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“My Early Years in Heilbronn” – Gustav von Schmoller’s Last, Autobiographical Essay

Translated by Rodney Martin, and introduced
and annotated by Heinz Rieter¹

As is well known, Gustav Schmoller wrote a great deal, indeed a very great deal – but very little about himself.² That comes as no surprise in that he is known to have made a strict separation between his professional and his private life, to have kept his distance from his colleagues and to have expressed

¹ We wish to thank Christian Scheer, University of Hamburg, and Keith Tribe, The King’s School, Worcester, for their advice on the translation of and commentary on the text, as well as Christhard Schrenk and Annette Geisler of the *Stadtarchiv Heilbronn* (Heilbronn Municipal Archive), who have helped us to elucidate and comment on some of the names and facts connected with the history of Heilbronn. All numbered footnotes, as well as any words in square brackets, were inserted by us. Sources whose titles are quoted in abbreviated form in the footnotes are: *ADB* = *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. by the Historische Kommission bei der Königl. [Bayerischen] Akademie der Wissenschaften; *Best/Weege* 1998 = Heinrich Best/Wilhelm Weege, *Biographisches Handbuch der Abgeordneten der Frankfurter Nationalversammlung 1848/49*, Düsseldorf 1998; *Brinkmann* 1937 = Carl Brinkmann, *Gustav Schmoller und die Volkswirtschaftslehre*, Stuttgart 1937; *DBE* = *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*, ed. by Walter Killy and Rudolf Vierhaus, München et al.; *Dehlinger* 1951 and 1953 respectively = Alfred Dehlinger, *Württembergs Staatswesen in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung bis heute*, 2 vols, Stuttgart 1951 and 1953; *Kirchenlexikon* = *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, initiated and ed. by Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, continued by Traugott Bautz, Herzberg; *Marcon/Strecker* 2004 = *200 Jahre Wirtschafts- und Staatswissenschaften an der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, Leben und Werk der Professoren. Die Wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Fakultät der Universität Tübingen und ihre Vorgänger (1817–2002)*, edited and compiled by Helmut Marcon and Heinrich Strecker, vol. 1, Stuttgart 2004; *NDB* = *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. by the Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; *Reden und Ansprachen* 1908 = *Reden und Ansprachen, gehalten am 24. Juni 1908 bei der Feier von Gustav Schmollers 70. Geburtstag* (This title in English would be: *Speeches and Addresses Given on 24 June 1908 at the Celebration of Gustav von Schmoller’s 70th Birthday*), from the shorthand record, published in manuscript form, Altenburg 1908; *Schwäbische Lebensbilder* = *Schwäbische Lebensbilder*, ed. from 1940 in the name of the Württembergische Kommission für Landesgeschichte, Stuttgart, ed. from 1957 in the name of the Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart.

² At the celebration of his 70th birthday on 24 June 1908 at his house in Berlin Schmoller admittedly responded several times to addresses by his guests, but even then it was only incidentally that he revealed anything much about himself. See *Reden und Ansprachen* 1908, pp. 10–11 and pp. 47–54.

public opinions almost exclusively on scientific and political matters. One can thus be well acquainted with Schmoller's work without acquiring any real knowledge of his inner life. Only at the very end of his life did he reveal something more about himself. The publisher Eugen Salzer, who in Schmoller's home town, Heilbronn, published a *Calendar for Swabian Literature and Art* under the title *Von schwäbischer Scholle (On Swabian Soil)*, had asked his fellow-Swabian to write something about his early years in Heilbronn. Schmoller consented, little suspecting that this little essay about his origins would be the last thing he wrote.³ For in October 1917, in the foreword to the *Calendar* for 1918, Salzer regretfully informed his readers: "Geheimrat Professor Dr Gustav von Schmoller, having reached a ripe old age, passed away unexpectedly on 26 July in Harzburg. As late as 23 July he wrote to me expressing his pleasure on completing his account of his youthful reminiscences and his intention of checking it through once more in Berlin. This was not to be. The venerable scholar's last work was thus devoted to his home town of Heilbronn, which remained his 'real home'."

This "last work" of Schmoller's was soon forgotten. It is only rarely mentioned in German-language writings on the history of economic thought and in relevant reference works in which any biographical information about Schmoller is given.⁴ To my knowledge, of English-language writers only Nicholas W. Balabkins and Erik Grimmer-Solem have taken due account of it.⁵ It is however worth rediscovering, not only because at the end of a long life of scholarly study, which – as Günter Schmolders aptly put it⁶ – ran "parallel to the ascent to power of Prussia", the Swabian Schmoller acknowledged his "real home". And it makes interesting reading not just because it tells us more about his family home, his schooldays and his studies in Tübingen, but also because the text is testimony to the lifelong single-mindedness and continuity of Schmoller's thinking and reveals its early roots.

The "spiritual inheritance that one receives from [one's ancestors] through birth" is, writes Schmoller ("My Early Years in Heilbronn", in this volume,

³ Meine Heilbronner Jugendjahre. Von Gustav Schmoller. In: *Von schwäbischer Scholle. Kalender für schwäbische Literatur und Kunst*. Verlag von Eugen Salzer in Heilbronn, 1918, pp. 53–61.

⁴ Exceptions are: Brinkmann 1937, pp. 12–16; Albert Müssiggang, "Die soziale Frage in der historischen Schule der Nationalökonomie", Tübingen 1968, p. 135, footnote 44; Harald Winkel, "Gustav von Schmoller (1838–1917)", in: *Klassiker des ökonomischen Denkens*, ed. by Joachim Starbatty, vol. II, München 1989, chap. I and p. 333.

⁵ Nicholas W. Balabkins, *Not by Theory alone ... The Economics of Gustav von Schmoller and Its Legacy to America*, Berlin 1988, chapters I and II; Erik Grimmer-Solem, *The Rise of Historical Economics and Social Reform in Germany 1864–1894*, Oxford 2003, p. 32, footnote 68.

⁶ Günter Schmolders, "Statt Wirtschaftstheorie Staatswirtschaftslehre. Erinnerungen an Gustav Schmoller", in: *Gustav von Schmoller und die Probleme von heute*, ed. by Jürgen G. Backhaus, Berlin 1993, p. 99.

p. 144), often “just as important for life ... as the external circumstances of one’s surroundings and upbringing”. He thus sees himself in the long Protestant tradition of his family, which had been “quick to embrace the cause of the Reformation” (*ibid.*). Furthermore, his father and other relatives, all working in the service of the State, had given him from his earliest days the picture of an inviolable authority, which must yet never neglect its duties towards its citizens. At the same time, the “selfless scholarly labour” of his botanist grandfather Gärtner in Calw, which “sought no higher position or office or reward” (*ibid.*, p. 149), filled him with “quiet admiration”. It was, in his own words, what he himself “had been able to observe and experience” from his youth on which most influenced him (*ibid.*, p. 150). That included in particular the incipient industrialization of that period: “...growing up between 1848 and 1864 I experienced a major economic boom in the town [Heilbronn], which served as a living illustration for my incipient economic studies. I experienced something similar in Calw. ... Thus I acquired a whole range of practical insights into economic growth and its causes before I learnt to reflect on it theoretically in the years 1856–64. And that was highly significant for my intellectual development” (*ibid.*, p. 151 f.). This confirms very vividly Peter R. Senn’s conjecture⁷ that “Schmoller must always have felt and responded to the practical problems of his time and place”.

Schmoller’s ideas for social reform also germinated, as it were, “in Swabian soil”. It was on “the last occasion [he] spent any length of time in Heilbronn”, in the summer of 1864, that the then 26 year-old worked on “the article entitled ‘The Social Question’ for the *Preußische Jahrbücher* [Prussian Year-books],⁸ which in due course would come to serve as the programme for the economists and social reformers who subsequently formed the *Verein für Sozialpolitik*⁹ [Association for Social Policy]” (*ibid.*, p. 161).

