

8: Peacemaker and Warmonger: Alexander Tille and the Limits of Anglo-German Intercultural Transfer

Stefan Manz

ALEXANDER TILLE (1866–1912) is mentioned in monographs as a key figure in Anglo-German intercultural transfer and late nineteenth-century German intellectual life. Steven E. Aschheim, for example, describes Tille as “the major mediator of Nietzsche in Britain.”¹ For Richard Hinton Thomas, he was “the most important of the German Social Darwinists at this time.”² Despite frequent references of such kind, Tille’s academic work and activities have never been thoroughly investigated in a specifically Anglo-German context.³ The following article, based on Tille’s publications and other primary sources, seeks to fill this gap. It will be shown that the clear dichotomy between ‘peacemaker’ and ‘warmonger’ does not suffice to categorize figures like Tille. The same can be said about other individuals such as D. H. Lawrence or Kuno Meyer, who are discussed elsewhere in this volume.

Alexander Tille was born in Lauenstein / Saxony into an educated middle-class family, his father being a protestant pastor who introduced his son to Greek, Latin, and classical literature from an early age. After attending the prestigious *Fürstenschule* in Grimma, Tille took up his studies at Leipzig University in German and English philology, as well as philosophy. He received his doctorate in 1890 with a study on the Faust motif in German folk songs.⁴ That same year he secured a part-time lectureship in German at Glasgow University. In this position he was highly active, mediating German philosophy and literature in Britain, and, vice versa, British intellectual thought in Germany.

As regards the reception of Nietzsche in the Anglo-Saxon world, Tille’s key role is based on the fact that he was the first to translate and edit the philosopher’s work in English. In the early 1890s Nietzsche was “very much in the air,” not only in London, but also in Dublin and Glasgow.⁵ Intellectuals were looking for alternatives to Victorian sentimentality and moralism. As Gertrud Burdett put it: “In judging Nietzsche, it is well to bear in mind that we are living in a time of intellectual unrest, and

of social discontents; that we are ripe for new teachings, and longing for new ideas.”⁶ A differentiated and widespread discussion, however, could not develop, because Nietzsche was only accessible to those who understood German. This is where Tille stepped in: from 1896 onwards he edited translations of some of Nietzsche’s works, including his — Tille’s — own translation of *Also sprach Zarathustra*. Macmillan in New York acquired the publishing rights for the American market.⁷ The editions triggered a wave of reviews and literary reception. W. B. Yeats, for example, had no command of German and, when first reading *Zarathustra* in 1902, relied on Tille’s translation. Yeats and other contemporary writers were heavily influenced by Nietzsche, among them Eugene O’Neill, Wyndham Lewis, D. H. Lawrence, and Jack London.⁸ Tille’s guiding hand, however, had a restricting impact on the reception of Nietzsche in the Anglo-Saxon world, as the selected texts were taken exclusively from Nietzsche’s later works. More important, in the foreword to his *Zarathustra* translation, Tille suggests a purely social Darwinist reading of the oeuvre: “Nietzsche had taken up Darwin’s whole idea of evolution and made it almost the leading motive of his *Zarathustra*. And it is Nietzsche’s undeniable merit to have led this new moral ideal to a complete victory.”⁹ According to one critic, this reading had lasting consequences for the interpretation of Nietzsche’s philosophy.¹⁰

As for social Darwinism, Tille was part of a philosophical interplay between Britain and Germany. The interpretation of Darwin’s theory in social terms was first undertaken in England, but remained basically confined to academic circles. In Germany, however, social Darwinism caught on to a greater extent through a flood of popular scientific works that reached its height in the 1890s. Books like Ernst Haeckel’s *Die Weltröthsel* (1899) or Wilhelm Bölsche’s *Das Liebesleben in der Natur* (1900) were bestsellers at the time.¹¹ Alexander Tille was a driving force behind this process of intercultural transfer. He was in correspondence with Alfred Russell Wallace and asked him for permission to translate some of his articles into German in order to make his thoughts widely available to the German public. Tille also translated and introduced some of T. E. Huxley’s essays into German.¹²

His own concept of “Entwicklungsethik,” finally, is based on what C. M. Williams calls “evolutionary ethics.”¹³ Tille developed this concept in his widely read *Von Darwin bis Nietzsche: Ein Buch Entwicklungsethik*, published in 1895. Here, he postulates:

[Mit Nietzsches *Zarathustra* ist] der große leitende Gedanke der Entwicklungslehre Darwins zum ersten Male rein und ungetrübt durch herrschende sittliche Vorstellungen auf die heutige Menschheit und die künftige Menschheitsentwicklung angewandt. Mit dem

