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Frederck List Champion of Industial Capitalism ／BY John F.Bell／

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Champion of Industrial Capitalism

BY
JOHN F. BELL

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OFFPRINT from *The Pennsylvania Magazine of
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THE year 1941 marked the hundredth anniversary of the date of publication of a book in the field of economics which in its influence ranks along with the half-dozen books in the entire field. The book, *The National System of Political Economy*; the author, Frederick List, a German. Both the book and the author are of interest locally for most of the ideas were worked out during a brief period of time List spent within a radius of a hundred miles of Philadelphia.

The influence of List in both Germany and America has been great. His interests were in reform and building. His indomitable will and the courage of his convictions earned him a hearing and a following. He was a believer in free speech, a champion of democratic institutions, a foe of special privileges and classes, bureaucracies and absolute government. He would be unpopular in Germany now, even though there never was a more ardent German Nationalist. He sought a rallying cause which would unite the German race and even dreamed of a greater Germany which would extend from the North Sea and the Baltic to the Adriatic, yet he said "if the whole globe were united by a union like the 24 states of North America" the causes of conflict and inferiority might cease. In America he supported issues which he thought would change the economy from that of agriculture and a source of raw materials to a diversified one, independent and self-sufficient.

His public spiritedness was always of first importance whether for his native city or state, a greater Germany or a strong America. Had his great talents and vision been devoted exclusively to money-making pursuits, he certainly would have been amply rewarded. Yet he died leaving little but a reputation. Had he not been opposing a well entrenched, fanatical bureaucratic government, he would have been among the greatest of German politico-statesmen. Had he been a little more of an American than he was a German, he

would have been enrolled with America's great. As it was, List missed immortal fame in both countries. America was kind to him and has rewarded him, in a measure, for his five brief years of constructive sojourn. Germany abused and exiled him and never forgave or forgot, while he lived. After death much has been done to recapture his greatness and establish it as German. He has been glorified in word, poem and marble since his death. Every occasion, such as the date of his birth or the date of his death or the publication of some of his numerous works, has been used as grounds for publicly recognizing the greatness of the man.¹ All the glorification of Frederick List by his fellow countrymen sounds rather empty and hollow. No words can make amends for the direct and indirect persecution he suffered at their hands. He was talking in terms of a freedom which Germany never has understood.

Frederick List and His Germany, 1798-1825

Frederick List was born in Reutlingen, a town in the Swabian Alps, in the state of Württemberg, August 6, 1789. His father was a prosperous tanner, who had held public office in the Württemberg regime. At seventeen young List entered the Württemberg

¹ The following is typical of the articles appearing in German newspapers on the occasion of the date of his birth, or death, or the publication of one of List's works: *Schwartzwälder Kreiszeitung*, Nov. 30, 1926, on the occasion of the 80th Todestag of the greatest Reutlinger.

"Es wird die zeit kommen, da der name Friedrich List unter die ersten namen deutscher volkserinnerung gezählt werden wird."

—by Wilhelm Ohr.

Württembergische Volkszeitung, organ der deutschen partei. Stuttgart, Friday, November 27, 1896.

"Zur 50 wiederkehr seines Todestags. 30 Nov. 1846" I. Der Politiken und Patriot. *General-Anzeiger*. Reutlingen, Sonntag, den 29. Nov. 1896.

"Dr. Friedrich List 50-Jährigem Todestage" Fri. July 9, 1915.

"Friedrich List der Prophet des neuen Deutschland"

"Friedrich List als Reutlinger" von Stadtpfarrer Dr. Maier, Pfullingen (Published as a serial in 16 issues).

Schwabischer Merkur. Stuttgart, Dienstag 1, Dezember 1896.

"Das National System."

"Der Schwabe Friedrich List," von Karl Goeser.

Also, 26. Nov. 1920.

"Friedrich List. zu seinem Todestag 30. Nov. 1846.

Der Schwabenspiegel. Stuttgart Aug. 4, 1914.

"Friedrich List als Schwabe und als Deutscher" von P. Matter.

bureaucracy in the city of Tübingen. This gave him a chance to attend university lectures and read widely. He still held his clerkship in the Chancery Department when Wangenheim, the minister of Württemberg and a liberal reformer, saw in List a promising young official and elevated him to the better position of Chief Examiner of Accounts. His successive appointments as secretary of a commission (1818) to inquire into complaints against bureaucracy and make proposals for reform gave him a taste of political excesses and abuses and fired his zeal for reform. His first known writing² appeared as an essay on local government with the motto, "let the village and the town learn self-government under the guidance of the ruler." List was anxious that civil servants should know some theoretical principles of government and succeeded in convincing Wangenheim of the soundness of the idea. "No one in our University has any conception of a national economy. No one teaches the science of agriculture, forestry, mining, industry or trade." He also contends that "the legislature, in regard to administration and finance, is so entirely unscientific, the forms of government are in such a truly barbarous state that if an official of the seventeenth century rose again from the dead he could at once take up his old work, though he would assuredly be astonished to find the advances that had been made during the interval in the simplest processes of manufacture."

The force of his arguments on Wangenheim was responsible for his first and only academic position. He was appointed to the newly established Chair of Administration and Politics (*Staatspraxis und Staatswissenschaft*) at Tübingen. His lectures were mainly propagandistic in support of state reforms and a constitutional form of government. He lost no time in founding a paper, *Der Volksfreund aus Swaben*,³ which was his means of securing a wider hearing for his views on representative government, the responsibility of state officials, local self-government, trial by jury, freedom of speech and of the press. Reform was not yet possible and Wangenheim was ousted. The young professor likewise fell under suspicion, not only because of his advanced ideas but also because of his relationship with Wangenheim. A reactionary ministry followed, which,

² *Württembergisches Archiv*. Band II, Heft 2. Also *Friedrich List Werke* Vol. 1.

³ Facsimile of the *Volksfreund* may be seen on page 449, Band I, *Friedrich List Werke*.

prompted by Metternich, would tolerate no reforms even though most modest. The ideas of reform were really just beginning to develop in the mind of young List and from this experience on, throughout his stay in his homeland, he was at cross purposes with the entrenched reactionaries. After his experience in Tübingen he set to work in earnest. He abandoned his ideas of educating by lectures and began to try to put his principles into practice.

List entered politics when the people of Reutlingen elected him (July 6, 1819) as their deputy to the representative assembly at Württemberg, but being under the statutory age of thirty he was refused a seat. He was again selected the next year by the city of Reutlingen and took office December 7, 1820. He joined the liberal ranks in the assembly and brought on himself troubles far greater than those which caused his resignation from the University post. The troubles came from proposals made to the assembly that they revive the depressed industries of the state of Württemberg, that the taxes of the state should be commensurate with the ability of its citizens to pay, and that a state budget be instituted. His proposals—as a representative of his constituency of Reutlingen—had just been printed when they were seized by the police and he was arrested and charged with sedition.

The trial dragged on for nearly two years. The sentence called for ten months imprisonment at hard labor in the fortress prison of Asperg. However List fled from Germany to Paris where he met (January, 1823) General Lafayette who urged him to go to America. Instead of coming to America at that time he decided to go to England in an effort to earn some money. His stay there was brief. Next he went to Basle in Switzerland which he used as headquarters while trying to get permission to reenter Germany. He was impatient with the delay of an answer to his petition to reenter and decided to risk returning without permission.⁴ He was arrested on his return in May, 1824 and sent to Asperg, this time without opportunity to escape. He served in prison from May, 1824, to

⁴ His first biographer, Häusser, contends that his friends encouraged him to go. Ludwig Häusser, *Friedrich List's Leben* (1850). Another biographer contends that he was strongly urged not to go. Wolfgang Menzel, *Denkwürdigkeiten* (1877). See also, Band I, *Friedrich List Werke*, Friedrich List's Jugendschicksale und Jugendschriften. p. 59.