In the Anglo-Saxon world today the language barrier is more than ever an obstacle to the wider reception of Schmoller’s work. Time and again the complaint has been made that only a few of Schmoller’s writings have been translated into English.¹⁰ In order to help fill this gap – even if in this case it is only in a marginal way – Schmoller’s last, autobiographical piece is here presented in full in an English translation for the first time.

⁷ Peter R. Senn, “Gustav Schmoller auf englisch: Welche Spuren hat er hinterlassen?”, in: *Gustav von Schmoller und die Probleme von heute*, ed. by Jürgen G. Backhaus, Berlin 1993, p. 67, footnote 92.

⁸ Schmoller here refers to “Die Arbeiterfrage”, in: *Preußische Jahrbücher*, vol. 14, 1864, pp. 393–424 and 523–547; Vol. 15, 1865, pp. 32–63. For an overview see Brinkmann 1937, pp. 66–75.

⁹ See also Dieter Lindenlaub, *Richtungskämpfe im Verein für Sozialpolitik*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 4, footnote 3.

¹⁰ See *inter alia* Senn, *op. cit.* in footnote 7.

My Early Years in Heilbronn

By Gustav von Schmoller

I was born on 24 June 1838 in Heilbronn, where my father¹¹ was administrator of the cameral office¹² (*Kameralverwalter*). The office building in which we lived stood opposite the main church of the town, St Kilian's, but has since been demolished to make way for a new road [see the illustration below]. The complex of buildings used to be known as the "Ducal Courtyard" in the period when Heilbronn was an imperial city,¹³ because it was here that a ducal steward used to administer the Duke of Württemberg's¹⁴ numerous prerogatives and fiscal rights in the area around the town and also because it was here that the duke probably broke his journey when passing through. Living accommodation and offices, spacious storehouses and cellars, stables, a large winepress and such like filled the quite extensive area occupied by this yard. When my father moved to Heilbronn in 1833, he at once set about a complete renovation and reconstruction: buildings no longer needed were removed, the main building was restored; large storerooms and cellars were retained, but space was made for a large ornamental garden and vegetable garden, which lay right in the centre of the town; it served as a playground for us children; and my father devoted his leisure hours to cultivating superior varieties of fruit and fine roses there. The large cellars and storerooms were leased to tradesmen since with the increasing commutation of taxes in kind by farmers they were no longer appropriate to the requirements of the state administration, although in 1848 the large storerooms were again full of public grain stocks that had been bought in from outside in the famine of 1847.

My earliest memories are of the death of two of my brothers, in 1841, and of my mother,¹⁵ in 1846. I can still picture my dying mother taking leave of us

¹¹ Friedrich von Schmoller (1795–1865); the "von" denotes in this case a Württemberg personal title. For personal information about the Schmoller family see in particular Knut Borchardt, "Schmoller, Gustav Friedrich v.", in: *NDB*, vol. 23, to be published in 2007.

¹² *Kameralamt*. The cameral offices which were established in Württemberg in 1806 were charged with collecting and administering the various sources of income of the State. For details see Dehlinger, vol. 2, 1953, § 344.

¹³ Heilbronn was one of the nine free imperial cities which the Duchy of Württemberg received under the Principal Resolution of the Imperial Deputation (*Reichsdeputationshauptschluß*) of 1803 as compensation for the loss to France of estates on the left bank of the Rhine. See Gerhard Köbler, *Historisches Lexikon der deutschen Länder*, 6th ed., München, 1999, p. 738.

¹⁴ As the largest county (*Grafschaft*) of the Empire, Württemberg was raised to the status of duchy by the Emperor in 1495 and through its support of France became a kingdom on 30 December 1805. See Köbler, *op. cit.* in preceding footnote, pp. 736–739, and for greater detail Dehlinger, vol. 1, 1951, §§ 9–28 and §§ 41–51.

¹⁵ Maria Therese, née Gärtner (1801–1846), from Calw.

children. The next event to make a deep impression on me was the wedding of my oldest sister¹⁶ to Gustav Rümelin,¹⁷ the son of the senior district judge (*Oberamtsrichter*). The higher district court stood opposite our house. My new brother-in-law was at the time a headmaster in Nürtingen; he became a member of the German Parliament in Frankfurt in 1848 and later head of the Württemberg ministry of education [*Departement des Kirchen- und Schulwesens*] and finally professor at and chancellor of the University of Tübingen.



Old Cameral Office, prior to demolition, 1894

¹⁶ Marie Schmoller (1824–1891), who was married to Gustav von Rümelin (see next footnote) from 1847.

¹⁷ Gustav von Rümelin (1815–1889, Württemberg personal title), son of Gustav Rümelin (1785–1850), senior district judge (*Oberamtsrichter*) in Heilbronn. Much has been written about Schmoller's brother-in-law, Gustav von Rümelin, including by Schmoller himself, particularly in his essay "Gustav Rümelin. Ein Lebensabriß des schwäbischen Staatsmannes, Statistikers und Sozialphilosophen", in: *ADB*, vol. 53, 1907, repr. 1971, pp. 597–635; repr. in: *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich*, vol. 31, 1907, pp. 1469–1526. See also *Reden und Ansprachen* 1908, p. 49: "The man who in my youth most influenced and indeed dominated me was my brother-in-law Gustav Rümelin ..."; and *ibid.*, p. 52: "I had taken over from my brother-in-law Rümelin this ideal for my life: to possess an all-embracing education rather than to specialize in a single field." About Rümelin see Bernhard Mann, "Rümelin, Gustav v.", in: *NDB*, vol. 22, 2005, p. 224; Best / Weege 1998, p. 288; Marcon / Strecker 2004, pp. 264–71.

I learnt to read and write first from a teacher named Bartelmeß, then in the preparatory school for the humanistic grammar school (*Gymnasium*). My memory of the teachers at the lower grammar school was that none of them was much good. In my second year an indolent, stout, well-to-do old gentleman spent most of his time seated at his desk, primarily concerned with not overexerting himself. We spent much time doing extempore written exercises, during which Herr Drück sat sleepily at his desk, largely occupied with cleaning his ears; from time to time he would warn us, “Look the other way now!” so that he could pursue this activity with greater freedom. I was frequently grateful to him for sending me off to the cameral office to redeem his coupons during lessons. The teachers at the upper grammar school were of a different calibre; admittedly, some of them were also a dead loss: Professor Finkh did his utmost to make Greek literature boring; physics teacher Professor Kehrner put up with almost any prank. Once a pupil said to him, “Sir, why do all your experiments go wrong?” He merely responded, “So, everyone be quiet now.” But Professor Rieckher’s lessons were far superior, and best of all were the history and German literature classes with the headmaster, *Rektor* Mönch. It is primarily due to him and to Rieckher if I do not now dismiss my years at grammar school as a waste of time. In the spring of 1856 I passed my school-leaving examination (*Abitur*) in Stuttgart, coming third out of all the pupils gathered there from the whole state; during the next half-year I followed a few further courses at school, took private lessons from Rieckher in higher mathematics and began to work in my father’s office, which then occupied me full-time for a year from autumn 1856. In October 1857 I went up to the state university in Tübingen to study the cameral sciences (*Kameralwissenschaften*).

Before I elaborate on my memories of Heilbronn, let me say a word or two about my ancestors. The spiritual inheritance that one receives from them through birth is after all often just as important for life, if not more so, as the external circumstances of one’s surroundings and upbringing.

