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# Historical Introduction

Overall impression, lacquered Indians, skeptically cynical without any love of culture, debauched in beef tallow.

Travel diary, Buenos Aires, entry for 14 April 1925

Uruguay, happy little country, is not only charming in nature with pleasantly warm humid climate, but also with model social institutions.

Travel diary, Montevideo, entry for 26 April 1925

I've been roaming around this hemisphere as a traveler in relativity for two months already. Here it's a true paradise and a cheerful mixture of little folks.

Albert Einstein to Paul Ebrenfest, Rio de Janeiro, 5 May 1925

### This Edition

This new edition presents Albert Einstein's complete travel diary from his three-month-long voyage to Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil from March to May 1925.<sup>1</sup> Facsimiles of each of the pages from the original journal will be accompanied by a translation into English. Scholarly annotations will provide identifications of the individuals, organizations, and locations mentioned in the diary entries, elucidate obscure references, supply additional information on the events recorded in the diary, and offer details of his travel itinerary not mentioned by Einstein in his journal. Even though the diary constitutes a riveting historical source in which Einstein recorded his immediate impressions, by its very nature it only provides one piece of the puzzle for reconstructing the course of the trip. Therefore, to obtain a more

comprehensive picture of the voyage, the annotations will draw on the contemporary local press coverages from the countries Einstein visited, additional sources from his personal papers, diplomatic reports from the time of the trip, and contemporary articles. The edition will also include a number of supplementary documents authored by Einstein which provide further context for the travel journal: letters and postcards dispatched from the voyage, and speeches he gave and statements he made at various locations.

An annotated version of this journal was originally published in its entirety in Volume 14 of *The Collected Papers of Albert Einstein (CPAE)* in 2015.<sup>2</sup> This new edition is based on the research carried out in that volume, yet presents innovative interpretations of the travel diary and its supplementary documents. For the purposes of this edition, the translation published in the English translation of Volume 14 of the *CPAE* has been slightly revised. Previously, a Portuguese translation of the travel diary had been published in 2003.<sup>3</sup> A Spanish translation of the Uruguay portion of the journal has also appeared.<sup>4</sup>

## The Travel Diary

This journal is one of six travel diaries penned by Einstein. No diary is extant for Einstein's first overseas voyage to the United States in the spring of 1921. Indeed, we do not know whether he kept a travel diary on that trip.<sup>5</sup> The other extant diaries were written during his journey to the Far East, Palestine, and Spain, from October 1922 to March 1923, and his three trips to the United States when he visited the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena during the consecutive winter terms of 1930–1931,1931–1932, and 1932–1933. Even though this amounts to five overseas trips, there are in fact six diaries as Einstein used two notebooks on his last voyage.<sup>6</sup>

The travel diary presented here was written in a notebook which consists of 72 lined pages. The diary entries appear on 43 lined pages and these are followed by 29 blank lined pages. Taking the smaller

format of the notebook Einstein used for this diary into consideration, it is only a third of the size of the journal he wrote during his voyage to the Far East.

The diary provides us for the very first time with gripping insights into the most immediate levels of Einstein's experience of his journey. He wrote daily, recording initial impressions of his experiences, his reactions to the people he met, the places he visited, and the numerous official events he attended. He also jotted down pithy descriptions of the landscapes and architecture he took in, his views on the current political and social scenes, his thoughts on the local populaces and on the academic, German, and Jewish communities, and brief notes on his progress in his scientific work. And he noted his reflections on his readings during his outward voyage and occasional musings on music, culture, and contemporary world events. In addition, the diary includes drafts of poems written as dedications for portraits gifted to the three individuals of most importance to him during his stay in Buenos Aires. In contrast to the Far East diary, Einstein ceased adding entries on the last day of his South American tour and he did not continue with his journaling on the return voyage home.

The style of his diary was often very detailed, yet written in a quirky and (possibly due to lack of time) telegraphic manner. His observations of the individuals he encountered on his trip were frequently very succinct in nature—he could sum up their personalities and idiosyncrasies in just a few, often humorous or irreverent, words. Einstein kept the diary both as a record for himself and as subsequent reading matter for his wife Elsa and his younger step-daughter Margot, who remained back at home in Berlin.<sup>7</sup> We can be certain that he did not intend it for posterity or for publication.

The history of this journal is an intriguing one. Following Einstein's decision not to return to Germany in the wake of the Nazis' rise to power in January 1933, his son-in-law, the German–Jewish literary critic and editor Rudolf Kayser, removed Einstein's personal papers (including this travel diary) from his apartment in Berlin to the French

Embassy there and arranged for them to be transferred to France by diplomatic pouch. From there, they were shipped to Princeton where Einstein had taken up residence.<sup>8</sup>

In his last will and testament of 1950, Einstein appointed his loyal friend Otto Nathan and his long-term secretary Helen Dukas as trustees of his estate and Nathan as its sole executor. After Einstein's death in April 1955, Dukas also became the first archivist of his personal papers. The travel diary was one of approximately 42,000 documents transferred by the Einstein Estate to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1982, in accordance with Einstein's will. This consignment of his personal papers was eventually established as the Albert Einstein Archives, initially within the Jewish National and University Library, and then, in 2008, as part of the Hebrew University's Library Authority.<sup>9</sup>

## Background of the Trip

On 22 March 1923, Einstein arrived back in Berlin from an extensive six-month lecture tour that had brought him to the shores of the Far East, Palestine, and Spain. He returned home clearly travel-weary. Two months into his exhausting tour of Japan he had informed his sons that he was "determined not to gallivant around the world so much anymore; but am I going to be able to pull that off, too?"<sup>10</sup>

This travel diary is evidence of the fact that he did not manage to do so. On 4 March 1925, almost exactly two years after his return home from Japan to his apartment at Haberlandstraße 5, Einstein embarked on yet another ocean voyage that would bring him to a continent he had never visited before—South America. But what motivated him to forsake his beloved "tower room" in his attic above his spacious apartment, set out on a journey to distant lands again, cross the Atlantic Ocean for the second time in his life, and venture into the southern hemisphere?