Augenblick, wo diese Anwendung gefunden ist, tritt die Entwicklungsethik wie die darwinistische Sozialwissenschaft aus der Zeit des Tappens und Tastens heraus und setzt die wissenschaftliche Einzelarbeit ein. Denn noch gilt es die beiden Grundsätze der sozialen Auslese und sozialen Ausscheidung auf alle Gebiete des sittlichen Lebens wie auf das Völkerdasein anzuwenden, die ethischen wie die sozialen Theorien in all ihren Einzelheiten durch sie umzubilden. Der Nationalökonom, der Arzt, der Lehrer, der Gesetzgeber, sie alle haben hier mitzuarbeiten, und dabei wird sich zeigen, daß noch manches sittliche und soziale Dogma von heute fallen und beide Wissenschaften mit ihrem theoretischen Teile ebenso ins Gericht gehen müssen wie mit ihrer praktischen Lehre, ehe eine ausgebaute darwinistische Sozialethik geschaffen ist, deren Einrichtung der Ausdruck der naturgegebenen Verhältnisse der Menschen zu einander sind und die als praktische Wirtschaftskunst des Volksstandes lebendige Früchte trägt.¹⁴

[In Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*) we find for the first time the great guiding principle of Darwin's theory of evolution applied to contemporary human society and its future development in a pure form, unadulterated by received notions of morality. From the moment this application was formulated, evolutionary ethics in the shape of Darwinist social science outgrew the stage of groping and hypothesizing and entered the era of scientific study. For we still have to apply the principles of social selection and social elimination in all aspects of the moral life and existence of peoples, and, with their aid, to transform ethical and social theory in every detail. Economists, doctors, teachers, lawyers — all must play their part; and in the process it will come to be seen that many an ethical and social dogma of today will fall, and both sciences will be put to the test as much for their theory as in their practical teaching before a fully developed Darwinist social ethics comes into being — one whose foundation reflects the structure of mankind's nature-given relationships and which bears living fruit as the practical economy of the people.]

Only those acts are deemed ethical that serve the improvement of the fittest race or social class. At the same time, traditional ethics of Christianity and humanism are dismissed. So are equality, socialism, and democracy:

Wenn die Ehe mit einem siechen Weibe sieche Krüppel erzeugt, dann ist sie eine fluchwürdige Handlung, ein unsittlicher Akt, und wenn die herrschende Ethik sie zehnmal als eine heroische That altruistischen Opfermutes preist.¹⁵

[When marriage to a sick wife produces sick cripples, then that deed deserves condemnation, it is an immoral act — even if conventional ethics praises it as a deed of heroic, altruistic self-sacrifice.]

In another article, entitled “Ostlondon als Nationalheilanstalt,” Tille represented slums like the East End as positive for the development of the common good, since they purged society of useless citizens:

Mit unerbittlicher Strenge scheidet die Natur die zum Tier herabgesunkenen Menschen aus den Reihen der anderen aus, und so fungiert Ostlondon in einem Maße als Nationalheilanstalt; und alle Versuche, den ‘Unglücklichen’ zu helfen, mindern nur die enorme Bedeutung, die es als solche hat.¹⁶

[Nature, acting ineluctably, eliminates human beings who have degenerated into animals from amongst the ranks of the rest, thus East London operates to an extent as a national sanatorium; any attempt to help the “unfortunate” only reduces Nature’s enormous significance in this regard.]

Scholars like Alfred Kelly have aptly stressed Tille’s “dehumanizing brutality”; Fritz Bolle describes him as “den radikalsten und rüdesten der Sozialdarwinisten”¹⁷ (the most radical and primitive of social Darwinists).

Tille’s interest in intercultural mediation extended to the literary field. He published in German periodicals on authors such as Robert Louis Stevenson and William Wordsworth, and claims to have been the first to bring Rudyard Kipling to the attention of the German reader.¹⁸ In Glasgow, Tille founded the Glasgow Goethe Society, a local branch of the English Goethe Society, which aimed at disseminating Goethe’s thought in Britain, but also, on a more general level, “to promote an interest in German Literature by means of meetings, papers, discussions, readings, publications, etc.” The society had about 35 members, half of whom were British, the other half Germans living in Glasgow. Two examples of papers read before the society are “Richard Wagner’s *Parsifal* and the Baireuth Festival Play,” given by Hermann Georg Fiedler, later Professor of German at Oxford,¹⁹ and Tille’s “Friedrich Nietzsche, the Herald of Modern Germany.” Thus Tille created a platform for intellectual exchange and regular meetings between British and German *Bildungsbürger* (educated middle-classes). His central position becomes obvious by the fact that, upon his return to Germany in 1900, the Glasgow Goethe Society ceased to exist.²⁰

So Tille can justly be called a major mediator of “intercultural transfer.”²¹ This concept replaces the one-dimensional notion of “influence” by a complex pattern of mutual crisscrossing and adaptation of ideas, knowledge, material, and so on. The phenomena transferred do not necessarily have to be expressions of high culture such as literature or science. Consequently, Tille’s publications on “Die Glasgower Kabelbahn” or “Der Ausstand der britischen Maschinenbauer” are expressions of intercultural transfer just as much as, for example, his article “German Christ-

mas and the Christmas-Tree,”²² since they each disseminate knowledge of the other culture. Tille’s self-assessment regarding his ten years in Glasgow may be exaggerated, but makes the point in principle:

Ich habe in dieser Zeit für den Austausch wirtschaftlicher und geistiger Erkenntnis zwischen beiden Ländern wohl mehr gethan als irgend ein anderer Deutscher. Drüben habe ich in ununterbrochener Lehrthätigkeit die Teilnahme für deutsche Wissenschaft, Litteratur, Philosophie und deutsches wirtschaftliches Denken zu vertiefen versucht. . . . Vielleicht hat kein Deutscher in allen seinen Arbeiten drüben mehr Wert darauf gelegt, Verständnis für deutsche Art und deutsches Denken zu wecken. In Deutschland habe ich für englische Dinge ähnliches gethan. (*Fl*, ix-x).