The earliest Schmoller known to us today lived around 1500 in Neustadt a.d. Saale, a small town on the eastern slopes of the Rhön. His descendants were mainly recorded in Erfurt and Eisenach, where the name still occurs. My colleague Leo¹⁸ in Halle informed me that “Smoler” was a Slavonic word and meant charcoal-burner. The family was quick to embrace the cause of the Reformation. My ancestor Oswald Schmoller was ordained priest by none other than Luther himself in Wittenberg in 1538; his son and grandson are recorded

¹⁸ Heinrich Leo (1799–1878), historian and philologist, a professor in Halle from 1828 to 1868, a convinced Lutheran who nevertheless advocated a unified Christian church. His publications included works on cultural history which showed the beginnings of a sociological approach. See Wolf Weigand, “Leo, Heinrich”, in: *Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 4, 1992, columns 1464–6. Schmoller once called him (*Reden und Ansprachen* 1908, p. 47) “my old patron”.

as town councillors in Eisenach. In the Thirty Years War we come upon my ancestor Johannes Schmoller, of whom we still possess a likeness in oils, as secretary of war to Duke Bernard of Weimar;¹⁹ he was for a long time the duke's right hand until Bernard's early death. He fought beside him at the battle of Lützen, where Gustavus Adolphus was slain, and accompanied him to Paris in 1636 and 1637 as his aide in his negotiations with Richelieu. After the battle of Nördlingen he was taken prisoner by the Bavarians, having gone to the baggage train during the retreat so as to burn the official documents and prevent them falling into enemy hands. He managed to escape from his captors five days later, before he could be taken to Munich. After Bernard's death he remained with the Weimar army in southern Germany and in 1651 entered the service of Württemberg; probably all his descendants stayed there, mainly as chamberlains, priests and philologists. Like his son and grandson, he lived and worked in Stuttgart as a public servant.

My grandfather was senior district administrator and responsible for secularised monastic property first in St Georgen, which was part of Württemberg at the time, then in Hirsau. My father was born in Hirsau in 1791;²⁰ in his boyhood the office was sacked and pillaged several times by the French and the family lost everything. In 1811 he was appointed trainee at the *Kameralamt* in Tübingen, where he was also expected to attend lectures. He became assistant administrator in 1812, but was called up for military service at the start of 1813 in the Württemberg *Schwarze Jäger*, the Black Rifles Regiment, where he soon reached the rank of second lieutenant and adjutant and took part in the campaigns of 1814–1815 against France. Badly wounded at Montereau, he had to be transported in a haycart to Mulhouse in Alsace, where he recovered from his wounds. Discharged soon after the war ended, he became *Kameralverwalter* in Merklingen and married there. His accounts of his war-time experiences were amongst the most vivid and profound impressions left on us when we were children.

My father was of medium height, with blue eyes and blond hair. He was an energetic, indefatigable man of business and a lively, cheerful, thoroughly likeable companion. Tireless at his work, he would sit at his desk for 8 to 10 hours, having first imparted to the young men he employed in the office an hour of instruction in finance and administration, commencing at 7 in the summer and 8 in the winter. He was never strict as such with us children, but was constantly urging us on to apply ourselves, stressing the need for hard work if we were ever to amount to anything in life.

My father's older brother, who was a church superintendent (*Ephorus*) in Blaubeuren, collated the numerous written records of members of the Schmoller

¹⁹ Bernard of Saxe-Weimar (1604–1639), one of the best-known of King Gustavus Adolphus's generals in the Thirty Years War.

²⁰ In the literature his year of birth is given as 1795. See footnote 11.

ler family since 1500 into a coherent document, of which we have had a copy from our childhood days and which we as children were forever poring over.

My mother, Therese Gärtner, came from Calw. This Württemberg town, located in the lovely Nagold valley, had achieved prosperity in the 17th and 18th centuries through its cloth industry; it employed spinners and weavers from far around in the Black Forest. The poor rural population of the Black Forest certainly needed this additional income, but expanded almost excessively as a result. In the centre of the district, in Calw, the cloth was dyed, finished and prepared for sale, Italy being the main market; the merchants and dyers, who had together formed a cloth trading company, brought the fabrics to the market in Bozen and further afield. In Calw they knew all about the Netherlands, Paris and Italy. Professor Tröltsch* has written a very instructive account of the company, much enhancing the historical records of trade and industry in Württemberg and Germany. The families still prospering there now are related to those who ran the company, including my mother's ancestors, the Gärtners, Wagners, Dörtenbachs and others. The Gärtners were initially apothecaries, then became doctors, natural scientists, botanists.

My mother's grandfather, Joseph,²¹ was one of the most highly regarded botanists of his time. His father Joseph had been the Duke of Württemberg's court physician; he himself had spent a number of years in St Petersburg as professor and member of the academy, having been summoned there by Empress Catherine. He sent his son, Carl Friedrich Gärtner²² to study in Holland and Paris during the first years of the revolution and dispatched him on journeys throughout Germany. He also spent some time in Weimar and knew Goethe there. He brought home extensive natural history collections and oil paintings from his travels. His house on the market square in Calw, with its large greenhouse and garden, was the destination of all our holiday trips; the

* W. Tröltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandelskompagnie und ihre Arbeiter*. 1897. [The subtitle is: *Studien zur Gewerbe- und Socialgeschichte Altwürttembergs*; the book was published by the Fischer-Verlag in Jena. The economist Walter Troeltsch (1866–1933) studied in Munich, Tübingen and Berlin and after a period of teaching in Tübingen and Karlsruhe became ordinary professor at the University of Marburg in 1902. For detailed information on him see Marcon / Strecker 2004, pp. 324–7 and Walter Braeuer, *Walter Troeltsch. Staatswissenschaftler*, in: *Marburger Gelehrte in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Ingeborg Schnack, Marburg 1977, pp. 553–68, who (*ibid.*, p. 554) describes the work cited by Schmoller as Troeltsch's "undisputed main work".]

²¹ Joseph Gärtner (1732–1791), 1761 Professor of Anatomy in Tübingen, 1768 Professor of Botany and Natural History in St Petersburg. See *ADB*, vol. 8, 1878, repr. 1968, pp. 377–380; *NDB*, vol. 6, 1964, p. 22; and Friedrich Reinöhl, "Joseph Gärtner. Botaniker und Arzt", in: *Schwäbische Lebensbilder*, vol. 3, 1942, pp. 182–9.

²² Karl Friedrich von Gärtner (1772–1850; Württemberg personal title from 1846). See *ADB*, vol. 8, 1878, repr. 1968, pp. 382–384; *NDB*, vol. 6, 1964, pp. 22–3; and Friedrich Reinöhl: "Karl Friedrich Gärtner. Botaniker und Arzt", in: *Schwäbische Lebensbilder*, vol. 3, 1942, pp. 190–8.

collections and pictures brought us into contact with a world hitherto unknown to us. C. F. Gärtner devoted the rest of his life to the study of the mutability of plant species and hybrids, concerning which he corresponded regularly with Darwin. The bulk of his collections and manuscripts has been assembled in the botanical institute in Tübingen.

For us children, this quiet scholarly pursuit and the rooms where it took place had an air of mystery about it; we only ever rarely dared to peep into the rooms where he sat in study and kept his collections. This selfless scholarly labour, which sought no higher position or office or reward, filled me with a certain quiet admiration. I remember my father saying later that when in the twenties, before the Customs Union (*Zollverein*),²³ industry in Calw was going through very troubled times and my grandparents had lost part of their fortune, thus threatening to put an end to any thoughts of purely scholarly activity without financial reward, my grandfather considered selling up and seeking a new life in North America, though he never entertained the idea of establishing a medical practice or seeking a professorship. While my parents would certainly have emigrated with him, in the end it never came to that, and as things turned out, at the end of his life there was no lack of recognition from great scholars, academies and princes for the achievements of my grandfather.

Before I went to Geneva for half a year in 1863 and subsequently embarked on my travels, in my first academic years and then with my wife, I did not have occasion to see or observe much of the wider world. Even in Württemberg I really only knew Stuttgart and then Tübingen well. My studies of economics and history broadened my horizons in the years 1857 to 1864 and in spring 1864 I made a kind of tour of the more important German universities, ending in Berlin. Overall, however, Heilbronn and Calw remained the focal points of what I myself had been able to observe and experience. I wonder how far I was influenced by what I saw and experienced there.