January, 1825, when he was released and taken to Stuttgart where he was told to remain until his passport was presented him, after which he was given three days to get out of Germany. He started for Paris but was stopped in Alsace and told that he could neither remain in Alsace nor go to Paris. The long arm of the Württemberg government had reached France further to annoy a man without a country. However, he went through Paris on his way to Le Havre, from which he sailed for New York on April 26, 1825. His passport stated that his journey was for purposes of research.

American Interlude, 1825-30

Frederick List's five years in America were mostly spent within a hundred-mile radius of Philadelphia. He came with his family⁵ directly to Philadelphia after landing in New York, June 10, 1825. One reason for his coming directly to Philadelphia was the presence of his friend General Lafayette in the city⁶ on his second visit to America. This was occasion for a renewal of the warm friendship established on his first visit to Paris in January, 1823. The invitation which was tendered List to accompany the General to America now turned into an invitation to join him on a tour throughout the states. List accepted the invitation and traveled with Lafayette most of the time until he returned to France in September of that year.⁷ Another reason for his coming to Philadelphia was the large number of German-speaking people in this area, especially in the counties northwest of Philadelphia.

List saw a good bit of the eastern part of the United States. He was at Boston July 4, 1825, and attended the activities at the Bunker Hill monument. He visited Albany, New York, Baltimore, and Washington, as well as the near-by towns of Lancaster and Pottsville. Since he was traveling with the highly distinguished Marquis, he was introduced to the most important personages of the time. He met John Adams, Madison, Jefferson, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Harrison, Andrew Jackson,

⁵ List's family consisted of his wife, Karoline, three daughters and a stepson. The stepson, Dr. Charles Neidhard, was a founder of the Hahnemann Medical College of Philadelphia. He was a practicing physician in Philadelphia and died in 1895.

⁶ Lafayette was staying at the Mansion House Hotel on Third above Spruce Streets.

⁷ A. Levasseur, *Lafayette in America, 1824 and 1825*. II, 220.

John Marshall and Ralph Waldo Emerson, mainly through the good offices of General Lafayette. This gave him a hearing, when, at a later date, he was to present publicly and defend important issues on American national policy.

His travels with Lafayette enriched his knowledge of Pennsylvania and near-by areas, but not his exchequer. He now became interested in finding a place to establish a home. It appears that he had in mind a desire to settle in or near a German-speaking community, which accounts for his trip (September, 1825) to Western Pennsylvania, passing through Pittsburgh on his way to the former settlement of George Rapp at Harmony,⁸ twenty-four miles northwest of Pittsburgh. George Rapp was a Württemberger whose community had a religious bias, probably none too attractive to List. He remarked, however, at a later date in his diary, that "the Vesper bell rings there as in my Swabian home." Yet he did not settle there.⁹ He also visited the later Rappite community at Economy,

⁸ The Harmony Society, founded by Germans in 1805 under the leadership of George Rapp (1770-1847), was located originally at a place named Harmony, Pennsylvania. They moved in 1815 to the banks of the Wabash River in South Central Indiana where they established the community known as New Harmony. In 1824 they sold the whole outfit to Robert Owen and returned to Pennsylvania, where they established their final settlement at Economy, in Beaver County. The village was almost self-sufficient and the people were apparently contented under a system of celibacy and communal life. They continued until the latter part of the nineteenth century when their membership became so depleted that the scheme was dropped.

⁹ He writes to his wife Karoline as follows:

Harmony at Pittsburgh,
October 3, 1825.

For eight days I have been in regions where the post arrives and leaves only once a week. Therefore I have not written you since my last letter. I am very well and hope that you are all well too. This unceasing activity does me good. These regions please me very much, but I find that a settlement demands time if one wants to make himself a comfortable bed. At all events I am learning very much on this trip, and the more I investigate the condition of the country, the more my courage grows. I hope that all will go well with us.

My stay in Pittsburgh was completely in vain. I wanted to buy property there, and I was just at the point of being able to tell you that all of your wishes were fulfilled, when the sale was postponed. Now I am here to look around. The society here would be quite pleasant, in fact as pleasant as we could hope for, because very educated German people live here.

But the other conditions, as I am at present able to judge, are not of a nature that we would like. But this might still come in time. . . .

I don't know as yet when I'll return. And I am less able to tell you if we will move before winter. Here as all over in this country, one doesn't move until April 1, and if I

in Beaver county, but decided to return to the Philadelphia area.

He bought a little farm—ten acres and a house—along the Susquehanna River just north of Harrisburg and moved his family from Philadelphia in November, 1825.¹⁰ The farming venture was

buy, we still won't be able to move before this time. But you can depend on it that I'm doing all within my power to have a roof over our heads.

Letter No. 240, *Friedrich List, Werke*, Vol. VIII.

¹⁰ On November 5, 1825, he writes his wife, who was staying in Philadelphia, as follows:

Harrisburg, November 5, 1825.

Things have gone well so far. I went back to the owner of the property (his name is Ballmer) and bargained a whole day with him. I heard offhand that there were other buyers, which later proved to be true. But luck was finally with us. I bought for 920 dollars under the following conditions:

1. I should be permitted to view the property.
2. Receive ten full acres of land.
3. Pay half (500 dollars) now and the other half within the next year.

After the settlement of this sale, which I had put in writing for security, I hurried here at three o'clock in the morning in order to examine the property, and I can tell you that it pleased me above all expectations.

The house is very roomy, and can be made very attractive at a low cost. Examine the following drawing.

The house, and all that isn't meadow, is on a hill and has a glorious view of the city, which is only a quarter of a mile away; opposite lies the capitol of Pennsylvania.

You see that we have enough room. Seven rooms in all, without the kitchen. They all have wooden floors and plaster walls. There is an arrangement for ovens in each room. The house and balconies are painted silver. The street is lively and the place is laid out excellently for establishing starch works, distilleries, etc. The garden has not been laid out as yet. But the soil and location are excellent; in short, it is a place where we can live in comfort and which we can transform into a paradise.

Luckily it happens that the people living in the house want to move elsewhere and want to vacate the house within the next week. There will therefore be nothing to deter us from starting to move immediately.

I will remain here for several days in order to make preparations for our moving, the cleaning and straightening of the house. I will come to Philadelphia next Wednesday or Thursday and then we can move as soon as we have finished packing. You can make such arrangements as you are able to.

Everyone who heard of my purchase wished me luck:

1. Because the place is so cheap.
2. Because it will be easy to make money on it.
3. Because in a few years I will be able to develop the place so that it will be worth three times as much as I paid for it.

And now cheer up, dear folks, we have a home. I hope that you will like it. I'm already living with servant and horse in our home, and today I already hoed and dug to make the hill even.

We are making the loveliest two-acre vineyard next to the house. There is plenty of work here, and we'll need by next month two day laborers, in order to straighten

a failure. He had no experience with farming or farmers, who seem to have bested him in their dealings. The few months on the farm were of great value to List. He had nothing much to do but study the English language and learn about his new environment. He says he "cast all books aside"¹¹ and began to study the geology, soil, livestock, real estate and resources of the area as well as industry and facilities for transportation. Interesting as this all turned out to be, it could not be put to financing a family of six. While living on the farm he wrote a letter to Stephen Girard, to whom he had been introduced by Lafayette. The letter¹² is the first of many of

up our new Eden. I'm very happy about it and no doubt you will be too. We will bring everything that is movable here.

Letter No. 241, *Friedrich List, Werke*, Vol. VIII.

Excerpts from this letter quoted in *The Reading Eagle*, Sunday, Dec. 24, 1916.