## The Genesis of the Trip

The genesis of Einstein's twelve-week trip to South America in the spring of 1925 was quite convoluted. Numerous decisive factors—from the evolution of the local scientific communities to the reception of relativity, from Einstein's political involvement to his identity as a German and a Jew, from his desire to escape from his multifold commitments in Berlin to intriguing developments in his private life—all formed the background to both the extension of the various invitations and to Einstein's own eventual acceptance of those proposals.<sup>11</sup>

## The Early Reception of Relativity in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil

The initial reception of relativity in each of the countries Einstein visited was impacted more than anything else by the degree to which infrastructures existed for the exact sciences at local institutions for higher learning. In the specific context of South America, the reception process differed greatly between Argentina, on the one hand, and Uruguay and Brazil, on the other.

By 1919, Argentina already had a well-developed academic infrastructure in mathematics and physics that was based on a significant presence of scientists who were either of German origin or who had been educated in Germany.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, publications on relativity, mainly in French, were already being read and discussed by the local scientific community. The earliest disseminator of Einstein's theories in Argentina was the prominent writer and amateur scientist Leopoldo Lugones who gave a lecture on relativity in 1920 and published an influential book on the topic the following year.<sup>13</sup> This led to relativity becoming an important cultural concern among Argentinian intellectuals and several popular papers were published on the topic.<sup>14</sup> The local scientific community was also influenced by the Spanish intellectuals Julio Rey Pastor and Blas Cabrera who lectured on relativity

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in Buenos Aires in the early 1920s.<sup>15</sup> Local academics subsequently began to lecture and publish on relativity.<sup>16</sup>

In contrast to the situation in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil did not have such infrastructure in the exact sciences and therefore the reception of relativity was delayed there.<sup>17</sup> At the time of Einstein's visit to Uruguay, physics was only studied at the University of the Republic's School of Engineering and at the Polytechnic Association of Uruguay.<sup>18</sup>

In Brazil, initial interest in Einstein's theories had been raised by the solar eclipse in 1919 that led to the verification of general relativity. Brazilian astronomers were even directly involved in the expedition to Sobral in the northeast of the country.<sup>19</sup> However, in spite of this early connection, in sharp contrast to the situation in Argentina, Einstein's theories only had a very limited impact on the Brazilian scientific community prior to his visit. There were two main reasons for this different state of affairs.

Firstly, Brazil did not yet have any institutions dedicated solely to research in the fields of physics or mathematics. The country's only university was that in the capital Rio de Janeiro, established in 1920, which was a cluster of schools, encompassing the Polytechnic School, the School of Medicine, and the Faculty of Law.<sup>20</sup> The only academics who displayed some interest in Einstein's theories were mathematicians and engineers who were self-educated in relativistic physics. The main promoters of relativity in Brazil prior to Einstein's visit were the mathematician and engineer Manuel Amoroso Costa and the mathematician Roberto Marinho de Azevedo. Costa wrote the first articles on relativity in local newspapers, held four lectures on relativity at the Polytechnic School in April and May 1922, and published the first Brazilian book on relativity based on his courses that same year.<sup>21</sup>Yet, apart from promoters of relativity, there were also many opponents to the new theory, particularly among intellectuals who were influenced by positivism or adhered to classical mechanics.<sup>22</sup>

Secondly, Brazilian scientific institutions were greatly influenced by their French counterparts and mostly established in their image.<sup>23</sup> This was in stark contrast to the substantial German influence on the Argentinian scientific community. French mathematician Émile Borel had lectured on relativity in Rio de Janeiro in 1922 after Costa's lecture series.<sup>24</sup>

## Multiple Invitations from South America

As we have seen, the early reception of relativity evolved quite differently in the three countries Einstein would eventually visit. This had a major impact on the origins of the invitations extended to him by his future hosts. Yet intriguingly, in spite of the markedly different backgrounds to the invitations, there were also some striking similarities.

Undoubtedly the numerous efforts to invite Einstein to Argentina were the deciding factors in eventually bringing him to South America in the mid-1920s. It was Leopoldo Lugones, a fellow member of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, and the first disseminator of relativity in Argentina, who first conceived of a lecture tour by Einstein in the country. When Lugones visited Paris in July 1921, he called on his French colleagues to send one of their physicists to lecture on relativity in Argentina. In reaction, both the German Foreign Ministry and the Prussian Ministry of Education contacted Einstein to inquire whether he himself would be willing to embark on such a lecture tour. In response, he stated that he did not foresee himself traveling to South America in the next eighteen months and recommended they invite his former collaborator, the German–Argentinian physicist Jakob Laub, in his stead.<sup>25</sup>

However, the assassination of the Jewish foreign minister of Germany, Walther Rathenau, in June 1922, and the ensuing personal threats on Einstein's life, led Lugones to reassess his position on the issue of

whom to invite to Argentina to lecture on relativity. In the wake of the assassination, he actually proposed offering a chair to Einstein in Buenos Aires in August 1922.<sup>26</sup> This ambitious initiative was swiftly supported by two student unions. The following month, the Institución Cultural Argentino–Germana, the main cultural institution of the local German community, discussed the initiative to invite Einstein for a lecture tour. However, due to Einstein's reputation as a pacifist and a "traitor to the fatherland," the German members of the institution opposed the proposal.<sup>27</sup>

Nevertheless, after the French physicist Jorge Duclout proposed to the Science Faculty of the University of Buenos Aires (UBA) that it award Einstein a honorary doctorate and invite him to hold a lecture tour in the country, a resolution to extend such an invitation in principle was adopted in October 1922.<sup>28</sup> The Institución Cultural Argentino–Germana made another attempt to invite Einstein in October 1923 which he rejected due to lack of time.<sup>29</sup>