While the people of Calw were a specific Swabian type, their industrial activity had extended their horizons far beyond those of other Württemberg country towns. The population of Heilbronn was a mixture of Swabian and Franconian in origin. Their independent status as citizens of an imperial city had made its mark on them; furthermore trade had always been relatively brisk there. The major trade route from Munich to Strasbourg ran through Heilbronn. Strasbourg families who left their home town after its annexation by France had settled there. In addition, Heilbronn had become an important wine-growing town: alongside the small-scale wine-growers, every well-to-do family sought to acquire vineyards of their own. The result was a mixture of Franconian energy and cheerfulness and Swabian efficiency.

²³ Schmoller here refers to the German Customs Union (*Deutscher Zollverein*) that came into force in 1834, of which Württemberg was a founder member.

Heilbronn and Calw both experienced major change between 1780 and 1864, a deep impression being made by the years of revolution and war from 1789 to 1815 and then by the period of peace from 1815 to 1848, followed by the political movements of 1840 to 1850 and the start of the new economic upturn of the fifties.²⁴ Both places increased markedly in population. Heilbronn's shift in status from an imperial city to a Württemberg district centre (*Oberamtstadt*)²⁵ was the biggest change in its constitution in its entire existence. After 1840–60 the idea of the old imperial-city independence did not entirely disappear. Before 1840, no major changes had occurred following the introduction of the new means of transport, the railway, which reached Heilbronn only in the 1840s. My father had arranged the purchase of the land necessary for the stretch from Heilbronn to Besigheim in 1846–47. However, river transport on the Neckar had already undergone a radical transformation, with steam vessels now travelling daily from Heilbronn to Mannheim. The new Neckar customs harbour²⁶ soon became too small. Above all, however, there were the beginnings of a completely new kind of industry. As a boy I had already admired the machines for the production of continuous paper which the Rauch brothers²⁷ had brought over from England and the mechanical spinning frames for cotton which my uncle Stälin²⁸ had set up in Calw.

²⁴ At the celebration of his 70th birthday in 1908 Schmoller made reference to this in the following terms (*Reden und Ansprachen* 1908, pp. 10–11): "... the historical events of a great period had a decisive influence on everyone growing up between 1850 and 1870. It was a time of major reorganization of political, economic and social life, which doubled the energies of those alive then and inspired us to seek new heights." For details see Ernst Schmid, *Die gewerbliche Entwicklung in der Stadt Heilbronn seit Beginn der Industrialisierung*, Stadtarchiv Heilbronn, 1993.

²⁵ Württemberg was divided into administrative districts (*Oberämter*), each of which was headed by its own 'headman' or senior district administrator (*Oberamtmann*). The powers of the *Oberamtmänner* were restricted in the years 1818 to 1822 by royal edicts separating judicial powers from administrative duties and establishing higher district courts (*Oberamtsgerichte*) in every main administrative district. For details see Dehlinger, vol. 1, 1951, § 120.

²⁶ The Heilbronn Municipal Archive takes this to be a reference to the harbour established near Heilbronn between 1828 and 1830 on the *Wilhelmskanal* which had been opened in 1821. It became a free port in 1837 and was enlarged again in 1845 and was also the site of the customs office. See Willi Zimmermann, *Heilbronn. Der Neckar: Schicksalsfluß der Stadt*, Heilbronn 1985, p. 75 and pp. 161–2; see also Schmid, *op. cit.* in footnote 24, pp. 167–71.

²⁷ Moriz von Rauch (1794–1849) and Adolf von Rauch (1798–1882) were the first machine manufacturers of paper in southern Germany and thereby gave a powerful impetus to industrialization in Heilbronn. See the entry by Frieder Schmidt about the von Rauch family (Württemberg personal title granted in 1808) with bibliographical references in *NDB*, vol. 21, 2003, pp. 194–5.

²⁸ The Stälins (Stählin) were one of the leading entrepreneurial families in Calw. See Eberhard E. von Georgii-Georgenau, *Biographisch-Genealogische Blätter aus und über Schwaben*, Stuttgart 1879, pp. 944–952. Schmoller's uncle Wilhelm Adolf Stälin (1807–1860) had founded the cotton mill referred to with his father Jacob Friedrich

I myself knew personally many of the men who laid the foundations upon which Heilbronn's new prosperity was based, such as the brothers Moritz [sic!] and Adolf von Rauch,²⁹ who with what was left of their small fortune had fetched over from England the machines that now made Heilbronn into the leading paper-manufacturing town. While Goppelt,³⁰ who in 1848 had become the first finance minister of Württemberg with a trading background, was a figure who towered above all others, many similarly outstanding personalities were almost as notable. In the years 1855 to 1860 my brother-in-law Rümelin's brothers, with the help of the Darmstädter Bank, founded the first large bank institute in Heilbronn.³¹ In short, growing up between 1848 and 1864 I experienced a major economic boom in the town, which served as a living illustration for my incipient economic studies.

I experienced something similar in Calw. As a member of that small town's merchant elite, I had even easier access to workshop and factory installations there than in Heilbronn. Everyone in Calw knew everyone else; my grandfather Gärtner's house was considered the centre of the intellectual life of the town.

My father's occupation had brought me into contact with many aspects of the business world: just as I had accompanied him on his tours of inspection of rural domains, so did I have occasion at the *Kameralamt* to meet all kinds of building clients and craftsmen, tax-payers from all walks of life, with whom accounts had to be settled or to whom payments were to be made or whose tax contributions had to be recorded. Thus I acquired a whole range of practical insights into economic growth and its causes before I learnt to reflect on it theoretically in the years 1856–64. And that was highly significant for my

Stälin (1768–1835), who had already been running a large-scale timber business, *Stälin & Compagnie*, in Calw since 1809. "Two cotton mills run by J. F. Stälin and Sons operate 8000 spindles and employ some 300 people" (*Beschreibung des Oberamts Calw*, Edited by the Königliches statistisch-topographisches Bureau, Stuttgart 1860, p. 97).

²⁹ Cf. footnote 27.

³⁰ Adolf Goppelt (1800–1875), a Heilbronn businessman, from 1839 a deputy for Heilbronn in the *Zweite Kammer* (Lower House) of Württemberg, became Württemberg's Finance Minister in 1848. See Alfred Dehlinger, "Adolf Goppelt. Kaufmann, Politiker, Chef des Finanzdepartements" in: *Schwäbische Lebensbilder*, vol. 5, 1950, pp. 256–68.

³¹ The Rümelins were originally dealers and hauliers. With the rise of the railway, transport by horse and carriage was no longer such a lucrative business, and the brothers Maximilian and Richard Rümelin therefore switched to banking and in 1865 founded the banking firm *Rümelin & Co*. See Mathias Bergner, *Das württembergische Bankwesen. Entstehung, Ausbau und struktureller Wandel des regionalen Bankwesens bis 1923*, St. Katharinen 1993, pp. 23–4. The supraregional *Bank für Handel und Industrie* based in Darmstadt, which later became the *Darmstädter Bank*, participated in the Rümelin bank because it "evidently rated the potential of the up-and-coming industrial centre on the Neckar very highly and referred to Heilbronn in the same breath as Berlin, Vienna and St Petersburg" (Christhard Schrenk, "Der historische Bankenplatz Heilbronn. Streiflichter und Beispiele", in: *Heilbronn Journal*, No. 21, 1997, p. 3).

intellectual development. Something similar occurred when, having arrived in Halle as a professor in 1864, I was made a town councillor (*Stadtverordneter*) in my very first year and thus acquired detailed first-hand experience with municipal administrative procedures before turning my hand, in the years 1869 to 1880, to the scientific and archival study of German municipal constitutional and economic history. In this way, my thinking and judgment became rooted essentially in real-life observation and experience, rather than just in abstract, logical concepts.

