A HISTORY OF THE GERMANIC MUSEUM AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY
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by Guido Goldman

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The publication of this book and its complementary volume, *An Iconography of Adolphus Busch Hall*, is prompted by the occasion of the dedication of the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University on September 23, 1989. The two volumes were made possible by the assistance of a number of the author’s colleagues at Harvard, whose help was truly indispensable. The author would especially like to thank Emmy Norris for sharing her extensive knowledge of so much of the history recounted here; Diane Kent, Kristin Kladstrup, and Evelyn Neumark at the Center for their laborious efforts at improving the meaning and the flow of the text; and Ceallaigh Reddy, Harley Holden, and Robin McElheny for providing much of the source material and the photographs for this study. Most of the photographs were generously made available by the Harvard University Archives and the Busch-Reisinger Museum, although several derive from other sources.

In producing the small volume on the iconography of the building, the author wants particularly to acknowledge the photographic accomplishment of Daniel Sutherland, who also took the interior shots of the renovated space that are reproduced at the end of this book. Thanks are due also to Charles S. Maier, Simon Schama, Anna Kent, and William D. Andrews for providing important clues to deciphering the symbols of this unique building.

For both volumes, the author is also deeply grateful for the outstanding assistance of the Office of the University Publisher, and in particular to Eleanor Bradshaw for her wonderful talents in the design of these publications. They are published by the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, but responsibility for the text and its failings rests solely with the author.

The superb renovation of Adolphus Busch Hall is the result of the brilliant architectural achievement of Goody, Clancy & Associates of Boston, and especially of John Clancy, Jean Lawrence, Chris Toupin, and Neil Nott of that fine firm. Construction was executed with great skill by Kennedy & Rossi, and a particular word of thanks is due to Peter Kaminski, who oversaw the implementation of the onsite efforts. Without the enormous efforts of Didier Thomas, Michael Williams, David Irving, Richard Freyberger, Kate Foley, and Alexandra Holmes, all of Harvard University, this project could never have been achieved with such success. And it is
to Philip Parsons that we owe appreciation for originating the concept of a new mixed use for Adolphus Busch Hall.

The effort was greatly assisted by the constant support and interest of Derek C. Bok, president of the university. Stanley Hoffmann, the brilliant chairman of the Center, has been a continuous source of inspiration. Sandy Selesky, our building manager, has had to cope valiantly with the countless little problems that afflict any new user of such complicated space. But it was above all Abby Collins, the Center’s incredibly able assistant director, who made possible the effective planning of, and the unusually efficient move into, Adolphus Busch Hall as the new home of the Center. She contributed more than anyone else to the success of this venture. To all of these individuals the Center owes its abiding gratitude.
INTRODUCTION

The move of the Center for European Studies to its new home in Adolphus Busch Hall in the summer of 1989 presents an opportunity to celebrate this most remarkable building. It is unquestionably one of the most striking and majestic buildings of Harvard University, infused with extraordinary charm and character. It is also a building with an unusual history, which seems appropriate on this occasion to retell.

Two events have made possible the Center's move to Adolphus Busch Hall. The first was the decision on the part of Harvard University to relocate the Busch-Reisinger Museum and its splendid collection of German and central European art in a new building to be erected behind the Fogg Museum. This relocation meant that most of Adolphus Busch Hall fell vacant. The second event was the enormously generous act of Alain, Jean and Charles de Gunzburg to provide a gift of $10 million to enable the Center to renovate Adolphus Busch Hall and to acquire an endowment sufficient to defray the considerable maintenance and operating costs of this large structure. Without the magnificent gift of the de Gunzburg family, the Center would not have been able to move to Adolphus Busch Hall, and it is with pride and appreciation that the Center has taken on a new name along with its new address. As of September 23, 1989, the Center becomes the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies. This is especially fitting because Minda de Gunzburg, who was born in Montreal and then lived most of her life in Paris, cared deeply about the politics, the history, and the culture of Europe, subjects all at the heart of the work of the Center.

For Adolphus Busch Hall, this development marks a major transformation in both the configuration and the use of its exceptional space. Built under difficult circumstances to serve as a teaching museum and specifically to house the collections of the Germanic Museum, the building has undergone considerable change over the past seventy-five years. While it has experienced periods of notable popularity and both the building and collections have been much admired, Adolphus Busch Hall has also endured substantial hardship over time.

Hardship was brought about in part by the intensity of anti-German feeling during the two world wars. It was also the result partially of a misdirection of the museum's mission and a resulting unsuitability of design. Originally intended as a plaster cast museum to augment the teaching efforts of the Germanic Languages and
Literatures Department, the museum suffered an attrition of student interest caused by the wars. The museum was subsequently used as a repository for outstanding original works of art, and while charming and popular, the building lacked adequate climate controls and its space did not permit a presentation of these works that would maximize their visual effect.

A third problem was the absence of sufficient funding to maintain and upgrade the structure, a concern of the university even before the building was erected. For most of its history, Adolphus Busch Hall lacked adequate operational funding, the result of the enormous escalation in costs for building maintenance and museum needs of the past decades.

The result of these factors brought the university to the difficult and reluctant decision in the mid-eighties to move most of the original works of art in the Busch-Reisinger Museum to properly designed new galleries and art storage facilities. It was decided that Adolphus Busch Hall would be given a new mixed use. The most distinctive plaster cast galleries would retain their museum function, housing a fine collection of medieval art capable of withstanding rather primitive climate conditions. The Center for European Studies, whose programs include the study of Germany, seemed the appropriate partner and occupant to utilize the remaining two-thirds of the building.

The change does mark the end of a chapter for Adolphus Busch Hall, which will no longer function primarily as a museum. But the presence of the Center will bring increased teaching and scholarly activities into the splendid structure and perhaps thereby anchor it more firmly in the academic life of the university. The Center will thus fulfill some of the expectations and hopes of those whose efforts led to the construction of Adolphus Busch Hall as the home of the Germanic Museum.
The establishment of a Germanic Museum in 1901 at Harvard University must appear as something of an anomaly today. To understand how this event came about, one needs first to recall the singular importance of Germany as an educational model and source for American university development during the last several decades of the nineteenth century. Already at mid-century the Germans had more and better universities than perhaps any nation in Europe. With their emphasis on freedom and independence, academic self-government and the evolution of an elective system of course selection, German universities were among the most modern in the world.

Advancements in developing new fields of study, the availability of research laboratories and major library collections, and the innovative methods of the lecture and seminar system of instruction drew large numbers of American college graduates to Germany for further specialized graduate study. At mid-century, virtually every German university had a colony of American students, with larger concentrations initially at Göttingen and Berlin. By 1880, there were almost 200 Americans enrolled in German universities; ten years later that figure had more than doubled. At the end of the century, it was estimated that some 10,000 Americans had studied for at least one full year at a German university.

The flow of American graduate students abroad was to have an enormous impact on university education in the United States. Between 1860 and 1900 over 260 additional institutions of higher learning were created in the United States. Some, such as Johns Hopkins and Cornell, were designed to incorporate central features of the German university system into their own structures. Faculties everywhere began to be populated by a large contingent of American scholars with German doctorates; the impact was especially strong in the fields of philosophy, ethics, psychology, history, modern languages, engineering and the natural sciences.

Germany and the United States seemed to grow closer and to mirror each other’s political developments. Prussia had supported the Union in the Civil War, and American sympathies extended to the German side in the War of 1870. German unification seemed to be a good thing, and Germany appeared as a progressive, dynamic state. That its educational system should be so exemplary seemed in keeping with its overall modern image.
Certainly this view of German education was prevalent at Harvard. Even before the election of Charles W. Eliot as president of the College in 1869, the Harvard Overseers were attracted to the concept of the German university. Their own institution, in remaining small and rather hidebound, threatened to become parochial. It was Eliot who was to lead Harvard as a university into the ranks of greatness during the next forty years of his remarkable stewardship. And it was Eliot, as much as any single figure, who espoused the German university example for American education.

Beginning with his inaugural address, Eliot proceeded with great ingenuity to introduce countless improvements that had much of their origin in the German experience. Whether we think back to the novelty of the elective system, the emergence of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and the professional schools, the development of new fields of study, the broadening of the library system or the changes in the style of instruction, the impact at Harvard of German methods was profound and enduring. By the 1890s, the faculty was even debating whether to introduce a system of Privatdozenten! The process of change was, of course, influenced by the fact that so many members of the faculty had completed graduate study in Germany: the most eminent figures in the history and philosophy departments had spent a year or more in Germany, as had many in the sciences.

The interest in German graduate study also led to an increased demand for instruction in the German language, literature and culture. These fields experienced a sudden dynamic growth. Before 1870, there had been little interest in German at Harvard beyond the single year of required elementary language training, with only two elective courses in German being offered. Within twenty-five years, however, the number of courses had increased to thirty with a combined enrollment of 750. Among these, there was a surprisingly heavy concentration in German art, German antiquities and the early period of German history.

Harvard’s growing interest in and emphasis on Germany were enhanced by the arrival of Kuno Francke, a remarkable young scholar from Germany who joined the German department in 1884. The twenty-nine-year-old Francke had come to know the Harvard historian Ephraim Emerton during his year of study in Berlin in 1875. It was through this connection that Francke came to Harvard. His own training embraced both the study of history and of literature. In the forty-five years of his presence on the Harvard campus, he was to make the most significant and telling impact in promoting the culture of the country of his birth.

At heart a democrat, Francke quickly found himself more comfortably established at Harvard than in a German university. In 1891 he married an American and soon thereafter took U.S. citizenship. He was an extraordinarily gifted lecturer, a fine writer, a splendid linguist and an unusually kind man, imbued with—in the words of the Harvard minute published upon his death years later—“a nature of wonderful sweetness.” An idealist, he remained convinced throughout his life that it was his mission to make Americans understand Germany better by learning of the richness of its cultural past. Central to this purpose for most of the years that Francke was at Harvard was the concept of the Germanic museum. He is the single figure most responsible for its establishment.

The initiative for a Germanic museum was formally launched in 1897, though Francke had been pushing for such a project for some time. His concern was that no one in New England seemed really to understand the value and importance of German culture: modern and contemporary Germany was held in esteem, but sufficient
weight was not given to the noble cultural achievements of the German past. A great culture had to be understood and studied within its "context," Francke often said, and this could best be done by visually presenting great reproductions from bygone centuries.

Before leaving Germany, Francke had contributed to the massive *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, conceived by Freiherr von Stein as a means to educate the German people about their past greatness. The founding of the German National Museum in Nuremberg in mid-century served a similar purpose, as had other efforts such as the Norse Museum in Copenhagen and the Swiss National Museum in Zurich. Could not something similar, if smaller, be established at Harvard to tap the burgeoning interest reflected in the steady increase in German courses? Harvard was seeing, after all, its heyday of specialized museums. Agassiz had founded his Zoological Museum, the cultural anthropologists had their Peabody Museum, Italian and French art could be studied through the plaster casts of the Fogg Museum, and there was even soon to be a Social Museum to facilitate teaching in the nascent field of social work and sociology. But perhaps the single most relevant example was the founding of the Semitic Museum in 1891, which, thanks to the personal generosity of the great financier Jacob Schiff, was soon to have its own building.

In the face of these positive examples, Francke was moved also by a negative impulse: his concern over excessive French influence on the campus. While scholars and scientists might flock to German universities, it was Paris that attracted artists, art historians and architects. The overarching importance of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, the fascination with French impressionism, and the outreach of the Alliance Française had found no German counterpart. James Hazen Hyde, a young Harvard graduate, was about to finance an exchange program with the Sorbonne at Harvard. Francke felt impelled as a cultural missionary to match these efforts on the German side so that Americans might be brought to appreciate German achievements in the visual arts, for they seemed to admire only German music and literature.

The effort was not to be narrowly nationalistic. What Francke had in mind was a Germanic museum that would embrace the cultures of Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland and Austria and even, tangentially, England as well as that of Germany. In 1897, the name of his department was changed to Germanic Languages and Literatures, and Francke was much strengthened in his efforts by the presence of another German, J. C. G. von Jagemann, who had joined the faculty to teach German philology. Von Jagemann became chairman of the department and shared Francke's enthusiasm for the new venture.

Their original proposal, entitled simply, "The Need for a Germanic Museum at Harvard," was printed in March 1897 and was signed by three members of the newly renamed department, Francke, George Bartlett, and Hugo Schilling. It described the kinds of reproductions that would be sought (primarily plaster casts) and stated modestly that "a collection like this could hardly be begun with less than $10,000." The paper emphasized the importance of creating a teaching museum, a small-scale affair intended to fulfill Francke's vision of educating Harvard students about the treasures of the German past.

What happened next might well not have occurred in the same way but for the involvement of another German professor at Harvard, Hugo Münsterberg, who had joined the illustrious philosophy department in 1891 at the invitation of William James, its most famous member. Münsterberg, a highly original social psychologist,
was, without question, one of the most brilliant and innovative (albeit flamboyant and ambitious) members of the Harvard faculty. He combined, in the words of his renowned colleague George Herbert Palmer, the "career of a scholar, entertainer, author, orator, and politician which made his name a familiar one from the Atlantic to the Pacific." Harvard was soon to bestow an honorary degree on him at the relatively young age of thirty-eight.

Münsterberg was also very well connected, particularly in German-American political circles. In contrast to Francke, he never chose to give up his German citizenship and maintained particularly close ties to the German embassy in Washington. It was Münsterberg who arranged for his friend Ambassador Theodor von Holleben to come to Harvard in the spring of 1899, where he met Francke and others in the department and learned of their efforts to launch a Germanic museum. The meeting led the German diplomat to deliver a speech lauding their efforts, which was noted in the German press. Von Holleben's visit and subsequent actions were to bring the efforts of Francke and his colleagues to the attention of the German government, which, as we shall see, had developed its own reasons for seeking ways to improve its image in the United States.

Münsterberg's involvement was beneficial in other ways as well. He helped secure the interest and support of President Eliot, who admired the scintillating young philosopher-psychologist. Eliot was predisposed to hold German science and education in high regard, was much impressed with German achievements, and frequently chose to emphasize the common roots that seemed to link America to Germany.

Eliot was also proud of the fact that Harvard had secured for its faculty the two German academics in the United States most outstanding in terms of ability and national reputation. At the turn of the century, Harvard was still a relatively small institution with only ninety professors. It was a period that gave great scope to individual faculty efforts in shaping university policy. If Francke and Münsterberg, supported by others in the German department, felt the need to have a Germanic museum, it seemed reasonable to back that effort. In the case of President Eliot, support was to take on substantial personal involvement and commitment. Had he not been so committed, it is doubtful that the efforts in the cause of the museum could have played such a significant role at Harvard in the years to come.

Eliot's commitment to Germans and Germany in this period was not entirely atypical for the Yankee patricians who controlled the Harvard Corporation and dominated Boston social life. It was not just their perception of Germany as a modernizing, enterprising and educationally advanced society; there were also significant ethnic factors. Immigration to the United States changed radically in the latter part of the nineteenth century, bringing mostly southern and eastern Europeans to these shores. Germans shared a heritage with the Anglo-Saxons, and the Kaiser was, after all, the cousin of the King of England. Yankees had also long emphasized their English roots to distinguish themselves from the mass of Catholic Irish-Americans. The preponderance of German-Americans was Protestant, as was the majority of Prussians.

The founding of the Boston Symphony in the 1880s, for example, had been inspired by Germany, and the orchestra was led for years by German conductors. Its great benefactor, Henry Lee Higginson, was soon to become an active member of the Harvard Corporation, and his wife, a few years later, the first president of the Boston German Society, which had some 600 members. The mixing of such cultural bonds with social ties created a congenial context for the efforts that were mounted to gain wide support for the Germanic Museum.
These efforts found their organizational expression in the creation of the Germanic Museum Association in 1901. With the most eminent German-American, Carl Schurz, as president, this body claimed a select membership. Among its many vice-presidents were Charles Elliot, Louis Brandeis, Andrew D. White, founding president of Cornell and ambassador to Berlin, and Theodore Roosevelt, celebrated hero of the Spanish-American War. Also serving were Wilhelm Bode, the well-known Berlin museum director, and Gustav von Bezold, who headed the German National Museum in Nuremberg, as well as Ambassador von Holleben (who was to receive an honorary degree from Harvard that same year). Its board of directors numbered eighteen and included, of course, Francke, Münsterberg, von Jagemann and Bartlett. Henry Putnam, a prominent Yankee from Boston, was chairman. When Roosevelt became president of the United States upon McKinley’s assassination later that same year, the association really became an impressive affair. What a spectacular cast to render support for this nascent ethnic museum at Harvard!

Harvard generally expected new programs like the Germanic Museum to raise funds for their building requirements. It was, after all, the period in which Mrs. William Hayes Fogg financed the art museum in memory of her late husband, when Jacob Schiff provided the funds for the new Semitic Museum, and Nelson Robinson donated money for the architecture building (all of which were to house plaster casts as well). But the Germanic Museum was fortunate enough to be given use of a defunct and rather quaint building, the old Rogers Gymnasium. With the promise of a building in hand, Francke next had the chore of raising funds to acquire casts and other reproductions. Early in 1900, Francke, now chairman of his department and curator of the museum, wrote to Hermann Grimm, a famous and well-connected professor of history at the University of Berlin, in hopes of securing his intervention with the Prussian government on behalf of the museum. What Francke had in mind was a modest collection of plaster casts of medieval German sculptures.

Francke’s initiative succeeded beyond his most extravagant expectations. Not only did Professor Grimm obtain the support of the new German chancellor, Prince Bernhard von Bülow, but within a few months Kaiser Wilhelm himself became involved. This step was to give the Germanic Museum an entirely different significance because there were now political as well as cultural aims at the root of this royal initiative. Why the Kaiser should personally have become engaged in this enterprise is due to a fascinating set of circumstances that reveal a good deal about German-American relations at the time.

The Kaiser’s and von Bülow’s interest in the Germanic Museum can be traced to developments several years before 1900. In 1897, Bernhard von Bülow had become secretary of state in the German Foreign Office, and Alfred von Tirpitz had moved to the same position in the Naval Office. The combination of the two men was to have a profound impact on German foreign policy. It was Admiral von Tirpitz who directed the sudden vast increase in the size and strength of the German fleet, a policy destined to intensify rivalry with Britain as the world’s foremost naval power.

Von Bülow’s ambition was to become chancellor, and that hope depended on the success of his foreign policy, especially its domestic perception. Intent on using foreign policy to reconcile divisions at home, von Bülow set his eye on securing for Germany additional colonial holdings, primarily in the South Pacific. Such an effort required a benevolent attitude on the part of the United States, which was itself developing a larger naval capacity during the period. Von Bülow felt that some form of partnership or accommodation with the United States
would enhance Germany’s competitive position with Britain and perhaps secure a success in Samoa or elsewhere that might bring him the chancellorship.

One difficulty with this policy developed early in 1898 with the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Spain. Most European powers did not favor the American position, and the Kaiser in particular felt he could not support an attack on the Spanish monarchy. Germany therefore adhered to a policy of neutrality. Unfortunately, events that soon took place in Manila Bay were to cast the Germans in anything but a neutral role in the eyes of most Americans.

1897 had brought a considerable strengthening of the German Pacific fleet, first under von Tirpitz and then under Admiral Otto von Diederichs. Von Diederichs’s success in the taking of the Kiaochou Peninsula on the Chinese mainland for Germany in that year had considerably enhanced his prestige. Given the ostensible significance and high popularity at home of further German conquests in the area, Prince Henry, the eldest brother of the Kaiser, had been dispatched to Hong Kong to show the flag with a sizable naval contingent.