The invitation Einstein eventually did accept was extended to him in two stages. In November 1923, a group of prominent Jewish families invited him to visit Argentina and promised an honorarium of \$4,000, yet made no mention of a lecture tour.<sup>30</sup> However, Einstein insisted that he could only accept an academic invitation, not one issued solely by private individuals. Therefore, the central cultural institution of Argentine Jewry, the Asociación Hebraica, informed the UBA that they would cover the cost of Einstein's honorarium and two return tickets. It seems reasonable to assume that Mauricio Nirenstein, who served as secretary of the UBA and was also closely affiliated with the Asociación Hebraica, played a crucial role in mediating between the two organizations.<sup>31</sup>As historian of science Eduardo L. Ortiz has pointed out, the invitation to Einstein was a very significant coup for the Asociación Hebraica and Argentine Jewry in general. It demonstrated to Argentinian intellectuals the association's ties to Europe and the Jewish community's ability to bring the most prestigious living Jewish scientist to Argentina.<sup>32</sup>

In December 1923, the university council of the UBA met and proposed to extend a joint invitation to Einstein to lecture in Argentina on behalf of all the country's universities. The proposed cost of the visit was projected to be almost equal to the annual salary of a topranking visiting professor.<sup>33</sup> The following month, the Asociación Hebraica informed Einstein of the official invitation by Argentina's five universities to embark on a lecture tour; the association would, for the main part, provide the funding. The invitation also stated that the University of the Republic in Montevideo would offer 1,000 pesos for possible lectures there and that an invitation to Santiago in Chile could also be arranged.<sup>34</sup>

Even though Einstein's identity as a scientist was the *sine qua non* condition that brought him to the banks of La Plata River, his future hosts were also very much aware of his well-established public engagement. Political factors that have been cited for the issuing of the invitation are Einstein's association with pacifism which appealed to some Argentinian intellectuals,<sup>35</sup> and the wish by more progressive sectors of Argentinian society to counter rising anti-Semitism which had even led to a pogrom-like massacre in early 1919.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the Asociación Hebraica seized on the invitation as a means to increase its leadership's recognition from the Argentinian intelligentsia and, more widely, the Jewish community viewed the visit as an opportunity to improve the public perception of Jews in Argentinian society.<sup>37</sup>

In spite of the limited impact of relativity on Brazilian science, the endeavor to invite Einstein to hold lectures in Brazil was, as in Argentina, a collaborative effort of the Jewish and scientific communities. The initiative originated with Rabbi Isaiah Raffalovich, the head of the Jewish community in Rio de Janeiro. Jacobo Saslavsky, president of the Asociación Hebraica in Buenos Aires, contacted Raffalovich to inform him that Einstein would be traveling through Rio de Janeiro and that this would be a great opportunity to invite him to lecture there. However, he also advised Raffalovich of the condition imposed

by Einstein, i.e., that he would only accept invitations from official academic institutions.<sup>38</sup> In his reminiscences. Raffalovich revealed that part of his motivation in extending the invitation was to elevate the status of the Jewish community among their host nation: "I thought we ought to take advantage of the opportunity and demonstrate to the people of Brazil that Jews are not only peddlers but that among them one may find world famous scientists."39 Therefore, Raffalovich urged Ignácio do Amaral, Professor at the Polytechnic School in Rio de Janeiro, to get involved.<sup>40</sup> An organizing committee was established to coordinate the visit which included representatives of the Polytechnic School, the Engineering Club, and the Brazilian Academy of Sciences. None of these organizations had specific ties to Einstein's theories but they were prestigious institutions.<sup>41</sup> As Raffalovich was the initiator of the lecture tour, he was asked by the committee to convey the invitation to Einstein. The invitation was extended on behalf of the Polytechnic and Medical Schools without any reference to the university itself.<sup>42</sup> A few days later, Raffalovich received a telegram from Einstein stating that he had accepted the invitation.<sup>43</sup>

### Einstein's Acceptance of the Invitations

Einstein's own motives for accepting the various invitations from his Latin American hosts were multifold and laced with ambivalence. We have to consider the factors that led him to embark on this trip both in the wider context of his overseas travels during this period in general and the more immediate aspects of this specific tour in particular.

The broader perspectives for Einstein's decision to embark on his voyages beyond Europe in the early 1920s have been discussed by various scholars. According to German historian Siegfried Grundmann, Einstein's overseas journeys were motivated by two main factors: the dissemination of his theories and the reestablishment of international cooperation between the German and foreign scientific communi-

ties, which had been severed by World War I.<sup>44</sup> German historian of science Jürgen Renn has maintained that, during this period, "science became a messenger of international cooperation and Einstein its leading protagonist."<sup>45</sup> By late 1920, even before he had ventured beyond the European continent for the first time, in anticipation of his upcoming international trips, he was ironically calling himself a "traveler in relativity."<sup>46</sup>

As for the more immediate context, it was clearly the invitation from Buenos Aires that provided the tipping point for Einstein embarking on the voyage in the first place—the other solicitations clearly ensued as a consequence of the Argentinian one.

The reminiscences of prominent Argentinian astrophysicist Enrique Gaviola offer an insight into Einstein's possible state of mind after the invitation by the Asociación Hebraica and the UBA was extended. When he visited Einstein in early 1924, Gaviola presented him with a memorandum on the state of the universities in Argentina. He was dismayed to learn that Einstein was hesitant to embark on the trip as "he was pessimistic regarding the development of scientific culture in tropical countries." Gaviola explained to him that Argentina was only partially a tropical country and secured his promise "to see if he could do something useful during his visit to the country."<sup>47</sup> This episode provides an important insight into how Einstein perceived the state of the scientific community in Argentina prior to his tour.