The political struggles of the 1840s and 1850s confronted me with a number of issues, in particular the German constitution and the clash between revolutionary and conservative ideals dividing not only Heilbronn but also, in part, my own family. Heilbronn, too, had its share of exciting moments. The regiment garrisoned there mutinied once (1848); one evening when the situation looked likely to get out of hand, the colonel thought it wiser to lead it out of the town and have it bivouac in close formation outside and return the next morning. During the night rumour ran wild, with talk of barricades being erected and the leading town officials tied to them. My father remained calm and assured us that nothing of the kind would happen; but we children were very afraid. Then there was a risk of the revolution in Baden spreading into Württemberg when the rebellious troops clashed with the Prince of Prussia³² near Heidelberg. As crowds of revolutionary peasants from Baden approached Heilbronn, the district administrator ordered my father to bring the city treasury and the public grain stocks to safety. The Prussian victory soon put an end to these dangers.

In general, opinion in Heilbronn in 1848–50 was for the National Assembly in Frankfurt, for the *großdeutsch* Constitution of a German Empire including Austria, and against the leadership of Prussia. My father's sympathies lay with the Austrian rather than the Prussian side. This dated back to the war years 1813–15, when he had fought alongside Austrian troops and his regiment had once stood on parade before the then youthful Austrian General Radetzky.³³ I on the other hand had fully embraced the political convictions of my brother-in-law Rümelin, who in Frankfurt had vigorously advocated leadership by Prussia and then staunchly defended his views in the *Schwäbische Merkur* in his famous *Dreiecksartikeln*.³⁴ He had been a member of the Imperial Deputa-

³² William of Prussia (1797–1888), who, as next in line to the throne after the accession of his childless elder brother, Frederick William IV, obtained the title "*Prinz von Preußen* (Prince of Prussia)", put down by force of arms the revolt in Baden in 1849 (thereby earning himself the sobriquet "*Kartätschenprinz*" or "grape-shot prince") and as William I became King of Prussia in 1861 and German Emperor in 1871.

³³ Joseph Wenzel Graf Radetzky von Radetz (1766–1858), Austrian general and from 1836 field marshal, who played a major part in the victory over Napoleon in the Battle of the Nations near Leipzig in 1813.

³⁴ See Schmoller, "Gustav Rümelin", *op. cit.* in footnote 17, pp. 604–5. The expression "*Dreiecksartikel*" ("triangle articles") stems from the fact that the editors marked

tion under Simson³⁵ which had offered Frederick William IV the German imperial crown in Berlin and was thus always treated with great hostility when visiting our house in Heilbronn. His opponents once used his presence as a pretext for a night-time attack on our house, attempting to ram our front gate with large open-frame wagons, an endeavour which was fortunately unsuccessful. The anxious hours we experienced from ten at night till two in the morning passed without real danger since the strong boards of the gateway into the courtyard held firm.

Since it did not come to war between Austria and Prussia in 1849–52 and since thanks to Prussia's skilful policy towards Hanover the Customs Union (*Zollverein*) was preserved, and indeed enlarged, economic rather than political priorities soon came to the fore again in Heilbronn as elsewhere and my later grammar school years, from 1850 to 1856, were once again passed in more peaceful times. I spent all my free time in water sports and on boats in school-boy fighting contests on the Neckar. Looking back it is a miracle that, to the best of my memory, none of us ever fell into the water. In all other respects, too, these were peaceful and happy years, during which I developed a close spiritual bond with my highly talented brother, Georg,³⁶ who was slightly my junior. Georg went into banking, spending a number of years in Le Havre learning the French way of business, then working in a Frankfurt bank before being appointed director of the Darmstädter Bank in 1864 and moving to Darmstadt.

Let me here say a little about our social life in my father's house in Heilbronn. While we lived simply and modestly, there was no shortage of family friends and social gatherings took place regularly in our house. As I remember, our closest friends were the families of the *Dekan Denzel*,³⁷ and of Professors Märklin³⁸ and Kauffmann³⁹ from the grammar school and the von

Rümelin's articles, which did not bear his name, with a small triangle next to the date and place of publication.

³⁵ Martin Eduard von Simson (1810–1899, personal title from 1888), jurist and politician, from 1836 to 1860 Professor of Jurisprudence in Königsberg, Member and from December 1848 President of the German National Assembly in Frankfurt am Main, from 1871 to 1874 President of the German Reichstag, from 1879 to 1891 President of the Supreme Court of the German Empire. See Best/Weege 1998, pp. 321–2.

³⁶ Georg Friedrich Schmoller (1842–1875). He married Maria Luise Werner, the daughter of a Mainz businessman, in 1870. Their son, Carl Ludwig Friedrich (Fritz) Schmoller, born 1871, later became a banker and timber wholesaler in Saarbrücken (information supplied by the Heilbronn Municipal Archive).

³⁷ Christoph Samuel Denzel (1774–1846) was Dean and parish priest (*Stadtpfarrer*) in Heilbronn from 1831. See Wilhelm Steinhilber, *Die Geistlichkeit an St. Kilian zu Heilbronn*, Editors: Das Evangelische Dekanatamt und Das Kirchliche Archiv, Heilbronn 1966, p. 63.

³⁸ Christian Märklin (1807–1849), theologian and pedagogue, influenced by Hegel, a friend of David Friedrich Strauß; from 1840 grammar school teacher in Heilbronn. See the article by A. Winterlin in *ADB*, vol. 20, 1884, repr. 1970, 384–7.

Rauch families; thanks to their wealth the latter could afford to live on quite a different scale from us and did a lot of entertaining. But my father had become very close to both families and the similar ages of the children created many points of contact between us. The men enjoyed meeting for a beer of an evening in the public house between half past six and eight o'clock or for a post-prandial glass of wine between nine and ten. There were also regular dinner parties, such as the Gräßle Circle (*Gräßles-Gesellschaft*); Gräßle was a popular baker right next door to our house. The intellectual cream of Heilbronn gathered there once a week. Larger gatherings seldom took place in our house. However, on certain occasions, my sisters' musical acquaintances would visit us, staging operatic performances from time to time, sometimes even in costume, with the very musical young Misses Laiblin and the Denzel daughters in the principal roles. I remember one particular occasion when the wife of David Strauß,⁴⁰ the singer Schebeß,⁴¹ who in earlier years had been famous, sang for us; my father, not to be outdone, then fetched the instrument he had played in his youth, the flute, and performed for our entertainment. It was in the course of such musical interludes that Professor Kauffmann introduced the musician Otto Scherzer⁴² to us, who was to marry my sister Luise in 1851. He was a professor at the Conservatoire in Munich and later became director of music in Tübingen.

Professors Märklin and Kauffmann were probably the most erudite and intellectually distinguished members of our circle of acquaintances. One of

³⁹ Ernst Friedrich Kauffmann (1803–1856), composer and grammar school teacher of mathematics in Heilbronn and Stuttgart, friendly from his youth with Eduard Mörike and David Friedrich Strauß. See *ADB*, vol. 15, 1882, repr. 1969, p. 473; and Fritz Kauffmann, "Ernst Friedrich Kauffmann. Mathematiker und Liederkomponist", in: *Schwäbische Lebensbilder*, vol. 6, 1957, pp. 211–29.

⁴⁰ David Friedrich Strauß (1808–1874), Protestant theologian who taught philosophy at the *Tübinger Stift*, but was dismissed from his post there for writing *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* (*The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*) in 1835, which brought his academic career to an end before it had even properly begun. See Adolf Rapp, "David Friedrich Strauß, der kritische Theologe", in: *Schwäbische Lebensbilder*, vol. 6, 1957, pp. 286–324; Klaus Kienzler, "Strauss, David Friedrich", in: *Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 11, 1996, columns 27–32; and H. Harris, *D. F. Strauss and his Theology*, Cambridge 1973.