¹¹ *The National System of Political Economy* (Lloyd translation), Author's Preface, p. xiii. This statement is probably not literally correct. Recent researches show that he was widely read both in the political literature of the time and in folklore.

¹² The author is indebted to Dr. Merle M. Odgers, President of Girard College, and the Board of City Trusts for permission to use the Girard letters. Each letter used bears a number which has been assigned to it by the College Library. The following letter is a translation from the French of the original.

Mr. Stephen Girard,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sir:

You know all about me, and it would be superfluous to tell you anything more about the cause that brought me to this country. When I came here I hoped to find work and to be able to support my family by publishing a German newspaper until I should acquire a sufficient knowledge of English and become sufficiently fluent to turn my attainments to account in that language. I lost a great deal of time looking for a place in which to establish myself and gained the sad conviction that German newspapers in this country barely furnish a piece of bread to the printer and leave nothing to the editor.

Unfortunately General Lafayette had departed by that time. Knowing nothing whatever about the United States, I retired to the country in order to at least live more cheaply than in the city and to invest a part of my small fortune in a piece of land near Harrisburg. I farm my land, sell milk in the town, and also do a little distilling to feed my cows and get a little ready money. It is enough to live on frugally, but it is not enough to give my children an education. That is why I am trying to increase my income.

The experience that I have gained has convinced me that a man situated as I am cannot do better than to engage in the retail store business (storekeeper). Fortunately, the building of the Pennsylvania canal will bring a good deal of life into Harrisburg, will increase the population and will cause what little business there is to come my direction, to the East, where so far there is not a single store.

Now that the General has departed, there is no one on this side of the Atlantic from whom I can hope to receive assistance except yourself, dear sir. I have no doubt that

a business nature that passed between the two men. It is evident that List was perturbed about his finances both of the present and the future and was anxious to establish an available credit on which he might draw if he saw a business opportunity. He was unable to sell the farm, which was abandoned when he moved to Reading to become editor of the *Readinger Adler* in August, 1826.¹³

Frederick List's active participation in political and economic affairs of Pennsylvania and the nation dates from his editorship of the paper. Even though the newspaper was but a four-page sheet, it carried much news and little advertising.¹⁴ The issues manifest a

your generous heart would not hesitate to help a man who has lost his native country, the greatest part of his fortune and quite a large income for having legitimately defended the cause of the people and of liberty and who, now that he has no opportunity to put his education to use, is not afraid of any kind of work that will procure the means of subsistence to his family and an education for his children. I have no doubt, I say, that your generous heart would not hesitate a moment to help such a man, even if his financial condition were not so reassuring as mine. You know that through your bank I have received \$3000; the enclosed letter proves that I have since from Germany received 1687 florins. In addition, I am to receive in the course of this year and next from \$2000 to \$3000, an annual income of \$350, and in four years the principal of said income, \$7000. The land which I bought very cheap is paid for. A distillery and all the improvements (worth about \$1000) are also paid for, and I also have about \$700 to \$1000 in cash. For the moment, therefore, I do not want any money. I only want to know, in case I should fail to receive my bills of exchange from Europe when the time comes, or I saw an opportunity to extend my business with the chance of making a profit, or under any other unforeseen circumstances, whether you would then give me credit *proportionate to my little fortune*, for three or four years.

A reply in accordance with your noble character, dear sir, will greatly help the father of four children to find renewed strength to bear his lot, which is almost too hard.

Accept, dear sir, the assurance of my highest esteem.

Your humble servant,
Friedrich List.

Harrisburg, Pa. April 18, 1826.

(Received April 25, 1826.)

¹³ The *Readinger Adler* was founded as a German-American newspaper in 1796 (first issue Jan. 3, 1797). Complete files (1797-1913) are perfectly preserved by the Berks County Historical Society in Reading. This splendid Society probably has more items of "List-lore" than are to be found elsewhere in the United States. The author gratefully acknowledges the kindness of the Society in making the List materials available for use.

¹⁴ No statement can be found announcing that List had been made editor. However, the tenor of the articles indicate the change in editorship. In only two issues can List's name be found at all. The first in connection with a celebration at the City Hotel where he made an address. The second, an advertisement of his own in which he offers for sale cloth and shawls imported from Germany.

wide range of interests in both state and national affairs.¹⁵ His acquaintance with European affairs and with important statesmen in both Europe and America gave him a cosmopolitanism uncommon to most editors of the time. His articles were printed in other papers throughout the country to such an extent that he soon became one of the foremost journalists of the country.¹⁶

List's stay in America was concurrent with the great controversy over the tariff issues which raged for many years both before and after he came. The first active participation in American affairs into which List plunged was in defense of a protective tariff. This accounts for the fact that most students have heretofore thought of List only in connection with protectionism and have overlooked his many other accomplishments.

List was well equipped both theoretically and practically to enter into the American tariff controversy. There were many analogies between the problem facing the new America and the Germany which exiled List. Each country had been flooded with goods which poured in from the more industrially developed England. The capitalistic groups in each country had demanded protection on the basis of a twofold plea for the support of infant industries and for consolidation of the gains made in the capitalistic development through which they were passing. Both countries were primarily agricultural with great dependence on imported manufactured products and on foreign markets for the sale of raw materials. The economic ills consequent on a breaking down of trade under such circumstances were well known to List. Since agriculture and industry had not developed simultaneously in either country, each was at a marked disadvantage in trading on a basis of raw materials—mostly agricultural exports.

List originally accepted the principles of free trade, but with qualifications.¹⁷ He saw in the German economy a situation—unbal-

¹⁵ Among the articles appearing are these: Wine culture in Pennsylvania; Silk culture in Pennsylvania; Tobacco culture in Pennsylvania; Why is money so scarce?; How to make a large town out of a small one. There are also articles on the Russo-Turkish war of 1828. His eulogies on the death of Jefferson and John Adams, July 4, 1826, are masterpieces of rhetoric.

¹⁶ The logic and finality of the editorial comment earned the paper the title of "The Berks County Bible."

¹⁷ His lectures at Tübingen (1818) were worked out on the basis of free trade. Free

anced agriculture and industry—which would be dangerous to free trade with a more highly industrialized area. Here he brings in the contention that a state would be justified in using protective tariff at her frontiers but free trade within her boundaries.¹⁸ The problem in America was not one of breaking down intra-state barriers, as in Germany, but in disposing of raw materials and developing industry. List believed in free trade but only if all nations practiced it. Since this was impossible, the next step was that each nation seek to protect its interests in the manner best suited to the occasion.

In America the leading arguments for protection had been set forth by Alexander Hamilton in his famous *Report on Manufactures* in 1792. The country was clearly practicing free trade although the preamble of the first tariff act of 1787 stated the objective of "the protection and encouragement of manufactures." The rates may have been protective in intent, but in fact they were so low they did not protect.¹⁹ The great political events of the years proved protective to American industry but they were not so intentionally. The Embargo Act of 1808 and the Non-Intercourse Act of the following year which ended commerce with Europe gave our industries the benefits of protection from English competition. The close of the Napoleonic Wars and the Treaty of Peace between England and the United States at the close of the Second War with Great Britain ended this protection and English goods began to pour into our markets. Prices fell rapidly. The young industries which had begun behind the accidental protection began to clamor for a deliberate protective policy.

The new industries tended to be centered in the Middle Atlantic States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania and in Ohio and Kentucky.²⁰ In these states the demand for protection was strongest. New England, which was mainly concerned with

trade meant to him at that time, a freedom from the multifarious inter-German state barriers. He was so much concerned with loosening the fetters of local trade that international trade in the larger sense was not a part of his program at that time.

¹⁸ Adam Smith would allow for the application of retaliatory tariffs as a means of forcing nations to change their tariff policy.