Indeed, Einstein's decision to embark on the trip was definitely accompanied by a great deal of ambivalence. There was a clear discrepancy between how he expressed his views on the upcoming trip officially and privately. In March 1924, he informed the Asociación Hebraica: "This invitation delighted me so much that I most certainly feel like accepting it right away." Yet he proceeded to inform them that he could not visit in the current year due to his busy schedule.<sup>48</sup> However, when he shared his decision to travel to South America in

June the following year with his close friend Paul Ehrenfest, he stated that in spite of his sincere longing for "splendid isolation," he would undertake the voyage as "they [i.e., the Argentinians] are practically skinning me alive."<sup>49</sup> Thus, there was a definite degree of reluctance on his part. By late October 1924, he had brought the date of his departure forward, informing his son Hans Albert that he would be sailing for South America on 3 March 1925.<sup>50</sup>

Let us now take a look at the various incentives for Einstein to embark on this trip. First, there were the scientific factors. Brazilian historian of science Alfredo T. Tolmasquim has claimed that Einstein was motivated by his desire to meet his South American colleagues and to further "disseminate the concepts of relativity and the most current issues in physics."51 His intention to promote relativity is also seen as a motivation for the trip by Argentinian historians of science Miguel de Asúa and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.<sup>52</sup> However, the scientific incentives for heeding the call to South America are not as obvious as they may seem. We can reasonably surmise that, in light of his rather limited contact prior to his trip with Argentinian physicists and the incipient nature of the infrastructure for the exact sciences in Brazil and Uruguay, Einstein did not expect his tour to lead to new collaborative efforts on his scientific theories during his stay in South America. Therefore, there must have been other reasons for his accepting the invitations.

Indeed, as we saw in our examination of his first extant travel diary, Einstein had used the extended moratoria the ocean voyages to and from the Far East afforded him to work quite intensively on his scientific theories. He thoroughly enjoyed the isolation on board the ship and repeatedly noted in his diary how much he cherished the peace and quiet of the wide open sea.<sup>53</sup> In early 1923, at the beginning of his return trip to Europe, he had stated: "And how conducive to thinking and working the long sea voyage is—a paradisiacal state without correspondence, visits, meetings, and other inventions of the devil!"<sup>54</sup>

We can therefore safely assume that he expected to again utilize the upcoming time on board the steamships to work on and advance his scientific theories. Indeed, we have two indirect confirmations of this assumption. However, both statements also provide evidence that Einstein's enthusiasm for the upcoming trip was clearly tempered by his apprehension of the hectic social engagements planned. In December 1924, he expressed his very restrained eagerness for the upcoming trip to his sister Maja: "At the beginning of March I'll be traveling to Argentina; they've been pestering me for years, and I have now relented (out of love for the sea)." 55 And in February 1925, he shared with his friend Hermann Anschütz-Kaempfe both his positive attitude towards the planned ocean voyage and his reservations regarding the upcoming plethora of social engagements: "Long live the sea, but I'm not looking forward to the semi-cultured Indians there dressed in their tuxedos."56 Further below we will discuss this and other less complimentary remarks on the local inhabitants he was to encounter.

Another indication that collaboration with fellow scientists was not necessarily at the forefront of Einstein's deliberations as to whether to undertake the voyage can be surmised from a consideration of an alternative invitation he rejected around this time. In November 1924, Einstein declined Robert A. Millikan's invitation to visit Caltech in 1925 due to his upcoming trip to South America. As Tolmasquim has pointed out, Einstein's adherence to his planned trip was all the more remarkable in light of the fact that the work being carried out in Pasadena was far more relevant to Einstein's own work than that being undertaken in South America.<sup>57</sup>

Einstein's involvement in Jewish enterprises perhaps also influenced his considerations. Tolmasquim has speculated about the possibility that Einstein's desire to get young Jewish communities in South America involved in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem played a role in his decision.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, he also pointed out that Einstein forwent the inauguration of the Hebrew University, a project

of utmost importance to him, to embark on the South American tour.<sup>59</sup> But it may even be that the upcoming opening of the university was an added incentive for Einstein to travel to Argentina, to avoid the inevitable brouhaha that would have awaited him in Jerusalem, where he had previously been feted as a national icon.<sup>60</sup>

Lastly, we cannot discount personal reasons that may well have been at play. Historians have speculated that, like his trip to the Far East, Einstein's interest in and fascination with new lands may have had an impact on his decision to travel. Tolmasquim, for example, has argued that Einstein was attracted to the opportunity to visit a new continent.<sup>61</sup> However, as we have seen above, he did not express any such enthusiasm—quite the opposite. Tolmasquim has also surmised that one reason for the delay of the trip, originally planned for the spring of 1924, was the upcoming wedding of Einstein's step-daughter Ilse, scheduled for mid-April 1924.<sup>62</sup>

However, it seems likely that another personal predicament had a more significant impact on both the timing of the trip and, even more so, on the fact that Einstein traveled alone. In the summer of 1923, Einstein's relationship with his then 23-year-old secretary Betty Neumann took on a more personal nature. Born in Graz, Austria, Betty was the first cousin once removed of Einstein's close friend and physician Hans Mühsam. She had started working as Einstein's secretary in June 1923. A year after the affair had begun, it was still continuing, yet had reached a critical stage. For several months, Einstein agonized over whether to break off the relationship. In June 1924, he urged her to find someone younger than himself.<sup>63</sup> As German science journalist Albrecht Fölsing has speculated, the desire "to put some distance between himself and his personal entanglements" may also have played a significant role in determining the timing of the trip.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, as we have seen, it was the very next month that Einstein informed Paul Ehrenfest that he would be embarking on the voyage in June the following year. Thus, when the timing of the journey was determined,

Einstein was in midst of repeated efforts to end his affair with Betty. The trip may therefore have provided him with a convenient way to end the relationship and also allow for Einstein and his wife Elsa to spend some time apart in the wake of what must have been a challenging period for both of them.