On May 1, 1898, Commodore George Dewey had sunk the Spanish fleet off the Philippines and established a blockade of Manila while awaiting reinforcements. Fearful of the arrival of the superior Spanish fleet steaming towards the Pacific, Dewey was nervous too about the prospects of foreign intervention on behalf of Spain. Although Germany had relatively insignificant commercial interests in the Philippines, von Bulow was advised by Prince Henry from Hong Kong and the German consul in Manila that some sort of German protectorate might be satisfactory to the local population, which was in uprising against the Spaniards. Unlikely as such a development appeared, Admiral von Diederichs was instructed to sail to the islands in order to ascertain the actual position. Berlin did not have in mind to meddle actively in the Spanish-American conflict and was misled as to American intentions by U.S. Ambassador Andrew D. White, who inadvertently encouraged German ambitions in the Philippines.

If Berlin’s intentions were relatively innocent, von Diederichs’s presence turned out to be a clumsy mistake. The fact that his fleet was larger than Dewey’s and remained in Manila Bay for almost three months and his continuous disregard (because he questioned its legality) of Dewey’s blockade led to a series of unpleasant incidents. Tension with the commodore erupted on various occasions, especially as he suspected the Germans of surreptitiously assisting the Spanish forces on the islands. Annoyed by this German naval interference, Dewey was reported to have passed the message to von Diederichs that “if Germany wants war, all right, we are ready.” Given the mismatch of forces, it is not clear that Dewey would have won a German-American battle for Manila Bay.

The dispute became the stuff of a highly exaggerated and exercised outcry in the American tabloid press. For two months, until the battle of San Juan Hill and the sinking of the Spanish fleet off Cuba, Dewey was the singular hero of a chauvinistic American public opinion that portrayed the German intrusion in a most hostile light. Typical was the view expressed in Henry Cabot Lodge’s 1899 best-seller, The War with Spain, which accused von Diederichs of having threatened Dewey with annihilation—a far cry from what had actually transpired.

Surprising as it may now seem, no single event of the time stirred so shrill an American condemnation of German behavior as did the contest of Manila Bay. The condemnation was doubly unfortunate because the
American perception of a deliberately aggressive German presence in the Philippines was neither intended nor foreseen by Berlin. At worst, these events were a maladroit effort on the part of Germany to wrest some territorial benefit from its brief policy of neutrality. But they severely set back U.S.-German relations and did serious and enduring damage to the way in which American public opinion regarded German policy at exactly the time when von Bulow and the Kaiser were hoping to induce closer cooperation between the two countries.

Prompted by the negative explosion in the American press, Ambassador von Holleben sent a lengthy memorandum analyzing American attitudes towards Germany to the German Foreign Office in August 1899. The memorandum emphasized the potential role of German-Americans in increasing the popularity of Germany and offsetting the damage that had been done. The concept of harnessing German-Americans on behalf of German interests appealed to Berlin. There were, after all, a great number of them. About 20 percent of all Americans derived from Germany and Austro-Hungary. All kinds of cultural organizations existed for the German-American community, and there were more German-language newspapers—over 650—than those in any other foreign language. German-Americans were industrious and economically successful. They were, on the whole, geographically concentrated and thus had the potential for playing an important electoral role. Yet, they seemed to have no political influence and lacked any organized capacity to promote German interests or U.S.-German understanding.

Von Bulow and the Kaiser would have liked to redress this lack of political organization and influence. Alerted by von Holleben and shocked by the shrill attacks of the American press, they now sought ways to utilize the German-American community as an asset and resource. This fundamental aim best explains why the actions organized by Francke and Münsterberg at Harvard triggered such a positive reception in Berlin and throughout Germany.

Encouraged by his government to pursue contacts in the German-American community, von Holleben was quick to accept Münsterberg’s invitation to visit Harvard in the spring of 1899. There he met with members of Harvard’s Germanic Languages and Literatures Department and learned of the plans to establish a Germanic museum. Von Holleben reported back to Berlin with enthusiasm about this effort “to emulate the German National Museum in Nuremberg” and urged Berlin to consider “that here was a place to make our big effort.” He stressed the potential strategic value of supporting these activities at Harvard, noting that a significant portion of America’s most powerful families sent their sons to study there.

Kaiser Wilhelm promptly endorsed these observations and marked the margin of von Holleben’s report with an enthusiastic “Good!” For the Kaiser, there was one Harvard son in particular who fascinated him: Theodore Roosevelt, hero of the Spanish-American war, which had brought such unpleasant and unwanted complications to German-American relations. Over the next years, the Kaiser sought to woo Roosevelt in countless ways, but he tended to overrate the value of his friendship with the man who was soon to become the most popular of American presidents. The fact that Roosevelt—then still vice-president of the United States—would allow his name to be used in 1901 as one of the founding vice-presidents of the Germanic Museum Association must have held great allure for the Kaiser.

With Vice-President Roosevelt in attendance, Harvard chose to award honorary degrees to both Münsterberg and von Holleben in June 1901. The event, too, seems to have impressed the Kaiser, especially Eliot’s words
of praise for the German diplomat. Harvard’s president cited von Holleben as the “ambassador of the young and lusty German Empire, representative of an ancient people whose racial and institutional roots are intertwined with our own—of a people whose scholars and universities have for a century given example and inspiration to the learned world.” The accolade was perfectly scripted to court the Kaiser. Here, indeed, was the foremost American academic institution reaching out to Germany. Von Holleben was promptly directed to ask Francke for a formal application on behalf of Harvard to which the German government might respond with a gift of plaster casts.

Francke acted with alacrity. But he also urged that the Kaiser become involved personally since this could lend even more prestige to the offering. Having dispatched his request, Francke set off for a sabbatical year in Germany, during which he intended to promote his museum cause and make some modest purchases of plaster casts for the Rogers Gymnasium, the home of the new Germanic Museum. Little did he expect the reaction that he was to find upon his return visit to the country of his birth.

When Francke reached Berlin, he learned that the Kaiser had embraced his suggestion and was to make the presentation of the plaster casts a personal gift, the extent of which far exceeded Francke’s most extravagant hopes. The collection was to include reproductions of twenty-five different works dating from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries, some of them monumental in size. The pieces had been selected by the Kaiser himself, whose enthusiasm for the project was obvious.

The Kaiser’s gift was to be no isolated step. Rather, in Francke’s words, “the Kaiser wished it to be seen as part of his manifestation of political friendship with the United States.” Other manifestations were to follow. Perhaps the most noteworthy was to be the visit of the Kaiser’s brother Prince Henry on a good-will tour to the eastern United States. The ostensible occasion was the christening (by Alice Roosevelt, the president’s daughter) of the luxurious private racing yacht the Meteor that the Kaiser was having built at a shipyard in New Jersey. Prince Henry would initiate his visit by officiating at this ceremony, meet with the new president in the White House, and then travel about the land in an opulent private train, visiting such centers of German-American population as Cincinnati, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia. The high point of the entire affair was to be a day at Harvard, when Prince Henry would present photographs of the elaborate collection the Kaiser had commissioned.

Prince Henry’s visit took place in mid-winter of 1902 and was quite a remarkable affair. His coming to America was treated as the social event of the year. He was feted at a gala production of the Metropolitan Opera in New York and celebrated at lavish dinners at every stop. Harper’s featured a special edition of photographic essays on his every move, and he captured headlines day after day. His two meetings with the president were entirely successful and were enjoyed by Roosevelt, who wrote to the U.S. ambassador in London, that “the prince is a thoroughly good fellow.” To Prince Henry, the president was a “Harvard man!” Later, upon meeting the undergraduates gathered in the Harvard Union during his visit to the campus, the prince confessed, “I had already met the true Harvard spirit before I came to Cambridge when I met in Washington the noble Harvard graduate who has brought honor alike to Harvard and the country.” Roosevelt’s being president simply confirmed the German government’s view of Harvard as a uniquely influential institution and one whose support had to be secured for the German cause.
The visit to Harvard was to be the climax of Henry’s two-week stay. The lavish and courtly preparations did not sit well in all quarters. President Eliot, for one, was ambivalent about quite so much fanfare. In the words of his biographer, Henry Adams, “Eliot had no relish for the impending ceremonies but saw no possibility of escape.” So, on March 6, 1902, a beautifully clear day with a dusting of fresh snow, the prince descended upon Memorial Hall in a procession of fifteen carriages, where he was received and honored by President Eliot, the Harvard Corporation, members of the Board of Overseers and a relatively full complement of the Harvard faculty. Here Prince Henry received an honorary doctorate in a most unconventional ceremony.

Only twice before had Harvard convened a special academic session to award such honors, and in those two instances, the occasion had been prompted by a visit of the U.S. president. Never before had a member of a royal family been celebrated in this manner. Addressing this royal visitor proved slightly awkward for Eliot. His biography notes, “It was assumed that the president would say complimentary things about the Emperor [but] he froze on the occasion.”

In fact, Eliot, somewhat reluctant to award an honorary doctorate to a German prince, produced a rather odd set of remarks explaining why Prince Henry was being honored. After describing the “Teutonic sources” of many New England institutions and customs and paying tribute to the contributions of Germans and Germany to the United States, especially in its technical and educational development, Harvard’s president, normally a figure of easy eloquence, explained that Prince Henry was deserving of his degree as the grandson of Queen Victoria, who had refused to side against the Union during the American Civil War! In the words of Adams, “the audience gasped and the Kaiser’s brother must have wondered whether his ears had deceived him.”

The procession moved on next to the Harvard Union and a much easier meeting with the Harvard College students. Prince Henry subsequently referred to this occasion as the most impressive episode on his American tour. After the Glee Club concluded a rendition of “Die Wacht am Rhein,” a messenger appeared dramatically, bringing a telegram from the Kaiser in which he congratulated his brother “upon receiving today the honorary degree of Harvard University, the highest honor which America can bestow” [emphasis added].

Eliot then showed Harvard’s royal visitor the Rogers Gymnasium, still relatively bare awaiting the arrival of the Kaiser’s gift. The events on the campus ended here, but were followed by a reception at the home of Professor Münsterberg, at which Prince Henry presented the album of photographs. Francke, who was on sabbatical in Germany, had not wanted this presentation to be at a private home but rather in a university building. But Münsterberg, self-important and difficult, would not surrender his central role.

Speaking of his brother’s gift, Henry emphasized that “it is meant for the welfare of the nation as well as of the University. . . . I hope it will promote good feelings between the two nations.” Eliot assured him it would, for “this good feeling rests on common stock, on common motives and ideals.” Whether this was elegant oratory or his heartfelt view, it is noteworthy that Harvard’s great president remained personally dedicated to the Germanic Museum even if he disliked the pomp of Henry’s visit and the political purposes of the Kaiser’s plan. Writing to James Bryce in England later that winter, Eliot recalled that “we had lately a few days visit in the United States from Prince Henry of Prussia—a somewhat theatrical performance contrived apparently by Emperor William. It all went very well, the Prince being a simple, natural person who got used in a day to our troublesome democratic ways.”
While all this fanfare was going on in Cambridge, Kuno Francke was busy on sabbatical in Germany promoting his vision of the Germanic Museum. To his German audience, Francke emphasized the significant role the museum could play in heightening the cultural awareness and national pride of the huge community of German-Americans. A well-developed “dual” national consciousness would, in Francke’s words, allow them “to become better and better Americans and better and better Germans.” German-Americans needed a far stronger respect for and knowledge of their German cultural past. Harvard’s Germanic Museum could become their “spiritual stronghold and rallying point!”

The concept of a spiritual stronghold was highly attractive to the Kaiser, who believed that the rightful perception of German preeminence could be propagated by an enterprising national arts policy. German ideals could better be conveyed abroad by the right kind of exhibitions, loans and gifts of art works and reproductions. He shared Francke’s notion of a political mission for German art. The centerpiece of this mission in the United States would be the Germanic Museum, but there were to be other parts as well, such as the German pavilion at the St. Louis World’s Fair of 1904, for which the momentarily cash-poor German government allocated one-and-a-half million marks, an enormous sum under the circumstances.

The Kaiser loved monuments and statuary. His reign was a heyday for the erecting of sculptures and shrines, all part of a conscious self-celebration of the greatness of the German past. At times the celebration could be overdone. When the Kaiser pressed Roosevelt to accept a large monument of Frederick the Great to be installed in the nation’s capital, he provoked a rather ambivalent American response. The statue was intended as an expression of appreciation for the warm reception accorded Prince Henry. But coming as it did in the middle of a French-mounted festival in Washington in 1904, it looked, in the words of the Harvard historian Archibald Cary Coolidge, “as if the Germans, after having had their fun, were trying to spoil that of the French.”

On the day of Prince Henry’s visit to Harvard, the Kaiser arranged to receive Kuno Francke in Berlin. Wilhelm’s enthusiasm for the Germanic Museum was striking. As Francke later recalled, “he showed me the photos of the sculptures selected for us, accompanied each with animated comments, spoke about the individualistic
character of German art and especially of the German nature.” Francke was deeply impressed and came away feeling that the Kaiser was “the real founder” of the museum.

The Kaiser’s gift triggered a remarkable series of donations from Germany and also Switzerland. Perhaps the most notable of these (because of the manner in which it was given) was a collection of fifty-five reproductions of German metalwork from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries assembled through the initiative of Dr. Julius Lessing, the director of the Royal Museum of Arts and Crafts in Berlin. Lessing established a prestigious committee of leading academics and civil servants who both gave and solicited the funds for this collection, the purpose of which was also to express German appreciation for the hospitality that had been extended to Prince Henry in America. One hundred distinguished Germans, among them Theodor Mommsen, Adolf Harnack, Friedrich Paulsen, Arthur Gwinner and Friedrich Althoff, contributed 300 marks each for the collection.

While in Germany in the spring of 1902, Francke met several times with Althoff, who during his ten years as Prussian minister of education (and fifteen before as head of its universities section) was the most influential figure in setting policy for higher education in Germany. As Francke subsequently reported to President Eliot, Althoff was “very eager to make German intellectual influence felt in this country.” Francke’s discussions with Althoff led to a formal announcement by the Kaiser three years later of the establishment of an annual professorial exchange between Harvard and German universities.

The exchange brought some of Harvard’s most eminent faculty members to Berlin, among them Francis Peabody, Theodore Richards (the distinguished chemist and future father-in-law of James B. Conant), George Santayana, and A. C. Coolidge. The Germans sent equally outstanding professors to Harvard, though what Francke wanted—to bring academics who could teach at the Germanic Museum—happened only once, in the case of Paul Clemen, who came in 1907-1908 and who thereafter helped Francke solicit additional plaster cast gifts in Germany (and to whom Francke years later dedicated his memoirs). Althoff himself was awarded an honorary degree by Harvard in 1906, at which occasion Eliot referred to him as “the most potent personage in German higher education.” By then, Harvard’s relationship with Germany was unlike that of any other institution in America.

Kuno Francke’s sabbatical year had been highly productive both for his museum and for Harvard. He returned to Harvard in the summer of 1902 to arrange the installation of all the new plaster casts into Rogers Hall. This was not to be easy. Once Francke learned of the scope of the Kaiser’s gift, he alerted Eliot from Berlin that “it will be a very difficult task to place this collection well in the Old Gymnasium.” Built in 1859 and designed by E. C. Cabot, Rogers Hall was Harvard’s first indoor athletic facility. A somewhat odd, but not charmless, octagonal building, it was intended for gymnastic exercise (which had been introduced on the campus by the German Karl Follen in the 1820s). It also contained two bowling alleys but had neither toilets nor showers. For Francke, the absence of plumbing posed less of a problem than the somewhat awkward configuration of the space and the rather bare interior.

By 1878 gymnastic exercise had been relocated in the much improved facilities of the new Hemenway building. Rogers Hall had lost its initial function and, after serving for some years as part of the facilities of the Engineering School, stood empty at the time the Corporation made it available for use by the Germanic Museum in the
spring of 1901. The museum first opened that spring, though it was not to have its formal dedication ceremony until two years later.

Freshly returned from Germany, Francke oversaw during the summer of 1902 the renovations needed to accommodate the new collection. About $2,000 was spent on the building. The installation of the plaster casts was implemented under the detailed instructions of Dr. Richard Schöne, director general of the Prussian museums. Unfortunately, the casts were not tinted. Their chalk-like effect led some of Francke’s colleagues to refer to “this white German city.” William James, who spoke on behalf of the faculty at the formal dedication ceremony, was rather taken by the whole affair, but slightly dumbstruck. Normally an eloquent and precise speaker, James seemed to lose his way in describing the enveloping atmosphere of Rogers Hall: “No one of us can enter into the presence of these snow-white images across the Delta, or look upon those fine photographs of German architectural work, without feeling something within him instantaneously making response in a way that builds out and interprets better his consciousness of what we already were before we had this gift.” Francke found the whole effect slightly absurd but rather romantically artistic. He already knew that the Old Gymnasium could be only a temporary solution. What he did not expect was that Rogers Hall would have to serve as the home of the Germanic Museum for more than another decade.

The formal dedication of the museum occurred in the fall of 1903, on November 10, the anniversary of the birthdate of both Luther and Schiller. In the presence of the German chargé d’affaires and the great old German-American politician Carl Schurz, President Eliot officially received the gifts of the Kaiser and the German committee that had subscribed for the collection of metalwork. It was a festive ceremony, complete with an evening performance in Sanders Theater of German music and three one-act plays presented by the New York German-language Irving Place Theater. This group, led by the Austrian-born actor Heinrich Conreid (who also became manager of the New York Metropolitan Opera in 1903), subsequently mounted an annual fund-raiser for the Germanic Museum for each of the next five years.

Although the building was only open to the public two afternoons a week, it had 70,000 visitors during the next three years. Individuals and some German-American organizations pledged small sums for the purchase of additional casts and donated a substantial number of reproductions. Francke was delighted to learn, upon his return to Germany in 1905, that the cities of Mainz and Nuremberg were to make casts available for his museum. The Prince Regent of Bavaria, the Duke of Saxony, and the Landesmuseum of Zurich were shortly to contribute as well.

These continuing donations were soon to overrun the capacity of the Old Gymnasium. By 1904, Francke lamented that “the present museum building, obviously a very inadequate shelter for precious gifts made by a friendly government and a kindred people, is even now so crowded with objects that it offers no room for expansion of the collection. The need for a new building is therefore immediate and imperative.” What Francke had in mind would have resulted in a colossal structure, perhaps as large as any on the campus with the exception of Memorial Hall.

Francke’s vision for his enterprise now ranged far beyond the collections that were in hand. He sought a kind of anthropological, sociological and cultural conspectus of the entire history of the Germanic people. Germanic objects were to include those of other German-speaking countries in Europe. This was not to be an art museum
but "a truly historical survey of the development of German civilization," an extraordinary teaching museum. Students and visitors alike would be able to move through the various epochs of German culture, by going from room to room in the massive museum, acquiring a visual impression of the outstanding achievements of Germanic culture. As it was to be more a museum of cultural history than a collection of works of art, Francke insisted that the exhibits be reproductions, not originals; only thereby could Harvard acquire the most significant objects for instructional display.

This comprehensive rendering of Francke's intentions, however, was not to be. He expected that in response to the generous initiative of the Kaiser and the related gifts from Germany, there would be reciprocal action on the part of wealthy members of the German-American community. While in Germany in 1901-1902, he had spoken often about the imminent outpouring of support from German-Americans for whom the museum was meant to be that "spiritual stronghold and rallying point" sought by the German government. Both Francke and the Germans were mistaken in this expectation.

Chancellor von Bülow and the Kaiser were staunchly committed to their concept of using art to further political causes. This concept infused the planning for the costly German pavilion at the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904. Known as the Louisiana Purchase Exposition on the centennial of that vast land acquisition, the St. Louis Fair turned out to be the largest, most extravagant and highly popular of international events. Germany's lavish exhibit featured its achievements in art and education. The metalwork collection was loaned from the Germanic Museum. And, important for the subsequent interests of the museum, Adolphus Busch and his nephew and son-in-law Hugo Reisinger became centrally involved in the German efforts at St. Louis. Busch was the city's leading German-American as well as the foremost businessman of St. Louis and gave substantial financial support to the fair. For his hospitality to Prince Henry in 1902 and help with the German exhibit at the fair, Busch was decorated by the Kaiser in 1905. Reisinger had for years encouraged the display in the United States of contemporary German art, for which the St. Louis German pavilion offered the first opportunity.