[During this time I did more to explain the two country’s economic and spiritual heritage to each other than probably any other German. In England I worked tirelessly as a lecturer to deepen understanding of German science, literature, philosophy and national economy. . . . Perhaps no other German living over there placed such emphasis in all his works on arousing sympathy for our German way of life and thought. In Germany I worked similarly on behalf of things English.]

In the light of this assessment, the circumstances of Tille’s return seem all the more paradoxical. He was, as he writes, “mitten im Burenkriege von schottischem Studentenpöbel thätlich beleidigt” (*Fl*, viii; in the middle of the Boer War I was physically abused by Scottish student riff-raff). — I will now turn to his warmongering activities.

In early 1900, Tille published an article in the Berlin weekly *Die Woche* in which he heavily criticized British action in South Africa and ridiculed the state of the British army. In an ironic way, he spoke about “steifbeinige Kahlköpfe mit graugesprenkelten Schnurrbärten und halbe Jungen mit Milchgesichtern” (stifflegged bald-pates with graying moustachios and man-boys with milksop faces), and he continued:

Aber die Freiwilligen-Ausbildung in Großbritannien ist ein Spiel, kein Dienst. Mit Vorliebe melden sich zu ihr Jünglinge, die das Bedürfnis zu einiger körperlichen Kräftigung durch Bewegung in frischer Luft und Körperübung in sich fühlen und werden auch angenommen, da die physiologischen Anforderungen, die die praktische Handhabung der Aufnahmebedingungen an den Freiwilligen stellt, sehr niedrig sind. . . . Selbst ein paar Wochen Eindrillung kann diese Freiwilligen, trotzdem sie sich aus den intelligenteren Volksschichten zusammensetzen, unmöglich zu einer einigermaßen genügenden Kriegstauglichkeit erheben. Man muß selbst als deutscher Einjährigfreiwilliger ausgebildet worden sein,

um das beurteilen zu können. . . . Der Burenkrieg ist ein Eroberungskrieg, wenn je nur ein solcher geführt worden ist, das wird zwar kaum irgendwo eingestanden, aber mit der liberalen Phrase, daß unter britischem Regiment die ganze Welt dem Glückszustande entgegengeführt werde, ist es zu Ende. Ist es doch allzudeutlich, wie stark die Sehnsucht der Buren nach dieser britischen Seligkeit ist. . . . Gerade wie Weltbürgertum eine schöne Sache ist, solange man an seine Mitmenschen verkaufen will, wie sich aber jedermann auf seine nationale Eigenart besinnt, sobald dieselben Mitmenschen als Konkurrenten auftreten, so macht sich auch der demokratische Liberalismus breit, solange man mit Siebenmeilenstiefeln über halbe Kontinente schreitet (natürlich nur, um andere zu beglücken), macht aber sofort einem hochgespannten nationalen Rachegefühl Platz, sobald sich eine Hand voll Holländer mit dem Mausergewehr gegen die Beglückung sträubt.²³

[But the training of volunteers in England is no more than a game, not a serious matter. Generally speaking, those who volunteer are young men feeling the need to toughen up a bit by means of fresh air and exercise, and they are accepted because the required physical attainments are very low. . . . Even several weeks' drill will not raise them to even a moderately acceptable standard for war service — despite the fact that these volunteers come from the more intelligent levels of society. You have to have been trained as a German one-year volunteer yourself to be able to judge this. . . . The Boer War is a war of conquest if ever there was, even though this is barely admitted anywhere unless capped with the liberal sentiment that, under British rule, the whole world is drawing towards a state of happiness. Yet it is only too clear how little the Boers yearn for this British state of happiness. . . . Just as the idea of world citizenship is desirable so long as people want to sell to their fellow-citizens, but everyone sees to his own country's interests as soon as these fellow-citizens turn into rivals, so, too, democratic liberalism is extolled whilst people bestride the continents in seven-league boots (just introducing a state of happiness, of course), but this rapidly gives way to highly-charged feelings of national revenge the moment a bunch of Dutchmen take up guns to oppose the state of happiness.]

