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“Five Times as Enthusiastic”: Abraham Lincoln and the Bloody Seventh of Chicago

Introduction

On the night of July 9, 1858, Senator Stephen Douglas invited Abraham Lincoln to be his guest while he launched his campaign for re-election from the balcony of the Tremont House Hotel in Chicago. The crowd was largely made up of Douglas supporters, with the *Chicago Tribune* noting that “great efforts” had “been made to render the spectacle an imposing one.”¹ The *New York Herald* reported that Douglas had announced that he was bringing “war to the knife against the destructive anti-slavery heresies of the late Illinois State Republican Convention and their Senatorial nominee, Mr. Lincoln.”²

Douglas chose an apt metaphor in “war to the knife,” although it wasn’t going to be him engaged in political hand-to-hand combat. Because he boarded a train for Springfield he missed was one of the most remarkable moments in Lincoln’s pre-presidential political career.

The Tremont House Speech

It was a Saturday night, making this high-value entertainment in a city starving for such things. The *Chicago Tribune* wrote that the “crowd extended from the corner of Lake & Dearborn Streets the whole length of the Tremont House, and, as on the evening previous, the balconies, windows, and roofs of the adjoining buildings were filled with attentive spectators- ladies and gentlemen.” This is remarkable because whereas Douglas had made extensive preparations for his speech, Lincoln only had twelve hours to announce his rebuttal.

There were a lot of things happening in Republican Chicago that very day, and the Tremont House was also their political and social headquarters. Their County Convention had just been held, and the delegates chosen, along with their candidates and supporters, were probably in a pretty good mood and “liquored up.” Lincoln was undoubtedly aware of this, and that may also have influenced his decision to stay behind and respond to an “empty chair” on the balcony.

When he finally appeared on the balcony he might have been surprised by the size and attentiveness of his audience. Further, the owner of the hotel, John Drake, had done something special for him. The *Chicago Tribune* tells us “the balconies of the Tremont House were tastefully decorated with flags, and handsomely lighted by a row of gas lights rising above the iron railing.” The reporter thought Drake was “entitled to the thanks of Republicans for his care and skill in this matter.”³

Lincoln began by telling the crowd that “yesterday evening, upon the occasion of the reception given to Senator Douglas, I was furnished with a seat very convenient for hearing him, and was otherwise very courteously treated by him and his friends, and for which I thank him and them. During the course of his remarks my name was mentioned in such a way, as I suppose renders it at least not improper that I should make some sort of reply to him.”⁴

Lincoln said that he didn’t want to read to them from any documents but was forced to do so, and consequently pulled out a copy of the *Chicago Tribune*. After someone told him to “Get out your specs,” he read from Douglas’s speech, who had begun by saying:

I have made up my mind to appeal to the people against the combination that has been made against me!—the Republican leaders have formed an alliance, an unholy and unnatural alliance, with a portion of unscrupulous federal office-holders. I intend to fight that allied army wherever I meet them. I know they deny the alliance, but yet these men who are trying to divide the Democratic party for the purpose of electing a Republican Senator in my place, are just as much the agents and tools of the supporters of Mr. Lincoln. Hence I shall deal with this allied army just as the Russians dealt with the allies at Sebastopol—that is, the Russians did not stop to inquire, when they fired a broadside, whether it hit an Englishman, a Frenchman, or a Turk. Nor will I stop to inquire, nor shall I hesitate, whether my blows shall hit these Republican leaders or their allies who are holding the federal offices and yet acting in concert with them.

Abraham Lincoln and the Bloody Seventh of Chicago

“Well now, gentlemen,” Lincoln said, “is not that very alarming? [Laughter.] Just to think of it! Right at the outset of his canvass, I, a poor, kind, amiable, intelligent, [laughter] gentleman, [laughter and renewed cheers] I am to be slain in this way. Why, my friend, the Judge, is not only, as it turns out, not a dead lion, nor even a living one—he is the rugged Russian Bear! [Roars of laughter and loud applause.]” Lincoln continued that:

But if they will have it—for he says that we deny it—that there is any such alliance, as he says there is—and I don’t propose hanging very much upon this question of veracity—but if he will have it that there is such an alliance—that the Administration men and we are allied, and we stand in the attitude of English, French and Turk, he occupying the position of the Russian, in that case, I beg that he will indulge us while we barely suggest to him, that these allies took Sebastopol. [Long and tremendous applause.]