The St. Louis Fair was important for Harvard and its Germanic Museum in several ways. Not only was the metalwork collection on display, but Harvard was also to obtain a substantial portion of the German exhibit for the new Social Museum in Emerson Hall, a short-lived enterprise of Francis Peabody (who was to be the first Harvard exchange professor in Berlin in 1905) and Hugo Münsterberg, who had raised some of the funds for Emerson.

Nationally famous by 1904, Münsterberg was one of the organizing vice-presidents for the international scientific congresses that coincided with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The International Congress of Arts and Sciences held in September brought dozens of scholars from Europe to St. Louis and featured a central role for the Harvard professor. Here, too, a link was forged with Adolphus Busch, who was also known to the Harvard economist Frank Taussig, formerly Eliot's secretary, whose family was well established in St. Louis.

But the vital link with Busch was to come through Hugo Reisinger and the friendship that now developed between Reisinger and Kuno Francke. Reisinger had been born in Wiesbaden, the son of a local newspaper publisher married to the only sister of Adolphus Busch. Initially representing a German glass manufacturing firm from Dresden, Reisinger settled in New York in 1884, the same year that brought Francke to Harvard. Within several years, Reisinger established his own import-export firm and in 1890 married his cousin Edmée,
one of several daughters of his uncle Adolphus. Successful in business and made wealthy through his marriage, Reisinger assembled an extensive collection of paintings and sculpture of contemporary German, Austrian and Swiss artists. He also acquired a large number of American works and sought for years to encourage the binational exchange of exhibitions of these works in the United States and Germany.

Thus, Francke and Reisinger had much in common. The two men became such good friends that Reisinger named Francke as one of the executors of his estate. Francke was one of two men—the other being Münsterberg—to speak at Reisinger’s memorial ceremony a decade later. In describing his deceased friend, Francke recalled that “culture was the deepest—the real—concern of his life.” Though they really knew each other only for some ten years, their friendship was critical to creating the new Germanic Museum.

It was apparent to Francke by 1905 that raising funds for the new building would prove an incredibly difficult undertaking. Initially he sought the sum of half a million dollars, which was about eight times what the Semitic Museum, erected in 1902, had cost. An amount of that magnitude required a major commitment from a leading donor, and it was probably naive on Francke’s part to believe that so large a sum was achievable. It would have been unprecedented. None of the gifts for buildings constructed at the time—Mrs. William Hayes Fogg’s gift, Nelson Robinson’s for the architecture building, Jacob Schiff’s for the Semitic Museum, Henry Lee Higginson’s for the Student Union, or Alfred Treadway’s support for Emerson—had totalled anything like the amount that Francke sought (although Mrs. George D. Widener was to give $2 million for a new university library building in 1912).

Half a million dollars was an unrealistic sum, and the building that Francke had in mind was not acceptable to the university in any case. With some hesitation the Corporation seemed willing to accept $300,000 as an overall target, but this figure, as with all building funds, was to include an amount sufficient for the endowment of operating costs. For a museum that would be expensive to maintain, the endowment would have to be commensurably larger. In effect, this implied that perhaps half of the $300,000 would be available for construction costs. That, in turn, meant the building would not be of the scale or fulfill all the purposes that Francke initially had in mind. It would serve primarily for the display of the German monumental and architectural sculptures already in hand. For these, Francke remained wedded to the concept of three large halls devoted respectively to the Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance periods.

But how would Francke come by even $300,000? At first he pinned his hopes on Otto Kahn, the astute and affluent New York banking partner of Jacob Schiff at the prestigious New York investment firm of Kahn, Loeb & Company. Kahn was an extraordinarily generous philanthropist and a great supporter of the arts. A native of Germany, he had also come to know Heinrich Conried, the manager of the Metropolitan Opera, when Kahn joined its board. Conried was a great booster of the Germanic Museum and was doing his best to raise funds for it. But Kahn was not prepared to do for the Germanic Museum what Schiff had done for the Semitic Museum: while he gave generously and often, he was ambivalent about German foreign policy and increasingly anti-Prussian. A deep involvement with such a Germanic enterprise also went against his English proclivities (he had lived in England and by 1911 considered returning there to enter political life).

When in 1905 Kahn accepted one of two vice-presidential positions in the reorganized Germanic Museum Association, Francke was still hopeful that he might give or raise the funds needed for the new building. He
urged Eliot to try to see Kahn that summer when he was to come to the Boston North Shore, noting that "his plans for the new museum have not taken a definite form yet." But Kahn soon concluded that the sum required was too much for a single donor. He cautioned Francke that "the total amount required can only be raised if the German-American element at large can be made to look upon this in the light of a collective obligation of national self-respect." This caution echoed Schiff's views. Schiff had himself underwritten in 1900 the entire Semitic Museum in the amount of $63,500. Nevertheless, Schiff advised his friend Eliot (whom he had come to know and admire greatly during several summer holidays spent by both men at Mount Desert in Maine) that "if the wealthy German-Americans are unwilling to honor themselves by liberally coming forward in favor of the Harvard Germanic Museum, this should not be done for them by a few others."

But they didn't come forward, and Francke soon felt frustrated and deeply disappointed. As he stated publicly some years later in Berlin, "It began to be a national humiliation that the Germans in America were so slow to respond to the generous initiative of the German Emperor." It is difficult to know quite why this cause did not catch on. There were no precedents for such a collective fund drive on the part of the German-American community, and even its few nationwide organizations were not particularly robust or well funded. The museum might be a popular spot to visit, but Francke had miscalculated in assuming that many major contributions would be forthcoming.

What should he do? Approaching the two Kuhn, Loeb partners Kahn and Schiff had seemed sensible, given the close connection with Harvard of their extraordinarily successful German-Jewish merchant bank. Two of Schiff's brothers-in-law, Morris and James Loeb, had attended Harvard College. Both became generous benefactors of the university, as did Paul and Felix Warburg who married into the Loeb and Schiff families and became partners in the firm. All of them were to contribute again and again to the Germanic Museum and to other parts of the university. But if they could not take the lead in financing the new building and if there was little prospect of a collective effort, Harvard was caught in a quandary, for it did not seem to have many well-developed contacts among German-Americans.

The potential for embarrassment rested not just with Francke but with Eliot and the university as well. It was difficult to foresee at the time the Rogers building had been made available in 1901 what was to transpire in the next several years. By 1905 the relationship between Harvard and the German government had become rather lopsided. There had been Prince Henry's visit, the gift of the Kaiser, the presentation of the metalwork, the establishment of a prestigious professorial exchange and a donation from the World's Fair for the new Social Museum. Without the funds for a new building, Harvard was placed in an awkward position. Francke was distressed at the prospect that Rogers Hall might remain more than a transitional home for the museum. He found it disconcerting that the casts so generously provided by the Germans and the Swiss "had to be huddled together in an old, superannuated gymnasium."

To find a way out of this dilemma, President Eliot launched an initiative quite without precedent in Harvard's history of fund-raising. He formed a committee of six, including himself, Charles Eliot Norton, Alexander Agassiz, William James, James Barr Ames (dean of the Law School) and Abbot Lawrence Rotch (founder and director of the Blue Hill Observatory) to solicit funds to endow the Germanic Museum. In a printed solicitation dated December 22, 1905, these six highly distinguished Harvard academicians asked for contributions for a fund to be called the Emperor William Fund, as a token of esteem for the Kaiser on the occasion of his
forthcoming silver wedding celebration on February 27, 1906. The committee thus formed was prepared “to receive money for this purpose,” which it believed “would demonstrate that the American people appreciate and reciprocate the spirit which manifested itself in these acts of the German Emperor and people.”

The appeal from six Harvard luminaries was meant to demonstrate that support for the Germanic Museum was not just an affair involving Francke and Münsterberg and the German-Americans. It was as distinguished a committee of American academics at Harvard as could be mustered and was designed particularly to impress and honor the Kaiser. The sentiment to which they hoped to appeal had also infused the gift in 1903 of another great Harvard and Boston Brahmin, Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge, when, on the occasion of the dedication of the Germanic Museum, he announced his intention to acquire and donate to the university library 10,000 volumes on German history to be known as the “Hohenzollern Collection,” in honor of Prince Henry’s visit the year before. In monetary terms, the exalted appeal was not very successful. The amount raised was $25,000, two-fifths of which came from Otto Kahn and four of his partners at Kuhn, Loeb & Company. But one contribution in particular was significant. Though modest in size (only $2,000), it was given by Adolphus Busch. The great St. Louis brewer had been solicited by Münsterberg and Frank Taussig, who both knew him. It was less their acquaintance, however, than the fact that Harvard was honoring the Kaiser through such an exceptional gesture that must have impressed Busch most. His regard for Wilhelm was of the highest order. The date of the Kaiser’s silver wedding anniversary may also have had appeal for him since one of his daughters, Baroness von Gontard, was a lady-in-waiting to Empress Augusta Victoria.

The idea of the Harvard Committee solicitation seems to have originated with Francis Peabody. As the first Harvard exchange professor in Berlin, he had been looked after wonderfully and been given a most hospitable reception by the Kaiser. But, quite possibly, Hugo Reisinger also played a role by seeing the potential efficacy of this effort to bring his father-in-law, Adolphus Busch, into more active involvement with the Germanic Museum. Before the year was out Busch had become the president of the Germanic Museum Association, replacing the deceased Carl Schurz. This was a most auspicious development, although it was some time before Busch himself became fully engaged in the enterprise. It is hard to imagine that Busch would have acted without Reisinger’s intervention, for, of the two, it was really Reisinger who cared about German art and about Harvard.
By 1906 Adolphus Busch was an aging and ill man. Born in Mayence on the Rhine in 1837, he was the youngest of his father's twenty-one children (his father having married three times). Adolphus had nineteen brothers, several of whom had immigrated to the United States. At the age of eighteen, in 1855, he did too, settling at once in St. Louis. Both he and an older brother, Ulrich, married daughters of an affluent soap manufacturer, Eberhard Anheuser, in a double wedding ceremony in March 1861—in the midst of the American Civil War. Anheuser took on Adolphus Busch as a partner in a failing brewery he had acquired in 1852, and within a very few years, the firm of E. Anheuser and Company was on its way to enormous success and prosperity. It was Busch, not his father-in-law, who led the brewery, which by 1900 was second only to Pabst in national standing and had taken the name of Anheuser-Busch.

Busch was unquestionably an extraordinarily astute businessman whose affluence soon became legendary. Both he and his American-born wife, Lilly, were deeply attached to Germany, where two of their daughters chose to live. Adolphus Busch maintained a sumptuous home named the Villa Lilly in Langenschwalbach, to which he and his wife traveled each summer. He liked the Kaiser, was often entertained at his court, and was twice decorated by Wilhelm, who also sent Adolphus and Lilly a gold loving cup on the occasion of their grandiose golden wedding anniversary celebration in 1911. The Kaiser enjoyed the company of affluent, successful businessmen, and while he and Busch were not close, they held each other in high regard.

Their relationship helps explain why Busch was willing to become so involved over the next several years with the Germanic Museum, especially as his health continued to deteriorate and his activities became more circumscribed. Previously his only involvement with Harvard had been an occasional contribution to a project of Hugo Münsterberg: he had never even set foot on the campus. Once Harvard had become the Kaiser's favorite American charity and once Prince Henry had become a "Harvard man," however, the cause of the Germanic Museum did not seem so remote to the personal interests of the St. Louis brewer. It was not a Hohenzollern, however, but Hugo Reisinger, Busch's nephew and son-in-law, who formed the real link with Harvard.
Reisinger's own ties to Harvard seemed to have developed at about the time Francke was beginning to despair at the prospect of ever finding a donor for the new building. In part, his interest must be explained by the close friendship he and Francke were to develop, sustained also by their intense mutual interest in German art. Moreover, Reisinger's son Curt was soon to be an undergraduate at Harvard College, which was to make him all the more aware of the very inadequate conditions at the Rogers Gymnasium.

Like Francke, Hugo Reisinger regarded himself as a kind of cultural ambassador between Germany and the United States. As an avid collector of Germanic and American art, he sought for years to organize reciprocal shows that would enable Americans in large numbers to see the works of Franz von Lenbach, Arnold Böcklin, Adolf von Menzel and Max Liebermann, and for Germans to experience Winslow Homer, Childe Hassam, George Bellows and John Singer Sargent. The opportunity to fulfill this aspiration came in 1907-1908, when the New York Metropolitan Museum agreed to let Reisinger and the German government mount a major show of contemporary German art that would inaugurate its new north wing scheduled to open in January 1909.

Reisinger was delighted by this long sought opportunity. Not only did he arrange the show, he also loaned a considerable number of objects and defrayed the expenses, which cost him in excess of $25,000. In soliciting Eliot's support to have the works shown later at the Copley Society in Boston, Reisinger stressed that "the whole exhibition, as far as the selection of the pictures, the arrangement of the exhibition here and everything connected therewith, is left entirely to me." One wonders whether this amount of outside intervention sat very well with Edward Robinson, the acting director of the Met and a former lecturer at Harvard. (He had, coincidentally, spoken in very complimentary terms at the dedication of the Germanic Museum five years earlier as director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.) And while the Met rather disappointed Reisinger by not acquiring works (some of which were for sale) from the exhibition for its permanent collection, it did make him an Honorary Fellow in December 1908.

The German Art Exhibition traveled on to Boston and to Chicago's Art Institute. Eliot was helpful in getting it to the Copley Society, though Münsterberg was not. Indeed, by 1908 Münsterberg was beginning to resent Francke's expanding personal success at Harvard and in Germany, and was jealous of his far closer ties to Harvard's president. To have another German, Hugo Reisinger, appear upon the Harvard scene with his own special relations in Berlin cannot have been welcome to the brilliant but vain Harvard professor.

Münsterberg was trying to promote the establishment of an Amerika-Institut in Berlin, in which he would play a leading personal role. He sought to disrupt the exchange of professors that had been negotiated by Francke, and he meddled with Friedrich Schmidt, the director of the Department of Art and Science at the Prussian Ministry of Education who was promoting Reisinger's show, warning him that its display in the rooms of the Copley Society building was imprudent because of fire danger. Reisinger was not pleased by Münsterberg's behavior and warned Eliot that he would "not permit any outsider to interfere with my plans." This episode seems to have ended Münsterberg's interest in, and support for, the Germanic Museum. Two years before, Francke had been able to reassure Eliot that his famous colleague had "a warm and eager interest" in the enterprise. By 1908 things had changed, and Eliot and Münsterberg began to quarrel. A few years later the two celebrated men had become major antagonists over the issue of American policy towards Germany.
Münsterberg had been unwise to intervene with Schmidt in Berlin, for the latter was deeply committed to the German Art Exhibition and was far closer to Reisinger. Because of the importance to the German government of the exhibition, which borrowed works from major German museums, an official government commission had been established. Its seven members included not only Schmidt, but Arthur Kampf, the president of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin and portraitist of the Kaiser, and the prestigious Wilhelm Bode, now director of the Royal Museums and one of the founding vice-presidents of the Germanic Museum Association. These men constituted the highest echelon of the German cultural bureaucracy, and they were keenly interested in what Francke was attempting to achieve at Harvard. Their support of Reisinger’s exhibition must have quickened their interest in the Germanic Museum, especially as Eliot and Francke had been so helpful with the Boston showing.

Early in 1908, Reisinger sent out a fund-raising appeal to several hundred German-Americans throughout the United States, to which he received not a single favorable reply. Once again the community failed to respond to a broad-based solicitation. So Reisinger developed a new approach. Perhaps if several wealthy German-Americans would each contribute $50,000 or $100,000, the necessary funds could be obtained. Reisinger hoped and rather assumed that his uncle/father-in-law would take the initial step and draw others in.

Adolphus Busch planned to spend the summer of 1908 in Germany, as did Francke, and Reisinger urged his friend to meet with Busch “and to stimulate the good intentions which he seems to have.” The amiable professor seems to have struck it off well with the king of bottled beer and secured the first significant pledge for the new building in the amount of $50,000 (although Francke confided to Eliot that fall that he had hoped for a gift twice as large). Busch had a sensitive ear for public relations and welcomed the notion that his donation be announced at the International Historical Congress which was to meet in August 1908 in Berlin. The announcement was made by the American ambassador, David J. Hill (the diplomat who had accompanied Prince Henry on his travels in the United States in 1902). Hill’s reference to the pledge by Busch was well received by the assembled historians, as was Francke’s address on “The Responsibilities and Goals of the Germanic Museum of Harvard University,” in which he stressed once again the central importance of “giving the German-Americans a consciousness of their cultural dignity” if the primacy of French cultural efforts was to be offset. The challenge of French predominance in the United States was a recurring theme for Francke.

Since Reisinger’s more general appeal had failed in the previous spring, Francke, with the help of Ambassador Hill, now developed another stratagem. Citing Busch’s pledge as a first step, he asked Eliot to circulate a letter from the ambassador that emphasized the importance for U.S.-German relations of the success of the fund drive. The letter was to be sent to other German-American men of means who cared about these relations. Once again—but this time from the American diplomatic side—the Germanic Museum was portrayed as an important institution for the bilateral ties of the two nations. Eliot sent off Hill’s letter with an appeal of his own to a few German-American millionaires, among them once again Otto Kahn, but also the brewer Gustav Pabst, the steel manufacturer Charles Schwab, and the timber merchant Frederick Weyerhauser. As before, this well-intended effort brought no results.

Unfortunately, 1908 was a difficult year for the American economy, which was experiencing the consequences of a severe financial panic. As Reisinger had written Eliot that spring, “Times are hard and that is the main
reason why so comparatively few gentlemen have expressed their willingness so far to subscribe to the fund for the German Museum building at Harvard.” Conditions had only worsened by the fall. Otto Kahn advised Francke in November that he simply had too many other charitable commitments to be of help in “the present period of industrial depression.” Weyerhaeuser, whom Reisinger considered the richest German-American, indicated that, if business conditions improved, he might be approachable later for a gift of $10,000.

With the fund drive stalled, two events of that fall further depressed Francke. The death in November of Friedrich Althoff was reported by Francke to Eliot from Munich, as “a great blow for my Museum plans.” Then, within a month, Francke learned that Eliot was to retire in 1909 after forty outstanding years of leadership as president of Harvard University. Francke, who was spending a sabbatical semester in Munich, felt prompted to write Eliot at the end of 1908 thanking him for “the steadfast interest you have taken in the things nearest to my heart: the extension of the intellectual influence of Germany upon America and the growth of our Germanic Museum.”

Francke’s sense of frustration at this moment can be well understood. After five years of assiduous fund-raising efforts, he had only $50,000 in hand from Busch and about $25,000 in the Emperor William Fund. Now he was to lose the support at Harvard of the man who had really cared about German education, and who, as president, had extended himself in every possible way to assist with the museum. Without Eliot’s conspicuous involvement and personal encouragement, Francke might not have persevered with his museum cause. Without Eliot at the helm, Harvard’s commitment might even wane. Francke decided to redouble his efforts but scale down his ambitions in the hope of achieving a fait accompli before Eliot retired in May 1909. Accordingly, in December 1908, Francke suggested to Eliot “that we come down for the present to $200,000” for the building and that Busch be asked to ‘give half of this sum and authorize the American ambassador in Berlin to announce this gift to the Emperor on his fiftieth birthday.’” Francke shrewdly understood how much Busch liked this kind of publicity and the association with Hohenzollern festivities, but his mood hovered on despair: “If Mr. Busch does not react upon this,” he confessed to Eliot, “I shall be at my wit’s end.”

Honoring the Kaiser once again appealed to the magnanimous brewer and he cabled Francke, who was still in Germany on January 17 of the new year, that “I do not mind to consent to your request regarding increasing my subscription and to so inform His Majesty the Kaiser on his fiftieth birthday through the American Ambassador.” At least Francke now had his $100,000 from Busch, and he also had a growing relationship with and the supportive involvement of a wonderfully generous donor.