The affair with Betty was definitely very much on Einstein's mind at the outset of his journey. The very last letter he wrote from the European continent, as the *Cap Polonio* was about to leave Lisbon and sail for South America on 11 March 1925, was to Betty's mother Flora. In light of the fact that Einstein states that he was answering her (not extant) letter "immediately" and that it was "important to me to spare you and your daughter any disappointment," we can conclude that months after the affair had ended, Betty and her mother were still hoping for a rekindling of the relationship. In any case, Einstein clarifies



I. S.S. Cap Polonio, Montevideo harbor at night (Courtesy www.histarmar.com.ar).

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that he cannot explain his reasons for ending the affair but that "as a conscientious and decent person I could not do otherwise than crawl away into my snail's shell."<sup>65</sup> Perhaps it seems fair to see the first leg of his journey—the sea voyage across the Atlantic, traveling alone in his cabin—as an expression of his strong desire to withdraw temporarily from the world and find a safe refuge.

## Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil at the Time of Einstein's Visit

In the post-World War I period, Argentina first saw years of much political and social turbulence followed by an era of greater stability.<sup>66</sup> The political scene was dominated by the Unión Cívica Radical party, which represented middle-class interests and advocated a liberal and patrician democracy. The country's democratic institutions were beginning a process of stabilization. In general, the political system was still one of clientelism: at both the national and regional levels, strong leaders dealt out favors to gain political support. The war and the Russian Revolution had had a significant impact on both the left and right political factions of the country and there were strong demands for social reform to combat the deteriorating socioeconomic conditions. Two violent acts of government repression against workers had occurred in the years just prior to Einstein's visit: the Semana Trágica or Tragic Week of 1919 (which also led to a massacre of Jewish immigrants) and Rebel Patagonia in 1922. The Catholic Church had a significant impact on the political scene and supported counterrevolutionary and antiliberal organizations. However, anarchists and communists were only a small minority and socialists and syndicalists advocated moderate reforms. In the early 1920s, Argentina was still predominantly rural with a few provincial cities. The country was dominated by its capital and main port of Buenos Aires which turned its back on its hinterland, exhibited greater affinity with Europe, and saw itself as the Paris of South America. In general, its native

residents viewed themselves as superior to their fellow compatriots, newly arrived immigrants, and the rest of South America. Agriculture was the leading economic sector, with the nation's industry flailing in the postwar period. Britain and the United States were Argentina's main trading partners. Mass immigration was on the decline and the influence of immigrant societies was decreasing. There were also significant changes in popular culture. The public school system produced a highly literate population. The radio, phonograph, and cinema all helped to disseminate modern urban culture. In academia, the University Reform movement saw demands for greater openness, democratization, and modernization. At the time of Einstein's visit, Marcelo T. de Alvear was the president of Argentina. His tenure was characterized by a period of economic prosperity, nascent welfare legislation, anticorruption measures, and relative political stability despite strong internal strife within his own party.

In the first quarter of the 20th century, Uruguay underwent very significant political, social, and economic transformations.<sup>67</sup> The two presidencies of José Batlle y Ordóñez had brought about radical political and social reforms that modernized the country. One of the most progressive social legislation programs in the world included the eight-hour workday, trade union rights and collective bargaining, workers' compensation, protections in the workplace, the right to divorce, universal male suffrage, wide-ranging school and university reforms, and first steps towards a social security system. Batlle's Partido Colorado-literally, the Red Party-had a firm grip on power during this period. A new constitution in 1919 brought about a transition from a presidential executive to a collegiate one. However, this was mainly an instrument to solidify the one-party rule of the *colorados* or Reds. The country's other main party, the Partido Nacional, also known as the White Party or the blancos, formed a weak opposition. Batlle's political dominance continued even after his presidencies. At the time of Einstein's visit, José Serrato was president, who was a colorado but who

had no close links with any of the party's major groups. Following World War I, the country experienced a renewed wave of immigration, mainly from southern Europe but also from central and eastern Europe. Most of the new arrivals settled in Montevideo. Uruguay was highly urbanized: a third of the country's population lived in the capital. The nation's economy experienced a growth of its industrial section; meat and wool were the country's main exportable products. Economic ties with Britain were on the decline but on the increase with the United States. Uruguay's economic prosperity also had a profound impact on its social indicators: the country had the lowest birth and death rates and the highest levels of literacy and newspaper readership in Latin America.

In 1925, Brazil was nearing the final years of its First Republic.<sup>68</sup> The country's political establishment was dominated by oligarchies of coffee plantation owners and cattle ranchers from the two most powerful states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. It was still a predominantly agricultural society but after the First World War its industry began to expand. The Russian Revolution led to fears among the elite that the fledgling labor movement would gain wide support. There were also incipient movements for women's suffrage and for Afro-Brazilian political rights. Brazil, which had imported the largest number of African slaves during the colonial era, was the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery in 1888. However, the country did not acknowledge that it had a race problem and believed that it was an equitable multiracial society. At the same time, there was a firm belief in the country's "whitening" policy which aimed at countering the alleged danger of the encroachment of European culture by the Black and multiracial (known as "mulatto") populations by creating "a single race through the benign process of miscegenation."<sup>69</sup> One of the main instruments of this policy was mass immigration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, mainly from southern Europe (and to a limited extent from Japan), which had a significant impact on the

country's demography.<sup>70</sup> In terms of foreign policy, Brazilians sought to maintain close relations with Britain, Germany, and the United States and, at the same time, aimed to distance themselves from what they "regarded as the violent, extremely unstable and 'barbarous' Spanish American republics."<sup>71</sup> The term of Arthur Bernardes, who was president at the time of Einstein's visit, was a period of considerable unrest. He was deeply unpopular and "instituted an extremely harsh, repressive regime," often declaring a state of siege.<sup>72</sup> Middle echelons of the officer corps in the army staged repeated rebellions. Indeed, during his audience with Einstein, the president had to deal with a revolt by young members of the military.<sup>73</sup>

## German and European Imagery of Latin America

In this section, we will summarize the findings of historical studies on the German and European imagery of Latin America. In these studies, most of the authors use the more modern term Latin America even though in practice they focus mainly on South America. We will also concentrate here on that continent.