Tremont House Hotel, Chicago, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*, July 26, 1856.⁵

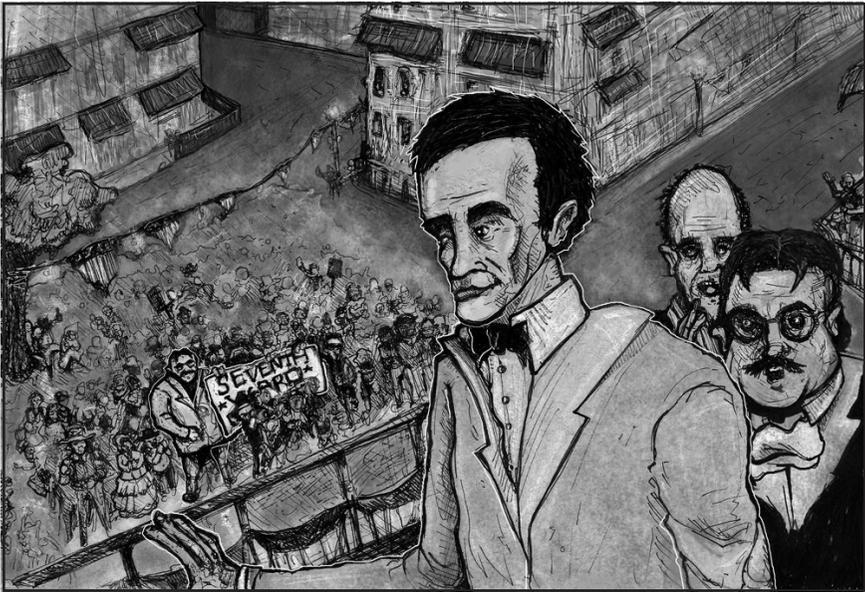
We were often—more than once at least—in the course of Judge Douglas’ speech last night, reminded that this government was made for white men—that he believed it was made for white men. Well, that is putting it into a shape in which no one wants to deny it, but the Judge then goes into his passion for drawing inferences that are not warranted. I protest, now and forever, against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave, I do necessarily want her for a wife. [Laughter and cheers.] My understanding is that I need not have her for either, but as God made us separate, we can leave one another alone and do one another much good thereby. There are white men enough to marry all the white women, and enough black men to marry all the black women, and in God’s name let them be so married. The Judge regales us with

the terrible enormities that take place by the mixture of races; that the inferior race bears the superior down. Why, Judge, if we do not let them get together in the Territories they won't mix there. [Immense applause.]

Lincoln was definitely winning the verbal "war to the knife" with Douglas, so much so that at this moment the *Tribune* recorded that someone shouted "Three cheers for Lincoln," and that the "cheers were given with a hearty good will." Then something happened which gave Lincoln pause.

The newspaper recorded that "the shouts of the Seventh Ward Delegation announced that they were coming in procession. They were received with enthusiastic cheers." Numbering some four hundred men, and purposely late, they were led by a brass band, and a giant named Anton Caspar Hesing.

Standing on thick legs a good foot-and-a-half taller than everyone around him, he waving a gorgeous blue silk flag stitched in gold thread. One side had the emblem of the 7th Ward Republicans and the obverse was the American flag. I believe Lincoln saw him and decided to change direction in his speech.



Imagining Lincoln and Hesing at the Tremont House Hotel. Illustration by Mike Shragal.

Now, it happens that we meet together once every year, sometime about the 4th of July, for some reason or other. These 4th of July gatherings I suppose have their uses. If you will indulge me, I will state what I suppose to be some of them. We are now a mighty

nation, we are thirty—or about thirty millions of people, and we own and inhabit about one-fifteenth part of the dry land of the whole earth. We run our memory back over the pages of history for about eighty-two years and we discover that we were then a very small people in point of numbers, vastly inferior to what we are now, with a vastly less extent of country,—with vastly less of everything we deem desirable among men,—we look upon the change as exceedingly advantageous to us and to our posterity, and we fix upon something that happened away back, as in some way or other being connected with this rise of prosperity. We find a race of men living in that day whom we claim as our fathers and grandfathers; they were iron men, they fought for the principle that they were contending for; and we understood that by what they then did it has followed that the degree of prosperity that we now enjoy has come to us. We hold this annual celebration to remind ourselves of all the good done in this process of time of how it was done and who did it, and how we are historically connected with it; and we go from these meetings in better humor with ourselves—we feel more attached the one to the other, and more firmly bound to the country we inhabit. In every way we are better men in the age, and race, and country in which we live for these celebrations. But after we have done all this we have not yet reached the whole.

At this moment there was probably a long, Lincolnian pause; a moment where he scanned the crowd, waiting to see if someone, anyone, would interject. Finally, when all his listeners were pinned upon him, waiting for the answer only he could provide, he speaks again and gives it to them.

