he continue his abolitionist activities. One senator returned his copy to Follen, including critical annotations of which the most problematic one read: "A foreigner should recollect the protection afforded him by the institutions of this country, when he undertakes to cast a firebrand among the people, by which they may be destroyed" (Follen, *Works* 1: 629). At the same time, one of the Boston newspapers featured a "gross attack" on Follen, denouncing him in vulgar terms (343). His national background played a crucial role in the debate about the meaning of equality in a democratic society.

While Follen fashioned himself in ever more celebratory terms into a model American, the press used his public persona as a striking example of a dangerous attack on the American state initiated by so-called "foreigners". Besides Follen, the English immigrant George Thompson and the English writer Harriet Martineau became the butt of attacks in the press. In order to reinstate Follen's honor, William Lloyd Garrison came to his rescue in an article in *The Liberator* in 1834 urging: "We wish we had more such foreigners among us" (*Works* 1: 441). *Nolens volens*, Garrison played into the hands of Follen's critics by employing the term "foreigner" instead of devaluing the criticism by emphasizing his status as an American citizen. Other prominent personalities among Follen's friends such as Ellery Channing, Lydia Maria Child, and Theodore Parker supported him enthusiastically. The example of his close friend and fellow-abolitionist Samuel May highlights

a dilemma, emphasizing Follen's Americanness by referring to his European background. Even his friends failed to differentiate between Follen's past and his new democratic commitment as an American citizen. Often his former nationality served as an explanation to counterbalance the argument of conservative critics by simply turning it upside down. When Follen defended the right of American citizens of free speech at the State House of Massachusetts before a committee of five, May described his performance by conflating aristocratic and democratic societies.

[Follen's] conduct on that memorable occasion commanded your admiration. It was worthy of himself. Standing before that committee, he evinced the same calm, invincible spirit of resistance to wrong that had animated him when he withstood, at Basle, the demands of the Allied Sovereigns of Europe. In both cases it was principle that he contended for. In both it was the violation of principle that he chiefly dreaded (Follen, *Works* 1: 402).

Follen could not escape his German past. According to May, his personal conviction, his sense of dignity, and understanding of democratic duties brought him in conflict with aristocratic representatives of Europe in a similar way as politicians of the Massachusetts Legislature. May suggested that Follen faced tyranny on both sides of the Atlantic. Although Follen denied the validity of such a transatlantic confrontation, the comparison stuck and resounded long after his death. In her *Autobiography* (1877), Harriet Martineau turned him into a modern Jan Hus as depicted in the paintings by Karl Friedrich Lessing – a visual narrative of resistance, which had a seminal influence in the United States.

The image of self-sacrifice might also stem from Follen's German radical poetry. For example, in *Das Große Lied* he argued that a revolutionary elite needed to prepare for the ultimate sacrifice on the altar of freedom drawing analogies to the New Testament: "You shall become Christ" (Follen, *Between* 62).<sup>34</sup> However,

this conception no longer applied to his political creed in the United States. Martineau continued to memorize Follen along the lines of self-sacrifice emphasizing the sacrificial metaphor of spilling one's lifeblood.

Dr. Follen, the patriot hero of Germany, the student, the poet, the philosopher, the victim of the Holy Alliance, the Christian teacher, the American abolitionist, and the victim of American despotism. [...] He was one of those rare great spirits that find no alternative at the call of a great cause but obedience. He was the only European exile of that vintage who declined to prosper as an American by flattering the nation's sin –, so rare is the virtue that can pour out of its lifeblood twice. While suffering proscription from the land of his birth, he identified himself with Garrison among the earliest, and suffered, with the rest, a fresh proscription from the land of his love and his adoption (Martineau, *Autobiography* 2: 279).<sup>35</sup>