The German and European image clusters pertaining to the South American continent and its various inhabitants have a rich history. These macro images could take on either positive or negative content, expressing admiration or contempt, sometimes both. First of all, there was the concept of the New World (which pertained also to North America). In its early positive variant, this myth viewed South America as an El Dorado, a paradisiacal locus of immeasurable natural wealth and abundance. In its early negative variant, the myth viewed the continent as a region of monstrosity, cannibalism, degraded nature, and barbarity. In a later iteration, the "new" continent was seen as an exotic, idyllic, and untamable expanse of nature marked by solitude. In a more modern guise, the image of an untamed continent morphed into a perception of South America as an endearing (or dangerous)

region of frivolity and cheerfulness, a refuge for thieves, adventurers, and confidence tricksters. The continent also eventually became identified as a region in which a different economic mentality, diverse social and sexual behaviors, unfamiliar public morals, and an anthropological alterity held sway. This could also lead to an inversion of the El Dorado myth in which the allure of gold morphs into a curse.<sup>74</sup> Significantly, the geographic environment of the continent was perceived as having a profound impact on the intellectual capabilities and moral character of its populations.<sup>75</sup> These ideas derived from notions promoted by Comte de Buffon in France and Cornelis de Pauw in Germany, "that inferiority of the New World's climate with respect to Europe accounted for the retrogression of European biota—including human beings—when transported to the New World."<sup>76</sup>

German and European imagery of the various inhabitants of the continent also developed over time. Perceptions of the Spanish and Portuguese conquistadors and their descendants were heavily influenced by the negative image of Iberian colonial expansion, which was seen as characterized by intolerance, lust for power, genocide, and exploitation. In contrast, liberation efforts and republican aspirations of the local populations were viewed favorably by German authors. However, later political instability, militarism, and violence led to a dissipation of these positive attitudes. The indigenous populations, the Indios, were originally perceived in the 18th century as representatives of "the noble savage." In its positive variant, this image cluster led to the indigenous inhabitants being viewed as benevolent, gentle, peaceful, naïve, and sometimes beautiful. Positive communal embodiments of the "noble savage" myth were the land of the Amazons and the social state of the Incas.<sup>77</sup> Conversely, in the myth's negative variant, the indigenous South Americans were deemed primitive, childish, cannibalistic, and immoral. The third main population group, the African slaves and their Black descendants, were seen as victims of the Spanish and Portuguese settlers but could also be perceived as

sensuous and dangerous.<sup>78</sup> The indigenous and Black inhabitants were often viewed as being inferior to White Europeans, who saw themselves as culturally, racially, and morally superior.<sup>79</sup> With the development of the English colonies in North America inhabited by White settlers, the concept of the "better American" emerged as a foil to the inhabitants of Latin America.<sup>80</sup> More objective, scientific perceptions of the local populations emerged in the early 19th century as a result of the explorations of Alexander von Humboldt.<sup>81</sup>Yet in the second half of the 19th century, adventure novels such as those of Karl May led to a reversion to a more idealized, romanticized perception of South America as a wild continent in which the rule of force, violence, cunning, and deceit dominated. In this context, the gaucho was seen as a symbol of freedom, independence, and masculinity. He embodied courage and adventure and roamed the immeasurably wide pampas. The female counterpart to the gaucho was the easygoing, instinctive, hot-blooded southern woman. In contrast to these stereotypes of the morally lax and decadent southerners, the patriotic, upstanding German was seen as remaining loyal to his principles.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, the renewed idealized perception of the continent eventually led to waves of emigration from Germany during this period.<sup>83</sup> In the early 20th century, some German sources began to refer to typical "Latin" characteristics. Traits such as altruism, hospitality, and the importance of family were seen as positive; yet laziness, hyperemotionality, tempestuousness, childishness, irresponsibility, and often dishonesty were seen as complementing the favorable characteristics.<sup>84</sup>

Stereotypical imagery relating specifically to Argentina and the Argentinians emerged in publications that described the German immigrant experience in the early 20th century. Buenos Aires, the destination of most newcomers from Germany, was seen as "uninspiring at best," even desolate, monotonous, and menacing. Even after the city experienced "flamboyant economic growth and a flourishing of the haute monde," it was characterized as displaying "tastelessness and

harlotry" whose only purpose was to make money.<sup>85</sup> The Hispano-Argentines, in particular the *porteños*, the locally born inhabitants of Buenos Aires, were variously perceived in German sources as being resistant to change, deceitful, insincerely jovial, derivative in their attempts at high culture, cunning, frivolous, barbaric, corrupt, and lawless. In contrast, the German Michel, the quintessential German Everyman, was liable to be exploited by the locals and therefore had to discard his *Gemütlichkeit*, credulity, and easy nature. The immigrant hostility towards the local population culminated in "a single, unpleasant epithet": *Affenland*, the land of the monkeys.<sup>86</sup>

## Analysis of the Travel Diary

In the following analysis, we will explore the deeper layers of Einstein's travel diary through a detailed examination of its text and other relevant historical sources.

We will carefully consider Einstein's perceptions of the national and ethnic groups he encountered on his South American tour and investigate these comments in the context of German and European images of that continent's local inhabitants, as revealed by historical and cultural studies. We will take a meticulous look at Einstein's preconceptions of these groups prior to his journey and the lens through which he viewed the three countries he toured. We will pay particular attention to Einstein's interactions with the Jewish, German, and scientific communities-how he viewed these specific groups and how they were situated in their respective societies. We will reflect on the general conclusions Einstein draws from the trip about the inhabitants of Europe and of both the southern and northern hemispheres of the Americas. We will consider in detail how he expressed his perceptions of all these various groups in his diary and his correspondence and whether these underwent any significant changes as a result of his new encounters.