⁴¹ This is a reference to the Czech mezzo-soprano Agnese Schebest (1813–1869), who between 1836 and 1841 was a celebrated opera singer and in 1841 married David Friedrich Strauß. She wrote her memoirs under the title *Aus dem Leben einer Künstlerin* (Stuttgart 1857). See the entry about her in K. J. Kutsche/Leo Riemens, *Großes Sängerlexikon*, 4th ed., vol. 6, München 2003, pp. 4181–2.

⁴² Otto Scherzer (1821–1886), from 1838 to 1854 violinist in the Stuttgart court orchestra, thereafter Organ Professor at the Munich Conservatoire, from 1860 to 1877 successor to the composer Friedrich Silcher as University Music Director in Tübingen; friendly with among others the painter Moritz von Schwind and the poet Eduard Mörike. See the entries in *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, 7th ed., revised by Nicolas Slonimsky, London et al. 1984, p. 2015, and *ADB*, vol. 53, 1907, repr. 1971, pp. 759–62; or for greater detail: *Otto Scherzer. Ein Künstlerleben*, Stuttgart 1897.

Kauffmann's sons, who later became music director in Tübingen, was for years my closest friend.⁴³ The Denzel family was very close to us because of living next door: their children enjoyed the use of our garden almost as if it were their own. The daughter of the oldest daughter in the Denzel family, who was married to Professor Siemens⁴⁴ in Hohenheim, later became the second wife of Werner Siemens.⁴⁵ When we met again many years later in Berlin, we shared fond memories of the days when as children we had played together in the cameral office garden in Heilbronn.

Through my brother-in-law Scherzer, who hailed from Ansbach, I became more closely acquainted with Franconian ways and with the world of art. I visited him in Munich for some weeks in 1855, and the impression made on me by this city of art was a deep one: a whole new world was opened up to me there.⁴⁶ A similar effect of a different nature was made on me by two spa visits to Bad Ems in 1854 and 1855 in response to an incipient chest complaint. I had to undertake the trips alone because of the cost, but in so doing I had, for the first time, to stand on my own two feet in the world, made many new acquaintances and came to know the glorious river Rhine. Some of the bonds I formed there lasted for years afterwards, one example being my correspondence with a German businessman who knew France and England in detail. A friendship with Dr Weltner, a physician from Lübeck, was later renewed in Halle since Weltner's wife, the sister of the lawyer and Chairman of the Municipal Council, Fritzsch, came from Halle.

From October 1857 until the end of 1861 I studied in Tübingen. During those 4 years I spent 8 to 9 months each year in Tübingen and 3 to 4 in Heilbronn. The issue of whether to attend universities further afield was never ser-

⁴³ Emil Kauffmann (1836–1909), from 1877 to 1907 University Music Director in Tübingen. See the entry in: Frank/Altmann, *Kurzgefaßtes Tonkünstler-Lexikon*, 14th ed., Regensburg 1936, p. 290; and for greater detail, Wilhelm Schmid, "Emil Kauffmann. Universitätsmusikdirektor", in: *Schwäbische Lebensbilder*, vol. 3, 1942, pp. 284–310.

⁴⁴ Carl Siemens (1809–1885) was the first Professor of Agricultural Technology in (Stuttgart-)Hohenheim. See *Universität Hohenheim 1818–1968*, ed. by Günther Franz, Stuttgart 1968, pp. 51–2. According to the Protestant Family Register held in the Heilbronn Municipal Archive, it was not the oldest daughter of the Denzel family, but the second-oldest, Ottilie Wilhelmine, born in 1812, who was married to Carl Siemens from 1829. Their daughter Antonie then married Werner von Siemens (see next footnote).

⁴⁵ Werner von Siemens (1816–1892, personal title from 1888), engineer and entrepreneur, discoverer of the dynamo-electric principle, builder of the dynamo, 1847 co-founder of the firm Siemens & Halske. He was a cousin of Carl Siemens and after his second marriage also became the latter's son-in-law (see previous footnote).

⁴⁶ In one of the after-dinner speeches which he made at his 70th birthday celebration (*Reden und Ansprachen* 1908, p. 47), Schmoller spoke of "the days which I was able to spend in [Franz] Lenbach's studio at that time, and which are amongst my most cherished memories".

iously considered; I had at all events set my sights on taking the higher examinations in the Department of Finance in Württemberg; the first examination had to be taken with the professors in Tübingen, whom one had to know and whose lectures one had to have attended. The costs involved were also a problem; in Tübingen I would be able to rely on various family grants, while my still rather delicate state of health could be most easily supervised by an experienced doctor there.

I needed no special admonition to abstain from the traditional student activities of beer drinking, duelling (*pauken*) and the fraternity life. I was not drawn to student revelry, even if I did for a while frequent the haunt of an essentially theological society (*Verbindung*), the *Staufer*,⁴⁷ which in fact only donned its colours at its drinking sessions. I think back today with particular pleasure to those stimulating times when my sisters Luise and Emma set off with me in the early mornings to draw and paint. A number of paintings in my home and in various relatives' houses still testify today to our diligence and also to our talent. My efforts on the piano, however, were soon abandoned as simply a too hopeless waste of time on the advice of my brother-in-law Scherzer.

My physical and intellectual life was focused on my studies and intellectual development. The only lecture courses which I skipped – but then in their entirety – were those which I supposed would be of no use to me since I already knew in essence what they would be about, for example Financial Law with Hoffmann.⁴⁸ I saw it as my main task to acquire not just a specialised, but as broad a general scientific education as possible, such as would be needed to embark on a possible academic career. Philosophy and history attracted me the most, but also the natural sciences. I never missed an hour in chemistry, physics, mechanics and technology; nor did I ever skip the *Pandects*, though I certainly did not bother with constitutional and administrative law, given that I already knew that thoroughly. The history of philosophy lectures with Reiff⁴⁹ and the *Pandects* with Römer,⁵⁰ while they were incredibly

⁴⁷ Presumably this is a reference to the Protestant student society “*Staufia*”, which was founded in 1852 in Tübingen. See Hartmut H. Jess, *Das Lexikon der Verbindungen. Specimen Corporationum Cognitarum (S.C.C.)*, 2000, p. 34 and 505. We are grateful to Eckart Krause, the head of the Hamburg Library for University History, for this clarification.

⁴⁸ Karl Heinrich Ludwig Hoffmann (1807–1881), a pupil of the political scientist and politician Robert von Mohl (1799–1875). Hoffmann was Professor of Financial Law in Tübingen from 1838 to 1872. For both, see Marcon/Strecker 2004, pp. 173–87 or 197–200.

⁴⁹ Jakob Friedrich von Reiff (1810–1879, personal title from 1874), Professor of Philosophy in Tübingen from 1844 to 1877, whose lectures were also attended by Christoph Sigwart (see footnote 54) and Hans Vaihinger. See *ADB*, vol. 27, 1838, repr. 1970, pp. 686–7.

⁵⁰ Robert Römer (1823–1879), Professor of Jurisprudence in Tübingen, was in addition to his activity as a teacher a member of the Württemberg Parliament from 1864 to 1871 and one of the founders, in 1866, of the liberal and nationalist *Deutsche Partei* in

boring, involving nothing more than scribbling, were very good in terms of content. I supplemented the study of my lecture notes by further reading of the main works of the more important philosophers and by looking up and translating all key passages in the Pandects. I attended several history lecture courses with Max Duncker⁵¹ and then with his successor Pauli.⁵² M. Duncker, a leading political figure, had come to Tübingen in autumn 1857 and made a considerable impact. Since he was friendly with my brother-in-law Rümelin, I was a frequent visitor to his house, where his sparkling and sophisticated wife liked to gather around her evening tea table a circle of educated men; I associated in particular with the budding historian Waizsäcker⁵³ and the future philosopher Sigwart.⁵⁴ These were highly stimulating and instructive hours for me. I also had a number of other family contacts: with the jurist G. Bruns,⁵⁵ with the *Dekan* Georgii,⁵⁶ with Mrs Amermüller, who with her witty older daughter and her aging and semi-invalid son had her own house on the *Ober-neckarstieg*, in which I occupied two rooms during my last half-year. This led to a life-long friendship, which also later extended to her oldest married daughter, Mrs Froriep, in Weimar.