There is something else connected with it. We have besides these men—descended by blood from our ancestors—among us perhaps half our people who are not descendants at all of these men, they are men who have come from Europe—German, Irish, French and Scandinavian—men that have come from Europe themselves, or whose ancestors have come hither and settled here, finding themselves our equals in all things. If they look back through this history to trace their connection with those days by blood, they find they have none, they cannot carry themselves back into that glorious epoch and make themselves feel that they are part of us, but when they look through that old Declaration of Independence they find that those old men say that “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,” and then they feel that that moral sentiment taught

in that day evidences their relation to those men, that it is the father of all moral principle in them, and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood, and flesh of the flesh of the men who wrote that Declaration, (loud and long continued applause) and so they are. That is the electric cord in that Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together, that will link those patriotic hearts as long as the love of freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world. [Applause.]

With these words Lincoln had just elevated the 7th Ward Republicans to a status equal to the men representing the highest ideals of Americans. What had led him to do such a thing, at this precise moment?

Lincoln and the German War Fighters of 1848

Historian Moses Rischin writes that “no other major ethnic group in America had encountered the full brunt of the forces of modernity -nationalism, liberalism, industrialism, and socialism—both in its country of origin and its country of adoption—with the swirling intensity of German-America.”⁶ Rischin neglected to mention that the Germans were also experiencing Puritanism, Nativism, and Prohibitionism, and that along with Mexican-American War veterans these men were the most recent war fighters on the American scene. They had fought for an ideal, and unlike Americans, they had lost.

When he returned to Springfield from the U.S. House of Representatives on March 31, 1849, Lincoln literally came back to a German-American crucible where many of the key revolutionary war leadership figures were living. Historians are well-acquainted with Lincoln’s relationship to George Schneider, Gustav Körner, Peter Joseph Osterhaus, Carl Schurz, Franz Sigel, and Friedrich Hecker, to name but a few, but Anton Hesing is less well-known.

Born January 6, 1823, in Vechta, Oldenburg, and orphaned at the age of 15, Hesing was apprenticed to a baker and a brewer, and then, according to him, was cheated by his guardian of his patrimony. Placed on a boat to America virtually penniless in 1840, he wound up Cincinnati’s robust German community. He worked as a grocery clerk for two years and saved enough money to begin his own store in 1842. He sold this in 1848 and then erected his own hotel, which he named the Farmer’s Hotel, and which he kept until 1854. He became involved in Ohio’s Whig Party, then migrated to the Free-Soilers, and finally moved to Illinois in the year of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which is where his son Washington was born. Ever after Hesing proudly



Anton Caspar Hesing, circa 1860.⁷

claimed to have been in on the “founding” of the Republican Party.

Constantly in search of economic opportunities Hesing saw that Chicago was in great need of building materials and so joined up with Charles P. Dole in the brick manufacturing business, with their yard north of the city. The financial panic of 1857 caused that enterprise to fail, but Hesing’s work for the Republicans garnered him an appointment as a deputy sheriff in Cook County. On this night he was freshly minted as the Republican candidate for Sheriff.

Along with many of his fellow Germans he was well-armed and unin-

hibited in using physical force. Standing on thick legs a good foot-and-a-half taller than everyone around him, he was waving a costly blue silk flag, the new standard of the Seventh Ward Republicans. In 1912 Edmund Deuss wrote that like “Cleopatra he stood in the popular meeting, bulky and rugged, on massive legs, towering over his surroundings with broad shoulders and dominating the crowd more by the power of his lungs and the simplicity of his arguments than by oratorical skill.”⁸

Thus Hesing was somewhat naturally chosen the leader of these men, many of whom had followed him to the courthouse during the Lager Beer Riots. A large percentage of them were also Turners and members of the various Schutzvereine, where they delighted in showing off their fine European weaponry, their target shooting, their precision drilling, and feats of physical strength. One look at Hesing’s massive hands is enough to understand his allure to the Germans of Chicago.

During this time the 7th Ward was known as the “Bloody Seventh” because of the long history of fighting between Chicago’s Irish and Germans, especially during election days. The *Chicago Tribune* editorialized in March 1857 that it was because “the lawless Celts indulged wildly in their passion and their revenge.” First they would mingle in with the Germans, and then insult and deprive them of their “right of suffrage, by force.” The *Tribune* argued that on Election Day the Irish were guilty of “knocking down, throttling, clubbing, and stabbing freemen.” Men who were simply trying to gather or make speeches, or vote. The *Tribune* complained that “No Mayor of the city, no police officers of the city, with one or two exceptions, were on hand to seize the rioters and to preserve order.”⁹

Hesing had proven that he was one of the exceptions “on hand” for the Germans, as he was always ready to use his fists. By 1857 he was politically-connected enough to get a bridge built across the Chicago River at North Avenue, effectively connecting the German North Side with the rest of the city.