The general reception of Follen's biography in the United States marked him as a transatlantic victim. Most of the statements over-accentuated his status as a martyr of European history and graced his activism with religious overtones of Christ-like images. Idealized accounts like those of Albert Bernhard Faust in *The German Element in the United States*, who argued that "the man who had become an exile for the sake of liberty in Germany was destined to play a part also in the struggle for the liberty of mankind" (1: 216), neglected the dramatic changes in Follen's transatlantic encounters. Many biographical narratives suggest that in democratic and aristocratic contexts the fight for freedom was similar. After having earned the right to proudly say, "I am an American", the means of political action, however, were decidedly different from the violent agenda formulated in Germany. As part of the committee to counterbalance charges against the danger of abolitionist societies in Massachusetts, Follen emphasized that he had resided in the United States for eleven years and had earned his citizenship six years ago. He then proceeded



to praise the spirit of American democracy as perceived from a European standpoint.

The principles on which the anti-slavery societies are founded are the same, which brought me to this country, and without the enjoyment of which I could not wish to remain in it. The principles of freedom, and, especially, the right of free discussion, are secured to the citizens in the Constitution and laws of the country (Follen, *Works* 1: 393).

Follen never grew tired of emphasizing the difference between Europe and the United States. The "Speech before the Anti-Slavery Society", which he held at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society on January 20, 1836, represents one of the most remarkable documents of abolitionism revealing patterns of conflicts in German-American encounters. Follen responded to the problems of first generation immigrants and their claim to being fully Americanized.<sup>36</sup> Follen linked the controversy of his national belonging to the situation of African Americans and women. He even charged the members of the antislavery society with hypocrisy and prejudice when they denied colored people access to their meetings. He identified this circumstance as an effrontery, which played into the hands of Southern slave owners. His second resolution specifically addressed the charges against himself and the status of a "foreigner". He proclaimed that "foreigners and citizens have the same duties and the same rights" (287). Follen presents himself as an American patriot who embodies the great vision of the Founding Fathers and before them the Puritan Pilgrims to "build a city upon the hill". [...] <sup>37</sup>

Follen's patriotism arose from his vision of the United States as a country where citizens shared the rights of freedom assured by the Declaration of Independence. The evocation of this document re-enacts the dissent of Thomas Jefferson and the 51 signing members regarding Old World tyranny and oppression. By pointing out the gross shortcomings of his fellow-Americans, Follen fashioned himself into a figure ready to lead the United States back on

its original democratic course. The final sentence of his patriotic testimony repeats the solemn cause of what it meant to be an American. "The Declaration of Independence, so far as those in bonds are concerned, is a dead letter; and we must not rest from our labors until it is raised from the dead" (Follen, *Between* 291). Follen's performance did not resemble the resistance of a German patriot hero against tyranny but the insistence of the Founding Fathers on independence, freedom, and equality.<sup>38</sup>

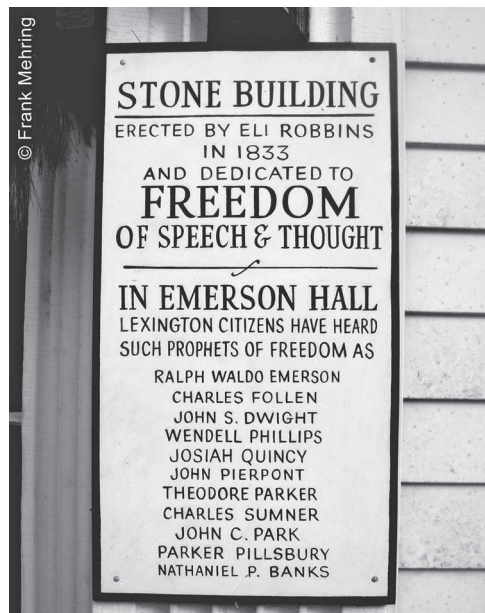


Abb. 6: Dedication plate to fighters for "Freedom of Speech and Thought" in Emerson Hall, Lexington, MA, including Charles Follen. Photo: Frank Mehring.