We will also examine what this trip meant for Einstein personally. How did the trip change his own self-perceptions—as a European, a German, and a Jew? What transformations did his concepts of the Self and the Other undergo? How did Einstein's gaze—his "male gaze" and his "colonial gaze"—impact how he viewed the women and indigenous populations he met? How does the diary express his notions of national character and what explanations does he offer for that alleged phenomenon? What can studies on race and racism tell us about Einstein's views? What can we say about the nature of his travel and the personal impact the trip had on him? And how did he spend his time on board the ocean liners he sailed on, and what scientific research did he conduct during his voyages?

Furthermore, we will investigate what influence Einstein's presence had on the countries he visited. How was he perceived by the nations he toured? How did the local press react to his visit? What political and diplomatic factors were in play? How did the respective societies perceive his sojourns in the context of other prominent guests and other contemporary developments? And finally, how was relativity received in these three countries and how were the local scientific communities impacted in the aftermath of his visits?

## Einstein on Argentina and the Argentinians

Perhaps the first time Einstein heard the word Argentina was from the lips of his favorite uncle Caesar Koch after the latter returned to Munich from Buenos Aires, where he had lived as a grain merchant in 1888–1889, when his nephew was merely nine or ten years old.<sup>87</sup> He may have regaled the young Albert with exciting stories of manly gauchos roaming the wide pampas. The boy had probably already read about these Argentinian horsemen in the tales of 19th-century adventure novelist Karl May, who played such a significant role in creating the gaucho romanticism of the Germans.<sup>88</sup>

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Apart from this possible exotic vision of Argentina, Einstein's points of contact with the country were few prior to his departure for South America. The distant land would have represented a destination of choice (or necessity) for a couple of German emigrés with whom he had been closely affiliated. His former student and collaborator Jakob Laub became a Professor of Physical Geography at the University of La Plata in 1911. And his fellow cosigner of the "Manifesto to the Europeans," the pacifist Georg F. Nicolai, had faced increasing nationalist hostility in Germany and taken up a Professorship in Physiology at the National University of Córdoba in 1922.<sup>89</sup>

According to the documentation at our disposal, the only Argentinians Einstein met in person before his trip were the consul in Berlin, Alberto Candioti, to discuss a potential invitation in 1921, and the student Enrique Gaviola, who had come to convince him of the merits of a lecture tour.<sup>90</sup>

That would all change once he boarded the S.S. *Cap Polonio*. On the first day of his passage, Einstein settles in to enjoy the ocean voyage he has so eagerly awaited, noting "blissful peace" in his diary. The very next day, the ship picks up passengers at Boulogne-sur-Mer who seem to disturb him both auditorily and visually: "New passengers, mostly South Americans, chirping and dolled up."<sup>91</sup>

After two weeks on board he makes explicit references to Argentinians for the first time and they are not at all positive: "Day before yesterday, equator celebration in first class; yesterday in second class. In the former, the Argentines cut a poor figure. Rich class. Blasé, but also childish. [...] Argentines unspeakably stupid creatures. I'm done with them, at least,—as far as intellect and other substance are concerned—M[embers][of the]I[dle]R[ich]C[lass]."<sup>92</sup>

After a very brief sojourn in Rio, the ship arrives in Montevideo and Einstein is welcomed by a small group of Argentinian academics who accompany him across the River Plate to Buenos Aires. His reaction, with a notable exception, is not favorable: "Journalists and other Jews



2. Einstein's inaugural lecture at the Colegio Nacional high school, with University of Buenos Aires secretary Mauricio Nirenstein, University of Buenos Aires rector José Arce, and Foreign Minister Ángel Gallardo, Buenos Aires, 27 March 1925 (Courtesy Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires).

of various sorts, among others Nierenstein, secretary of the university. He is a good person, resigned to his fate, but the others are all more or less sordid."<sup>93</sup> After a delay, the ship arrives in Buenos Aires the following day. Einstein's visit is not off to a flying start: "Am half-dead from the unsavory rabble."<sup>94</sup>

It is apparent from his very first letter sent home to Berlin that he is pleased with his accommodation and grateful towards his hosts for the buffer they provided against the outside world: "I am lodging with a very likable family and am protected against all intrusions."<sup>95</sup> But at the same time, he clearly lacks enthusiasm for the planned upcoming events and does not ascribe much significance to the tour in general: "The schedule is immensely packed, but I feel strong and indifferent

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toward people. Because what I'm doing here is probably little more than a comedy."96

His first impression of Buenos Aires is rather subdued and critical: "City comfortable and boring. People delicate, doe-eyed, graceful, but clichéd. Luxury, superficiality."<sup>97</sup> After two days, he concludes that the city reminds him of a North American counterpart: "New York attenuated by the South. [...] The [Jews] want to 'celebrate' me in a mass gathering. But as I'm fed up with New York, I resolutely decline."<sup>98</sup> And he informs Elsa and Margot that "Buenos [Aires] is a barren city from the point of view of romanticism and intellectuality."<sup>99</sup>

His first meetings with university leaders are not without some positive impressions but not exactly enthusiastic: "Unassuming and friendly people without pretentiousness, but also without any sense of a mission. Sober, but they and others are genuine republicans, in some ways reminiscent of the Swiss."<sup>100</sup> Einstein's terse description of the first reception and introductory lecture held at a prestigious high school affiliated with the university reveals his clear disdain for the event: "Rousing speeches; I, mumbling in French amidst commotion. Philistine affair."<sup>101</sup> At his first scientific lecture, he expresses a more positive attitude towards the younger generation: "The young are always pleasant because they are interested in the topics."<sup>102</sup>