Excerpts from the article appeared in the *Glasgow Herald*, translated by a Glaswegian studying in Leipzig, “to give my countrymen a sample of the mental nourishment dealt out to the Germans by those of their nationality who honour us with their presence in the British Isles.” This triggered a wave of public protest in Glasgow. “Ardent patriots and loyal alumni of our honoured university” were enraged at the “outrageously offensive phrases of Dr Tille’s article,” and by the fact that “our eagerly patriotic Volunteers and our gallant soldiers [were] vilified and held up to the ridi-

cule of our bitterly jealous Continental friends(?)” It was demanded that Tille be removed from his lectureship.²⁴

The tension reached its climax on February 23, 1900. Some 500 students gathered in front of the university’s German classroom, singing patriotic songs while awaiting the arrival of the German lecturer, Dr Tille. On arriving, he refused to enter the room and made an effort to escape. The students set upon him and threatened to throw him into the River Kelvin. Tille and several other professors were “unceremoniously shoved into a class-room, where they were kept prisoners for some time. Dr Tille suffered somewhat hard usage at the hands of the students, and several of them possessed themselves of portions of his gown.” Tille was finally given the opportunity to speak up. He expressed his regret at the consequences of his article, maintained that it had been translated in a misleading way and that it merely encapsulated pro-Boer tendencies in the British press. Further mediating words by a professor defused the situation. “Three cheers were given for the German lecturer, and the students dispersed.”²⁵ Despite the conciliatory outcome, public opinion in Glasgow remained highly critical of Tille. Letters to the editor convincingly dismissed his attempt at playing down the confrontational tone of his article; the student newspaper spoke of a “great patriotic demonstration against the lecturer in German.”²⁶

The occurrences in Glasgow have to be seen against the background of growing tensions between Britain and Germany around 1900. Wilhelm II’s “Kruger Telegram” (1896) had caused a public outcry amongst the British public. Popular invasion novels such as T. W. Offin’s *How the Germans Took London* (1900) turned the continental competitor into a lingering threat that was eventually personified by Germans living in Britain.²⁷ Throughout the country, the minority group had to endure hostile reactions from their host society. In academic circles there were suggestions that Germans teaching at British universities might be required to express their loyalty publicly towards their adopted country.²⁸ In Aberdeen the German classroom was devastated and the lecturer named Hein was physically attacked. At Edinburgh university there was some agitation against a German-born professor.²⁹ Pastor Rosenkranz reports from his German evangelical congregation in Liverpool:

Wenige Monate vorher war der Burenkrieg ausgebrochen. Die Spannung, die sich infolgedessen zwischen dem englischen und dem deutschen Volke offenbarte, zog auch die Liverpooler deutsche Siedelung mehrfach in Mitleidenschaft. Einzelne Gemeindeglieder wurden von der Bevölkerung bedroht. Ein Metzger mußte wegen einer unbedachten Aeußerung nächtlicherweise flüchten.³⁰

[The Boer War had broken out just a few months previously. The tension between Britons and Germans that arose in consequence also caused suffering for the German community in Liverpool. Individual members were threatened by the populace. A butcher was obliged to flee by night as a result of an incautious remark.]

In London the home of the Consul General of the Netherlands faced attack. So did the premises of Henry Bish, a German hairdresser, who was described in a Metropolitan Police report as “a German of pro-Boer sympathies who has recently made his opinions known rather widely among his customers.” On May 20, 1900 a crowd of 2,000 gathered in front of the shop “and stones being thrown the windows in the upper part of the house were broken and a lighted firework thrown through the broken window, set fire to the lace curtain (*sic*).” On the next day “the place looked like a house about to be pulled down after a fire.” Germans traveling on trains were often assaulted and had to seek the protection of the police.³¹ The fragile British national consciousness during the Boer war released germanophobic tendencies that were to recur on a larger scale fourteen years later.³² The occurrences described were merely a prelude to the First World War.

Back to Alexander Tille. He resigned from his lectureship, “[finding] it impossible to remain on the teaching staff of the University, after I have been assaulted by the students of it.”³³ Upon his return to Germany he immediately published a highly anti-British book under the title *Aus Englands Flegeljahren* (meaning England’s awkward adolescent, or even yob-bish, phase) in which he reproduced established stereotypes such as “Händlervolk” or “perfidus Albion.” A few quotations give an impression of the confrontational tone of the book:

Der Brite neigt überhaupt nicht dazu, politische Machtverhältnisse mit sicher wägendem Blick ruhig abzuschätzen. Daran verhindert ihn nicht nur seine grenzenlose Unkenntnis von auswärtigen Zuständen, sondern vor allem sein hochgespanntes volkliches Selbstbewußtsein, sein Engländerhochmut, sein Nationalgefühl, eine Kraft, mit der das Ausland stets zu rechnen haben wird, und die heute aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach durch einen Zusammenstoß mit der Welt der wirklichen Dinge Europa einer schweren Erschütterung zutreibt . . . [Der Engländer] kann nicht verstehen, daß längst die Stunde einer neuen Machtverteilung in Europa geschlagen hat und daß England nicht mehr allein in allen Dingen, die über das Kirchspiel Krähwinkel hinausgehen, das entscheidende Wort zu sprechen hat. (*Fl*, 42–43).

[Your Briton is absolutely not inclined to weigh up the balance of political power calmly. What prevents him is not only his limitless ignorance of foreign affairs but above all his over-developed sense of

racial superiority, his English pride, his sense of nationhood, a force that foreign powers will always have to reckon with and that will in all probability drive Europe to a severe crisis in our own day as a result of its coming up against the realities. . . . [Englishmen] are unable to understand that the hour for a new division of power within Europe struck long ago, and that England will no longer be the only power to settle everything that happens beyond their own backyard.]