Busch was not only impressed by the interest taken by the Kaiser in the Germanic Museum. He was struck, too, by the fact that Francke, while in Germany, had been able to obtain additional donations of plaster casts from the Duke of Saxony and the Prince Regent of Bavaria. But Busch’s predilection for these German royal houses and their elaborate style posed a potential dilemma as well. It was far from clear that Busch would accept a scaled-down building. In fact, the more the Kaiser became related to the project, the larger the risk that Busch would insist on a palatial rendering.

As Busch wrote to Francke in February 1909, “I will never be satisfied unless it is a very dignified structure of old Germanic architecture, and I have in mind the front elevation of the German Museum at Mainz or the
Heidelberg Schloss... Unless that building is of strong architecture, it will not have the effect that I desire it to have, especially as the Emperor takes such an active interest in the matter." But how was Francke going to afford a Heidelberg Schloss? And how was he ever going to get it built after the departure of Eliot?

Everything now hinged on what Busch himself would next do. Although he was becoming more infirm, he continued to trouble himself by seeking contributions from other affluent German-Americans whom he knew well. But neither the sugar magnate Claus Spreckles of San Francisco nor Gustav Pabst in Milwaukee, to whom Busch appealed, were willing to help. Spreckles's refusal particularly rankled since Busch had so generously contributed $100,000 for earthquake relief for San Francisco in 1906. He also tried to solicit a major gift from Hermann Siecken—"the famous coffee king of New York"—but reported to Francke that, at best, Siecken might be prepared to share with Harvard the proceeds of a forthcoming coffee speculation. Frustrated in all these attempts, the great brewer confided to Francke his reluctant conviction that "most of our millionaires are not deserving of their possessions. Providence made a mistake in bestowing wealth upon them." The fact was, as Reisinger had written to Eliot, "there are, unfortunately, very few German-Americans in this country who are as generous as Mr. Busch is."

Francke was much encouraged by the generosity and the commitment that he sensed on Busch's part. He felt sufficiently hopeful in the summer of 1909 about the prospect of a new building to accept a gift of a plaster cast from the Swiss National Museum for which there was no room in the Rogers Gymnasium.

That summer also brought Francke and the museum an amusing diversion and boost through a unique dramatic extravaganza mounted on behalf of the new building. On June 22, a theatrical troupe assembled by Charles Frohman put on Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans in the Harvard Stadium with a cast of 1,500 performers. It was an incredible spectacle involving, as Francke later reported, "large problems of stage management, methods of producing scenic effects, of installing and manipulating a great electric plant, of controlling and quartering large numbers of supernumeraries, many animals, and of caring for an audience of over 11,000." The play had never been attempted in America before and it is not clear that it was ever again performed, at least on such a scale. It cost Frohman about $20,000 in expenses to produce this fund-raiser, a cost that he generously bore while passing on the full proceeds, which came to about half that amount, to the museum.
The fund-raiser was the first major “happening” during the new administration of President Abbott Lawrence Lowell, which commenced when Eliot retired on May 19, 1909, the fortieth anniversary of his election. Lowell had been teaching government at Harvard since 1897 and must have been reasonably aware during the following twelve years of the various developments associated with the Germanic Museum. As president he was to manifest a continuing and lively interest in the expansion of the Harvard plant. He was perhaps less fascinated than Eliot with architecture per se, but he was to build a great deal more. Harvard erected a larger number of buildings during his twenty-four years as president than it had in its entire previous history. As a man of great personal wealth, he was also sophisticated in his knowledge of what academic buildings should cost, having generously and anonymously contributed the funds for the New Lecture Hall in 1902.

The situation of the Germanic Museum in the summer and fall of 1909 when Lowell took office was among the first major problems of new construction that he was to face. For Francke, it was critical to win the support of the new president. He was still hopeful of proceeding with his $200,000 building, although only about $135,000—including the proceeds of Frohman’s benefit—was pledged or in hand. And although President Eliot had spoken to Francke about a potential site on Divinity Avenue, no land was firmly committed—or even earmarked—for the new building. There was still some risk that, in the transition from one Harvard administration to another, the university’s interest in the matter might lapse entirely.

Once again, Francke turned to Busch to reinforce his effort and to woo Lowell. The brewer seems not to have minded these repeated appeals. In his memoirs, Francke recalled a typical encounter with Busch, who would exclaim, “Here is the professor. Every time he comes to see me, he wants $100,000. But I like him all the same.” Yet again, Busch stood prepared to help, for he too saw the importance of securing Lowell’s active interest in the new building. But Busch had other motives as well. He was keen to secure a good site and, in particular, he wanted Harvard to accept a German architect for the project.

The announcement of his next pledge was once again timed by Busch for a dramatic event. The inauguration of Lowell as president took place at an elaborate ceremony on October 6, 1909. The new president delivered
his inaugural address, outlining his objectives for the university. Several august academic events were synchronized for the occasion. A dozen or so foreign professors became recipients of honorary degrees, among them three Germans. At the festive luncheon, a telegram was read from Busch, who still had not visited Harvard, announcing that he was raising his subscription for the new building of the Germanic Museum from $100,000 to $150,000 in order to honor Lowell.

Busch had certain conditions in mind in making his increased pledge. In a letter of October 21, Francke advised the president that “Busch has again and again told me that he would have no interest in it unless the building was to be of German design and Mr. Reisinger apparently feels exactly the same.” As to the location for the building, Francke explained to Harvard’s new president all that the Germans had done for the museum and the professorial exchange and reminded Lowell that his predecessor “has repeatedly spoken of the west side of Divinity Avenue between the Peabody Museum and Kirkland Street as the site best suited for the Germanic Museum.”

In addition to securing a good site for the new building, Francke also pressed the matter of selecting a German architect to undertake the design commission for the museum. This is what Busch and Reisinger fervently wanted. It required a decision by Harvard that was unprecedented, for a foreign architect had never before been so employed. Indeed, virtually all Harvard buildings had been designed by Boston-based architects. Hugo Reisinger had become quite close to Friedrich Schmidt of the Prussian Ministry of Education through their joint efforts to arrange the German Art Exhibition that had traveled to New York, Boston and Chicago earlier that same year. Reisinger now pressed Francke to get Harvard not only to agree to a German architect but also to request Schmidt “to ask the three most eminent living architects to submit plans.” This approach was not without its risks for the university. To permit the Prussian bureaucracy to become involved in the selection of an architect for a building that was of such high visibility in Germany and of such direct interest to the Kaiser could easily lead to a major misunderstanding. What is more, the building wasn’t even fully funded, so it must have seemed premature for Harvard to take the steps in Germany that Reisinger proposed.

Francke, sensing the delicacy of the situation, traveled to New York to intercept Busch, who was on his way home to St. Louis from an extended stay in Germany. Apparently, the generous donor had never been told that Harvard was thinking of a building limited to $200,000, the figure a despairing Francke had been willing to settle for during the last months of Eliot’s tenure. Busch still had the figure of $300,000 in mind, half of which he had pledged by the time of Lowell’s formal inauguration just a month before. At his New York meeting with Francke, Busch “added that if he could not induce anybody else to give this sum [the additional $150,000], he would eventually do the whole thing himself.” Busch was impatient to have work begin and he was insistent that a German architect be commissioned without delay to develop a design.

Lowell and the Corporation remained reluctant to embark on this not uncomplicated course. Theirs was a difficult situation. Busch was old and ill and his commitment for the additional funds was only verbal and conditional to Francke. Reisinger sensed the resistance from Harvard and warned Francke that “it would be fatal with Busch if he were told of the suggestion to drop the German architects,” which was what the Corporation preferred. “All we want is a German design for the construction,” Reisinger emphasized to Francke, “for in
this respect I do not trust any American architect to render something truly German.” It was, however, quite acceptable to Busch and Reisinger that the actual implementation of the construction be assigned to an American firm.

Francke warned Lowell of the threatening impasse. He reminded him that “we should never have got Mr. Busch's money but for Mr. Reisinger's steadfast and unselfish support.” He implored Lowell to relent and to accept the course on which the two donors adamantly insisted. Finally, at the very end of the year, on December 28, 1909, Jerome Greene, secretary to the Corporation, advised Francke that the Corporation had agreed that President Lowell should take up the selection of a German architect with Schmidt in Berlin, as Reisinger was proposing. Herbert Langford Warren, dean of the School of Architecture, was to be closely associated with the process. As to the site, that remained an open issue.

Indeed, the piece of land about which Eliot had spoken to Francke some time before had been leased during the summer of 1909 for a five-year period, suggesting how little expectation the university had at the time Lowell became president about the prospect of a new museum building. In December, Francke was now speaking of a location on Jarvis Field, another disused athletic facility, as being “ideal.” Its location somewhat to the north of the Law School was not so central to the campus nor so close to the other university museums as the other site. But the issue of the site was not to be resolved for another several months.

Reisinger must have been delighted by Harvard’s concession to have a German architect. He was now in Berlin arranging his project of a contemporary American art exhibition at the Royal Academy there. He sought the advice of Arthur Kampf as to which architect he should recommend to Friedrich Schmidt at the Ministry of Education and to Harvard. It was Kampf who recommended German Bestelmeyer, a relatively young architect whom he had come to know during the preparations for the forthcoming German exhibit at the International Art Exposition scheduled to take place in Rome the following year. Bestelmeyer, who was 36 at the time, had just become a full professor at the Technical University of Dresden. He hailed originally from Nuremberg, where his grandfather had been mayor when the German National Museum was established in 1852. A student in Munich of Gabriel and Emanuel Seidl, the designers of the Bavarian National Museum, he had designed a major addition in Italian Renaissance style for the University of Munich, where from 1906-1910 he was in charge of all construction.

Early in 1910, Bestelmeyer met with Reisinger and Schmidt in Berlin and dashed off his first letter, filled with enthusiasm, to Francke. Having read what he could of Francke’s published writings and speeches about the museum, he now set about rendering sketches which he hoped “might be somewhat more original” than Dean Warren’s plans for the building which Francke had published in the Handbook of the Germanic Museum two years before. Bestelmeyer believed “that one would have to see with one’s first glance that the building could only be a Germanic Museum.” He was enthralled with the commission, which he viewed as a “national responsibility.” And he must have been awed by the Kaiser’s interest and patronage, for a year later he named his newborn son Wilhelm. Reisinger brought Bestelmeyer’s first sketches back to the States that spring, but the architect, curiously, made no plans ever to visit the site. It was thus incumbent on Francke and Warren to travel to Germany, which they planned to do during the summer of 1910 when Francke was to be received again by the Kaiser, this time on his magnificent yacht, the Hohenzollern.
But before Francke and Warren could set off on this architectural mission, there was still a pressing matter to be settled, namely, that of funding. Lowell was aware that Busch had indicated to Francke in the late fall of the previous year that he was prepared to provide as much as $300,000 for a new building if no other donors could be found. This willingness had been the precondition for the Corporation’s decision, taken with some trepidation, for the Prussian Ministry of Education to become formally involved in the selection of a German architect. Before letting Francke meet with Bestelmeyer and especially before his encounter with the Kaiser, Lowell wanted to have some further confirmation of the amount Busch was prepared to give. What Lowell learned did not seem very satisfactory. There were, of course, no new or additional donors. And Busch, it seems, was prepared to provide only another $100,000—not $150,000, as Francke had intimated—and that amount only “on condition that $300,000 be spent on the building . . . and that the university undertake the maintenance of such a building.”

This was a disconcerting development for Lowell and the Corporation. Francke was told to inform his generous benefactor that under university policy it “would not accept a building which was not properly endowed.” A significant portion of the Busch pledge of $250,000 would have to be earmarked for this purpose. That meant a substantial reduction in the cost and size of the building that Busch wanted. Francke quaked at the thought of what this might mean for his extraordinarily philanthropic donor, who had throughout signalled a willingness to provide so much funding for a university with which he had no previous personal relationship. He warned Lowell that it would be most inopportune if Busch were to learn that “the Corporation is inclined to limit the cost of the proposed building.”

Reisinger, who was named that year to join the visiting committee of Francke’s department, was aware of the predicament and asked to see the university president. In a meeting that June with Lowell, Reisinger said that he would “morally guarantee” gifts from the Busch family, including the amounts that his father-in-law had already pledged, but only if that entire sum were expended on construction of the new Germanic Museum. He also “guaranteed” a further $100,000 for maintenance.

This proposal was not altogether acceptable to Lowell either. First of all, he remained unclear as to the meaning of this so-called moral guarantee, all the more so as it was made by Reisinger rather than Busch. But there was another issue that was at least as troubling. Was it sensible to erect in the middle of the Harvard campus a nationally oriented museum of such enormous size? A $300,000 building would have been one of the largest structures ever built by the university, exceeded in cost and size probably only by Memorial Hall and the football stadium.

Apparently, in a decision that was not even known to Francke, the Corporation had “voted not to build a building to cost more than $150,000.” Lowell had great enthusiasm for buildings and architecture, but he was also committed to the need for the university to develop some kind of comprehensive plan for land use and the university’s physical expansion. It cannot have seemed very reasonable to him to permit, at the very outset of his administration, such a large structure for rather specialized use, designed by a foreign architect and erected at the very center of the campus. Aware, on the other hand, of the sizable sums that Busch and Reisinger were willing to pledge or guarantee, Lowell did not want to impose a ceiling so restrictive it might chase these funds away.
He therefore pursued another course. He confided to his secretary in early July that “the Corporation are getting bothered about the question of the Germanic Museum . . . The Corporation are now anxious to limit the building by cubic contents rather than cost.” What they were aiming for was a structure that might be 50 percent larger than the Old Gym, which contained about 140,000 cubic feet. Lowell was told by the university estimator that a building half again as large as Rogers Hall should cost no more than $100,000 using “very good materials,” but he and the Corporation were prepared to spend as much as $150,000. That would still leave a comfortable amount for endowment if the gift were to be of the size that Busch and Reisinger seemed to promise, but which they hoped to spend primarily on construction.

Lowell, who was very capable in such matters, knew that the limitation of size and cost might not sit well with the Germans either, as they had been led to believe for some time by Francke that the building fund would total $300,000. They were also unlikely to be acquainted with the need for endowment at a private university. In order to minimize the risks of misunderstanding, Lowell therefore instructed Francke and Warren before they set off for Europe in June to meet with Bestelmeyer that they should ask the German architect “to draw plans for a building to cost ultimately $300,000, of which a part at a cost of $125,000 is to be erected now.”

Francke and Warren met with Bestelmeyer in Weimar early in July. En route, Francke was to be received by the Kaiser on his yacht in Kiel. Far more important was the meeting with Bestelmeyer, who had struck up a friendly correspondence with Francke during the previous winter and spring. For Francke, it was critical that Warren and the German architect hit it off. Warren’s role was indispensable in carrying along a somewhat reluctant and apprehensive Harvard president and Corporation who were reasonably worried about placing the design responsibility in the hands of a foreigner they had never met or heard of and who was not even planning to visit the campus. Harvard’s willingness to follow such an unusual procedure hinged greatly on the immense confidence that the university authorities had in Langford Warren.

Herbert Langford Warren was an Englishman, born in Manchester in 1857, who had come to the United States at the age of nineteen to study at M.I.T. Upon graduation he had joined the firm of the great H. H. Richardson in Boston, where he did much of the work on Austin Hall at Harvard. He apparently also produced the facade drawings for the handsome rectory of Trinity Church in Boston. In 1884 he left Richardson, and one year later, after traveling about Europe to view what was happening architecturally, he returned to Boston to establish his own firm.

While maintaining that firm for the rest of his life, Warren began to offer instruction in the history of architecture at Harvard in 1893-1894. President Eliot had developed a strong personal interest in architectural design inspired by his own son’s pioneering work as a landscape architect, and directed Warren to found a School of Architecture at the university, for which Robinson Hall, with its vestible plaster casts, became a splendid home in 1901. Warren was the founder of this new school, and his stature and leadership quickly established a high reputation for the institution.

Warren was an effective teacher who sought to emphasize the European experience in his courses. While this was the period in which the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris seemed the predominant force in Europe, Warren presented the work of at least ten German architects in his survey course. He also continued to take on major projects in Boston and Cambridge through his firm, Warren and Smith. For Harvard, he built the Carey Cage
in 1897 and then added, just off the campus, the delightful Gothic Swedenborgian church adjacent to Memorial Hall and directly across from the location of the future new Germanic Museum building.

Warren had taken an early and very supportive interest in Francke’s efforts to create the museum building. He had rendered the early design for it, which Francke had published as a frontispiece in his Handbook for the Germanic Museum. Warren’s sensitivity to German design and his exquisite Swedenborgian church made him seem just the right architect. Had Busch and Reisinger not insisted on the selection of a German architect, it is more than likely that the commission would have gone to Warren’s firm. Thus it was extraordinarily—and typically—gracious of this broadminded and accommodating man that he withdrew his own earlier design and accepted the position of junior associate to a much younger German architect whom he did not even know.

In many respects, his role was to adumbrate that of Josep Lluís Sert in the early 1960s, when, as dean of the School of Architecture, he adapted Le Corbusier’s designs for the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts. But Le Corbusier was a world-renowned architectural master. Warren, a half-century before, was prepared to subordinate his own role and assist a foreign architect who had no reputation whatsoever in America. As we shall see, this magnanimous undertaking turned out to produce—because of political events a few years later—a rendering personal experience for this generous and accomplished Englishman.

Much now hinged on the initial—and, as it turned out, only—meeting between the two architects in Weimar in July 1910. It was fortunate, though not surprising, that Warren, a superb linguist, was fluent in German. He had attended in the early 1870s two years of high school in Gotha and Dresden (where Bestelmeyer now lived). Warren was struck by the youthfulness of Bestelmeyer but liked him at once. Mindful of Lowell’s instructions, Warren informed his German colleague that “what the circumstances demanded was a small museum of restricted scope.” This was contrary, it seems, to Bestelmeyer’s intentions. His briefings had heretofore come from his meetings with Reisinger and familiarity with what Francke had published about the building, and of course both of these sources tended towards a much larger vision than Lowell or the university now wanted.

Although Francke and Warren had made their point about the scaled-down “restricted scope” that Harvard required, Bestelmeyer sent over plans that autumn which seemed to disregard their advice. His first plans of 1910 are now lost, but it is clear that they were too grand and too costly, for in January of the next year, Francke was to write him that “the ground plans of the building must be ... totally different from your plan of last autumn.” What Francke needed if Bestelmeyer was to retain design control was “a condensed specimen of the most refined and purified German taste.” Perhaps the first drawings were also a bit too Germanic for Harvard’s traditional taste.

Events by the end of the year took a positive turn. First of all, Busch now indicated that he would provide the proffered additional $100,000 about which he had spoken to Francke in the previous spring, and he was willing to withdraw his condition that his entire gift of $250,000 be spent on construction alone. This was the result of a compromise with the Corporation, which in early December agreed to sanction a building of 280,000 cubic feet, a figure exactly twice the size of the Old Gym. The Corporation was also willing to designate the corner plot at Divinity Avenue and Kirkland Street, the site originally mentioned by Eliot to Francke, for the new building. As Lowell wrote to Busch, “we have selected the most prominent and most attractive
unoccupied site on the university land in Cambridge for its location.” Alas, the president erred in one respect in his communication, for the site, it turned out, was not unoccupied.

Francke was ecstatic about the location, which he, too, regarded as “one of the finest sites in Cambridge.” Busch shared his enthusiasm for the land but was not entirely satisfied with the dimensions allowed for the building. One last little tussle took place with the Corporation in mid-December, whereupon it raised the limit by 20,000 cubic feet and rewarded the remarkable generosity of the donor by offering to name the building Adolphus Busch Hall. These concessions were acceptable all around, so that by the end of the year Francke, at long last, seemed to have all the key ingredients in hand for his new building.