He was also savvy enough to deal with the rough and tumble of Chicago political trickery. On September 28, 1860, the *Chicago Tribune* explained to its readers “Why They Hate Him So.”

The reason Hesing is so obnoxious to the wire-pulling Democrats is because he has been an active, zealous Republican, who has given them some pretty hard knocks during the last half-dozen years. Hesing belongs to the positive, go-ahead class of men, who never mince matters. He don’t like a Dough-face and is apt to express his opinions plainly.

The pro-slavery gentlemen bear him a heavy grudge for breaking up their cheating programme last spring. He was one of the Judges

of Election at the Seventh Ward. A thousand of the Gurnee Irish slept on the sidewalk all night, so as to have possession of the polls next morning. Daylight found a procession of them extending about a quarter of a mile from the voting place. The plan was to let all the "Greeks" in the ward vote first, and make the Republicans stand back like a bound boy at a husking. By this means the "dead rabbits" would have had the remainder of the day to have gone round and voted in the other wards.¹⁰

According to historian Peter Olden, "In the early morning hours Hesing was apprised by his friends of the "serious" situation, known in Chicago politics as "voting early and often." He came, saw what was happening, and told his Germans to line up on the other side of the booth; and then he separated the two groups by a police cordon; and when the hour to vote came, he himself went inside and sawed an opening into the boards on the side where his countrymen were waiting. "By the time it was noon," the German chronicler exulted, "not a single Irishman had yet cast a vote."¹¹

This was a "serious" political situation because Hesing knew, as Lincoln did, that even a few hundred votes were sometimes the difference between winning and losing. In October 1858, while speaking at Naples, Illinois Lincoln remarked that "he had noticed about a dozen Irishmen on the levee, and it had occurred to him that those Irishmen had been imported expressly to vote him down."¹²

This was not the first time Lincoln had seen Hesing, in fact he was in something of a bind over him. On February 28, 1857, Lincoln gave the principal address to the Chicago Republicans in Metropolitan Hall during John Wentworth's successful campaign for mayor. By this time Hesing was actually competing with Wentworth for the Mayoralty, and this put Lincoln in a tough ethno-political spot. So when Hesing and his followers were done with their "paradery," an important element of street-level political discourse, Lincoln may have decided to use this opportunity to speak to the man who had not become Mayor.

Here Lincoln demonstrates his ability to use recent events in his speeches and to tailor his words to fit the changing dynamics of his audiences. On that 4th of July he was the guest of honor at nearby Jacksonville's celebration. He was accompanied by the Springfield Pioneer Fire Company and was entertained by Meritt's Cornet Band, a barbeque, and watching hot-air balloons and fireworks.¹³ But he also experienced the Springfield German Turners perform gymnastics and precision drills. Lincoln had been invited to the 7th Ward celebration by Hesing and had written:

Gents:- Your kind letter, inviting me to be present at your celebration of the anniversary of American Independence, to be held on the fifth, and upon which a Banner is to be presented to the German Republicans of the 7th Ward of your city is received. I regret to say my engagements are such that I cannot be with you. I have several previous invitations, all of which I have been compelled to decline, except one, which will take but a single day of my time. To attend yours would require at least four. I send you a sentiment: Our German Fellow-Citizens:—Ever true to Liberty, the Union, and the Constitution—true to Liberty, not selfishly, but upon principle—not for special classes of men, but for all men; true to the Union and Constitution, as the best means to advance that liberty.¹⁴

Lincoln's soothing words probably made Helsing feel good, but had Lincoln made the trip to Chicago he would have got an inkling of the tremendous German Republican community there. The *Chicago Tribune* wrote that of all the celebrations in Chicago that day, the German Pic-Nic and Festival, held in Wright's Grove north of the city, was "the most interesting event of the day, and that which attracted the largest number of people and was most significant of events to come."¹⁵ Lincoln would have heard Isaac Newton Arnold address the Germans and might have come to appreciate to a greater degree that politician's skillful capitalization on his Germanic-sounding name, however distant the connection.

Lincoln would have seen that the out-going incumbent Mayor of Chicago, Democrat John Charles Haines, also attended the German affair. He would have heard Caspar Butz speak, and would have realized that he was an 1848 revolutionary with tremendous zeal and persuasive power. A friend of Friedrich Hecker, Butz was keenly important in the German political scene in Chicago. He would also have seen the editor Charles L. Wilson of the *Chicago Journal* present the 7th Ward Republicans with the costly blue silk banner Helsing was now waving.