In allem, was sein Volk betrifft, ist der Brite ebenso anmaßend wie taktlos. Noch immer sieht der Brite auf den Deutschen mit dem Gefühl jener tiefeingewurzelten hochmütigen Geringschätzung herab, die es ihm unmöglich macht, ihn als ebenbürtigen Gegner zu betrachten. Er ist ein Nebenbuhler, aber kein gesellschaftsfähiger, ein Nebenbuhler unter dem eigenen Stande. Man sieht auf ihn herab, wie der Graf auf seinen Winkelbankier herabsieht, dem er verschuldet ist und den er darum zum Gesellschaftsabend in sein Haus einladen muß. Daß wir dem Briten diese Geringschätzung noch austreiben werden, steht ebenso fest, wie daß es noch manchen Hieb brauchen wird, bis sie ausgetrieben ist. (*Fl*, 45–46)

[In all things pertaining to their country the British are as arrogant as they are tactless. . . . The British still look down on Germans with that deeply ingrained attitude of arrogant contempt that renders it impossible for them to regard Germans as equals. The German is a rival, but he is not a socially acceptable one — a rival of lower status. One looks down on him as a Count looks down on a banker to whom he owes money and whom he is thus obliged to invite to parties at home. That we shall drive this contempt out of the British is as certain as the fact that many blows will be required before we succeed.]

Applying his social Darwinist worldview to the relationship between nations, Tille considered war between Britain and Germany a necessity: “Es wird eines Tages in blutigem Kampfe entschieden werden müssen, ob von den europäischen Germanenstaaten Deutschland oder Großbritannien die erste Stelle einzunehmen hat” (*Fl*, xi; The right of Germany or England to take first place amongst Europe’s Germanic States will have to be resolved one day in a bloody battle).

According to his brother’s biographical account, Tille was obsessed with finding ways of strengthening the German “Volkskraft” as a means of overtaking Britain economically and militarily.³⁴ His concept of “Entwicklungsethik” had the ultimate purpose of achieving this goal. In his *Flegeljahre*, Tille analyses Britain’s social and economic problems with considerable *Schadenfreude*, though still highly competently; and it is with considerable satisfaction that he points to his fatherland’s achievements

since 1871 and its supposed superiority over Britain. This is in line with his political activities. From 1898 onwards Tille was a member — and later on the board — of the extreme nationalist *Alldeutscher Verband*, which considered German expansion a necessity in its struggle for world power. England, as a colonial power, was one of Germany's major rivals in this struggle.³⁵ Tille gives expression to his pan-German fantasies in “Das Alldeutsche Lied” (1900):

... .

Wo eines Deutschen Recht man kürzt,
 Wo Deutschen Nachteil sprießt,
 Wo man die deutsche Flagge stürzt
 Und deutsches Blut vergießt, —
 Ob an Marokkos Seegestad
 Und ob am Gelben Fluß:
 Die deutsche Eisenflotte naht
 Mit ihrem groben Gruß.
 Hei, wie dem Feind die Seele graust,
 Wenn niederdonnert schwer
 Die feste deutsche Panzerfaust
 Mit Wucht im fernen Meer!

Wer da von deutschen Eltern stammt
 Und unsre Sprache spricht,
 Wem Deutsch mit uns das Herz entflammt,
 Den lassen wir auch nicht,
 Ob Östreich, Schweiz, ob Frieslands Strand
 Ihm Heimat, gilt uns gleich.
 Die Hand her, großdeutsch Nachbarland
 Am neuen Deutschen Reich!
 Auf! Daß e i n Deutschklang töne bald
 Von Rheines Mündung her
 Bis Mähren und vom Waskenwald
 Zum Adriatischen Meer!

... .

Wenn alles, was da deutsch sich hält,
 Zu e i n e m Reich sich eint,
 Wenn ob der ganzen deutschen Welt
 Nur e i n e Krone scheint.
 Da fliegt der Kaiseraar vom Strand,
 Da rauscht sein Fittich schwer:
 “Alldeutschland” brausts vom Meer zum Land,
 “Alldeutsch” vom Land zum Meer!³⁶

[When a German's rights are restricted and he is everywhere disadvantaged; when the German flag is torn down and German blood spilled, be it on Morocco's strand or on the Yellow River: German ironclads are on their way bringing a rough greeting. Aha! just look at the enemy quail as bazookas rain down their thunderous German fire, blasting foreign waters apart!

All you whose parents are German and who speak our language; whoever's heart, like ours, is set on fire by German, you, too, we shall not desert. Whether from Austria, Switzerland or the Frisian Isles, it's all the same to us. Give us your hand, neighbor in our Greater Germany, our new German *Reich*! Rise up, that soon *one* German tongue may be heard from the mouth of the Rhine to Moravia, from the Vosges to the Adriatic! . . .