Putting a brewer’s name on a university building could be considered a delicate matter. By 1911 the battle over prohibition had become intense, and the Anti-Saloon League, founded in 1895 at about the same time that the first steps were taken to launch the Germanic Museum, was gaining in power and had the growing support of vocal constituencies throughout the United States. McKinley had been dry, and Roosevelt was no special friend of the brewers (or distillers), although Taft was. In fact, Taft as president maintained a very cordial relationship with Busch, sent him a gift on his golden wedding anniversary, and named Busch’s friend and lawyer Charles Nagel to his administration as secretary of commerce.

The mood of the country was clearly swinging in favor of prohibition. By 1911 over half the states were dry, and a majority of the population lived under local option dry laws. Politicians found it increasingly difficult to associate themselves with brewing or distilling interests. For example, when Taft’s secretary of agriculture addressed the International Brewers Congress (attended by many brewers from Germany) in October 1911, it triggered vociferous complaints. Curiously, the issue of alcoholic consumption also became tinged with ethnic politics in the United States. From its founding in 1901, the German-American National Alliance seized the issue of combating prohibition and was often attacked as a front for the brewing interests. The three largest companies, Pabst, Anheuser-Busch, and Schlitz, were owned by German-Americans as were literally hundreds of small breweries. For years the official language of the U.S. Brewers Association was German. Its major publication, Der amerikanische Bierbrauer, did not change to English until around the turn of the century. Beer drinking and recreation in the German beer halls were valued traditional features of a way of life central to the experience of most German-Americans, for whom the imposition of prohibition seemed irrational and punitive.

There was some risk that Harvard, by naming its new building for the Germanic Museum in honor of a brewer, would be drawn into the contentious battle over prohibition. Matters were not helped when Hugo Münsterberg, champion of German-American causes, chose to publish an article in McClure’s Magazine in 1908 entitled “Prohibition and Temperance,” in which he staunchly defended the rights of the drinking public and accused the prohibitionists of behaving hysterically. This article coincided with Busch’s first gift for the Germanic Museum and led some prohibitionists to accuse Busch of making his donation “as a payoff to Münsterberg.” Münsterberg did not want to get caught up in this controversy and he regretted that the battle against prohibition had come to take on such a central role for the German-American community. As he wrote later in 1914, “Nothing has hurt the German-Americans in their struggle for the place which belongs to them so much as the illusion that the negative side of the prohibition question can be in our present time a great vital issue.”
Harvard was mindful not to get caught up in the “negative side of the prohibition question” in its dealings with Busch and Reisinger. Francke had assured President Lowell a few weeks after his inauguration in 1909 “that I shall refuse absolutely to mix up the museum cause with the anti-prohibition propaganda.” Busch, sensitive to this possible concern, never sought in any way to promote brewing interests with his support of the Germanic Museum. He was at all times a most fair-minded and supportive benefactor, and his cooperative demeanor endured even when faced with the next set of complications.

Busch had never been to the Harvard campus, and in the winter of 1911, pleased that the new building would be named for him, raised the prospect of a visit. He first headed west to his spectacular estate in Pasadena where, in March of that year, he and Lilly lavishly celebrated their golden wedding anniversary. It was a huge affair with presents and salutations from Roosevelt, Taft, and the Kaiser, among many others. But Adolphus Busch was already seriously ill, and within a few weeks of the anniversary gala, Reisinger wrote to Lowell, urging that construction commence without delay. “You know that Mr. Busch has been a very sick man for the last four years,” he confided to Harvard’s president. “The only wish I have now is . . . that the museum should be opened not later than the fall of 1912.”

Fearful of Busch’s demise before the building’s completion, Reisinger raised the prospect of a cornerstone-laying ceremony in the summer of 1911, when Busch would be en route to New York to board his favorite ocean liner, the Kronprinz Wilhelm. This Lowell did not wish to do. As he wrote to Warren, who was now engaged in reviewing Bestelmeyer’s drawings, “We never have any celebration at the laying of the cornerstones of buildings, and I do not think it would be wise to do so in this case.” So Busch proceeded to Germany without a visit to Harvard.

From Harvard’s vantage point—and certainly from Lowell’s—to lay a cornerstone in the summer of 1911 was, in any case, considerably premature. There was a major problem with the site, for it contained a house under lease to Professor William Rosenzweig Arnold, who lived there with his family. Before laying down a cornerstone, the university was clearly obligated to relocate these tenants.

The plot designated for the new Germanic Museum late in 1910 had been acquired by the university in 1896 in an area known as the North Yard. It had been entirely residential just a few decades before. On the highly desirable corner of Divinity Avenue and Kirkland Street stood a modest farmhouse and stable, the lease for which had become available in 1908 when Professor Arnold accepted a chair at Harvard as the Andover Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature. His coming to Harvard was actually a function of the amalgamation of the Andover Theological Seminary with Harvard, a move which brought several members of the seminary, together with the facilities of the school, to Harvard. This joining together of the Andover Seminary and the Harvard Divinity School was, in fact, one of the last major actions taken by Eliot as president of the university.

The problems of accommodating the faculty of the seminary had not been altogether easy for Harvard. Because of the proximate location of the Divinity School, the lot and house at 25 Kirkland Street were appealing to Professor Arnold, even though the condition of repair was not. Agreeing to make improvements at his own expense, he was able to get an unconditional five-year lease and proceeded to renovate the structure. It was thus a somewhat jarring circumstance for Arnold when he was approached by President Lowell in the summer of 1911 with the request either to move his family or to arrange to move his house. The latter course was a
not infrequent, if costly, way of clearing land for subsequent construction, and Arnold initially seemed quite willing to have his house moved, provided an acceptable site could be found nearby. What Harvard had to offer, a site behind Divinity Hall, was not to his liking. For much of the fall semester of 1911, the matter of where to move his house continued as an open issue, much to the consternation of Langford Warren who wanted to start work on the new museum by October. Busch, as well, was impatient to build and, apprised of the circumstances for the delay, offered to defray the costs of moving Arnold’s house and stable, which, at a projected $4,500, were not inconsiderable.

Unfortunately, having rejected the sites offered by the university, Arnold opted by the end of the year not to move at all but to remain at his location until the expiration of his lease in July 1914. This was a shock for Francke, Warren, Busch and Reisinger, but there was nothing the university could do. Lowell, too, was taken aback. “I am exceedingly sorry that he has come to this conclusion,” he wrote to Francke in mid-January 1912, “but the Corporation has made a lease to him and has no right to make faces at him because he is unwilling to give it up.” Reisinger was appalled at this development. After all his strenuous efforts and knowing so well of the continuing deterioration in the condition of his father-in-law, his initial reaction bordered on disbelief. “By postponing the matter until 1914, the administration, you and I will become the laughing stock of two countries,” he complained to Francke and proposed, under the circumstances, that the museum building be relocated. Harvard was willing, but Busch was not. Ever the most persevering and self-abnegating of donors, he cabled Francke to stay with the site, despite the delay, because “the location is so ideal.”

This was one—and certainly sufficient—reason Harvard could not begin construction in the fall of 1911. There would have been a second reason in any case, namely, the matter of cost. Lowell had been gratified to see the scaled-down version of the building plans submitted by Bestelmeyer in the spring of that year. According to Francke, “Bestelmeyer had adopted the ground plan of two wings thrown out at different axes from a central octagon, which, at the suggestion of Professor Warren, I had proposed to him.” Lowell echoed Francke’s enthusiasm by writing directly to Bestelmeyer, commending him on his work: “You have solved the problem with great skill”—a handsome encomium from the president of the university, who also wrote to Reisinger that “the building seems to us picturesque, appropriate and characteristic.”

At first, it also seemed affordable. Once Bestelmeyer had completed the design drawings, Warren’s role was intended to be substantial, and it was he who was responsible for estimating construction costs. While both architects were to share equally in the commission, it was Warren on whom Lowell depended for a final assessment as to the merit and feasibility of the German plans. Although Bestelmeyer’s first conception had been too large, Lowell had liked what he saw in the spring of 1911 because he was led to believe by Warren that the building could be erected for $150,000. That was a sum with which the Corporation felt comfortable and which would permit the balance of Busch’s donation to be available for endowment of maintenance and museum costs, to which could be added the additional funds that Reisinger had “morally guaranteed.”

The matter of cost seems not to have come up again in the fall of 1911 because Lowell was engaged in trying to relocate Professor Arnold. It did, however, in March 1912, when Lowell learned to his dismay that Bestelmeyer’s designs were for a building far more expensive. He complained to Warren that “I was much disappointed today to hear from Professor Francke that you thought it would cost $250,000; for I had thought you had said previously, when the plans first came in, that it could be built for $150,000.” Warren explained
at once that the cost would be $253,000 because the building called for a great deal of marble and cut stone, and because Bestelmeyer’s plans were complicated and involved architectural features that, as Francke later wrote, “had never been attempted in this country.”

For Reisinger and Francke, the situation that had looked so promising just a few months before began by early 1912 once again to pose frustrations. The cost issue was disturbing, especially as it remained unresolved, and the delay until 1914 was deeply disconcerting. But worse yet was the continuing decline in the health of Adolphus Busch. Reisinger told Francke that he now doubted that his father-in-law would be alive to see the completion of the building. He appealed to his friend to persuade Lowell at least to permit a formal cornerstone-laying ceremony in June 1912, when Busch, although an invalid, would be en route once again to New York to embark on his ocean crossing to Europe.

This time Lowell, embarrassed by the obstructive delay in construction, agreed to the ceremony, to which he invited Adolphus and Lilly Busch, Hugo Reisinger and his wife, Edmée, the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, and Andrew D. White, who, as the American ambassador to Germany in 1902, had been helpful to Francke in securing the Emperor’s interest and support for the museum. Lowell, who had little enthusiasm for such events, was particularly annoyed by Arnold’s obdurate refusal to permit even this ceremony on the property he had leased. The university was compelled to relocate the entire new building two feet further to the west and away from Divinity Avenue so that a cornerstone could be laid down on “unoccupied land” on June 8, 1912.

Busch was too ill to attend the ceremony, but his speech—a poignant and heartfelt espousal of the shared values of Germany and the United States—was read by Reisinger. Von Bernstorff brought the greetings of the Kaiser, the Harvard Glee Club sang “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,” and the firm of Walter A. Wentworth & Company laid the cornerstone, into which various objects were placed. But that was as much construction as Harvard was able to undertake until the summer of 1914.

In recognition of his extraordinary efforts for Harvard, Kuno Francke was awarded an honorary degree two weeks later at the graduation exercises for the class of 1912, among whose members was Curt Reisinger, the son and grandson of the two generous donors who had underwritten the entire cost of the new building and its lonely cornerstone. While Francke must have been pleased with the honor, he doubtless also felt crestfallen at the senseless delay in construction that now set in. It must have been humiliating for him to explain to his German friends the seemingly trivial local circumstances that compelled the university to postpone the building for two full years. Because of the delay, it seemed to him “inopportune during the academic year 1912-1913 to solicit or acquire new objects for our collection.” But several objects did arrive, the result of earlier donations in Germany. Principal among these was a bronze copy of the Braunschweig Lion, a monument erected in Braunschweig’s Castle Square in 1166 by Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony. It was the gift of the Duke of Mecklenburg, arranged for by Francke’s great friend Paul Clemen, who had been the German visiting professor at Harvard—and at the Germanic Museum—in 1907-1908. Henry the Lion was intended to be placed in the garden of the new building. As there was neither garden nor new building in 1913, the lion was placed on a temporary pedestal facing westward outside the Rogers Gym, where he could roar irately at the family of intruders at 25 Kirkland Street.
1913 brought further disappointments for Francke. One was caused by the behavior of his colleague Münsterberg, who was spending a year in Berlin both as the visiting Harvard exchange professor and as head of the new Amerika-Institut for which he had helped raise funds in the United States. Münsterberg had protested in a public and disagreeable manner about the apparent slight to him for not being included in a reception by the Kaiser to which the Roosevelt Visiting Professor from Columbia University, C. Alphonso Smith, had been invited. The fuss he managed to make over his unintended exclusion caused the Kaiser to withdraw the invitation to Smith, but also led Friedrich Schmidt in the Ministry of Education to rescind the plans to invite Francke as the next participant in the exchange professorship with Harvard. Schmidt apparently felt having German-born academics back in Berlin for a year was more than he wished to handle. Perhaps Schmidt was also expressing some slight displeasure that momentum to erect the Germanic Museum had come to a grinding halt. In any case, Francke did not go to Germany on the prestigious exchange program that he, more than anyone on the Harvard side, had helped negotiate a decade before. Instead, Archibald Cary Coolidge accepted, though not without some personal foreboding. War clouds were gathering on the German horizon. "I shall be skating on the thinnest of possible ice," he wrote that June to his lifelong friend, the distinguished American diplomat Edwin Morgan.

But the greatest blow in 1913 for Francke was the death in October of his wonderful benefactor, Adolphus Busch, at his estate in Langenschwalbach. Busch's body was transported back to the United States on the Kronprinz Wilhelm for burial in St. Louis. On the ship's arrival in New York on November 21, standing at the pier were Kuno Francke and Hugo Münsterberg. How painful it must have been for Francke to accept the fact that Busch would never see the building he had financed.

The death of the donor before construction had commenced posed a practical problem as well. In the winter of 1912, when Warren had developed his more refined estimates of the true costs of building the museum along the lines of Bestelmeyer's plans, Lowell had been unwilling to sanction such a costly structure. The issue had not been pressed because Harvard could not in any case build until 1914. Reisinger had given assurances that
additional funds might be available to cover increased costs of the Bestelmeyer building but it had been inopportune for Lowell or Francke to raise the matter with Busch until such time as construction could begin. Now that Busch was gone, where would supplemental funds come from?

The issue was to come to the fore early in 1914 as Harvard took preliminary steps leading to construction. The lot at 25 Kirkland Street was to become available on July 1, and several months before, Lowell asked Warren to update the estimates for the building. By March there were three cost projections in hand. The first came to $269,500 and would have provided a building furnished precisely to Bestelmeyer’s specifications. This estimate called for extensive carved stone ornamentation and the use of large amounts of cut granite and limestone, as well as marble for the interior columns and bronze for several doors. The second estimate, projected at a cost of $226,600, retained some of the costly finishes proposed by the German architect but substituted concrete in place of the granite and limestone and eliminated some statuary details. The third estimate called for even more economy, “omitting the decorative carving and the marble columns and wood-coffered ceiling.” Even this version would still cost $204,500, and that did not include the clock mechanism for the tower.

Lowell was in a quandary. He was determined to retain a sufficient endowment, which meant that the third and least costly course would be the only acceptable one. That posed a very bleak and distressing prospect for Francke and Reisinger. To reduce Bestelmeyer’s plan to a bare and unadorned minimum would eliminate much of its charm and special distinction, the “picturesque and characteristic” features that had caught even Lowell’s enthusiasm just three years before. In the spring of 1914, Lowell approached August A. Busch, who had succeeded his father as chairman of the giant brewery, but Lowell was turned down in his effort to secure additional funding. With the need for a decision so imminent, the president wrote to Francke that “we must go ahead and build with the money that we have on hand without expecting more; unless Mr. Reisinger’s statement—made to you some time ago that if we would carry out Bestelmeyer’s design in cut stone instead of using concrete, he would be personally responsible for the difference in cost—still holds good.”

Lowell doubted whether Reisinger would be able to provide the needed funds and, within a week of writing to him, advised the university treasurer, Charles Francis Adams, that “we will go with estimate C.” But Lowell underestimated Reisinger’s passionate commitment to have the Bestelmeyer building rendered in its full splendor. What Reisinger now undertook to do saved the full Bestelmeyer plan. Aware that his cousins, the Busch heirs in St. Louis, would not provide additional funds, he traveled to Germany to visit his mother-in-law, Lilly Anheuser Busch, who had come to Harvard for the formal cornerstone laying in 1912.

As much committed to Germany as her husband had been, Lilly continued traveling to the house in Langenschwalbach every summer. Three of her daughters had married Germans, and two of them lived in Germany. The family often gathered together at the Villa Lilly for festive occasions. Once the war broke out in Europe in the summer of 1914, Lilly chose to stay on in Germany and with two daughters turned the villa into a convalescent hospital for wounded German soldiers. She possessed the same largesse that Adolphus had, and she was enormously wealthy, with inherited fortunes from both her father, Eberhard Anheuser, and her husband. On the latter’s death, it was reported that she built him a mausoleum costing $200,000, a sum roughly equivalent to what Lowell was prepared in the summer of 1914 to spend on the Germanic Museum.
Without Lilly Busch and Hugo Reisinger, it would have been the barest version of the museum that Harvard would have built. Just as the house at 25 Kirkland Street was about to be demolished, Kuno Francke received an extraordinarily welcome cable on July 19, 1914, from Reisinger in Germany, stating simply, “Mrs. Busch agrees to pay desired amount. Hurrah.” Her contribution was $56,600, in 1914 a considerable sum. This was the amount Warren had computed for the columns, the tiles, the limestone and cut stone, the carved ornamentation and coffered ceiling, and all the other special features Bestelmeyer had included in his plans. As Lowell put it in his letter of appreciation to her a week later, “Your gift will enable us to complete Adolphus Busch Hall as the architects planned it.” Once again, members of the Busch family had demonstrated an amazing willingness to stand by the project and to make possible a resplendent new home for the Germanic Museum.

This encouraging development in July 1914 was followed almost immediately by two tragic events. The first was the outbreak in August of the European war; the second, the sudden death of Hugo Reisinger. The war spelled the end of Bestelmeyer’s involvement in the enterprise, since he promptly lost most of his draughtsmen to conscription and he himself expected shortly to be inducted into the German army. As Warren advised Lowell that September, Bestelmeyer “asks whether it is not possible to postpone the work on the building until better times.” Had it not been for the remarkable willingness of Warren to take over without finished drawings, the entire project could not have gone forward.

Warren had always assumed that Bestelmeyer would provide finished drawings for his highly complicated structure. It must have come as somewhat of a shock to the distinguished dean of the School of Architecture to learn in the fall of 1914 that the arrival of such finished drawings not only was uncertain but might not occur at all. Warren and Smith would themselves have to produce finished drawings for a building that presented awesome architectural problems. Bestelmeyer’s plan called for seven level changes on the ground floor alone and at least two precast concrete domes in the entrance rotunda and in Romanesque Hall. The construction would require engineering techniques that had never before, at least on this scale, been used in the United States.

In addition, Bestelmeyer had envisaged a richly ornamented exterior for the museum with a substantial quantity of detailed stone carving, the finished drawings for which were also unlikely to arrive from Dresden. Warren was aware that Bestelmeyer had planned his building with great attention to every detail, including the specifications for moldings, doorways and the elaborate ironwork. How frustrating to have to proceed without the finished drawings and how cumbersome to have to take on the work of providing them.

There was to be a second event in the fall of 1914 that was to eliminate another key protagonist. This was the sudden and tragic death of Hugo Reisinger. Reisinger seems to have taken ill at about the time he secured the additional contribution from his mother-in-law, and he remained in Germany until his death on September 26, 1914. Lilly Busch experienced within eleven months the passing of her husband and her son-in-law, both at Langenschwalbach. Each time, she had to make arrangements to return their remains to the United States for burial. Once again, Francke and Münsterberg made their way to New York to honor the memory of a deceased benefactor and, in this case, close friend. Both men spoke at the memorial service for Hugo Reisinger held in New York in late October, almost exactly a year from the date when they had come to stand at the pier to receive the coffin of Adolphus Busch. It was a painful loss, especially for Kuno Francke, who spoke at Reisinger’s memorial service of his “feeling of grief that Adolphus Busch and Hugo Reisinger, the two men
in this country to whom this museum owes more than to all others, should have been called away before they had seen the realization of their plans."