¹⁹ F. W. Taussig, *Tariff History of the United States*, pp. 15, 16.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 71.

shipping,²¹ and the South, which had cotton to export, disapproved the setting up of protective duties. The most active organization favoring protection was in the city of Philadelphia. "The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry" was founded by Alexander Hamilton with headquarters in Philadelphia.²² The name was changed (1820) to the "Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and Mechanic Arts." This Society was actively engaged in pamphleteering and in sponsoring petitions in favor of protection. The guiding spirit behind the Society at the time List became interested in it was Mathew Carey,²³ whose anti-British feelings could best be expressed in his efforts to exclude British goods from the United States. The Vice-President of the Society was Charles Jared Ingersoll, a prominent citizen of Philadelphia and an ardent protectionist.²⁴

The decade of the 1820's was one of greatest importance in the tariff history of the United States. The fight really began in earnest after the Tariff Act of 1824, for it was obvious that Congress would be forced to take cognizance of the growing public interest in the issues. The Woolen Bill failed to pass by one vote in 1827 and this failure touched off an avalanche of public debate and heated discussion, of pamphlets, cartoons and propaganda on both sides. Mathew Carey (now sixty-seven years old), the writer of most of the publications of the Society for the Promotion of Manufactures was glad to have one so versatile as List assume part of the work in defense of the cause. It appears that two large responsibilities

²¹ The cotton and wool manufacturing interests were strong in New England and formed a group generally favoring protection.

²² Stephen Girard was asked to become Secretary of the Society but declined saying: "A multiplicity of duties prevented acceptance." Girard Letters No. 115 under date of Feb. 4, 1817.

²³ Mathew Carey (1760-1839) was an Irish refugee who was an editor and publisher and one of the first American economists. He came to Philadelphia in 1784 and began a career of journalism which had been aided financially by Lafayette. He was very active in the Society.

²⁴ Charles Jared Ingersoll (1782-1862) was a leading citizen of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. Educated to be a lawyer, he served as United States District Attorney for the State from 1815 to 1829. He was active in both state and the national politics. In 1837 he was appointed Secretary of the Legation to Prussia. He was a member of Congress from 1841 to 1847. His appointment as minister to France in 1847 was not ratified by the Senate.

were immediately given to List: the first to accentuate the protective tariff propaganda; the second to break the influence of a widely read treatise by Thomas Cooper.²⁵

Cooper was a free-trader and individualist who followed Adam Smith's arguments which he had applied to the American problem in the aforementioned treatise. The influence of the book appears to have been great and disconcerted the guiding spirits of the Pennsylvania Society, who prevailed upon List to read the book and make a reply in a pamphlet which could be widely distributed. List welcomed the opportunity, but he wanted to write the reply in his native German in which he was much more fluent. Ingersoll prevailed upon List to put the answer into English. This he did in the form of the famous twelve letters addressed to Ingersoll and published in the *Philadelphia National Journal* from July 10, 1827 to July 30, 1827. The letters were then bound into a pamphlet and distributed widely under the title of *Outlines of a New System of Political Economy*.²⁶

The really outstanding event of the decade 1820-1830 in the tariff controversy was the Harrisburg Convention sponsored by the leaders of the so-called American System. The Convention was held July 30, 1827, and was in session for the ensuing five days. Ninety-five delegates were present representing the fourteen states. The leading protectionists were there including C. J. Ingersoll and Mathew Carey of the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement

²⁵ Thomas Cooper, *Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy* (1826). Dr. Thomas Cooper, M.D., LL.D., was born in London in 1759 and died in South Carolina in 1839. He was educated in law and medicine in Oxford. He emigrated to America in 1795 and landed in Philadelphia. Later he became Professor of Chemistry and Political Economy in Columbia College, South Carolina. He supported Jefferson, Madison and Monroe in politics. His defense of states rights and his attacks on tariff proposals in 1827-1828 made him very well known.

²⁶ List was quite well pleased with his writings and their reception. He writes in the preface of his *National System of Political Economy*, "When in the year 1827 the American Manufacturers were hard pressed over the tariff question by the adherents of Free Trade, Mr. Ingersoll urged me to enter into the controversy. I did so with some success; the twelve letters in which I expounded my system not only appeared in the *Philadelphia National Journal*, but were also reprinted in more than fifty provincial papers, and under the title, 'Outlines of a New System of Political Economy,' were published as a special pamphlet by the Society for the Promotion of Manufactures, so that many thousand copies were disseminated. Besides this, I was congratulated by the most distinguished men of the country, for instance the venerable James Madison, Henry Clay, Edward Livingstone, and others."

of Manufactures and Mechanic Arts. List was at the Convention mainly as an observer and adviser to Ingersoll but on the last day he addressed the delegates on principles of protection.²⁷ The delegates represented mainly the wool-growers, manufacturers of iron, glass, hemp and flax. Formal resolutions were adopted which called for increased duties on the commodities and industries represented. Ingersoll was chairman of a sub-committee entrusted to draw up a memorandum to Congress while Hezekiah Niles²⁸ was entrusted with the job of getting the resolutions and the principles developed in the Convention across to the public at large.

The proceedings of the Harrisburg Convention created great interest generally: the subject of tariff itself was of foremost importance and this first convention served to focus attention on the pressing nature of the issue. The exact political significance is difficult to estimate but it does clearly show that certain interests were taking shape which, by various pressures, subsequently made themselves felt in national politics. The sponsors of the Convention were delighted with its success and began at once to spread the gospel of protection far and wide.

List's twelve letters to Ingersoll were so satisfactory that the Pennsylvania Society resolved to publish them in pamphlet form for general distribution.²⁹ It was hoped that List would write an elementary treatise³⁰ to be used in schools as well as in colleges where Cooper's work was in use.

²⁷ Printed in full in the *National Gazette*, February 25, 1828.

²⁸ Hezekiah Niles, (1777-1839) was founder of *Niles' Register*, published in Baltimore, of which he was editor until 1836. After 1819 the paper was strongly for protection.

²⁹ Soon after the twelve letters were published in the *National Journal* the Pennsylvania Society financed the printing and publication of the letters in a brochure under the title of *Outlines of American Political Economy*.

³⁰ Resolutions of the Pennsylvania Society: "Whereas it has appeared to the Society that great and important interests of the United States have suffered and are suffering much, for want of a sufficient dissemination in large numbers the inopposite maxims of Smith, Say, and other writers, which, however sound they may be as abstract principles in cosmopolitan economy, experience has fully proved them inapplicable to the present state of the commercial world. And whereas Professor Frederick List has proved himself a man of profound knowledge in the science of Political Economy, and has opened new and fundamental principles, clearing away the errors and removing the prejudices which have heretofore made a mystery of that science, and has thereby rendered it plain and comprehensible to every capacity; and whereas this society are

The plan of his approach was mainly to attack Adam Smith and J. B. Say whom he frequently refers to as Smith and Co. He wanted to see "America . . . make a system of political economy of her own, and for herself, and send the books of the founders of the pseudo-cosmopolitical system to the Westminster Abbey of the science."³¹ He experienced astonishment "to see the book of Mr. Say in the hands of every pupil, for the purpose of learning those principles by heart which would lead directly to national suicide."

The Pennsylvania Society was so pleased with List's success in defending the cause of protectionism that a banquet was given in his honor in the Mansion House Hotel in Philadelphia on November 3, 1827.³² The occasion was a gala one. Eighteen prepared toasts were offered after which numerous impromptu ones were proposed. They reflect both the seriousness of the purpose of the society and the conviviality of the occasion.³³

very desirous that Professor List should proceed forthwith to publish and disseminate his new and fundamental views of that important science for the use of schools, and also in a full and extended treatise. Therefore, Resolved that this society do earnestly call in Professor List to prepare and publish as soon as may be, an elementary work for the use of schools, and also an elaborate treatise on Political Economy adapted particularly to the situation in the United States, Resolved that this society do recommend the said Professor List to the members of the Congress of the United States, the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania and other legislative bodies, the several universities and public seminaries of learning, and to their fellow-countrymen generally for their aid in enabling him to accomplish this desirable object. Resolved that this Society will subscribe for fifty copies of each work and will do all in their power, individually and collectively, to procure subscribers, and in every way to aid Professor List in his laudable undertaking."