When all who feel themselves German unite in *one* Reich, when in the whole German world there is but *one* glittering crown, then the Imperial Eagle flies up from the strand and beats its mighty wings, "Pan-Germany" rings out from sea to land, "pan-German" from land to sea!]

Back in Germany, Tille's initial plan was to write his *Habilitation* and obtain a chair in philosophy at a German university. His writings, however, had attracted the attention of conservative business circles and he accepted the position of deputy business director of the Federation of German Industrialists in Berlin (*Zentralverband Deutscher Industrieller*). He became closely acquainted with the influential industrialist and politician Freiherr Carl Ferdinand von Stumm-Halberg, whose speeches he edited;³⁷ he also had a brief affair with Germany's foremost suffragette, Helene Stöcker, who shared Tille's passion for Nietzsche and some of his social Darwinist ideas.³⁸ In 1903 Tille moved to Saarbrücken, where he was appointed a chief representative of several industrial associations, a position he held until his death in 1912. His extensive publications from this latter period are all on business and industrial matters. Here again, his social Darwinist worldview provided a pseudoscientific justification for the social stratification and evils of Wilhelmine capitalist society. For Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Tille was one of the "platten Apologeten" and "plumpen Hagiographen des Wilhelminischen Unternehmertums"³⁹ (un-inspired apologists and clumsy hagiographers of the Wilhelmine entrepreneurial class).

In conclusion, I would like to integrate these findings into a larger framework. Tille's oeuvre and activities present us with a seemingly irreconcilable paradox: on the one hand the cultural mediator with an intimate knowledge of both countries; on the other hand the confrontational warmonger unable to question existing stereotypes. However, Tille was not a unique case. We can point to the Celticist Kuno Meyer, who lived

in Britain from 1883 to 1911 but nevertheless went to Germany once a year to do his reservist training exercises and wholeheartedly supported the German cause during World War I;⁴⁰ or we can point to Lothar Bucher, who spent 11 years in London as an exile and later wrote his anti-English tirades in close contact with Bismarck.⁴¹ In general, there was a high degree of “Reich”-nationalism among Germans living in Britain before and during the First World War.⁴² Residence abroad did not necessarily improve individual intercultural understanding but could lead to increased nationalism intertwined with an Anglophobic attitude. As early as the 18th century Justus Möser had maintained that one could best be healed from Anglomania through a lengthy stay in Britain.⁴³ This is in line with Tille’s statement (which rather inflates his academic standing):

Als ich im Jahre 1890, als vierundzwanzigjähriger Jüngling als Dozent nach Schottland berufen, zum erstenmale einen britischen Lehrstuhl bestieg, da erstrahlte mir Großbritannien im Lichte vielseitiger jugendlicher Ideale. Als ich 1900 . . . kurzer Hand mein Lehramt niederlegte und trotz aller Versuche mich zu halten in meine Heimat zurückkehrte, da hatten sich jene Ideale jedoch einigermaßen verschoben. . . . Ich hatte die Freude zu sehen, daß sich mein eigenes Vaterland mit ganz anderen Riesenschritten [der Lösung sozialer Probleme] näherte als Großbritannien. Ich war mit dem Gedanken ausgezogen, auf den britischen Inseln vieles verwirklicht zu finden, wovon wir nur erst träumten, und von Jahr zu Jahr mußte ich es als einen bittereren Stachel empfinden lernen, einem fremden Volke zu dienen, das sich dem meinen immer feindlicher gegenüberstellte.⁴⁴

[When I took up the duties of a British university teacher for the first time, having been offered a lectureship in Scotland in 1890 at the age of 24, Great Britain seemed to me splendid, viewed in the light of manifold youthful ideals. When in 1900 . . . I resigned abruptly and returned home, despite all attempts to keep me, those ideals had shifted somewhat, as you may imagine. . . . I experienced the joy of seeing my own Fatherland approaching the solution of social problems with giant strides that were so different from the ones taken by Great Britain. I had set off with the expectation of finding much already achieved in the British Isles of which we only dreamt, and from year to year I was obliged to feel the bitter pangs of serving a foreign country whose enmity towards mine grew daily worse.]

On a further level, Tille does not seem to have been an unusual case. He both personifies and confirms a paradox recently discussed under the heading “Aneignung und Abwehr.”⁴⁵ Despite a substantial increase in each country’s knowledge of the other during the course of the nineteenth century, Anglo-German relationships did not necessarily improve.

Mutual stereotypes were reinforced rather than dissolved, reaching a climax during the First World War. Intercultural transfer *per se* is not a guarantee for peaceful coexistence but just one factor in a complex historical framework. The case history presented here is a paradigm, rather than an exception.

Notes

¹ Steven E. Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany, 1890–1990* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1992), 123.

² Richard Hinton Thomas, *Nietzsche in German Politics and Society, 1890–1918* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1983), 113.