Despite these sad and unanticipated events, Langford Warren and Patterson Smith pressed on with the task of constructing the new building. They adhered to a cooperative division of labor in which Warren attended to the architectural and design responsibilities, while Smith undertook the difficult effort of managing the engineering and the construction. The effort was particularly challenging because Bestelmeyer had deliberately chosen to incorporate great structural variety into his designs in order to capture the distinct feel for the three architecturally different great halls: the Romanesque, the Gothic and the Renaissance. According to Francke, "the German architect's drawings did not include any detailed consideration of structure," something that Smith would have to remedy.

Warren selected the decorative finish for most of the interior. He chose the Indiana limestone for the structural supports, the tile floors for the transept and chapel, and the quarry tiles for Renaissance Hall. He also oversaw all the decorative ironwork, which was made according to Bestelmeyer's sketches by Frank Koralewsky, a talented metalworker employed by the firm of F. Krasser and Company in Boston. Warren produced the designs for the elaborate stone ornamentation on the exterior of the building and engaged two gifted stone sculptors, Roger Noble Burnham and John Kirchmayer, to do the models for the many striking and romantic heads and figures that decorate Adolphus Busch Hall. Kirchmayer rendered the models for the four splendid Wagnerian faces of Wotan, Brünnhilde, Siegfried, and Alberich above the soaring, south-facing windows that opened to the terrace overlooking the garden. He also designed the head of the warrior on the west wing and the Apollo head in the keystone of the front entrance. Burnham, an instructor in modelling at Harvard, produced the marvelous centaur and elaborate Minerva head. The actual carving on the edifice followed these models. Italian stone carvers were hired by the contractors, the W. J. Sullivan Company, to do all the elaborate cut stonework on the building.

Smith chose Vermont porphyry for the massive columns in Renaissance Hall, the slate for its floor, and the red tiles for the roof. The resolution of the reinforced concrete designs was undertaken by H. B. Andrews of Simpson Brothers and was completed in cooperation with the Boston engineering firm of J. R. Worcester & Company. The handsome clock in the tower was manufactured by Edward Howard, a Boston clockmaker. The windows of the chapel (paid for, in part, by Otto Kahn in 1916) were to have twelve reproductions of stained glass from the Cathedral of St. Stephen in Vienna and other Austrian churches of the eleventh century. They were produced by the artist H. A. Oster of Boston, but did not survive American entry into the First World War, when they were destroyed by anti-German vandals. The four inscriptions that decorate the building were selected by Kuno Francke late in 1915 and derive, with the exception of one popular saying, from Goethe, Schiller and Kant.

All of these rich details would not have been possible had Lilly Busch not contributed the additional $56,600. Without them, much of the charm of the building would have been lost, along with much of its special character. That character was, of course, intensely German. At a time of mounting anti-German sentiment, Warren, who had ample opportunity and scope to redesign the details, proved fastidious in adhering to Bestelmeyer's intent. It was a heroic act on the part of Warren, who demonstrated throughout his absolute fidelity to the original
German conception. The work doubtless took its toll. On June 27, 1917, as Busch Hall was nearing completion, Herbert Langford Warren died. He was, in the words of the architectural historian Anthony Alofsin, "exhausted at the age of sixty by his dedication to the school he founded and the country he adopted." He was no doubt exhausted as well by the strain of his efforts to complete the Germanic Museum after the U.S. entered the war.
VI

Building a new home for the Germanic Museum once war erupted in Europe proved a daunting task. Although the United States in 1914 formally clung to a posture of neutrality, the mood in the country, and especially on the Harvard campus, had become hostile to Germany and especially to the Kaiser. Samuel Eliot Morison, the preeminent chronicler of Harvard history, described the atmosphere on campus thus: “Sympathy for the allied cause was unconcealed; not for a moment was Harvard neutral in thought or deed.” In this attitude, the university was somewhat ahead of the nation as a whole.

Among the most outspoken critics of German behavior and particularly that of the Kaiser was Harvard’s president emeritus, Charles W. Eliot, who had for so many years lauded the educational and cultural achievements of the Germans and who had been so influenced by many of their university practices. This great moral and scholastic figure was shocked by the events leading to the outbreak of war in the summer of 1914 and held Kaiser Wilhelm personally responsible. The extent of his outrage and the vehemence of his censure were unconstrained. As he wrote to his great friend Henry Lee Higginson, the impassioned benefactor of the Boston Symphony with its large component of German and Austrian musicians, Germany’s “philosophy and religion have failed to work; her education has not developed in the people power to reason or good judgement; her efficiency even in war is not greater than that of her adversaries; and her ruling class is too stupid to see that their game of domination in Europe is already lost.” This was the man who had welcomed Prince Henry to Harvard and who had been a steadfast supporter of the Germanic Museum. His sentiments are illustrative of how quickly and completely the mood on the campus had changed.

Eliot put himself at the forefront of those who held Germany responsible for the war. As Archie Coolidge, freshly returned from his exchange semester in Berlin, reported to a friend at Christmas time in 1914, Harvard’s mood and Eliot’s attack would result in “great bitterness in Germany. . . . What Eliot has said since the war began will not be forgiven.” It certainly wasn’t forgiven by Münsterberg, who rushed into print in the fall of that year with a small book, *The War and America*, in which he lambasted his former president and the man who had given him tenure at Harvard twenty years before: “The leader of the anti-German party—the leader
by age, by authority, by mastery of diction and by the importance which the press gives to his utterances—is Charles W. Eliot.”

Münsterberg engaged in a flurry of activity that autumn on behalf of the German cause and was able to elicit interest in his efforts even on the part of Teddy Roosevelt, who invited him down to his home in Oyster Bay in November. Roosevelt had visited the Kaiser in May 1910 at Andrew Carnegie’s behest, ostensibly to secure Wilhelm’s support for Carnegie’s concept of a League of Peace. The Kaiser and the former president had been regarded by the American press as friends ever since the days of Prince Henry’s visit in 1902. Roosevelt had also remained in touch with Münsterberg and had, of course, close ties to Harvard.

That Roosevelt would invite Münsterberg and his German-American Cambridge-based associate, Edmund von Mach, to his home in Long Island was surprising, given the temper of the times. The encounter prompted Harvard’s Professor Coolidge, ever the keen observer, to speculate about “what it all means? Probably nothing, but the combination of the two men is a little curious. . . . I don’t believe Roosevelt has German sympathies . . . and he is too wily a bird to let himself be used for Münsterberg’s purposes.” The combination was not to last. Roosevelt shortly became even more outspoken than Eliot in his animosity towards the Germans and in calling for an early American entry into the war on the allied side.

Kuno Francke was caught in an unbearable dilemma by the outbreak of war. In contrast to Münsterberg, Francke had married an American and became a U.S. citizen. Yet in all of his academic and intellectual efforts, he sought to promote the study of German art and literature. Though his cultural roots were as deeply German as could be, his political values were democratic, and his civic loyalties belonged to the United States. Many German-Americans experienced the same rending, poignant and irreconcilable conflict. For Francke, the situation must have been made even more difficult by the dreadful combination of the events of 1914—the war, the death of his friend Reisinger, the abrupt withdrawal of Bestelmeyer, the grim confrontation between Eliot and Münsterberg—all coming just as his greatest endeavor was finally being realized.

Francke was also forced to deal with the troubling matter of Heinrich Albert. Albert, who was married to Francke’s niece, had been sent in 1914 by the German government to New York along with Bernhard Dernburg in order to raise loans for Germany, purchase supplies, and influence public opinion on behalf of the German cause. Dernburg, who had served as colonial secretary in Berlin, became the chief propagandist for Germany in the United States over the next two years. He had little luck, however. Albert, who was on leave from the Interior Ministry, acted at first on behalf of the so-called Central Purchasing Company, but when it transpired that Dernburg was unsuccessful in raising funds on Wall Street to make needed purchases, he turned his attentions to disseminating German propaganda.

Francke extended normal family courtesies to Heinrich Albert upon his arrival in the United States and arranged several meetings for him with colleagues in Cambridge. Among those whom Albert met at Francke’s home was Albert Bushnell Hart, the well-known Harvard political scientist, who was scheduled to be the next exchange professor in Berlin for 1915-1916. This encounter subsequently caused the stridently patriotic Hart some embarrassment because Albert became a rather notorious figure. Some years later, Hart was asked to testify to the Senate Judiciary Committee about these “goings on” in Cambridge that had made it appear that perhaps
he—and Francke even more so—could have been acting on behalf of Germany (which would have been perfectly legal).

Hart was annoyed that Francke had brought him together with Albert and created this impression, albeit unwittingly. Even after the war ended, he vented his anger: “Can’t you get out of the connection with German intrigue and German war methods with which you are inevitably entangled in the public mind?” he wrote to his former friend and colleague in 1919. Nonetheless, Hart defended Francke’s actions in the Senate hearings, praising his upright character and informing the Senators that Francke “had announced, long before the war, that if war broke out he was an American and stood by his country.”

The connection with Albert threatened to tarnish Francke’s image. Aside from extending the hospitality of his Cambridge home to his niece’s husband, Francke had only one other dealing with Albert, which consisted, as he told Hart, “in my wife’s correcting his English for an article written by him in 1914 or early in 1915 for the Atlantic Monthly.” But the climate of opinion cast all German-Americans in a questionable light. Francke’s chagrin must have increased when Albert briefly became the subject of a front-page scandal in August 1915 after falling asleep on the Sixth Avenue subway in New York, thereby permitting a secret service agent to capture his briefcase. The papers inside revealed all kinds of secret German subsidies for various pro-German lectures and publications. Though all of them were quite legal, the publication of these papers in the New York World can only have served further to discomfit his uncle at Harvard, and they contributed to anti-German sentiment.

Francke’s position at Harvard was also made uncomfortable by the activities of Münsterberg and of Edmund von Mach, a rather shady character with past ties to Harvard sufficient to create the impression in some circles of his being a member of its faculty. Von Mach, who had been born in Germany and received his early education there, was a graduate of Harvard College, class of 1895. He received his doctorate in philology five years later, and then taught Hellenic art for three years at Harvard. After his teaching affiliation ended in 1903, he continued to live in Cambridge—right next door to Professor Albert Bushnell Hart—and to participate in some university activities. For example, he and John Walz, a professor of German and the acting dean of the Graduate School in 1913, were members of the Graduate Council of the Deutscher Verein of Harvard University, which remained active until 1917. Through such involvement, von Mach managed to pass himself off as a member of the Harvard community.

Von Mach was certainly close to Münsterberg and traveled with him to Sagamore Hill, Teddy Roosevelt’s home on the north shore of Long Island, for a meeting to discuss the German war effort in November 1914. Both Münsterberg and von Mach contributed small books that fall in defense of the German position, and both were active in promoting a major embargo conference (organized by Richard Bartholdt, the leading German-American in Congress) in Washington in January 1915. The purpose of the conference was to pressure the American government into denying the export of war materiel to the Allies. Francke refused to attend Bartholdt’s conference for he opposed the effort to organize the German-American community politically. As he wrote to the New York Times, “Nothing would be more fatal to our standing in the community than the insistence of racial contrasts and demands.” As Francke subsequently confided to Hart, “I have had my full share of abuse for this step from German Americans all over the country, as well as from political leaders in Germany.”
Edmund von Mach next moved to organize the German University League, ostensibly for the harmless purpose of bringing together those American intellectuals who had studied—or taught—in Germany. Its stated aim was “to cooperate with every effort to strengthen the regard for the Germans and for their aims and ideals and to secure for them fair play and proper appreciation.” Since the United States was neutral at the time, this seemed a perfectly legitimate organizational effort to Francke, especially as it did not seek to organize German-Americans as a separate political force. He and von Jagemann joined the League, as did Curt Reisinger, Hugo’s eldest son. Its real constituency, however, was not meant to be German-Americans, but pro-German Americans, such as John Burgess and William Shepherd of the faculty of Columbia University, both of whom had been Roosevelt professors in an exchange program that brought distinguished academics from Columbia to Germany. The League did less well in recruiting those Harvard faculty members who had been to Berlin. As Archie Coolidge reported in late 1914, “Except for Münsterberg, the Harvard exchange professors have not come out on behalf of Germany as have the Roosevelt ones.” In face of the growing hostility towards Germany on the Harvard campus, he also predicted “that I shall have been the last Harvard exchange professor to lecture there.” He was soon proven correct. Albert Bushnell Hart, who was scheduled to be next, was hardly inclined to go.

Münsterberg’s efforts at this time concentrated on the German-Americans, an immense group in size. According to the 1910 census, 8.3 million Americans considered Germany their country of origin, and of these, almost one-third had been born there. The problem of their effective political organization had remained an obstacle. Since the time of Ambassador von Holleben, the aim of the German embassy in Washington had been to make German-Americans into a powerful political force.

The establishment in 1901 of a single, overarching, country-wide organization, the National German-American Alliance, had coincided with the early efforts to launch the Germanic Museum and held the promise of creating an influential political body to represent this large community. By 1914, the Bund—as the Alliance was generally called—had some form of representation in almost every state and claimed a membership of about two million. But the figure is deceptive since the Bund was really an umbrella association of member organizations, most of which were social, rather than political, in purpose. Its efforts had focused more on ethnocentric cultural issues and opposition to teetotalers than on national politics.

There had been less need of a political focus before the war since U.S.-German relations had been on the whole rather good. Von Holleben’s two successors in Washington, Baron Speck von Sternburg and Count von Bernstorff, both of whom had American wives, had been unusually popular figures in Washington and much in favor with Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. Von Bernstorff in his memoirs referred to the period 1909-1913 as the best chapter in U.S.-German relations. Even Kaiser Wilhelm had enjoyed considerable popularity, as witnessed by Andrew Carnegie’s participation as special emissary to the Kaiser’s Silver Jubilee in June 1913, and an outpouring of favorable press on the occasion. Carnegie rather naively viewed the Kaiser as a “Hero of Peace.” He and Nicholas Murray Butler, the pro-German president of Columbia University, had arranged to present Wilhelm on his Jubilee with a document signed by seventy leading Americans offering the Kaiser “cordial congratulations on your 25 years of peace and prosperous reign . . . We thank your Imperial Majesty as the foremost apostle of peace in our time.”
The outbreak of war in August 1914 made the potential role of German-Americans a matter of far greater concern. Officially, the United States adhered to a policy of strict neutrality. England lost no time in seeking to promote the Allied position in the United States, and by the time of the German invasion of Belgium, public opinion in the United States was overwhelmingly against Germany. The combination of events led some German-Americans to intensify their efforts on behalf of Germany. Steps taken by the German government to lend assistance to their efforts badly misfired. Bernhard Dernburg, Heinrich Albert, Ambassador von Bernstorff and others were soon vilified in much of the American press for what was perceived as a clumsy intrusion into American domestic affairs, although, in fact, the Germans were no different (with the exception of the German military attaché Franz von Papen who promoted industrial sabotage) from their British counterparts.

In the charged atmosphere of the early months of the war, the Bund encouraged German-Americans to support American neutrality and so-called fair play toward the Central Powers. Leaders of the German-Jewish community, foremost among them Jacob Schiff, remained staunchly pro-German because of their intense animosity towards imperial Russia, the seedbed of so much antisemitism. But these efforts to counterbalance the national tilt in favor of England were irreparably harmed by the sinking of the transatlantic commercial liner _Lusitania_ on May 7, 1915. American public opinion was shocked by this unprovoked attack, which cost the lives of 114 Americans. The act was perceived as a deliberate measure to disregard American lives, especially since Ambassador von Bernstorff had chosen to forewarn U.S. citizens against sailing on the _Lusitania_ through an advertisement in the New York press that did not appear until the day of her departure.

The outcry against Germany and against the political activities of German-Americans was extreme and immediate. At Harvard, the bronze copy of Henry the Lion standing outside the Germanic Museum was draped in black, and even the normally exuberant Münsterberg was shocked into momentary inactivity. For Francke, the Germanophobic hysteria was appalling. But he was also shaken by the Petition of the Intellectuals that was issued in Berlin in July 1915 which supported an aggressive policy of territorial annexations as legitimate war aims for Germany. Among the 1,347 scholars, teachers, writers, artists and even theologians who signed the document were 352 German university professors, several of whom had participated in the exchange program with Harvard.

By mid-summer 1915, the loyalty of the German-American community itself came under attack, with German-Americans increasingly being depicted as subjects of dual allegiance, castigated as so-called hyphenates. Even Teddy Roosevelt railed against “those hyphenated Americans who terrorize American politicians by threats of the foreign vote.” This was, of course, what Münsterberg, among others, had tried to do. He had, for example, written to President Wilson earlier in the year cautioning him to take the German-American vote more seriously into account through the pursuit of a more even-handed policy. That a former president would now categorize German-Americans as “foreign” shows how extreme American chauvinism had become.

By the time of the sinking of the _Lusitania_, Francke had broken with Münsterberg. Harvard’s Phyllis Keller, in her illuminating study of Münsterberg, ascribes their growing estrangement in 1915 to “a certain amount of jealousy on Münsterberg’s part,” who also felt that Francke had undermined the efforts to have leading German-Americans “speak with one voice.” It is also likely that Francke perceived Münsterberg’s behavior with mounting consternation. Münsterberg had already been the object of an unpleasant incident in which
a college alumnus purportedly offered a huge amount of money—$10 million—to the university if it were to dismiss the German professor. President Lowell refused even to consider the matter lest he thereby signify that the university was willing to ensure a faculty member for the expression of his personal political views, but Lowell was annoyed later at Münsterberg’s provocative offer of resignation, which potentially placed the university in an awkward light.

Though Münsterberg and Francke were, in Phyllis Keller’s words, “together the leading representatives of German culture in the United States,” they disagreed increasingly on the issue of how the United States and the German-Americans should behave in the deteriorating climate of U.S.-German relations after the torpedoing of the Lusitania. Even with his health in jeopardy, Münsterberg continued to exert himself on behalf of the German cause, finding himself ever more isolated on the Harvard faculty, disliked and chastised by many of his colleagues. Worn down and despondent, he died while delivering a lecture at Radcliffe College on December 16, 1916. It was Charles Eliot, his unequivocal adversary on matters of American foreign policy during the war, who rushed to his home in Cambridge that night to comfort Münsterberg’s grief-stricken wife, Selma.

By the time of Münsterberg’s death, Francke was no longer in Cambridge. He had taken a year’s leave of absence in the fall of 1916 and retreated to his country home in Gilbertsville, New York, to remove himself from the Germanophobia of the campus. As Henry Aaron Yeomans, the former Harvard dean, recounted in his official biography of Lowell years later, “Every morning a college watchman inspected the Brandenburg Lion, gift of the German Emperor, to make sure that it had not been ‘decorated’ during the night.” That the lion was from Braunschweig and a gift of its Prince Regent mattered little: it was German, sufficient cause for it to be disfigured.

In the same period the United States entered the war against the Central Powers, Francke resigned from the faculty. He was now sixty-two years old and felt too conflicted to remain a useful member of the university. But he was never for a moment unpatriotic and accepted the fact that one of his sons was to be conscripted into service in the U.S. armed forces (the other became a conscientious objector). Francke’s anguish in this period was great. In his memoirs, written a decade later, the wounds of 1917 and 1918 were still so painful that he could not bring himself to recount the innumerable indignities to which he felt exposed. His name appeared on the Attorney General’s blacklist, and his private mail was intercepted. His experience was not so different from that of many in the German-American community.

The American declaration of war on April 5, 1917, provoked by the German policy of unlimited submarine warfare, immediately triggered a further outburst of anti-German hysteria. President Wilson appointed a Committee on Public Information to promote the war cause, which it chose to do by launching a nationwide assault on the teaching and use of the German language. Through its overzealous actions, the Committee encouraged the suspension of all kinds of civil liberties. Governor Cox of Ohio, who was to be the presidential candidate of the Democratic party in 1920, introduced legislation in his state to ban the teaching of German in high schools. Other states followed suit. German newspapers were besieged, and restaurants changed their menus to eliminate German dishes. Statues of Goethe and Schiller were vandalized, and German textbooks were burned. German music was even banned in some cities. In November 1917, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia prohibited the playing of Beethoven, and in March of the following year, Dr. Karl Muck, the famous German-born conductor of Henry Lee Higginson's Boston Symphony, was actually arrested as an enemy alien, despite
his Swiss citizenship. Congress also ordered the dissolution of the National German-American Alliance as a subversive organization.