#### Anmerkungen:

<sup>1</sup> Excerpt from the second chapter of *The Democratic Gap: Transcultural Confrontations of German Immigrants and the Promise of American Democracy* (59–97). The excerpt reprinted here begins on page 59 and on page 85. Additional passages that have been left out for reasons of space are indicated in the text. Some footnotes with extensive references to additional secondary literature have also been deleted for reasons of space.

<sup>2</sup> Follen's wife Eliza Lee Cabot Follen edited his writings and published a memoir shortly after her husband's death. See Charles Follen, *The Works of Charles Follen with a Memoir of His Life*, 5 vols., ed. Eliza Lee Cabot Follen (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, 1841).

<sup>3</sup> William Ellery Channing. *Works*. 6 vols. (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1913); John Greenleaf Whittier, *Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1881); Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*. 2 vols. (Boston: National German Alliance, 1909); Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences, 1600–1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957); Wolfgang Hardtwig, *Vormärz: Der monarchische Staat und das Bürgertum* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1985); Günter Steiger, *Urburschenschaft und Wartburgfest: Aufbruch nach Deutschland*. Second Enlarged Edition (Jena and Berlin: Urania-Verlag, 1991).

<sup>4</sup> Shortly after Follen's death, William Ellery Channing published a comprehensive biographical essay entitled *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Charles Follen, L. L. D. who perished, Jan. 13, 1840* (Boston: Henry L. Devereux, 1840). Other friends on both sides of the Atlantic provided their own narratives of Follen's life. Among them are the New England abolitionists Samuel Joseph May, *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Dr. Follen* (Boston: H.L. Devereux, 1840) and the German revolutionary Karl Buchner, "Dr. Karl Follen: Mit Benutzung von noch ungedruckten Briefen desselben aus Amerika in die Heimath", *Der Freihafen* 4 (Altona, 1841): 71–6. In 1841, Eliza Lee Cabot Follen published the collected writings of her husband including a 500-page memoir in the first volume: *The Works of Charles Follen with a Memoir of His Life*, 5 vols., ed. Eliza Lee Cabot Follen (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, 1841). Other biographical publications include: Theodore Parker, "Life and Character of Dr. Follen", *The Dial* (January 1843): 343–62; Friedrich Münch, "Das Leben von Dr. Karl Follen", *Gesammelte Schriften* (St. Louis: Witter, 1902) 39–91; George Washington Spindler, *Karl Follen: A Biographical Study* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1917); Hermann Haupt, "Zum Gedächtnis Karl Follens", *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, ed. Julius Goebel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924) 7–55; Julia Wüst, "Karl Follen: Seine Ideenwelt und ihre Wirklichkeit", *Mitteilungen des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins* 33 (1936): 5–139.

<sup>5</sup> Edmund Spevack was among the first scholars to devote a revisionist study to Follen's life in his biography *Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom: Germany and America 1796–1840* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> Jeffrey L. Sammons, *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May, and Other German Novelists of America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> Edmund Spevack, *Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom: Germany and America 1796–1840* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

<sup>8</sup> In the following, I will refer to texts I edited under the title *Between Natives and Foreigners: Selected Writings of Karl/Charles Follen (1796–1840)* in the series *New Directions in German-American Studies* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> For further information cf. Bernhard Giesen, *Die Intellektuellen und die Nation: Eine deutsche Achsenzeit* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1993) 120–22.

<sup>10</sup> English translation by F. Mehring. Follen wrote the influential comprehensive pamphlet in 1816. It is considered one of the founding documents of a unified association of German students and introduced a new *Code of Honor* to the Gießen student fraternity. [...] It appeared first under the title *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sammtschulen seit den Freiheitskriegen 1813* by Karl Follen in 1818. For further information on the publication history see Mehring, *Between* 439.

<sup>11</sup> See Volker Depkat, *Amerikabilder in politischen Diskursen: Deutsche Zeitschriften von 1789 bis 1830* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998) 371.