A true copy from the minutes of the Society, Philadelphia, November 22, 1827.
Redwood Fisher, *Recording Secretary*,
C. J. Ingersoll, *Vice-President*.

³¹ Speech delivered before the Pennsylvania Society, November 3, 1827.

³² The Mansion House Hotel was the hotel where List met Lafayette when he arrived in this country. It was located on Third, above Spruce. Lafayette stopped here in 1824 and again in 1825. Joseph Bonaparte stopped there when he came to Philadelphia in 1815. It remained a hotel until 1828. Jackson, *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia*, III, 774.

³³ From an account of the dinner given to Professor List by the Pennsylvania Society, November 3, 1827. (Only a few of the toasts are given here.) Toasts to:

1. Our Country—smiling with peace, luxuriant with plenty, and ascendant in power.
2. Pennsylvania—formed to be foremost, may she never be held back by factions.
3. Charles Carroll—the survivor of the Signers, God bless him.
4. The President of the United States.
5. The Governor of Pennsylvania.
6. Universal Education.

At this banquet List made one of his most original speeches setting forth the views which he had developed in the letters to Ingersoll.

We intend not to detract from the merits of Adam Smith, in expressing our opinion that he did not observe the fundamental distinction between political and cosmopolitical principles—that he did not do justice to the influence of the moral and intellectual riches or material riches, and vice versa, nor to the causes of the increase and diminution of the productive powers—that he created a vague term under the name of capital, by the use of which he committed innumerable errors—that he overlooked entirely matters of the first importance in practice, such as the causes of the rise and fall of the prices of land—that whilst he treats detached matters with great ingenuity and experience, his system, considered as a whole, is so confused and distracted, as if the principal aim of his book were not to enlighten nations, but to confuse them for the benefit of his own country, and that, in short, his system of political economy is, in our days, just of as much practical value for this and every other nation as the printing apparatus of Faust would be for one of our printers. We intend not to blacken the merit of the inventor of the black art if we maintain that his apparatus has only an antiquarian value.

In respect to Mr. Say, I have only to add, that he adapts all the truths and nearly all the errors of his predecessor, and that his principal merit is to have clothed both, by a superior talent, in the brilliant garment of fine style, and arranged them in a new order, very pleasant to those who prefer an apparently logical system to plain truth. . . .

[He further added,] One of my fervent wishes—to be allowed to contribute a stone to the great building which is the admiration of the age and the hope of futurity.

It may also be observed that he proposed a national organization of business men which would make available to Congress from time to time the consensus of opinion of American business on matters of desired legislation. The proposal was essentially for the creation of a body resembling the American Chamber of Commerce as it now serves business and industry. Another suggestion included in his speech before the Pennsylvania Society was that a school of commerce be founded. He emphasized the successful work of the French polytechnic school and of similar schools in Switzerland,

7. Agriculture—the mother of manufactures and commerce.
8. Manufactures—without them a people may be a tribe, but not a nation.
9. Commerce—the legitimate offspring of agriculture and manufactures, not a bastard upstart, sprung from ruffian wars.
13. Our guest—Professor List—with a passport signed by Lafayette and credentials from his own knowledge of Political Economy.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania possesses one of the few remaining copies of the account of the banquet.

Austria and Germany. His proposal was to expand the Franklin Institute into a national polytechnic school "where the future statesman and legislator may receive a knowledge of the resources of his country, and of the means to develop them: where the youth may be inspired with a noble spirit, to search after the hidden treasures of their country and teachers may be educated to dispense useful knowledge over the whole Union—a national fountain of useful knowledge—a great model for filial institutions in all of our states and cities."

List was well known by now as the pre-eminent champion of the "American System" of protectionism. His services as a propagandist and pamphleteer and public lecturer were much in demand. He was invited to address both houses of the Pennsylvania legislature on tariff. His address was printed in the leading papers of the time. The address was referred to in Congress when Senator McDuffie (April 18, 1828) of South Carolina, in an attempt to ridicule both the speech and the speaker referred to the tirade of the "German professor of political economy and necromancy from Pennsylvania," and insisted "the Harrisburg Convention stands much more in need for a Professor of Rhetoric than they do of a Professor of Political Economy."³⁴ The next day (April 19, 1828) McDuffie's colleague, Hamilton, continued the attack on List and the Harrisburg Convention and remarked, "We appear to have imported a professor from Germany, in absolute violation of the doctrines of the American System, to lecture upon its lessons—to convince Adam Smith of stupidity and Ricardo of error."³⁵

The crowning literary effort which would set forth his views was planned by List in the form of a two-volume edition on political economy to be called, "The American Economist, by Frederick List of Pennsylvania, formerly Professor of Political Economy and Counsel of the General Society of German manufacturers and merchants for obtaining a German System of Political Economy." A large advertisement of the book was published which had the blessing of the Pennsylvania Society. This encouragement together

³⁴ Gales and Seaton, *Register of Debates in Congress*, April 18, 1828, p. 2391, ff.: p. 2432, ff.; p. 2700, ff.

³⁵ *Congressional Debates*, p. 2432. The Congressman showed his unfamiliarity with List's attack for in no place does he refer to Ricardo, Smith and Say are his arch enemies.

with that of his many friends caused him to set to work at once. He hurriedly wrote the first chapter of eighty pages which was printed but no more ever was done. He was urged to continue his work but other interests began to absorb his attention.

Thus far only the literary side of List's stay in America has been considered. In many respects the practical work he engaged in was equally important. After List went to Reading, Pennsylvania, as editor of the *Adler*, a great activity arose in the near-by area of Schuylkill County as a result of the development of the anthracite coal industry there. List himself discovered an outcropping vein which proved to be a rich deposit, near the present city of Tamaqua along the Little Schuylkill River. He later purchased this and additional land and became actively engaged in developing and exploiting the coal resources.

Other persons having coal lands had been interested in some means of getting the coal out of the region and had proposed the building of a canal along the Little Schuylkill River from Tamaqua to Port Clinton, on the Schuylkill Canal about twenty miles from Tamaqua. Such parties had asked the state legislature for a charter³⁶ which was granted, in 1826, under the name of the Schuylkill East Branch Navigation Company. However, nothing was done by the original organizers after the charter was granted.

During List's first exile from Germany (1823) he had visited England. There he saw the first attempts at employing railroads in the coal areas. His interest in these experiments never ceased and from time to time he wrote articles on the present development and future possibilities of railroads. Like other men, he saw great possibilities in developing the anthracite coal business if it could be gotten to the markets. He was familiar with the canal development in both America and Europe but believed greater possibilities lay in the use of a railroad as a means of transportation. Consequently, he urged the dormant Schuylkill East Branch Navigation Co. to have its charter amended to allow for the construction of a railroad. A new company was thus formed in 1828 under the name of the Little Schuylkill Navigation, Railroad and Coal Company.³⁷

³⁶ Charter granted February 20, 1826, signed by Governor J. Andrew Shulze.

³⁷ Charter granted April 14, 1828. Three years were allowed for commencing the work and seven years for completing it.

List persuaded a Reading physician and capitalist to support the project which became largely an enterprise of the borough of Reading. Dr. Isaac Hiester became President of the Company with Frederick List as Vice-President and member of the original board of managers.