So there can be little doubt how powerful Lincoln's statements would have been to the Germans in the Tremont crowd, and as beautiful and poetic as the words are in their own right, it is important to note because the arrival of the boisterous 7th Ward German Republicans undoubtedly occasioned it.

As far as I can determine this was the first and only time he'd ever used the "electric cord" metaphor, and if ever there was an example of Lincoln's ability to "think on his feet" it is this moment. If ever there was a proof of his political genius it is this phrase, at that moment, and for that crowd. But Lincoln wasn't finished with the Germans yet.

Abraham Lincoln and the Bloody Seventh of Chicago

“Now, sirs . . .” Lincoln began, “. . . for the purpose of squaring things with this idea of “don’t care if slavery is voted up or down,” for sustaining the Dred Scott decision [A voice- “Hit him again.”], for holding that the Declaration of Independence did not mean anything at all, we have Judge Douglas giving his exposition of what the Declaration of Independence means, and we having him saying that the people of America were equal to the people of England.”

At this point he looked down at Helsing and the German Republican delegation and said:

According to his construction, you Germans are not connected with it. Now I ask you in all soberness, if all these things, if indulged in, if ratified, if confirmed and endorsed, if taught to our children and repeated to them, do not tend to rub out the sentiment of liberty in the country, and to transform this government into a government of some other form. These arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow. What are these arguments?

If Lincoln paused again at this juncture the Germans would have been standing on their tip-toes.

They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all age of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument and this argument of the Judge is the same old serpent that says you work and I eat, you toil and I will enjoy the fruits of it. Turn it whatever way you will- whether it comes from the mouth of a King, an excuse for enslaving the people of his country or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race it is all the same old serpent, and I hold if that course of argumentation that is made for the purpose of convincing the public mind that we should not care about this, should be granted, it does not stop with the negro.

There could have been no stronger words aimed at those Germans in the crowd who had participated in the warfare of the 1848 revolution. They, like the Irish, were still experiencing monarchy in their homelands. Furthermore,

when he said that it would not “stop with the negro,” there would have been no doubt in their minds about who would be next. The impact of these conclusions could not have been stronger. He closed by saying:

My friends, I have detained you about as long as I desired to do, and I have only to say, let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man—this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position—discarding our standard that we have left us. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal. My friends, I could not, without launching off upon some new topic, which would detain you too long, continue to-night. [Cries of “go on.”] I thank you for this most extensive audience that you have furnished me to-night. I leave you, hoping that the lamp of liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created free and equal.¹⁶

The *Chicago Tribune* remarked that “Mr. Lincoln retired amid a perfect torrent of applause and cheers.” There is little reason to doubt that some of the loudest voices came from Anton Helsing and the Germans of the Bloody 7th Ward. Lincoln had masterfully touched them, and I believe this night spurred him to make extra efforts to court Germans. Consider the ethno-political moves he made before and after this night.

Lincoln and the Germans of Illinois

Anyone who has ever read scholarly works on Lincoln knows that it is like looking through a political prism. There are so many nuances and shades of coloration. Consider that five days after this speech, on July 15, 1858, Lincoln wrote a revealing letter to Gustav Körner.

I have just been called on by one of our German Republicans here, to ascertain if Mr. Hecker could not be prevailed upon to visit this region, and address the Germans, at this place, and a few others at least. Please ascertain & write me. He would, of course, have to be paid something. Find out from him about how much.

I have just returned from Chicago. Douglas took nothing by his motion there. In fact, by his rampant indorsement of the Dred Scott decision he drove back a few Republicans who were favorably inclined toward him. His tactics just now, in part is, to make it ap-

pear that he is having a triumphal entry into; and march through the country; but it is all as bombastic and hollow as Napoleon's bulletins sent back from his campaign in Russia. I was present at his reception in Chicago, and it certainly was very large and imposing; but judging from the opinions of others better acquainted with faces there, and by the strong call for me to speak, when he closed, I really believe we could have voted him down in that very crowd. Our meeting, twenty four hours after, called only twelve hours before it came together and got up without trumpery, was nearly as large, and five times as enthusiastic.