It was in this climate that Langford Warren and Patterson Smith carried on with their efforts to construct a new Germanic Museum. Most of the work had been completed before the United States entered the war, but final touches still needed to be made in the interior. Warren's death in June 1917 left responsibility for the completion with Smith. The latter pressed on, even in the absence of Francke, who remained honorary curator after his resignation from the Harvard faculty in April. Before the casts could be fully installed in their new home, the Rogers Gymnasium was assigned for R.O.T.C. training in 1916. Early in 1917 Lowell arranged for a contingent of disabled French officers to train Harvard undergraduates enrolled in officer training in the methods of warfare. The Government Naval Radio School took over Pierce Hall and the Cruft Laboratory, and within a few months the entire North Yard surrounding Busch Hall was dedicated to military preparedness training. Constructing a Germanic Museum must have seemed strange. President Lowell received a steady stream of letters of complaint about the inappropriateness of this new structure, which was also, apparently, visited by a reputable engineer to establish what potential military purpose of sabotage it might serve the German cause. It seems some Bostonians feared a cannon might be placed there to blow up the Watertown arsenal!

Harvard stood steadfast by its Germanic Museum, whose reputation suffered even further by bearing the name of a prominent brewer on its facade. Zealous chauvinism had driven the country against the brewers. For the Anti-Saloon League, the practice of identifying the beer industry with pro-German sympathies furthered the cause of prohibition. As early as 1916, the files of the United States Brewers Association had been seized by the government during an investigation into possible ties between German-American brewers and the German government propaganda effort. Once the United States was at war, the attack on the brewers grew even more ferocious. Wayne Wheeler, who led the League, wrote in May 1918 to A. Mitchell Palmer, Custodian of Alien Property, that, "I am informed that there are a number of breweries in this country which are owned in part by alien enemies. It is reported to me that the Anhauser [sic] Busch Company and some of the Milwaukee companies are largely controlled by alien Germans."

The allegation was malicious and inaccurate, but Palmer, politically ambitious, launched an investigation. He also apparently seized property belonging to Lilly Anheuser Busch and the estate of Hugo Reisinger, though neither party was an alien. She was a native of St. Louis, and he had died an American citizen. Meanwhile, the Senate Judiciary Committee scheduled hearings on "The Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda," with the ostensible charge that "the organized liquor traffic of the country is a vicious interest because it has been unpatriotic; it has been pro-German in its sympathies and its conduct." Nothing much emerged in the hearings. In due course, A. Mitchell Palmer—who was to become Attorney General—restored the sequestered property to Mrs. Busch and to the estate of her deceased son-in-law, but not before the United States had adopted a constitutional amendment prohibiting the consumption of alcoholic beverages. For Harvard to persevere with the name of Adolphus Busch Hall seemed only to contribute to the untoward public image of its Germanic Museum.

Work on the structure was substantially finished by the end of 1917. That October, Lowell wrote to Francke that overseeing the Germanic Museum remained in his hands as honorary curator and that he had full use of its endowment fund. But the building did not open—not because of an ostensible shortage of coal, which
restricted the hours also of the Peabody and Semitic Museums—but because of the political climate. Tinting of the plaster casts, which were in the process of installation by the end of 1917, proceeded, but the museum remained closed.

Francke, who had taken seriously ill while retired in Gilbertsville, worried lest the university cease to heat the building, thereby damaging the casts by shrinking their wooden support framework. He wrote to his colleague von Jagemann from his hospital bed, also expressing his concern that the xenophobic anti-German mood reported on campus might lead to an arson attack on the building. Though vandals had destroyed the chapel windows, at least Henry the Lion was safely protected from further “decoration” within the garden courtyard of the closed new building. Francke lamented “the ignorant slurs heaped upon the Germanic Museum and my connection with it.” Alas, Adolphus Busch Hall was no sooner completed than it became a victim of the intense chauvinism that afflicted the nation during World War I.
Although the war ended in 1918, Lowell felt it was best to leave Adolphus Busch Hall closed until a mood more congenial to Germany might again take hold on the campus and across the country. His preference in the fall of 1919 was to avoid a public opening altogether but perhaps to permit some hours of visitation that would not draw attention. Even this did not seem prudent, however, and it was not until April 1921 that the new Germanic Museum was finally opened to the public.

Kuno Francke was by then sixty-six years of age. Freed of teaching responsibility, Francke as honorary curator was able to travel to Europe and as early as 1920 had resumed his quest for additional plaster casts. The German royal houses to which he had directed solicitations for gifts before the war were now gone. Since the building actually had cost somewhat less than Warren had originally estimated, Francke had some extra funds for purchases. Including Bestelmeyer’s half-commission (which was finally paid, with accumulated interest, in 1920) the total expenditure on construction, as well as the moving and tinting of the casts, came to about $235,000. That Bestelmeyer should receive his commission was never questioned by Harvard, even though his finished drawings had arrived so late (most of them in 1915) that Warren and Smith had been unable to use them at all. What is most surprising is not that Bestelmeyer received his fee, but that he never chose to visit the museum that Warren had completed so faithfully to his designs. Despite Francke’s several visits to Germany during the postwar period, he, oddly enough, never again mentioned an encounter with Bestelmeyer.

The German architect died in 1942, having become a powerful and well-known figure among his peers. In 1922, he had been named president of the prestigious Munich Academy of Art. After Hitler came to power, Bestelmeyer joined the Kampfbund deutscher Architekten und Ingenieure, which led the fight against what the Nazis attacked in the 1930s as “architectural bolshevism.” Later, Goebbels appointed Bestelmeyer to the governing board of the Reichskulturkammer, which oversaw the imposition of Nazi principles on German architecture. He also apparently supported Nazi efforts to denounce and eradicate modern art in Germany, an ironic and sad development: during the very same years, the Germanic Museum he had designed became a repository for many of the masterpieces that had fallen victim to the Nazis’ perverse and philistine policy.
Francke was able to resume acquiring plaster casts, for the new building provided ample space for additions to the existing collection. The casts that had been in the Rogers Gym were installed in the new building in 1917 and made a dramatic and handsome visual impression. The monumental Golden Gate from the Freiberg Cathedral and the Rood Screen from Naumburg were actually built in the interior of Romanesque Hall and the transept, creating an imposing, church-like effect. The massive equestrian statue of the Great Elector by Schueter dominated Renaissance Hall and was surrounded by a dozen or so additional casts, all now tinted to resemble the originals, thereby eliminating the chalk-like quality that had such a stark and strange effect when they were displayed in the Old Gym. All in all, the collection and the building achieved an artistic harmony that brought Francke great satisfaction after all the travail and trauma that had afflicted the museum project during the years of the war.

The casts were complemented by a collection of some 200 large photographs on view in the side galleries adjacent to Renaissance Hall. These photos presented the greatest achievements of German architecture from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century. Now that Francke had in hand all the materials in their appropriate and magnificent setting, there was no one to teach the history of German art at Harvard. Francke had not been replaced on the faculty when he resigned in the spring of 1917, and the museum seemed to him distressingly estranged from the teaching activities of the university. In his annual report of 1923–1924, he acknowledged to President Lowell that “so far, to be perfectly frank, this Museum has been largely a one-man affair.” In conveying his thoughts about a successor on the faculty, Francke urged Lowell to appoint someone who would see to it that “this Museum be an integral part of university life... In order to reach its usefulness, it must become a departmental concern.” He hoped that the museum might be administered by the Division of Fine Arts. That division had become a flourishing enterprise by the early 1920s, whereas the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures still had to recover from the damage wrought by the war.

The Fogg Art Museum, led by Edward Waldo Forbes and Paul J. Sachs, both of whom taught within the Fine Arts Division, demonstrated vividly how a teaching museum could succeed at Harvard. Forbes had introduced the practice of mounting major loan exhibitions and had begun acquiring original works of art in place of the reproductions that had been displayed while the Fogg was located in Hunt Hall. Unfortunately, the original Fogg Museum building, which opened in 1895, had been designed without consultations with the faculty that was to teach there. Considerably smaller than the Germanic Museum, it proved structurally inadequate during its thirty-two years of use for the rich array of activities that Forbes and Sachs sought to bring to the campus. Nevertheless, the Fogg Museum had developed a vibrant and diversified program of teaching activities such as Francke had once hoped might be located in Busch Hall. Moreover, it was the Fogg Museum that now took the lead in the presentation at Harvard of original works of Germanic art. Sachs, who had come to Cambridge in 1915 to become the assistant director of the Fogg, was personally affluent and powerfully connected with the thriving Wall Street firm of Goldman, Sachs and Company. He arranged a loan exhibition at the Fogg of outstanding Dutch paintings from the collection of Henry Goldman, the senior partner of the famous investment house, and in 1920 offered a course in German painting.

Sachs was the man whom Francke thought might best take over the curatorship of the Germanic Museum. As Francke approached his seventieth birthday in 1925, he realized all too well the limitations of leading the Germanic Museum from a position that was honorary but did not include a faculty role. As his own health
declined, he worried about the future of the museum. With the publication of the fourth edition of his *Handbook* for the museum in 1922, Francke announced, “I take leave of a work which has given inspiration to the best years of my life.” But he could not so easily take leave nor could he find a suitable successor.

Paul Sachs was not prepared to take on the curatorship of the Germanic Museum. His primary commitment remained to the Fogg Museum, for which he and Forbes now sought to secure a new, larger and better building. Harvard lent support to this effort (in contrast to the experience of the Germanic Museum, for which an outside donor had to be found) by launching a major $2 million fund drive in 1923-1925 “to extend the national service of the university.” One of the purposes of this fund drive was the raising of sufficient monies to erect a new university museum building.

Designed by Charles Coolidge with the assistance of Meyrick Rogers of the staff of the Metropolitan Museum, the Fogg Museum’s new building opened to wide acclaim in 1927. In contrast to Busch Hall, it was wonderfully laid out for teaching purposes, combining—in a substantially larger space—galleries, art storage and study facilities, lecture rooms and a library. It was an exemplary teaching museum, having the great advantage over the Germanic Museum of allowing students to view and work with original works of art rather than with plaster casts and photographs.

Francke did what he could to make the role of the Germanic Museum more relevant to the curriculum of the university. He was proud of the collection of plaster casts, which he felt offered students “a better opportunity to study the development of German sculpture in its chief phases than any similar institution in Germany.” But Francke was aware of the considerable criticism of a museum devoted primarily to plaster casts. Writing in 1929, the last year of his life, he admitted that “serious doubts have been expressed from various quarters about the usefulness of such a museum.” He was mindful also of the limitations of a museum that lacked an adequate lecture room and suffered from the absence of faculty strength in the areas of its collection’s preeminence, and he set about to rectify both shortcomings.

In 1924, Francke secured the support once again of Lilly Busch for a donation to Adolphus Busch Hall. He was eager to locate teaching activities in the building and wished to convert into a lecture room the loft area that Bestelmeyer and Warren had left unfinished above Renaissance Hall. Although Lilly Busch was eighty years old and although she had never again visited Harvard after the cornerstone laying of 1912, she was willing to provide the funds to create the lecture room and to widen the stairs that led to it. Warren’s surviving partner, F. Patterson Smith, again undertook the architectural work, completing it in 1925.

With these improvements in place, Francke set about to reestablish at least part of the professorial exchange between Harvard and Germany. The program had only once (in 1907-1908, the academic year in which Paul Clemen had come to offer instruction at the Germanic Museum) fulfilled his hopes and expectations of strengthening the teaching of German art history at Harvard. The exchange had been suspended early in the war, even before the United States entered the fray. Several of the German professors who had been to Harvard had become embittered by the pro-British affinities of the Harvard faculty and student body. Albrecht Penck, the distinguished geographer at the University of Berlin, wrote an angry book of reminiscences about his semester at Harvard, in which he loudly condemned the university. His colleague at Berlin, the renowned historian Eduard Meyer, had taught for a semester at Harvard and had received an honorary degree on the occasion
of Lowell's formal inauguration in October 1909. The Harvard president had cited Meyer as a "classical historian unsurpassed by living man." Despite this encomium, Meyer in 1917 sent back his diploma, torn in half, to Lowell's office to protest America's entry into the war. He had also two years earlier signed the annexationist Petition of Intellectuals. Yet Lowell bore him no ill: years later, during the period of German hyperinflation, Lowell tried to find out if any of the Harvard honorees from Germany were in financial difficulty and offered to send them—including Meyer—personal funds if such action might be of help to them.

Francke's purpose in the mid-twenties was not to revive the professorial exchange as it had existed before the war. Instead, he wanted to bring to Harvard specialists from Germany who might teach courses on the history of German art at the Germanic Museum, the kind of courses that Francke himself might have offered were he still on the faculty. Once again, Otto Kahn, ever the generous patron of the arts, made available funds and helped raise other monies to finance this program. Professor Adolph Goldschmidt of the Art Historical Institute of the University of Berlin, whom Francke regarded "as one of the foremost European authorities on medieval art," and Professor Gustav Pauli, director of the Hamburg Art Museum, were invited to Harvard to offer instruction at the Germanic Museum in the late 1920s.

For a brief period spanning several years, the museum functioned more or less as Francke had always intended. Replete with its extraordinary collection of German plaster casts—probably the largest such collection in the world—and equipped at last with a large classroom, the museum offered teaching and scholarly activities that allowed effective didactic use of these materials. While only a handful of students exploited its unique learning opportunities, the museum proved quite popular among visitors to the Harvard campus. Francke was gratified to be able to report in 1922 that there had been 57,000 visitors in the first fifteen months after the reopening of the museum in the spring of 1921. The flow of visitors continued during the next years as Francke added further casts to the collection and continued updating his Germanic Museum Handbook (a seventh edition had appeared by 1929).

The regeneration of the Germanic Museum in the wake of the intense anti-German hysteria of the wartime years was due entirely to Kuno Francke. The museum's considerable success—less within the university than outside it, where it was viewed as a kind of national resource—would not have been possible without his continuing, assiduous efforts. Well advanced in years, Francke had only partially recovered from a severely debilitating illness in 1918 and had endured the agonizing pain of the death of one of his two sons; yet he never became disconsolate or lost his enthusiasm for the museum.

Francke's efforts were admired, especially among German-Americans, who had experienced the vilification and shame of the war years. The defeat of Germany and the abdication of the Kaiser, followed by the establishment of a democratic republic, facilitated a process of healing in the bilateral relations between Germany and the United States. By the early 1920s, the image of the Weimar Republic was entirely different from the hostile and ignominious perception of Germans and German behavior just several years before. By 1924, the United States stood prepared through the Dawes Plan to reinvolve itself in the murky affairs of the European continent and to intervene on behalf of the legitimate rights of the German nation. The change of American attitudes made it at least partially possible to rehabilitate German cultural values and objects, to which end the Germanic Museum played a modest and useful role.
German-Americans visiting the museum greatly appreciated Francke's role in the process of rehabilitation. A true democrat, a decent American patriot, and a passionate advocate of the achievements of German culture, Francke remained one of the few figures left for the German-American community to celebrate as a symbol of what was best in both cultures. On his seventieth birthday in 1925, a sizable contingent of his fans from about the country made a symbolic pilgrimage to the Germanic Museum and presented the erudite and much-loved man with a commemorative album and a portrait that was hung in the vestibule of the museum as part of a festive birthday ceremony.

Francke was honored again towards the end of the decade when Judge Julian Mack, the distinguished jurist on the bench of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for New York and the chairman of the visiting committee of the Germanic Museum since 1927, led an effort to create an endowed chair in Francke's name. A graduate of Harvard Law School, Mack was later to become the first Jewish member of the Harvard Board of Overseers. He was also an important leader in Jewish organizational life and a key Zionist disciple of the brilliant and intrepid Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis. (Brandeis himself had been a founding vice-president of the Germanic Museum Association in 1901, though he soon after resigned because of a dispute with Münsterberg.)

American Jews of Germanic descent had played a prominent role in the early history of the museum. Otto Kahn, Jacob Schiff, and the brothers Paul and Felix Warburg had all been generous donors. And it was a group of German-American Jews which took the initiative in honoring Kuno Francke. As Judge Mack wrote to President Lowell in April 1927, "I have felt for several years that there ought to be an endowed chair at the University, so that the work done by Professor Kuno Francke, when he was active, may be continued... our youth should gain a knowledge of what she (Germany) is now doing and what she is, in the future likely to do, in cultural work."

The response to Judge Mack's fund-raising appeal actually exceeded the amount he sought. His list of donors, submitted to the Harvard Corporation in July 1929—three months before the Wall Street crash—identified contributions in the amount of $170,000. About three-fourths of this sum was provided by Jews who wanted to express their esteem for the accomplishments of a German culture that remained a proud and meaningful element of their own heritage. Henry Goldman, the banking partner of the Sachs family and himself an important art collector, was the first to pledge a contribution for this Kuno Francke Professorship. He advised Mack of his willingness to contribute $40,000 on the condition that Mack secure a further $110,000 from other donors to provide the capital to endow the chair. Judge Mack knew his way among German-American Jews. Through Goldman, he was able to persuade Julius Rosenwald, the enormously successful entrepreneur who had built Sears, Roebuck into such a vast merchandising empire, to contribute $50,000 for the endowment, even though Rosenwald, based in Chicago, had had no prior affiliation with Harvard. The two Warburg brothers provided $40,000, Charles Liebman $12,500, and Julius Goldman and Otto Kahn another $5,000 each.

This splendid tribute to Kuno Francke in the last year of his life must have pleased him greatly. His final act on behalf of the museum was the effort to commission a set of stained glass windows for the Gothic chapel at a cost of $1,400 in January 1930. Kuno Francke died that same year at the age of seventy-five after a long illness. He had been one of those exceptional figures at Harvard whose role and impact transformed the intellectual milieu of his field. Francke excelled in his area of expertise, which ranged beyond the definition of a single discipline. He combined authority as a scholar of German literature with a prodigious knowledge of German
art over the centuries. He was uniquely well qualified to lead the effort at the Germanic Museum. Harvard had given recognition to his unusual qualifications by renaming the chair he had held in 1905: his new position was now known as Professor of the History of German Culture. As he later recollected, “The new title, which by the way I had suggested myself, was simply to emphasize the need of studying German thought, German literature, and German art under a common aspect as kindred manifestations of German national life as a whole.” But who other than Francke could fulfill such a broad assignment after he retired?

When Francke’s health failed in the spring of 1930, Paul Sachs was willing to step in briefly as acting director. As Sachs was not eager to commit himself to the management of the Germanic Museum on a full-time basis, he instead found a young art historian, Charles Kuhn, who had recently completed a dissertation at Harvard on Catalan Romanesque mural painting. Sachs introduced Kuhn to Lowell in mid-1930 as his candidate to take on the curatorship of the museum. Kuhn was only thirty years of age, knew little about German art, and had never before held a job. But he was fluent in German, having been born in Cincinnati, a city with a large German-American population where bilingual schools existed until 1917. He also shared a personal feature with Sachs: both men were members of prominent German-Jewish families who had triumphed and prospered on Wall Street.
Charles Kuhn was to be the paramount figure for the Germanic Museum over the course of the next four decades. Except for a brief interruption for military service during World War II, he remained curator until 1968. His impact was enormous. He fundamentally redefined the direction and role of the museum, replacing its function as an institution dedicated to the display of reproductions and transforming it into a full-fledged art museum. This redefinition occurred easily because Lowell, on Francke's death, had chosen to reorganize the university museums, placing the Germanic, the Semitic, and the Fogg Museums under one director, in this case under Edward Forbes, who headed the Fogg. This reorganization was a step that Francke had also seen as indispensable because of declining student interest in Germanic literature and languages. The only way to make the Germanic Museum and its activities more relevant to the university was to link it more closely to the thriving Fogg Museum, which was now the repository of a growing collection of original works of art rather than reproductions. Kuhn lost no time in adopting a new policy for his museum. He acquired the first original work for Busch Hall in 1931. It was an evocative sculpture by Ernst Barlach, The Crippled Beggar, purchased with funds contributed by Felix Warburg's son, Edward, who had just graduated from Harvard College and who was to become a frequent benefactor of and lecturer at the museum over the next years.