No sooner was the charter granted for the railroad than List began to promote actively the development of both the railroad and the coal lands. Since Philadelphia had quite a formidable list of wealthy men,³⁸ some of whom were already interested in the coal development, they were urged to buy shares in the railroad.³⁹

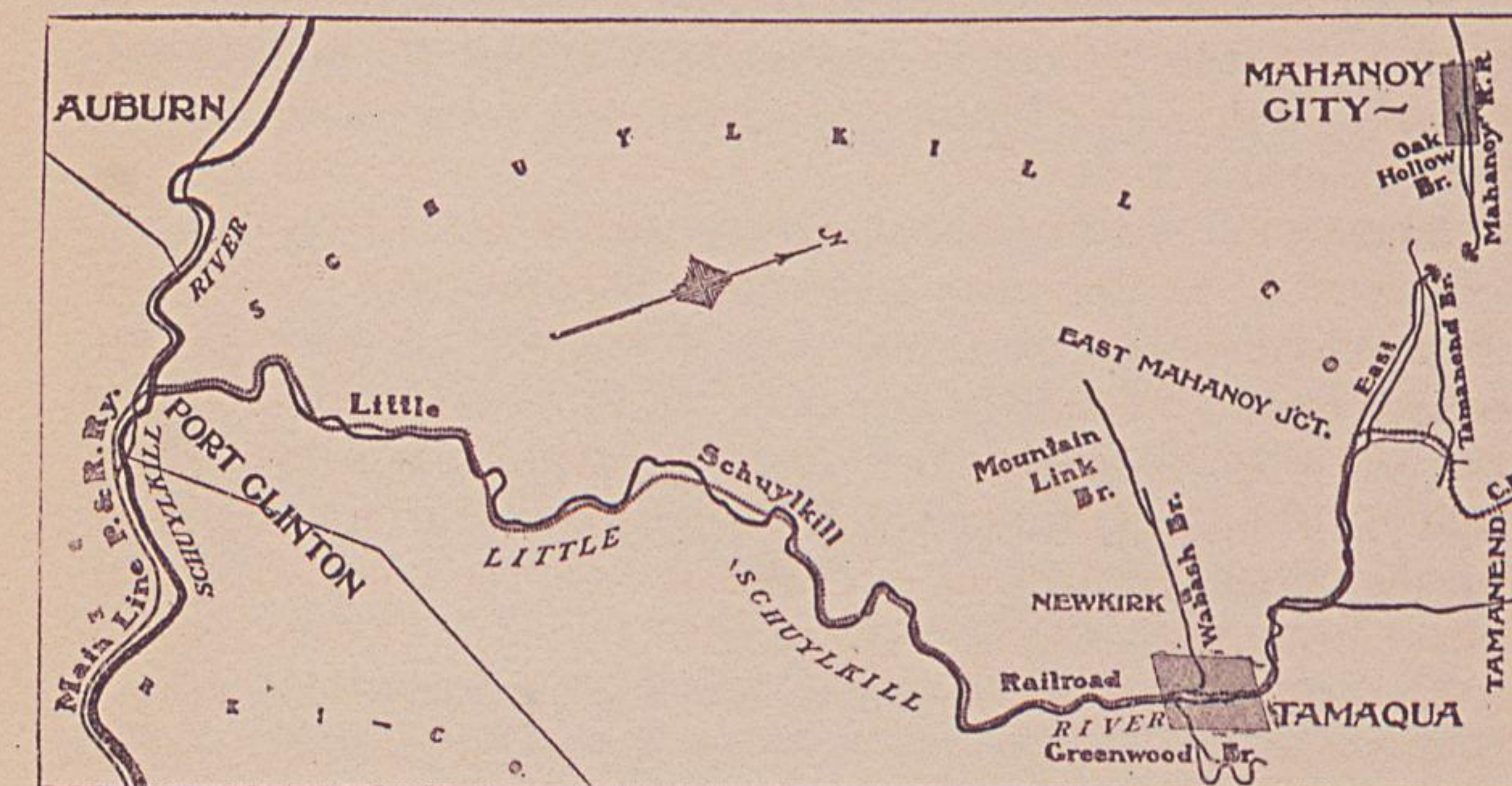
The officers of the company were especially interested in securing the financial support of Stephen Girard who was interested in coal lands lying to the east of the area of the Little Schuylkill Navigation and Coal Company. Mr. Girard at that time was engaged in building a railroad known as the Danville and Pottsville Railroad for the purpose of bringing out the coal from the mines to a point where it could be brought to Philadelphia by canal. (The Schuylkill Canal between Philadelphia and Mt. Carbon opened in 1825.) Girard was interested not only in the opening of the Little Schuylkill Railroad but in purchasing some of the coal lands which were owned by the Railroad Company.⁴⁰ Most of the coal land owned by the Company had been conveyed to it by individuals who had taken title to the land at the time the "boom" developed. Since they were helpless to develop the resources themselves they were willing to transfer the title to the corporation. List was the owner of a tract which, along with ten other tracts to which he took title from individual owners, were transferred to the Little Schuylkill Navigation, Railroad and Coal Company on November 7, 1829.

³⁸ The Philadelphia capitalists were Edward R. Biddle, Thomas Biddle, Elihu Chauncey, Thomas Hart, Thomas Sergeant, Joseph Cooperthwait, Joseph Swift, who were allied with the Bank of Pennsylvania and were also shareholders in the Canal Company and owners of tracts of land in the coal region.

³⁹ The subscription books for shares in the railroad were open in Reading from June 30, 1829 to Sept. 1, 1829, when a sufficient number of shares were finally subscribed.

⁴⁰ The Little Schuylkill Navigation, Railroad and Coal Company had been prohibited from owning coal lands in its original charter. The Company was authorized by a supplemental act, approved April 10, 1826, "to purchase and hold any quantity of lands on the Little Schuylkill River or in that vicinity, not exceeding 2000 acres, for the mining and transportation of coal." The legislature reserved the right to revoke this privilege at any time within fifteen years if it appeared expedient to do so.

The total coal lands subsequently owned by the Company was close to ten thousand acres (despite the act of April 10, 1826) and represented the best of the entire anthracite area, although such was not known at that time. It was in this equity that List wanted Girard to invest.⁴¹



LITTLE SCHUYLKILL RAILROAD, PORT CLINTON TO TAMAQUA
Reproduced from the *History of the Reading*, by permission of Mr. Jay V. Hare

The correspondence between List and Girard continued for some time. List was patient and thorough in presenting the details to Mr. Girard who would counter with more questions to which List would reply in detail. The Railroad Company⁴² wanted to borrow \$75,000 from Girard and was willing to pledge and "furnish clear title of all

⁴¹ Letter No. 1167 in the Girard correspondence shows the holdings of the Little Schuylkill Company. Only the part applicable to List is shown here.

Statement of the property of the Little Schuylkill
Navigation, Railroad and Coal Company.

No. of the deed	No. of acres	From whom bought	Amount of the purchase money	Remarks
VII	834	Fr. List	4172	-----
Total	9743½		\$33,304	

⁴² Letter No. 602, June 30, 1829.

these lands before the money or any part of it is paid into the hands of the treasurer."⁴³ The loan was mainly for the building of the seventeen miles of railroad from Tamaqua⁴⁴ to Port Clinton. (See cut.) List was very anxious that Girard have full knowledge of the potential greatness of the area. He sent Girard a pen and ink drawing of the junction of the river and the exact location of the proposed railroad⁴⁵ and in response to a request for more details from Girard, sent a handmade survey and color sketch of the entire coal area.⁴⁶

Since Mr. Girard apparently chose not to rush hastily into the venture, List became more generous in his offers and more lavish in his prophecies of the future greatness of the coal resources. He offered Girard⁴⁷ one-fifth part of the whole concern at the original cost and proposed to give the "lower place at the forks (of the Little Schuylkill with the Schuylkill River) the name of Port Girard." He explained to Girard,

That for a hundred years to come there is an ample quantity of coal to run down appears from the following calculation. It is a fact conceded by all who have any knowledge of the coal region that all the veins run from Mount

⁴³ Letter No. 639. Letter from List to Girard under date of Philadelphia, July 8, 1829.