After "one week of razzmatazz" in Buenos Aires, he reports home: "This farce is actually wholly uninteresting and quite strenuous." Expressing his wish that he were already on the return journey, he resolves not to repeat the experience: "I will not embark on another such trip again, not even if it's compensated better; it's one big drudgery." And he states plainly and simply: "I don't want to be here." <sup>103</sup> He also generalizes his impression of the capital to encompass the whole nation: "The country here is, oddly, exactly as I had imagined: New York, mellowed somewhat by southern European races, but precisely as superficial and soulless."<sup>104</sup> Later he further expands this analogy

between Argentina and its northern counterparts: "The newspapers are as impertinent and intrusive as in North America. Overall there are, despite the racial differences among the inhabitants, great similarities, which are explained by the intermingling of the population, the natural wealth of the country."<sup>105</sup> And in another comparison with the United States, he acknowledges that there is some interest in education but makes harsh judgments on which values in his mind are the most important ones in the country: "on the whole, nothing but money and power counts here, as in North America."<sup>106</sup>

After two weeks in Argentina, Einstein states that he is "terribly weary of people. The thought of still having to gallivant about for so long weighs heavily on me."<sup>107</sup> By this time, he



3. Einstein in Buenos Aires, late March 1925 (Courtesy Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires).

still has another two weeks left in the country and another four weeks left in South America. Yet he obviously feels he has been sufficiently long in the country to sum up his general sentiments: "Overall impression, lacquered Indians, skeptically cynical without any love of culture, debauched in beef tallow."<sup>108</sup>

After three weeks, the summary of his experiences for Elsa and Margot sounds more positive: "What a lot of things I've experienced! You'll read about it in my journal. All in all, it went quite well, but my head is as if stirred up inside with a ladle. If the Wassermanns hadn't protected me so well, I would surely have gone nuts; this way, only halfway so." Nevertheless, overall, he still seems to regret undertaking the tour and only the financial compensation could make up for it: "I've received a very fine payment here, so from that point of view it isn't all for naught."<sup>109</sup>

By the end of his time in Buenos Aires, he describes the local academics in more favorable terms: "Noon, breakfast hosted by more closely acquainted colleagues in the Tigre clubhouse." And the key figures of his stay—his hostess Berta Wassermann, his guide Mauricio Nirenstein, and the spirited writer Else Jerusalem—all receive photographs with dedication poems.<sup>110</sup> We can conclude that, somewhat similar to his stay in Japan, he seems to have developed a closer bond with a few individuals who played an important part in making his stay more tolerable.

Remarkably, Einstein seems to not differentiate between the members of various Spanish-speaking nations in relating to the inhabitants of Argentina. In describing an event for the inauguration of the Hebrew University, he refers to the Argentinian participants thus: "Spaniards appeared on the stage with elegant pathos. I, short speech."<sup>111</sup>

Even though he seems to have a general disdain for the Argentinians, there are certain ones to whom he takes a liking. Yet he clearly sees them as exceptions to the rule. On University of Buenos Aires rector José Arce he states: "Capable man. Stands out very much against his surroundings."<sup>112</sup> He also describes the philosopher Coriolano Alberini, dean of the humanities at the University of Buenos Aires, positively, in contrast to the "average people."<sup>113</sup>

Some experiences during his stay undoubtedly stand out for Einstein. He greatly enjoys his flight over the capital on 1 April: "Sublime impression, especially during ascent."<sup>114</sup> Yet he clearly prefers his time away from Buenos Aires. He finds "new energy" from a three-day stay at his host's country *estancia* at Llavallol, thirty kilometers south of the capital. He also appreciates the landscape of the Sierras de Córdoba mountain range: "Car ride into ancient, picturesque, sparsely vegetated granite mountains."<sup>115</sup> And he is impressed by Córdoba's architecture. In his mind, the city "exhibits vestiges of genuine culture with love of the soil and a sense for the sublime. Wonderful cathedral. Buildings finely proportioned (old Spanish) without daft ornamentation." Even



4. Einstein and Berta Wassermann-Bornberg, Junkers hydroplane, Buenos Aires, 1 April 1925 (Courtesy Leo Baeck Institute, New York).

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though he disapproves of the city's "clerical rule," he contrasts Córdoba positively vis-à-vis Buenos Aires: "It's still better than a smug civilization without any culture."<sup>116</sup> Yet he finds the human interactions there almost as universally unappealing as in the capital: "Midday meal beside new governor of the province, a very refined, interesting person. Otherwise only tiresome plethora of Spaniards, journalists, and Jews."<sup>117</sup> He also clearly likes the architecture of La Plata: "Pretty, quiet, Italian-like city, with magnificent university buildings that are furnished in the North American style."<sup>118</sup>

Somewhat similar to his encounter with Japan, Einstein again becomes acquainted with a local culture through its music: "Jesinghaus showed me popular Argentine music, originating from the Incas. Naturalistic and grand. Glorious things must have perished with that nation."<sup>119</sup> And he writes home that "there are also more down-to-earth things, a kind of folk music that interested me very much."<sup>120</sup>

Einstein's opinion of the Argentinians does not change once he has returned to Europe. After docking in Bilbao, he writes to an acquaintance about his general impressions from his South American tour. However, because of the wording he uses, it seems he had the Argentinians in mind: "Over there, one finds more well-tailored clothes than fine and interesting fellows who wear them."<sup>121</sup> Even months after he has returned, his harsh judgment of Argentina and its inhabitants remains undiminished: "Now I have here at home a kind of small ethnographic museum, the most beautiful and loveliest things from Japan. They are a people with a deep, tender soul, in contrast to Argentina, which seems so banal and vulgar."<sup>122</sup> In this sentence, Einstein crossed out "South America" and wrote "Argentina" in its stead. It is certainly significant that, in his correction, Einstein changes his generalized statement about the whole continent to one focused more specifically on Argentina.

How can we interpret Einstein's mostly unforgiving assessment of the Argentinians? What is the cultural and historical context of his ste-

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