<sup>12</sup> The complete title reads *Allgemeines historisches Taschenbuch oder Abriß der merkwürdigsten neuen Welt-Begebenheiten enthaltend für 1784 die Geschichte der Revolution von Nord-Amerika* (Berlin: C.M. Sprengel, 1784). See Adams 38.

<sup>13</sup> The English title reads "The Tea-Tax Tempest, or the Anglo-American Revolution".

<sup>14</sup> Paine, Thomas. *Common Sense*. Alexandria: TheCapitol.Net, 2009.

<sup>15</sup> Passages from page 67–69 have been left out in this excerpt.

<sup>16</sup> The "Grundzüge für eine künftige deutsche Reichsverfassung" ["Draft of the Constitution for a Future German Empire"] was a collaboration of Charles Follen and his brother August.

<sup>17</sup> "§ 4: Alle Deutschen sind einander an Rechten vollkommen gleich. Vorrechte kommen überall nirgends vor. Ihr Recht und Gesetz entsteht durch gleiche Abstimmung aller nach Mehrzahl." English translation by F. Mehring.

<sup>18</sup> "§ 1 Deutsche sind ein Volk, d.h. mit gleichen Anlagen des Geistes und Leibes begabte Menschen; dazu kommen: gleiche Sprache, gleiche geschichtliche Erinnerungen, gleicher Glaube; zum deutschen Volke gehören auch: Schweizer, Elsässer, Friesen etc." English translation by F. Mehring.

<sup>19</sup> Dieter Düding, "Das Deutsche Nationalfest von 1814: Matrix der Deutschen Nationalfeste im 19. Jahrhundert", *Öffentliche Festkultur: Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, eds. Dieter Düding, Peter Friedemann, and Paul Münch (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1988) 67–88.

<sup>20</sup> For a detailed analysis regarding the effect of Follen's conception of suicide, self-sacrifice, and assassination on the radicalization of students in the political Vormärz see my article "Sterben! Was heißt das? Der jugendliche Freitod im politischen Vormärz", *Jugend im Vormärz*, eds. Detlev Kopp and Michael Vogt (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2007) 65–88.

<sup>21</sup> Follen's role in the assassination of August von Kotzebue has been debated ever since. See e.g. Frank Mehring, "August von Kotzebue: Mannheim, 23. März 1819", *Politische Morde: Vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Michael Sommer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005) 157–64.

<sup>22</sup> This perspective differs from the many travel accounts by German authors in the decades to come. As Manfred Durzak explains in an idealized fashion, "America" represented not only an alternative to the miserable situations at home but also a sign of hope in political terms (60). Follen, however, initially hoped for a better political future in Germany.

<sup>23</sup> See in particular Follen, *Between* 81.

<sup>24</sup> See Paul Follen and Friedrich Münch, *Aufforderung und Erklärung in Betreff einer Auswanderung im Großen aus Deutschland in die nordamerikanischen Freistaaten*. (Giessen, 1833).

<sup>25</sup> Orm Øverland, "From Melting Pot to Copper Kettles: Assimilation and Norwegian-American Literature", *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and the Languages of American Literature*, ed. Werner Sollors (New York, London: New York University Press, 1998) 50–63.

<sup>26</sup> Follen's letter to his parents and siblings dated Philadelphia, 13 Jan. 1825. Published in Karl Buchner, "Dr. Karl Follen".

<sup>27</sup> "Daher gibt es auch in diesem Land, wo das Gesetz allein herrscht, keinen ruhigeren Untertan, als mich." English translation by F. Mehring. Follen's letter to his parents and sisters, dated 12/19/1826. The English translation provided Eliza Lee Cabot Follen in her memoirs (*Works* 1: 164–69).

<sup>28</sup> Orie William Long, *Literary Pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935).