³ Neither of the two short biographies take this aspect into account. Armin Tille is mainly concerned with defending his brother against his critics, whilst Schungel's study concentrates almost exclusively on Tille's social Darwinist ideas. See Armin Tille, *Ein Kämpferleben: Alexander Tille, 1866–1912* (Gotha, Germany: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1916); Wilfried Schungel, *Alexander Tille (1866–1912): Leben und Ideen eines Sozialdarwinisten* (Husum: Matthiesen 1980). More recently see Stefan Manz, *Migranten und Internierte: Deutsche in Glasgow, 1864–1918* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003), chap. III.3.

⁴ Alexander Tille, *Die deutschen Volkslieder vom Doktor Faust* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1890; repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969 and 1984).

⁵ Patrick Bridgwater, *Nietzsche in Anglosaxony: A Study of Nietzsche's Impact on English and American Literature* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1972), 11.

⁶ Bridgwater, *Nietzsche in Anglosaxony*, 15.

⁷ Alexander Tille, ed., *The Collected Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, 11 vols. (London: H. Henry, 1896–1909; New York: Macmillan, 1896–1909; rev. eds. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1933 and 1957). This contained Tille's translation of *Also sprach Zarathustra: Thus spake Zarathustra* (1896). The other works to appear in Tille's edition were *The Case of Wagner*, *The Twilight of the Idols*, *Nietzsche contra Wagner*, *The Anti-Christ* (trans. Alexander Tille and Thomas Common, 1896); *The Dawn of Day* (trans. Johanna Volz, 1903); and *Beyond Good and Evil* (trans. Helen Zimmern, 1907). The first complete edition of Nietzsche in English was Oscar Levy, ed., *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, 18 vols. (Edinburgh and London: Foulis, 1909–13; New York: Macmillan, 1909–11).

⁸ See Bridgwater, *Nietzsche in Anglo-Saxony*; Eitel Friedrich Timm, *William Butler Yeats und Friedrich Nietzsche* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1980); David S. Thatcher, *Nietzsche in England, 1890–1914* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1970); Elmar Schenkel, "Paradoxical Affinities: Chesterton and Nietzsche," in *The Novel in Anglo-German Context: Cultural Cross-Currents and Affinities*, ed. Susanne Stark (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2000), 241–51; Henning Ottmann, "Englischsprachige Welt," in *Nietzsche-Handbuch: Leben — Werk — Wirkung*, ed. Henning Ottmann (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2000), 431–34.

⁹ Alexander Tille, Foreword to *Thus spake Zarathustra: A Book for All and None*, trans. Alexander Tille (London: H. Henry, 1896), xxiii.

¹⁰ “[Es] können die nachhaltigen Folgen für die Interpretation von Nietzsches Philosophie kaum als glimpflich bezeichnet werden”; see Hays Alan Steilberg, *Die amerikanische Nietzsche-Rezeption von 1896 bis 1950* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1996), 3.

¹¹ Alfred Kelly, *The Descent of Darwin: The Popularization of Darwinism in Germany* (Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 1981), 4–6; Hans-Ulrich Wehler, “Sozialdarwinismus im expandierenden Industriestaat,” in *Deutschland in der Weltpolitik des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Imanuel Geiss and Bernd Jürgen Wendt (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1973), 133–42; Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1866–1918*, vol. 1 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1990), chap. 12, 3.

¹² British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Alexander Tille to Alfred Russell Wallace (1894), 46441, 133–34; Thomas E. Huxley, *Soziale Essays: Deutsch mit Einleitung*, trans. Alexander and Lotte Tille (Weimar: Felber, 1897).

¹³ C. M. Williams, *A Review of the Systems of Ethics Founded on the Theory of Evolution* (London and Boston: Macmillan, 1893).

¹⁴ Alexander Tille, *Von Darwin bis Nietzsche: Ein Buch Entwicklungsethik* (Leipzig: Naumann, 1895), vii–viii.

¹⁵ Tille, *Von Darwin bis Nietzsche*, 24.

¹⁶ Alexander Tille, “Ostlondon als Nationalheilstalt,” *Die Zukunft* 5 (1893): 268.

¹⁷ See Kelly, *Descent*, 107; Fritz Bolle, “Darwinismus und Zeitgeist,” *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 14 (1962): 173.

¹⁸ Alexander Tille, *Aus Englands Flegeljahren* (Dresden and Leipzig: Reißner 1901), 10: “Ich habe 1893 Rudyard Kipling zuerst in Deutschland bekannt gemacht und seitdem die Aufmerksamkeit Deutschlands auf manches gute Buch gelenkt, das hier nicht die Beachtung gefunden hatte, die es mir zu verdienen schien” (In 1893 I was the first to make Rudyard Kipling known in Germany, and since then I have directed Germany’s attention to many a good book that had not received the attention here that I believed it deserved). See Alexander Tille, “Rudyard Kipling,” *Die Zukunft* 3 (1893): 165–71; idem, “Robert Louis Stevenson,” *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt (Feuilleton)*, 39/3, January 3, 1895; idem, “William Wordsworth,” *Die Zukunft* 11 (1895): 470.

¹⁹ See Stuart Wallace, *War and the Image of Germany: British Academics, 1914–1918* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), 165.