⁴⁴ The original survey for the town of Tamaqua was made by List and Dr. Hiester. The original map of the town is in the possession of Mrs. Isaac Hiester of Reading.

⁴⁵ Letter No. 627.

⁴⁶ Letter No. 697.

⁴⁷ Letter No. 704 dated Philadelphia, July 29, 1829. Girard had substantial investments in the Little Schuylkill Navigation Company (as it is called throughout his records) which grew materially in years. The following items from Girard's Bank Balance sheet show the amount of the loan at various intervals from the first time the item appears until the inventory of the estate which was made as of January 2, 1832. The extent to which Girard participated in the railroad is indicated by the increase in the items. The original investment was made toward the end of 1823, since the first time the item appears is in January, 1824. The dates and the amounts are:

January	1824	\$10,500	
April	1824	14,000	
July	1824	24,500	
October	1826	35,000	
January	1827	97,500	
April	1827	232,500	Certificates of 5½%
December	1829	265,850	Certificates of 5½%

The last named equity consisted of 2,200 shares of the company which was the amount held when the estate was inventoried.

From the Bank Balance sheets. Girard College Library.

Carbon along the valley to Mauch Chunk and consequently through our land, a fact which is proved by the circumstances that wherever on our land we dig we find a vein. The number of those veins is from forty to fifty, their average thickness from 10 to 12 feet and consequently their aggregate thickness at least 400 feet or 150 yards. The length of our coal district is six miles or about 10,000 yards. We possess consequently 1½ million of square yards of coal. A cubic yard contains a ton. A depth of one yard of all coal veins in the Little Schuylkill region contains consequently 1½ million tons.

I am, dear sir, with great respect.

your
most obedient and humble servant
Fr. List
Market Str. N. 192

The Company raised a total of \$700,000 and began the work of building the railroad. The work was completed in November, 1831, only sixteen months after the contract for grading was let. The formal ceremonies of opening the road took place on Friday, November 18, 1831, at Port Clinton.⁴⁸ This was not the first American railroad for the Baltimore and Ohio antedated it by a few years (1830), nor was it the first railroad, so-called, in Pennsylvania. The Mauch Chunk "switchback" (1827) was a sort of railroad which operated before the Little Schuylkill Railroad was built. However, in point of time the Little Schuylkill was third. More important still is the fact that this venture became later the great Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. Mr. Hare in his *History of The Reading* says,

The Little Schuylkill Navigation, Railroad and Coal Company, one of the first railroad corporations to be chartered in the state of Pennsylvania, may be said to be the progenitor of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad for, in addition to being the first railroad in the present Reading system to be incorporated, a number of gentlemen who were prominently associated with its creation were also the originators of the plan for the construction of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and the prime movers in the consummation of the plan.⁴⁹

List was not present to see the opening of the railroad. Tribute was paid to him by Dr. Isaac Hiester at the ceremonies when he said,

⁴⁸ Complete details of this momentous event are given in detail by Jay V. Hare, *History of The Reading*, published in serial form in *The Pilot*, XIII, Nos. 2 and 3, February and March, 1912. Mr. Hare very kindly made his personal copies of *The Pilot* available to the author.

⁴⁹ Jay V. Hare, *loc. cit.*, XIII, No. 2, p. 39, February, 1912.

In tendering my sincere acknowledgments for the flattering manner in which my name has been mentioned, I have to regret the absence on this joyous occasion of one who is entitled to a full participation in the compliment with which I have been honored. The gentleman to whom I refer is Professor List whose enterprise and public spirit are well known, and who is now on his homeward voyage from Europe, where he has, at his own expense, spent the last year for the purpose of introducing American anthracite. Associated as he was with me, from the commencement in designing and accomplishing preliminary arrangements of the Little Schuylkill improvement, I take great pleasure in acknowledging how much of the successful result of our labors was indebted to his talents, ingenuity and perseverance.

After much more discussion Dr. Hiester offered as a toast "Professor List—His exertions to introduce anthracite into the European markets deserve our thanks."

During the troublesome days of financing and building the railroad the editorials in the *Readinger Adler* still kept up their high quality and general information. List strongly supported President Jackson in the campaign of 1828 and helped swing Pennsylvania, or at least a large section of it, to Jackson. List was a friend of Edward Livingston, Secretary of State under Jackson.⁵⁰ As a reward for his friendship and political support Jackson nominated List as consul to Hamburg. President Jackson also knew of the coal development and of List's plan to introduce anthracite coal into Europe, especially into France. It was felt that his chances of selling American anthracite were few but he had the good wishes of the President. He was to proceed to Paris first and then to Hamburg. He sailed as soon as his patent was granted on November 8, 1830, and landed in Le Havre December 20. Before he left Paris he was informed that the Senate had not ratified the appointment. Recent evidence shows that the city of Hamburg protested to the American Senate against his appointment on the ground that he was a "dangerous political fugitive."

He never served as consul at Hamburg. While in France he published several articles on railroads and talked with leading statesmen on this—his favorite subject. He decided to come back to America to get his family which he had left in Reading⁵¹ and take

⁵⁰ List and Livingston corresponded on matters of slavery and world commerce. *Zollvereinsblatt*, No. 11, March 17, 1846. "Die Nordamerikanische Sklavenfrage."

⁵¹ The List family took an active part in the community life of Reading. Frederick List was a member of Lodge 62 F. and A.M. The family belonged to the Trinity Lutheran Church.

them all back to Germany where he had been promised the appointment of consul at Baden.

He remained here only long enough to attend briefly to his business affairs and sailed from Havre de Grace, Maryland, in the spring of 1832 directly to Hamburg. He never saw America again. His wife's illness detained him in Hamburg for a year which gave him a chance to talk with leading individuals on the possibility of railroads, but to no avail.

He was appointed consul to Leipzig in 1834 which post he held until 1837. None of the consular posts paid anything resembling a living wage, but it afforded him a certain amount of prestige and indicated the nation's trust in him as a citizen.⁵² He was appointed by President Van Buren as consul to Stuttgart in which capacity he served from 1843 to 1845. The return to Germany satisfied a deep longing which he never really overcame while in America. He was at heart a German patriot despite his citizenship and devoted services to causes in the land of his adoption. In a letter of October 5, 1828, he wrote from Philadelphia:

I read some Hamburg papers in Philadelphia which brought back fond recollections. I can hardly describe my feeling. I read over a lot of correspondence I had in connection with the Zollverein, untouched for years. Those were the golden days of hope. Now I will be homesick for six weeks and unfit for American business. My love for the fatherland is like that of Mothers to crippled children, they love them all the more and more they are crippled. In the background of all my plans lies Germany, although I know beforehand all the annoyances I shall meet there.

He had hoped his annoyances would be few and that his enemies would have forgotten or even forgiven the charges which drove him out, but it was not so.

Fifteen Trying Years, 1831-1846

After his return to Germany, his energies were directed mainly to building of railroads, which he thought would be a great aid in unifying the nation. He proposed that a line should be built from

⁵² List took the oath of citizenship in Philadelphia on September 2, 1825. Final decree of citizenship became effective October 27, 1830. Facsimile of original papers is reproduced in *Friedrich List Werke*, Band II.