<sup>29</sup> Together with the publication of Anne Louise Germaine de Staël's seminal study *De l'Allemagne* (1813), Follen's activities at Harvard contributed to a cultural phenomenon in New England which the American transcendentalist Theodore Parker once labeled a "German epidemic" (Parker 1841, 315), others referred to the spreading interest in German literature and philosophy as a "German mania". See Frank Mehring, "American German Mania: Kritische Anmerkungen zur Goethe-Kontroverse aus deutsch-amerikanischer Perspektive 1815–1850", *Goethe im Vormärz*, eds. Detlev Kopp and Hans-Martin Kruckis (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2004) 171–202.

<sup>30</sup> The chart shows that Follen worked with his *German Reader* and lectured on literary works such as Edgeworth's *Mademoiselle Panache*, Goethe's *Faust*, Molière's *L'Avare* ou *l'École du mensonge*, and Schiller's *Die Räuber*.

<sup>31</sup> For the correspondence of 1835, see Follen, *Between* 433. The letters reprinted here are addressed to "Rev. R. W. Emerson".

<sup>32</sup> The manuscript that Follen talks about might be Emerson's early draft of Emerson's first seminal publication *Nature* (1836).

<sup>33</sup> Passages from page 78–80 have been left out in this excerpt.

<sup>34</sup> "Ein Christus sollst du werden." English translation by F. Mehring. In another part of the poem the theme of martyrdom is explicitly directed at the Unconditionalists. "Und die Todbrüder treten zum Altar hin, / Zu empfahn in heil'ger Entflammung, / Was uns Heil bringt, oder Verdammung. / Mit dem König der Märtyrer / Ein Blut und ein Sinn, / So nehmen die Märtyrerweihe sie hin, / Und weih'n sich der ew'gen Erbarmung / Mit Opfergesang und Umarmung" (63).

<sup>35</sup> Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography with Memorials by Maria Weston Chapman*, 3 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1877). For similar accounts cf. William Ellery Channing, "Discourse" and "A Sketch of the Life of Dr. Follen", *Christian Examiner* (March, 1840): 68–87 and 87–8; Theodore Parker, "Life and Character of Dr. Follen", *The Dial* (January 1843): 343–62; Karl Buchner, "Dr. Karl Follen".

<sup>36</sup> The abolitionist Samuel May considered the speech as one of the bravest remarks on the issue of slavery. "There was not a word, not a tone, not a look of compromise in it. He met our opponents at the very points where some of our friends thought us deserving of blame, and he manfully maintained every inch of our ground" (255–56).

<sup>37</sup> Passages from page 83–84 have been left out in this excerpt.

<sup>38</sup> This excerpt ends on page 84 in *The Democratic Gap*. It is followed by a sub-chapter on "Revolution and Reform: Charles Follen and David Walker".

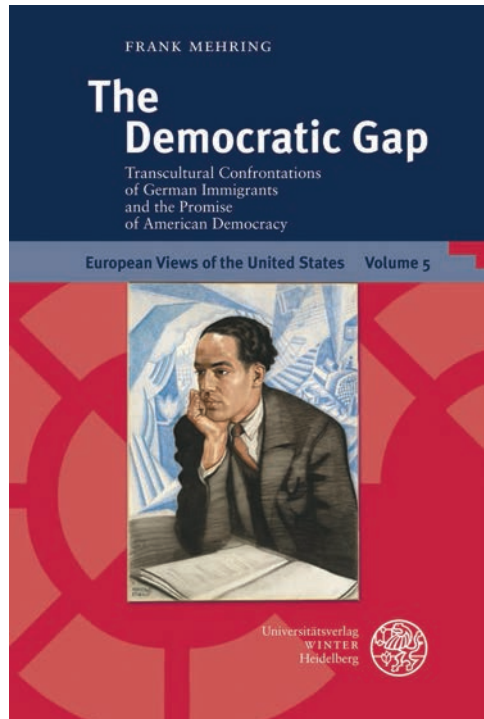


Abb. 7: Cover of Frank Mehring's new monograph *The Democratic Gap* (Winter, 2014) which features to complete chapter on Charles Follen.