The hope of a later academic career led me to enter a prize competition for which I had to write an essay on the economics of the Reformation period.⁵⁷ I brought to it no specialist methodological and historical training, but so much knowledge of history, acquired through extensive reading about the period and

Württemberg, which advocated membership of the North German Confederation (*Nord-deutscher Bund*) and existed until 1918. See *ADB*, vol. 29, 1889, repr. 1970, p. 125.

⁵¹ Maximilian (Max) Wolfgang Duncker (1811–1886), son of the publisher Carl Friedrich Duncker (Duncker & Humblot), Member of the German National Assembly 1848/49, and from 1857 to 1859 Professor of Political History, Statistics and International Law in Tübingen, thereafter in the Prussian civil service. See Marcon / Strecker 2004, pp. 229–38, and Best / Weege 1998, pp. 129–30. See also footnote 59.

⁵² Reinhold Georg Pauli (1823–1882), from 1859 to 1866 Professor of History, Statistics and International Law in Tübingen. See Marcon / Strecker 2004, pp. 238–45.

⁵³ Julius Weizsäcker (1828–1889) studied Protestant theology, philology and history in Tübingen and elsewhere. After his habilitation in 1859 under Max Duncker he was Professor of History from 1863 at various German universities, including Tübingen from 1867 to 1872 and Berlin from 1881. See Wolfgang Weber, *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichtswissenschaft in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1984, pp. 649–50.

⁵⁴ Christoph Sigwart (1830–1904), Professor of Philosophy, in particular of Ethics and Logic, in Tübingen from 1863 to 1903. See the entry in *Biographische Enzyklopädie deutschsprachiger Philosophen*, revised by Bruno Jahn, München 2001, pp. 389–90.

⁵⁵ Karl Eduard Georg Bruns (1816–1880) was Professor of Jurisprudence in Tübingen from 1859 to 1861 and then accepted a call to Berlin. See *DBE*, vol. 2, 1995, p. 173.

⁵⁶ Johann Christian Ludwig (von) Georgii (1810–1896), from 1853 Dean and from 1869 prelate and superintendent-general in Tübingen. See *Des Magisterbuchs zwanzigste Folge*. 1872, Heilbronn 1873, pp. 85–6.

⁵⁷ See footnote 60.

above all of the writings of the reformers Zwingli and Melancthon, that the result was not at all unsatisfactory. I thus went halfway to becoming a historian. The gold medal which it earned me I used to acquire books and to purchase photographs from the great European galleries, to which same use I also put the royalty which the *Laupp'sche Buchhandlung* paid me for the right to print the dissertation in the *Tübinger Staatswissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*.⁵⁸

The Tübingen economists of the time did not make a lasting impression on me;⁵⁹ Schütz⁶⁰ was a kind, elderly gentleman, but he did not inspire his listeners. Helferich,⁶¹ then in his best years, was a very stimulating lecturer: he read out the excellent dictations of Professor Hermann⁶² in Munich which he had once heard delivered by him, adding all kinds of comments and observations on economics; in his house, too, there was a stimulating atmosphere, created above all by his distinguished and aristocratic wife, a Ranke by birth. But neither then in Tübingen nor later in Göttingen and Munich did Helferich become a very influential figure. He continued to follow in the traditional path of the older economists, just at the time when there was a need for a major change of direction in our branch of science which he failed to sense, unlike Roscher, Hildebrand and Knies, with whom I never had lectures but whom I often met in person from 1864 on.

⁵⁸ "Zur Geschichte der national-ökonomischen Ansichten in Deutschland während der Reformations-Periode", in: *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, vol. 16, 1860, pp. 461–716. On the content, see Brinkmann 1937, pp. 17–27.

⁵⁹ At his birthday celebration in 1908 Schmoller had already admitted: "My political science teachers in Tübingen had ... no significant influence on me; my brother-in-law Gustav Rümelin, on the other hand, did, and so did the fact that from my first term on I was taught by Max Duncker ..." (*Reden und Ansprachen*, p. 10). "I remained attached [to Max Duncker] by ties of deep admiration throughout my life" (*ibid.*, p. 49).

⁶⁰ Schmoller refers here to Karl Wolfgang Christoph von Schüz (1811–1875, personal title from 1865), Professor of State Sciences in Tübingen from 1837 to 1875. In 1844 he and Robert von Mohl founded the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, which since 1986 has been published under the main title *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*. On Schüz, see Marcon / Strecker 2004, pp. 187–91. It was Schüz who had set the prize competition in which Schmoller performed so brilliantly (see above).

⁶¹ Johann Alphons Renatus Helferich (1817–1892), from 1849 to 1860 Professor of Public Administration (*Polizeiwissenschaft*), Politics and Encyclopedia of the State Sciences in Tübingen, thereafter Professor in Göttingen and Munich. See Marcon / Strecker 2004, pp. 221–5.

⁶² Friedrich Benedikt Wilhelm von Hermann (1795–1868, Bavarian personal title from 1843), from 1827 to 1868 Professor of Technology and Public Economy at the University of Munich, 1848 Member of the Frankfurt National Assembly. See Best / Weege 1998, pp. 177–8. Regarding the great influence which Schmoller here refers to Hermann as having had on the development of German economics in the 19th century, see the essays by Heinz D. Kurz and Erich W. Streissler in: *F. B. W. von Hermann (1795–1868). Ein Genie im Dienste der bayerischen Könige*, ed. by Manfred Pix, Munich 1999.

In the summer of 1861 I passed my first state examination in Tübingen with the grade Ib, and soon thereafter I obtained my doctorate with the prize-winning essay I mentioned earlier. I now had to perform my in-service training (*Referendarszeit*) in a cameral office and with a *Landeskollegium* (a central administrative office) in order to be admitted to the second state examination. The first phase took place in Heilbronn; since I knew the business of the *Kameralamt* inside out already, my father raised no objection to my devoting my time almost exclusively to further study and reading. In particular I studied the great German philosophers, since I was wholly taken up with the idea of writing a landmark work on how economics had grown out of the philosophical systems in the years 1750 to 1850. As for my period of activity at the central office, I asked the finance minister to assign me to the Württemberg statistical office, of which my brother-in-law Rümelin had just become head after resigning from the ministry of education. Rümelin, who had encouraged me to take up an academic career and had recommended wide-ranging philosophical reading matter, remained my fatherly friend and mentor right up to his death in 1889; without his influence on me I would probably not have become what I am. Back then he entrusted me with analysing and evaluating the recently conducted Württemberg trade and industrial craft census (*Gewerbe-zählung*)⁶³ of 1861, a task which occupied me for the whole summer of 1862 in Stuttgart. The findings appeared in print in the *Württembergische Jahrbücher* [Württemberg Yearbooks], 1862, no. 2.⁶⁴ This work was to have special significance for me because it was one of the main reasons why I was invited in the spring of 1864 to take up a post as extraordinary professor in Halle. Through the impetus of Professor Julius Kühn,⁶⁵ agricultural studies there had begun to flourish and there was a need for a more youthful presence

⁶³ In 1846 and 1861, in connection with the population census in the states belonging to the German Customs Union, and thus in Württemberg, data concerning industry, crafts and trade were collected. This survey included industrial firms and craft workshops, publishers and the trade, transport, hotel and restaurant sectors. See Paul Kollmann, "Gewerbestatistik", in: *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, vol. 3, 1892, p. 1042, or *ibid.*, 2nd ed., vol. 4, 1900, p. 513, or *ibid.*, 3rd ed., vol. 4, 1909, p. 1008. Schmoller also later made use of the results of the 1861 trade and industrial craft census in his well-known monograph *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kleinindustrie im 19. Jahrhundert. Statistische und nationalökonomische Untersuchungen*, Halle 1870. See also Brinkmann 1937, pp. 76–82.