²⁰ See the appendices to the two publications of the Glasgow Goethe Society, both edited and introduced by Alexander Tille: *German Songs of Today and Tomorrow* (Glasgow: Friedrich Bauermeister, 1895) and *Goethe’s Satyros and Prometheus*, trans. John Gray (Glasgow: Friedrich Bauermeister, 1895). For the English Goethe Society in general, see Günter Hollenberg, “Die English Goethe Society und die deutsch-englischen kulturellen Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert,” *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 30 (1978): 36–45; Ann C. Weaver,

ed., *Publications of the English Goethe Society: Index to the Publications, 1886–1986* (Leeds: W. S. Maney, 1987).

²¹ See Johannes Paulmann, “Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien: Einführung in ein Forschungskonzept,” in *Aneignung und Abwehr: Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Rudolf Muhs, Johannes Paulmann, and Willibald Steinmetz (Bodenheim: Philo, 1998), 21–43.

²² Alexander Tille, “Die Glasgower Kabelbahn,” *Die Zukunft* 23 (1898): 470–78; *idem*, “Der Ausstand der britischen Maschinenbauer,” *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft* 1 (1898): 169–81; *idem*, “German Christmas and the Christmas-Tree,” *Folklore* 3 (1892): 166–82.

²³ Alexander Tille, “Die Volksstimmung in England,” *Die Woche* February 3, 1900.

²⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, February 9, 1900, February 19, 1900, February 23, 1900, letters to the editor.

²⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, February 24, 1900.

²⁶ *Glasgow University Magazine*, March 14, 1900 (see February 28, 1900); *Glasgow Herald*, February 27, 1900, April 2, 1900.

²⁷ T. W. Offin, *How the Germans Took London: Forewarned, Forearmed* (Chelmsford: Durrant, 1900).

²⁸ Wallace, *Image of Germany*, 14.

²⁹ Tille, *Flegeljahre*, 36.

³⁰ See Albert E. Rosenkranz, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinde zu Liverpool* (Stuttgart: Ausland & Heimat, 1921), 150.

³¹ Panikos Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815–1914* (Oxford-Washington: Berg, 1995), 135–36.

³² See Panikos Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst: Germans in Britain during the First World War* (Providence and Oxford: Berg, 1991); Stefan Manz, “‘Our Sworn, Subtle, Savage, Implacable and Perfidious Foe!’ — Spy-fever and Germanophobia in Scotland, 1914–1918,” *Irish-German Studies* 1/2004, 28–37; Manz, *Migranten und Internierte*, chap. V.

³³ Glasgow University Archives, Glasgow University Court, Supporting Papers, unlisted, February 27, 1900, Tille to University Court, February 24, 1900; *ibid.*, Minute of Meeting of the University Court, February 27, 1900. Tille’s part-time position had been turned into a full-time lectureship only a year earlier, in 1899. In 1894, he had already unsuccessfully applied for a lectureship at Edinburgh University; see National Library of Scotland 1694.31(11), *Testimonials in Favour of Alexander Tille*.

³⁴ Armin Tille, *Kämpferleben*, 19–20.

³⁵ See e.g. Alexander Tille, “Kampf um den Erdball,” *Nord und Süd*, January 1897.

³⁶ In *Alldeutsches Liederbuch* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901); also printed in Armin Tille, *Kämpferleben*, 50–52.

³⁷ *Die Reden des Freiherrn Carl Ferdinand von Stumm-Halberg*, ed. Alexander Tille, 10 vols. (Berlin: Elsner, 1906–13).

³⁸ Ernst Nolte, *Nietzsche und der Nietzscheanismus* (Frankfurt and Berlin: Propyläen, 1990), 224, 244–45; Aschheim, *Nietzsche*, 123–25; Hinton Thomas, *Nietzsche*, 92.

³⁹ Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 3 (Munich: Beck, 1995), 1084.

⁴⁰ See Huether on Meyer, chapter 9 in this volume.

⁴¹ Christoph Studt, *Lothar Bucher, 1817–1892: Ein politisches Leben zwischen Revolution und Staatsdienst* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992).

⁴² See Stefan Manz, “Wir stehen fest zusammen / Zu Kaiser und zu Reich!’ — Nationalism among Germans in Britain, 1871–1918,” *German Life and Letters* 55 (2002): 398–415.

⁴³ See Rudolf Muhs, “Geisteswehen: Rahmenbedingungen des deutsch-britischen Kulturaustauschs im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Aneignung und Abwehr*, ed. Muhs, Paulmann, and Steinmetz, 67.

⁴⁴ Tille, *Flegeljahre*, viii. See also page 55: “Ich habe es in den letzten Jahren wiederholt mit großer Freude bemerkt, daß junge Deutsche, die als Weltbürger und Überdemokraten nach Großbritannien gingen, nach einem halben Jahre als gute, warm empfindende Deutsche heimkamen” (In recent years I have repeatedly noted with joy how young Germans, who had left for Great Britain as citizens of the world and pan-democrats, were returning home after half a year as good, warm-hearted Germans); see also Schungel, *Alexander Tille*, 10, 26, 29.

⁴⁵ See Johannes Paulmann, “Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien, 21–43.