I write this for your private eye, to assure you that there is no solid shot, in these bombastic parades of his.¹⁷

Although James M. Bergquist's seminal dissertation "The Political Attitudes of German Immigrants in Illinois, 1848-1860," never examined Anton Hesing, relegating him to an endnote in his bibliography, he unwittingly stated the very reason Hesing was an important figure in Chicago. Bergquist wrote that the American political landscape since 1854 "was an especially confusing one for the German immigrant, accustomed as he was to being part of a stable political party. It is not surprising to find wide variation in his response, and considerable importance being given to the leadership of local politicians who enjoyed the confidence of the immigrant."¹⁸

There is another reason why Lincoln may have courted Hesing and Schneider with such finesse. These leaders were both devout Catholics, and it was critical for Lincoln that German Catholics, whom historian Walter Kamphoefner noted were loathe to leave the Democracy, would find leaders to convince them to defect.¹⁹

By that September he wrote to Chicago lawyer Norman B. Judd, his new friend and political operative, asking him whether or not he could find, and dispatch, a German-speaking Republican to address "our friends" in Danville, Illinois.²⁰ Within weeks of asking for Judd's help, Lincoln was being criticized in the American press for attempting the job himself. On October 17, 1858, the Jacksonville *Sentinel* reported that Lincoln had addressed a meeting in the river town of Meredosia, Illinois. The paper claimed that his "object was to convert two or three Germans at that place to the republican faith. To effect this object, we are informed he took for his text the Declaration of Independence and labored for an hour to prove by that instrument that the negro was born with rights equal with the whites."²¹

It is my theory that the way he was cheered and received on the night of July 10th "caused" Lincoln to redouble his political activities among the German-American population. This "enthusiasm" he found so heartwarming



George Schneider, photograph from Rudolph Cronau, *Chicago und sein Deutschtum* (Cleveland, German-American Biographical Pub. Co., 1901-1902), p. 109.

was especially evident in Chicago as early as 1854. For example, Lincoln was in political semi-retirement when he claimed that the “repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused him as he had never been before.”²² Yet it is suggestive to note that in January 1854 the German Democrats of Chicago, under the leadership of 1848 revolutionary George Schneider had reacted violently to the mere introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

On January 29, 1854, he presided over a protest meeting that he had called together, using his credentials as a veteran and his power as an editor of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*. Schneider selected Warner’s Hall, an important

early German center on Clark Street, just south of Randolph Street, and situated directly across from City Hall. That night the Germans heard “*feurige Beschlüsse*” (incendiary resolutions) from George Hillgärtner, Daniel Hertle, Francis A. Hoffman, and Frederick Baumann.²³

Two months later, on March 16, 1854, Germans held another meeting *en masse*, this time at South Market Hall. Recently elected City Alderman Francis A. Hoffman (8th Ward), George Schneider, and Eduard Schläger were the primary speakers, but the gathering attracted what historian Bruce C. Levine has called a diverse German-American political “coalition.”²⁴

Like many others in the North, these men agreed that the Nebraska Bill was just one more attempt of the slaveholding interests to increase their power and permanence in the Union. Their main concern however was the Clayton Amendment to the Nebraska bill, which prevented foreigners from participating in structuring government in the new territories. Therein they saw something even more threatening than slavery, namely “a spirit particularly inimical to us Germans, pioneers of the West as we are.” They noted that the Clayton Amendment had the effect of “reducing the *free* foreigner to the position now occupied by the slave.”

Then they did something typical for war veterans. They resolved that it was “high time to make war, not only against the Nebraska Bill, but in general to stand upon the offensive, rather than upon the defensive in reducing the slaveholding interest from its present position of a leading power to what it really is, a local institution existing by sufferance.”

Going on to call their former hero, Stephen A. Douglas, an “ambitious and dangerous demagogue . . . a blemish upon the honor of the State of Illinois,” they thought it their duty to “do our best to rid ourselves of him as quick as possible.” He had become “deprived of public confidence and was subjected to general indignation,” and they did not “deem him worthy any longer to represent the State of Illinois in Congress.” Somewhat naively, they “expected him to resign his seat in the Senate immediately.”²⁵ Then in a piece of American street-theatre at least as old as colonial times, a large group paraded an effigy of Douglas to symbolic Dearborn Park, where amid cheering, hissing, and shouting, they set it on fire. The *Chicago Tribune* thought it was “the largest number of people ever before assembled in the city on any public occasion.”²⁶

Historian Matthew Pinsker wrote that “George Schneider was an exceptionally important figure that year, someone that Lincoln would have been determined to meet whenever he was in Chicago.”²⁷ Whether or not the *Tribune* exaggerated the event it appears Lincoln was paying attention, as the 1854 elections involved legislative and congressional seats. In that light it is important to see that a little over five months after the Germans began

turning against Douglas Lincoln was already on the move. On September 12, 1854, he addressed a German anti-Nebraska meeting at Bloomington, Illinois.²⁸ Two days later, on September 14, 1854, he wrote to ask Friedrich Hecker to come speak at another mass-meeting in Springfield.²⁹ How had Lincoln known to choose one of the most revered figures of the 1848 revolution? Why had he decided to do so?