The year 1931 brought to a close the policy of confining the Germanic Museum collection to reproductions. Kuhn emptied Renaissance Hall of the plaster casts for which it had been designed, most of which were now installed on the rarely visited third floor of Busch Hall. The change in policy signalled the end of the original concept of the Germanic Museum, one that seemed to make good sense in 1901 but was no longer meaningful just three decades later. Instead, Kuhn set about making the most of the facilities of Busch Hall by bringing all kinds of new activities into the building.

Central to Kuhn's museum policy were the mounting of loan exhibitions and the collection of original works of art. His early shows included Dutch drawings and Swedish peasant paintings, the latter being characteristic of Kuhn's lively interest in the decorative arts. More significantly, he began acquiring major works of
contemporary art from the early 1930s. He included paintings by Feininger, Klee, Nolde, Munch, and Kandinsky, and he also made purchases of some reproductions.

Kuhn proved to be an immensely resourceful curator. There were concerts of recorded music in Renaissance Hall, chamber music recitals, German film showings, tea lectures, and Saturday morning art history talks. Busch Hall even became the location for the annual exhibit of paintings and decorative art by Cambridge high school students. In 1937, Kuhn fulfilled an important aspiration by securing for the museum a magnificent organ (a replica of one that had been played by Bach) which was provided as a loan by the Aeolian Skinner Organ Company. That winter, the celebrated organist E. Power Biggs began his program of exquisite organ recitals in Romanesque Hall that were to become a highly popular tradition over the next two decades.

While attendance rose to 31,000 in 1936-1937 because of these activities, the museum seemed to lack focus. Kuhn, as revealed in his annual reports, remained uncertain as to its purpose. In part, his task was complicated by the extraordinary political events that were now occurring in Germany. The advent of Hitler and the seizure of power by the Nazis in 1933 once again transformed attitudes towards Germany. It was the beginning of the arrival at Harvard of a flow of remarkable refugee scholars, some of whom were to have a telling impact on the Germanic Museum. At first the museum was immune to anti-German feeling, since its policies were so vividly opposed to those of the Nazis. The banning of so-called degenerate art by the Third Reich gave Kuhn and the Germanic Museum a sudden quasi-political opportunity to decry these actions and to acclaim and acquire some of the proscribed masterpieces. Kuhn also emphasized exhibits of German refugee artists.

But Kuhn had become uncertain whether it made much sense at all to continue the Germanic Museum as an art institution. Political events in Germany seemed to give priority to other uses for the building. As he wrote in his annual report for the museum in 1938, “the Germanic Museum might better benefit the university and the country by becoming a research institute rather than remaining a museum of art. . . . political events in Europe had made the need for such an institute even more apparent.” He urged that the German department move into Busch Hall and called upon it to “offer research facilities for advanced students and scholars in all fields of Germanic studies.” With its growing complement of refugee academics—men such as Carl Friedrich and Heinrich Brüning in the government department and Karl Victor in the German department—Harvard would have been well equipped to sustain an institute of this kind.

The idea never really materialized. The cloister, which had once served as an open-air plaster cast sculpture garden, was now walled in, and the German department moved to Busch Hall (with some reluctance) to remain there for the next three decades. As war clouds hovered over Europe, Kuhn continued his policy of mounting important and novel exhibitions—many of them containing works by the very artists who were now banned in Germany. He organized the first New England show of the remarkable paintings of Paul Klee and of Franz Marc, and in 1940 he made his most important acquisition: the powerful expressionist self-portrait by Max Beckmann that had hung in the National Gallery of Berlin until it was banished and sold by order of the Nazi regime.

By the summer of 1942, Charles Kuhn had volunteered for armed service, and Busch Hall was turned over to the American army to be used as staff headquarters for its School of Chaplains. The library as well as the large slide and photo collections of the museum were moved to the Fogg Museum, as were the works of original
art. Throughout the war, E. Power Biggs continued his organ recitals, which were now broadcast nationwide on Sunday mornings by CBS. And, curiously, just as the Germanic Museum was closing down, the great monumental sculptures *The Four Seasons* were acquired for its collection, having years earlier been removed from the gardens of the Castle of Bruchsal near Heidelberg. By the end of the war, the Civil Affairs Training School of the School of Overseas Administration had also been installed in Busch Hall, where it was to remain until the summer of 1945.

The first postwar semester in the autumn of 1946 found a strange melange of occupants in Busch Hall. The front several offices and the library in the enclosed cloister were used by the German department. The third floor was assigned to courses on public speaking, while the Harvard Film Foundation was installed in the basement. Meanwhile, the Office of the Purchasing Agent (another U.S. government agency) operated out of Renaissance Hall, which it used for the storage and sale of war surplus equipment. Romanesque Hall and the transept contained exhibits of reproductions from the museum collection. But the chapel no longer possessed its stained glass windows, which had again been destroyed by anti-German vandalism (as the earlier ones had been in 1917) when the United States entered the Second World War.

Such was the state of Busch Hall when Charles Kuhn returned to Harvard. He had rendered invaluable service to the country and the arts even after the cessation of fighting in Europe. For in March 1945, Kuhn had become the Deputy Chief of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section of the Armed Forces, from which position he had been able to help recover countless art objects—many of them treasures—that were found and seized by the U.S. Army as it liberated a totally defeated Germany. Even while mobilized, he had labored to preserve and collect important works of European art.

The condition of Busch Hall must have been deeply disconcerting to Kuhn as he resumed his positions at Harvard. The financial situation of the Germanic Museum was now precarious and its holdings dispersed. Kuhn could easily have decided to resume only his position in the Department of Fine Arts and to let the Germanic Museum be a chapter in the past. With its original works of art, library, photos, and slides now amalgamated into the holdings of the Fogg Museum, and many of its plaster casts damaged or destroyed, the task of reopening the Germanic Museum must have loomed as almost insurmountable. This led Kuhn to propose in 1946 that Busch Hall be designated as a center for the study of German culture, a concept not so different from his views just before the war. He urged that the galleries be converted into lecture and seminar rooms, which might be done at minimal cost. This plan had the additional virtue of not requiring relocation of the various Harvard activities now scheduled in other parts of the building.

This step would have spelled the end of the history of the Germanic Museum. But fate and circumstance intervened, leading to an extraordinary new phase for the museum, during which Charles Kuhn was to build one of the great collections of twentieth-century German art in the world. Crucial to this development was the renewed willingness of a member of the Busch family to render financial assistance to the museum. This time it was Hugo Reisinger's widow, Mrs. Edmée Busch Greenough, the daughter of Adolphus and Lilly Busch, who provided $5,000 in 1948 to defray the cost of the restoration of the north wing of the building (now emptied of its war surplus materiel) so that it might once again function as museum space. The museum reopened that fall with an exhibit of Käthe Kollwitz. Once momentum had been regained, Mrs. Greenough, in a style reminiscent of the philanthropy of her deceased father and spouse, contributed a further $200,000 in 1949,
an act which led Harvard to rename the museum in honor of the continuing generosity of her family. In February of 1950, the Germanic Museum that had been founded in 1901 became the Busch-Reisinger Museum of Germanic Culture. At the same time, Renaissance Hall, soon to be filled with marvelous German expressionist paintings and splendid loan exhibitions, was formally designated the Kuno Francke Memorial Gallery.

Inflation had caused a huge increase in the maintenance costs of the building, which rose fourfold within a single decade, and despite its endowment, Kuhn was soon reporting that “adequate funds continue to be the major problem for the future of the Museum.” Kuhn lamented that “the curator, in addition to normal curatorial duties, must be his own registrar, secretary, general handyman and installation crew.” He also taught courses in the Department of Fine Arts, where he served as chairman from 1949 to 1953. His range of activities was even greater than Francke’s, and the quality of his efforts equally strong. It was entirely fitting that in the memorial minute read to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences on his death in 1985, his colleagues described Charles Kuhn as “the most versatile person who has ever taught the history of art at Harvard.”

A further gift from the Loeb family once again demonstrated the continuing support of the families whose fortunes derived from the investment bank of Kuhn, Loeb and Company. This $50,000 endowment by the Edna Loeb Fund encouraged Kuhn, but it was to be the last major cash gift for the museum for quite some time. Despite the absence of a significant acquisitions fund, Kuhn managed to assemble a world-class art collection in the decade to follow. How he accomplished this seems almost incomprehensible today. His friendship with Walter Gropius brought the Bauhaus Collection to the museum. His acquaintance with Lux Feininger led to the gift of his father’s archive. By 1955, Kuhn had acquired 647 original works for the Busch-Reisinger Museum, the vast majority of them by artists of the twentieth century. By the time of his retirement thirteen years later, the museum’s collection numbered 12,000 items.

The result of Kuhn’s efforts was the largest and best collection of twentieth-century German expressionist masterpieces in any museum outside Germany. To achieve this underscores the exceptional skills that Charles Kuhn brought to his work: it took endless effort, unblinking determination, a near-perfect eye and his unusual facility for persuasion to acquire so many gifts, permanent loans and bequests for the collection. Kuhn and his devoted wife, Hetty, also provided anonymously numerous “silent contributions.”

Kuhn’s priority during the 1950s and 1960s was the building of the collection. By the time of his retirement in 1968, he was able to report that “the collection of works at present is adequate to illustrate most aspects of Germanic Art.” The only significant gap remained German painting of the nineteenth century, including, ironically, the works of those artists whom Hugo Reisinger had collected with such passion and which had been auctioned off in New York two years after his death.

Kuhn’s years at the Busch-Reisinger Museum produced an enormous amount of activity. The musical program was especially rich with organ recitals and special concerts, mostly in Romanesque Hall but sometimes in the garden. Particularly popular were the promenade concerts, so named because of the absence of seating. Arranged by Biggs, the arrival in 1958 of a new Dutch organ designed and built by D. A. Flentrop was an important artistic event, one which further enhanced the beauty and acclaim of his delightful Sunday recitals. In addition, Kuhn mounted a broad array of exhibitions and arranged for a varied and useful program of public education.
and special lectures. The museum thrived under his leadership, and he was able to conclude in the mid-sixties that it was making a "very real contribution to the artistic life of the University and the community." But he recognized that, as an educational institution, the museum had never been properly incorporated into the teaching programs of the university. And he observed in his last annual report that "the museum, never having been the headquarters of an undergraduate field of concentration, has been unable to count upon the support of loyal alumni."

The overriding problem for the Busch-Reisinger Museum remained an acute shortage of funds. Kuhn worried that this might, in time, lead to its closure. Five years before his retirement, he provided a warning. "Additional endowment would give a degree of security to the institution and would ensure its continuation and growth," he wrote in his report for 1963. Without additional financial resources, he feared that it would become increasingly difficult to obtain adequate curatorial services, especially once he had retired. (Kuhn seems to have drawn no special compensation for his immense efforts on behalf of the museum.) The lack of professional personnel was somewhat ameliorated by the inspired contributions of Dr. Julia Phelps of the German department during the last decade of Kuhn's tenure, but her retirement from the faculty more or less coincided with his own.

The unending financial plight of the Busch-Reisinger Museum was only manageable because the Fogg Museum was willing to lend continuous support. Under Fogg Museum directors John Coolidge, Agnes Mognan, Seymour Slive and John Rosenfield, a great deal of assistance was given for the programs of the Busch, but mounting annual deficits drained the resources of the parent museum. Generous support from the German government and the Volkswagen Foundation ensured a curatorial salary, and under Charles Haithausen and Peter Nisbet, who were ably assisted by Emily Norris, outstanding exhibitions continued as a much appreciated hallmark of the museum. The leadership of Edzard Reuter, chairman of the Daimler Benz Company, made possible at last on the centennial of the company's founding a major endowment of $1.5 million for a senior curatorship.

But the condition of Busch Hall was deteriorating and in urgent need of costly refurbishment. It had not been designed or intended for the display of original works of art. It lacked proper air conditioning or humidification systems, and its windows were kept blocked to prevent excessive sunlight. Concern developed that works on paper and wooden sculptures would sustain damage over time if left exposed to the wide fluctuations of temperature and air moisture. Charming though the setting was, it was difficult to appreciate fully the expressionist masterpieces that were hung in the dimly lit vastness of what had been Renaissance Hall. Once the Sackler Museum opened in 1985, attendance at Busch Hall fell off even more. It appeared increasingly likely that the university would not be willing to sustain three art museums, especially under the manifestly poor conditions at Busch Hall. The collection so brilliantly assembled by Charles Kuhn was deserving of a better and more modern setting, one that would ensure its proper preservation and maximize its visual display.

Accordingly, Harvard set upon a new course, guided by E. Peters Bowror, who had become the director of the Fogg in 1985. The university sought the construction of an entirely new building attached to the Fogg which would house the vast holdings of original art works that now belonged to the Busch-Reisinger Museum. There would be new climate-controlled galleries as well as art-study and storage facilities in a handsome space that could be entered directly from the Fogg, thus ending what had come to be a somewhat artificial separation of the German collections from the rest of the paintings, drawings, and sculptures in the Fogg Museum.
Through the great generosity of Dr. Werner Otto and his company, Ottoversand, and the contributions solicited from the Friends of the Busch-Reisinger Museum, ably chaired by Arend Oetker and assisted by Timotheus Pohl, sufficient funds were secured primarily in West Germany so that ground could be broken in 1989 for the construction of the new museum building to be known as Werner Otto Hall. Masterfully designed by Charles Gwathmey and set between the buildings of James Stirling and Le Corbusier, this new home for the Busch-Reisinger Museum will constitute a third component in a brilliant array of dramatic architecture at the very heart of the Harvard campus.

Once plans had developed to remove the original paintings and sculpture from Busch Hall, Harvard designed a new mixed use for the building. The east wing, containing the most noteworthy built-in plaster casts in the Romanesque and Gothic Halls, was to continue as a museum featuring the display of important medieval works from the Harvard collections that could tolerate the absence of climate controls in the space. For the remainder of the building, Harvard selected as occupant the Center for European Studies.

Founded in 1969, the Center had developed an effective and far-reaching set of programs dealing with the study of the past and present development of Europe. This enterprise was designed to intensify and broaden research and teaching on European topics at a time when such study seemed in decline. The Center’s efforts over a period of two decades had resulted in a significant expansion of scholarly activity dealing with the study of Europe and the Center itself had outgrown its charming but cramped building at the edge of the campus on Bryant Street.

Thus, the Center seemed the appropriate partner to share in the new mixed use of Busch Hall. The growing importance of its programs made a move to larger facilities more centrally located on campus desirable. The nature of its activities also qualified it as the single Harvard institution that most closely approximated the kinds of teaching programs originally planned for Busch Hall. And the increasing significance of developments in Europe—such as the accelerating process of integration in the West or the rapid internal political changes in the East—give particular salience to the activities that will now occur in Busch Hall.

Alain, Jean and Charles de Gunzburg, members of a distinguished European and Canadian family, have perceived the crucial role of the Center’s programs in helping scholars and students come to a better understanding of these and other changes occurring in Europe, which must be grounded in a more comprehensive knowledge of the European past. Their magnanimous contribution of $10 million has made possible the provision of a splendid and spacious new home for the Center by defraying the substantial costs of the renovation of Busch Hall and by endowing the funds to sustain its maintenance. Their very generous gift will stand as a profound tribute to an exceptional, creative and caring person, whose name will live on in the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies from the day of its dedication ceremony in September 1989.

For Adolphus Busch Hall, an auspicious chapter in its difficult history is beginning. Built under the hostile conditions of the First World War, closed for its first four years, occupied by the U.S. Army during the Second World War, twice vandalized by outbursts of Germanophobic animosity, and chronically exposed to the deprivations of an acute financial austerity, the building has endured more than its share of hardship. Kuno Francke’s vision intended Harvard to experience a great educational opportunity through the establishment of the Germanic Museum. Because of the circumstances wrought by history, that experience remained per
force somewhat circumscribed. Charles Kuhn understood brilliantly how he might adapt the conditions of the museum after Francke’s death to construct a superb collection of German art. Werner Otto Hall will make possible the fulfillment of Francke’s and Kuhn’s aspirations. And the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies will, as of this year, bring enduring meaning and renewed academic significance to Adolphus Busch Hall, a most remarkable building.

September 1989
Cambridge, Massachusetts
1. Kuno Francke at about the time he joined the Harvard faculty.

2. Kuno Francke during the period of the First World War.
3. Hugo Münsterberg in 1901.

4. President Charles W. Eliot around 1900.
5. Prince Henry of Prussia about the time of his visit to Harvard.

6. Prince Henry seated next to President Eliot on their way to Memorial Hall.
7. The reception at the Harvard Student Union with Prince Henry reading the telegram from his brother, Kaiser Wilhelm II.
8. The Rogers Gymnasium, probably in the 1860s.

9. The Braunschweig Lion outside the Rogers Gymnasium where it stood from 1913 to 1917.
10. The Rogers Gymnasium with its original equipment, probably in the 1870s.
11. Untinted plaster casts displayed in the Rogers Gymnasium between 1903 and 1916.

12. The Great Elector and other untinted casts in the Rogers Gymnasium.

15. Adolphus Busch at the time of his funding of the Germanic Museum building.

16. Lilly Anheuser Busch.

17. Hugo Retinger at the time of his efforts on behalf of Adolphus Busch Hall.
18. German Bestelmeyer around 1930.

19. West elevation and floor plans by Bestelmeyer for the new Germanic Museum in 1911.

21. Herbert Langford Warren, late in his life, at the time of the construction of Adolphus Busch Hall.
22. Adolphus Busch Hall in the 1920s.
24. The plaster cast replica of the thirteenth-century Golden Gate of the Church of Our Lady in Freiberg, Saxony, as installed in Romanesque Hall.

25. Plaster casts displayed in the transept in the 1920s. In the foreground is the copy of the thirteenth-century Angel’s Column from the Strasbourg Cathedral.
26. Looking south in Romanesque Hall with its full array of plaster casts before the arrival of the organ in the 1920s.
27. Facing west in Renaissance Hall in the 1920s with the equestrian statue by Schueter of the Great Elector, the original of which stood on the Lange Brücke in Berlin.

28. The plaster cast installation in the north and east sides of Renaissance Hall in the 1920s.
29. Charles Kuhn standing in front of an altarpiece in Renaissance Hall in the 1930s.
30. An aerial view of Busch Hall in the 1930s.
31. The garden facing south with the Braunschweig Lion.

32. The cloister with its sculpture garden before it was walled in during the 1930s.
33. The U.S. Army chaplain students marching down Divinity Avenue past their classroom building, the Germanic Museum, around 1943.

34. Changing the name from the Germanic Museum to the Busch-Reisinger Museum in 1950.
35. The founding ceremony of the German Marshall Fund in the garden on June 5, 1972. In the front row from the left: C. Douglas Dillon, Chancellor Willy Brandt, John J. McCloy, Presidents Derek C. Bok and James B. Conant of Harvard University, and David Rockefeller.
36. President Derek C. Bok and Charles and Jean de Ganzburg with a model of Adolphus Busch Hall at the beginning of renovations begun in 1988 for the Center for European Studies.
37. The east elevation drawing of Werner Otto Hall, designed by Gwathmey, Siegel & Associates, which will become the new home of the Busch-Reisinger Museum upon completion in 1991.
38. Several views of the interior renovations of Adolphus Busch Hall designed by Goody, Clancy & Associates and completed in the summer of 1989 for the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies.
Dedicated to
the memory
of
Minda de Gunzburg