Leipzig to Dresden and financed by the sale of shares of stock in a joint-stock company such as used in financing the Little Schuylkill railroad. The fully developed plan which he laid out for Germany called for railroads which would connect the larger inland cities with one another and with the seaports. His plan became a reality in twenty years. His continuous agitation got him into trouble and led to much misunderstanding of the man and his purposes. His political enemies continually annoyed him. List was convinced that he was *persona non grata* when he asked that his citizenship be restored and was told that his status was that of a foreigner whose stay depended entirely on his good behavior. This was too much for his impulsive nature and he moved his family to Paris in October, 1837. Here he wrote his book, *The National System of Political Economy: International Commerce, Commercial Policy and the German Zollverein*, which was published in May, 1841.

During his last exile to Paris (October, 1837 to July, 1840) his agitation for railroads and a Zollverein continued in the form of articles which appeared in the *Zollvereinsblatt*.⁵³ Likewise he never ceased trying to get reinstated as a citizen of Württemberg. Finally his health became impaired and he went to the Tyrol for a rest. He was, in fact, a sick man mentally and physically. He left the inn where he was staying in the town of Kufstein in the morning of November 30, 1846. That evening his body was found covered with snow. He had committed suicide. His last letter to his friend Kolb⁵⁴ reveals the half-coherent thoughts of the tortured man. The tragic course of his life and the tragic end are both traceable to chaotic conditions of national dissension which he sought to overcome. Kind strangers buried him at Kufstein, a remote corner of the Germany which he loved so dearly and which he longed to see united and great.

He never forgot America. The progress of enterprise, the growth of the cities and the willingness to adopt new methods were always in contrast with the reactionary Germany of his day. He was interested financially in the Little Schuylkill Railroad and depended

⁵³ His articles appeared with regularity in the *Zollvereinsblatt*, edited by List and during his absence by Dr. Tögel, and in *Ansburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, edited by Dr. Kolb, a former pupil of List's at Tübingen and a lifelong friend.

⁵⁴ Facsimile of the letter in *Friedrich List Werke*, Band VIII, 833.

upon it and other investments to provide a substantial income which they did until adversity (Panic of 1837) set in. Incomes fell off and he tried to secure a loan of a "thousand or fifteen hundred dollars on my coal interest" from Mr. Edward Biddle.⁵⁵ He also planned to return to America after his reverses in Germany. He writes, "I would like very much to return to the United States but what can I find to live upon, that is the question." He wanted to become an official government translator but it didn't develop. He felt he could become a teacher of German if he could find a position, which thought may have been inspired by the fact that he had been offered the presidency of Lafayette College, just being established, at Easton, Pennsylvania.⁵⁶

In spite of the fact that List never quite saw any of his plans reach fruition, he has many claims to fame in the annals of history. In America he was one of the most influential in shaping first, the American tariff and commercial policy in the crucial years of the 1820's and 1830's, and second in the emphasis on the importance of industry as a necessary compliment to agriculture in building a great nation. In Germany he is recognized as the originator of the railroad system and the "spiritual father" of the Zollverein. He developed a method of historical research into the annals of various peoples in an effort to find a casual explanation for the origin of the civilization to which they had attained. This provided a framework for the Historical School of Economists which for forty years (1843-1883) was the most influential school of thought in German-speaking countries.

The few years in America—less than six—contributed largely to

⁵⁵ Letter to Dr. Isaac Hiester under date of September 1, 1836. *Friedrich List Werke*, Band VIII, 481-2.

⁵⁶ Lafayette College Committee wrote Friedrich List on February 16, 1828, "The undersigned have had their attention directed to you, as a Gentleman, experienced as a Professor, and could they induce you to engage in the Institution, in such a situation as would be compatible with your requirements and character. They believe the result would be profitable to yourself, and eminently useful to the character and standing of the College. . . ."

List was impressed with the offer but stated in his answer that he could not accept, as he had engaged himself "to write a large work on the subject (Science of Political Economy) which for a long time will require my undivided exertions." He suggested a substitute in one Dr. Benedict Jager in whom List had the confidence that "he would rank equal with any other Principal in any other College." David B. Skellman, *The Biography of a College. Lafayette*, I. 41-45.

the things that make List great. They provided a working laboratory for the ideas he brought with him and a library for added thought and research. His association with leading citizens of Philadelphia and Washington gave him prestige. The writings of Alexander Hamilton, Daniel Raymond, Thomas Cooper, Mathew Carey, all had a part in influencing his later writings.⁵⁷

Honors or rewards for his efforts never came to him during his lifetime. The only public recognition of his work during his life in Germany was an honorary doctor's degree awarded him by the University of Jena.⁵⁸ After his death every effort was made to compensate for what had not been done. In 1848, the Württemberg legislature, which once drove him out, passed resolutions in his honor. In the park opposite the railroad station in Leipzig stands a very fine monument to List, the real builder of the Leipzig-Dresden line.⁵⁹ Monuments have also been erected in Munich, Stuttgart, Reutlingen and Kufstein.⁶⁰ Streets of German cities and a high school in Leipzig have been named for him. The greatest recognition given his work in Germany, however, is the *Deutsch Friedrich List Gesellschaft* founded in Heidelberg in 1925 for the purpose of encouraging the study of Frederick List. It has sponsored

⁵⁷ Alexander Hamilton, *Report on Manufactures* (1792). Daniel Raymond, *Thoughts on Political Economy* (1820). Known as *Elements of Political Economy* in later editions. Thomas Cooper, *Elements of Political Economy* (1826). Mathew Carey, Publisher and author of pamphlets on protection. Henry C. Carey, son of Mathew Carey, *Principles of Social Science* (1859) is one of the first protectionist authors whose work resembles List's in many respects. (Carey's first work, *Principles of Political Economy* (1837-40), was distinctly a free-trade book.) Of the works just mentioned it is probable that Hamilton's treatise was most influential. No quotations from Raymond can be found in List's writings. Cooper he knew for purposes of attack and the elder Carey furnished much anti-British, protectionistic ammunition.

⁵⁸ This degree was awarded because he persuaded the builders of the Hesse-Frankfort to reroute the line to include the towns of Gotha, Weimar and Jena.

⁵⁹ The first railroad on the continent opened April 7, 1839.

⁶⁰ The inscription on the monument unveiled in 1927 at Kufstein touches on two of his characteristics—patriotism and prophetic vision:

Ein Anwalt ohne Sold bemüht fürs Vaterland,
Ein Kämpfer, dem kein Gold den starken Willen band.
Ein Held, der weit hinaus sah über seine Zeit,
Ein Sämann, dem als Haus das Sternenwelt bereit.

Martin Greif.

This may be translated: "A defender of his country who toiled without reward, a warrior over whose strong will gold cast no fetters. A hero who saw beyond his own age far into the future, a sower for whom the starry world is prepared as a dwelling."

the publication of the ten volumes, *Friedrich List Werke*. The city of Reading has given the only public recognition thus far accorded List in Pennsylvania in naming a section of one of their beautiful boulevards the Friedrich List Boulevard.⁶¹ No recognition of List has been made by either the city of Philadelphia or the state of Pennsylvania. Interest in the man and his work has been revived in Germany as the first exponent of a union of German-speaking peoples with a sphere of influence from the North Sea to the Mediterranean.

List was a dreamer gifted with a vision far ahead of his time. He was a powerful propagandist of almost fanatical zeal. This is partly responsible for a one-sidedness to his arguments which often lacked certainty and balance. Despite the lack of balance in his theoretical contributions, his practical work, both in his native Germany and in America, was that of breaking the ground of unexplored industrial frontier on which, in time, great harvests were to grow.

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⁶¹ Act of the City Council April, 1941. The Berks County Historical Society has the only replica of the List bust part of the Leipzig monument in this country.