⁶⁴ "Systematische Darstellung des Ergebnisses dieser Gewerbeaufnahme", as part of "Die Ergebnisse der zu Zollvereinszwecken im Jahre 1861 in Württemberg stattgehabten Gewerbeaufnahme", in: *Württembergische Jahrbücher für vaterländischen Geschichte, Geographie, Statistik und Topographie*, 1862, no. 2, Stuttgart 1863, pp. 161–296. On the content, see Brinkmann 1937, pp. 28–43.

⁶⁵ Julius Kühn (1825–1910), the son of a large landowner, studied agriculture in Poppelsdorf near Bonn and in 1862 became Professor of Agriculture at the University of Halle. In 1863 he founded an Agricultural Institute there and introduced the first ever course of agricultural studies at a German university. See *DBE*, vol. 6, 1997, p. 144.

alongside the somewhat venerable specialists in the subject. The registrar of the university, *Oberpräsident* von Beurmann, had read the trade and industrial craft statistics and was pleased to find in them a proponent of practical economic policies. A further circumstance also worked in my favour in Berlin. In the spring of 1862 a passionate debate was raging throughout the Customs Union on the Franco-Prussian trade agreement. The southern German states opposed it out of consideration for Austria and because of their exaggerated desire for protective tariffs. In the winter of 1862 I wrote an anonymous pamphlet entitled "For the Trade Agreement with France"⁶⁶ because I was profoundly convinced that the southern German opposition was wrong. For reasons unknown to me my anonymity was not preserved. I can still see my father as he came into my room deathly pale and said, "There you are, it says in the newspaper that you are the author; that is the end of any career for you in Württemberg now." I replied calmly, "That is not such a great misfortune. I will just have to find a post elsewhere in Germany, then." In Berlin my brochure met with as much approval on the part of Rudolph Delbrück,⁶⁷ who was then still in the ministry of trade, and elsewhere as it met with disapproval in Stuttgart. From then on Delbrück became my particular patron.

I shall not dwell in greater detail on my stay in Geneva in the summer of 1863. I was keen to speak French and to become conversant with the free institutions of Switzerland, and I achieved both of those aims. A number of the best addresses in Geneva, in particular the families of scholars, opened their doors to me; my greatest friend was the younger of the Cherbuliez brothers,⁶⁸ who was to later to edit the *Revue des deux mondes* in Paris for many years. I became well acquainted with the painter Calame,⁶⁹ the de Candolle family⁷⁰ and others. When I returned to Heilbronn in the autumn of 1863, I

⁶⁶ *Der französische Handelsvertrag und seine Gegner. Ein Wort der Verständigung von einem Süddeutschen*, Frankfurt am Main 1862. On the content, see Brinkmann 1937, pp. 44–51.

⁶⁷ Rudolf or Rudolph von Delbrück (1817–1903, personal title from 1896), politician; 1867 President of the Federal Chancellery of the North German Confederation (*Norddeutscher Bund*), from 1871 to 1876 President of the Imperial Chancellor's Office; from 1878 to 1881 Member of the German Reichstag. See the entry by Peter Schumann in *DBE*, vol. 2, 1995, p. 476, or that by Heinrich Heffter in *NDB*, vol. 3, 1957, pp. 579–80.

⁶⁸ Probably Victor Cherbuliez (1829–1899), writer and journalist, who went to Paris in 1875, but who did not in fact edit the journal referred to by Schmoller, but rather wrote for it under a pseudonym. See the entry in *Schweizer Lexikon* 91, vol. 2, 1992, p. 19.

⁶⁹ Alexandre Calame (1810–1864), a Swiss landscape painter well known in his own day. See the entries, with bibliographical references, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. by Jane Turner, vol. 5, London and New York 1996, p. 412, and in *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Ulrich Thieme, vol. 5, Leipzig 1911, pp. 368–70.

⁷⁰ One of the members of this family who made its name known was Augustin Pyramide de Candolle (1778–1841), Swiss botanist, Professor at Montpellier and Geneva, who

knew French well enough to speak it in my dreams, an acknowledged sign of fluency in a foreign language.

In the spring of 1864 I undertook a journey to Berlin taking in Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Würzburg, Leipzig, Marburg, Göttingen and Hamburg. The summons to Halle as extraordinary professor reached me in Berlin. Although the post carried a salary of only 500 Reichstaler, I accepted it, trusting to my lucky star. The very next year an offer from Zurich prompted Halle to give me an ordinary professorship and a salary of 1200 Reichstaler. In my first semester I had already had an audience of some 70–80 students and their numbers rapidly increased, so that soon I could count on an official income of 4000–5000 Reichstaler and when I was called to Strasbourg in 1872, the Imperial Chancellor's Office offered me 4000 Reichstaler.

The summer of 1864 was the last occasion when I spent any length of time in Heilbronn; I was working on my first sets of lectures for Halle and on the article entitled "The Social Question" for the *Preußische Jahrbücher* [Prussian Yearbooks],⁷¹ which in due course would come to serve as the programme for the economists and social reformers who subsequently formed the *Verein für Sozialpolitik* [Association for Social Policy].

When I left Heilbronn and bade my father farewell in October 1864, I did so in the conviction and hope that I would be able to return there regularly in future in the holidays. It was not to be. My father died in February 1865; and with his death, my family home was no more. When I returned to Heilbronn, as I did many times thereafter, I stayed for one or two days at a guesthouse. Despite the loyalty of my firm and faithful friends there, I still became an outsider, whose focus was now in Halle, Strasbourg or Berlin. Halle was to become a particularly beloved place for me as it was here that I achieved the great aims of my life: a satisfying career, numerous students and a wonderful wife, a granddaughter of the Niebuhr family, the mother of my children.⁷² But

devised a system of plant classification that rivaled that of Linnaeus. His son, Alphonse Pyrame de Candolle (1806–1893) succeeded his father to the chair of botany in Geneva in 1842. See for both e.g. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 2, 2003, p. 799.

⁷¹ See footnote 8.

⁷² Lucia (known as Lucie) Schmoller (1850–1928), from Pinneberg, daughter of Bernhard Rathgen (1802–1880), who was Minister of Justice in the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein in the middle of the 19th century and later supreme judge in the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, and of Cornelia Niebuhr (1822–1878), who was a daughter of the well-known historian and statesman Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831). At his 70th birthday celebration Schmoller had enthused (*Reden und Ansprachen* 1908, p. 53): "But above all the ... women whom I have admired I would put my mother-in-law, the youngest Niebuhr daughter, who was born in Rome and in her youth was called the third volume of Roman history because this was the best volume and she was the third, most beautiful and most gifted daughter. My wife was delightful as a 17 year-old girl when I first met her; but the intellect, the moral stature, the depth of feeling, the energy of mind which I encountered in my mother-in-law – that, allied

Heilbronn remained my real home. And as often as I returned there, I did so with this verse of Horace in my mind:

“Ille terrarum mihi praeter
omnes angulus ridet.”

[This corner of the earth pleases me more than any other.]

with the grace and charm of her daughter, was decisive in my choice of wife; I told myself, with an eye on heredity even then, that those were qualities of character which one simply must marry, which my wife would also possess and which she would pass on to our children.”