Bergquist's dissertation pointed out that the election returns of 1854 showed "fair success in turning out Germans for the "fusion" ticket." The 7th Ward of Chicago cast 44.2% of its votes for the "fusion" candidate, and Bergquist was sure most of those votes were by Germans, not Irish. He wrote that the "election returns of 1854 show clearly the fact that the traditional German loyalty to Douglas and the Democratic organization had been shattered."³⁰

I believe 1854 marks the beginning of Lincoln's ethno-political campaign march in Illinois. Historian Doris Kearns Goodwin says Lincoln was a political genius because of the way he built his cabinet out of his rivals. I am convinced he showed far more genius in the way he began setting up his team of friends, especially the Germans.³¹ Bergquist argues that Germans ended up "waiting to see whether, by breaking the ties with the Democracy, they had made themselves a people without a party, or whether there might emerge from the anti-Nebraska coalition a new party for the immigrant."³² This was a fortuitous turn of events for Lincoln, as a paradigmatic shift had occurred which I think he slowly began to recognize.

Consider the political fighting that took place in Springfield and Chicago in 1855. In Springfield there was the battle over the Illinois legislature's choice of a new Senator, its refusal to consider free German-language schools or the continued printing of laws and major speeches in German, and finally, the fact that the state anti-liquor forces got a bill passed which was to put prohibition to a referendum in June.

Although Lincoln would have experienced an amazing variety in the rural and small-town German communities of Illinois, it was in Chicago that a network of individuals and *Gemeinden und Gesellschaften* were enmeshed in a skein of what historian Frederick C. Luebke has called "associational complexes."³³ Historian Kathleen Neils Conzen has analyzed this robust *Vereinsleben* and identified them as the "nurseries of ethnicity."³⁴ The Germans formed many kinds of humanitarian agencies, mutual aid societies, and an array of other kinds of clubs, from *Schützenvereine* to secret societies, to *Arbeitervereine*, *Turnvereine*, and the middle-class *Männerchor*, all which at some point engaged the American political parties.³⁵ Lincoln would have often witnessed what Conzen has called their "festive culture" because it also closely paralleled American political culture, especially in the use of brass bands, oratory,

singers, floats, transparencies, uniforms, flags, *tableaux vivants*, and gunfire, underscoring historians Harmut Keil and Heinz Ickstadt's contention that German culture was "above all a performed culture."³⁶

In Chicago the problem was that the Mayor was only elected for a one-year term. In 1855 Democrat Isaac Milliken was widely attacked by anti-Nebraska newspapers, while the Know-Nothing forces managed to put forth a slate of Nativist candidates, led by Dr. Levi Boone, just a few days before the election. Although the three German and Irish wards rejected the Boone ticket 1105 to 521, on March 6, 1855, in what was the largest voter turnout in the city's history, Dr. Boone and his Know-Nothing aldermen took every other ward in the city.

Lincoln was about to see just how combative the Germans were willing to become.³⁷ Boone began enforcing an ordinance enacted September 1, 1834 which prohibited the sale of spirits on Sunday. The Mayor then raised the liquor license from \$50 to \$300, and only issued the licenses until July 1st, when he was sure the referendum would make Illinois dry. When the Irish and Germans refused to buy licenses, Boone actually started arresting saloonkeepers for violating the ordinance. By the time the so-called Lager Beer Riot of April 21, 1855, was over, at least one German, Peter Mardens, was dead, a policeman, George Hunt, was badly wounded by a shotgun blast, and Boone's city was under siege, with militia patrolling the streets and artillery in the courthouse square for four days.³⁸ From July 2nd until the 14th Lincoln was in the city for a complex court case, and undoubtedly read all about it in the *Chicago Tribune's* extensive coverage of the trial of the rioters.³⁹

Lincoln couldn't have helped but notice that the German "rioters" were never convicted and the two Irishmen who were tried never served any time. He saw that the Prohibitory Liquor Law was defeated in the referendum, with the 7th Ward of Chicago voting 91% against it, a pattern repeated throughout German communities in Illinois. Lincoln would have noticed that the Germans were coming to the polls in vastly increased numbers, with the 7th Ward coming in at an astounding 191%. On June 28, 1855, Lincoln would have read in the *Chicago Tribune* that some 15,000 celebrants gleefully paraded in the city after the law was officially repealed.⁴⁰

Bergquist wrote that many "Illinois politicians were keeping their eyes on Chicago in the early months of 1856."⁴¹ The municipal election was looked upon as a test between Douglas and the anti-Nebraska forces. That October another large anti-Nebraska meeting was held in Chicago, and Bergquist reports that Germans played a prominent role.

Further evidence that Lincoln carefully monitored the political situation was the fact that he managed to be the only outsider at the small "convention" which came together in Decatur on February 22, 1856, at the Cassell

House.⁴² Some fifteen editors of anti-Nebraska newspapers made it through a fierce snowstorm to plan and issue a call for a state convention of all the political forces against the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Sitting on the resolutions committee, Dr. Charles H. Ray of the *Chicago Tribune* and George Schneider of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* “were influential factors in shaping the declaration of principles,” especially the “anti-Know-Nothing plank” of the platform.⁴³

By this time Lincoln was also watching as Gustave Körner slowly became transformed from an Anti-Nebraska Democrat to a wholehearted Republican. Körner had been nominated as a delegate-at-large in Decatur, but had declined to commit himself. Then on May 29, 1856, at the strange convention of Whigs, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, Free-Soilers, Abolitionists, and Know-Nothings which gathered in Major’s Hall in Bloomington, something happened to Körner’s reluctance. Lincoln’s oration that day had been so mesmerizing that no one could manage to write it down, and it became the “Lost Speech.” Afterwards Körner traveled to the Republican Convention in Philadelphia as a delegate, as had Schneider, and although John C. Fremont was nominated, Lincoln received 110 votes for vice-president, the highest of any rival for that nomination.

That fall Lincoln went to Belleville, this time to campaign among the Germans for the new Republican party. Lieutenant-Governor Körner was in the crowd, and wrote:

Referring to the fact that here, as well as in other places where he had spoken, he had found the Germans more enthusiastic for the cause of freedom than all other nationalities, he, almost with tears in his eyes, broke out in the words: “God bless the Dutch!” Everyone felt that he had said this in the sympathy of his heart, using the familiar name of Dutch as the Americans do when amongst themselves. A smart politician would not have failed to say “Germans.” But no one took offense. I had the pleasure of introducing him to the assemblage.⁴⁴

In fact, this was probably the act of a very “smart politician,” as Lincoln had begun to feel his way around among the Germans. Attorney and Republican political operative Joe Gillespie of Edwardsville wrote of an overnight stop he had to make while taking Lincoln to Greenville in a carriage during the 1856 canvass.

He seemed delighted with the idea of stopping at Highland, as he said he had understood that place was a little Germany.

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We stopped there and had a good time; the house where we were stopping was crowded and jammed. I here got the first inkling of the popularity of Lincoln among the Germans. The people at Highland were enraptured.⁴⁵

Between February 28, 1857, when he gave the principal address to the Republicans in Metropolitan Hall during John Wentworth's successful campaign for mayor, and April of 1857, when the Republicans lost badly in the Springfield city elections, Lincoln witnessed a rising German political tide. As Herndon later explained, the Republicans "quarreled over Temperance, we ran some K N's [Know Nothings], and the Dutch to a man united against this proceeding: we are whipped badly."⁴⁶

After his Tremont House speech Lincoln saw even more evidence of German Republican enthusiasm in Chicago. On October 25, 1858, Metropolitan Hall was comfortably packed with an estimated 2,300 new German Republicans, and Francis A. Hoffman had already been heartily cheered as he tried to make his introductory remarks, when everything was interrupted again by delegations arriving late from the North and West Divisions. Since they were tardy, their brass bands played harder, and they displayed the same kind of energetic flag-waving, cheering, and "demonstrating" which most Americans thoroughly enjoyed, and which would later characterize Civil War combat. Carrying transparencies, they quickly filled the hall to overflowing with about a thousand more people, leaving another 1,500 or so stranded outside. Immediately a second meeting was formed up and they were marched around to the north front of the County courthouse, where George Schneider gave them a rousing pro-Lincoln speech.

Inside Metropolitan Hall, Francis Hoffman was finally allowed to finish his remarks, and when he introduced Friedrich Hecker to the "vast audience, they rose as one man, in the highest pitch of enthusiasm, to welcome their noble countryman, deservedly prominent among his German brethren in the state of his adoption." Hecker spoke for Lincoln for two hours, frequently interrupted by "tumultuous applause." As he finished, bonfires were lighted in front of the Briggs House and a "simultaneous rush took place for torches at the breaking up of the monster gathering, and with a most magic and beautiful effect, a few minutes saw the lines of flaming torches streaming several blocks in extent, throwing their glare upon the night air, while the most vociferous and hearty cheering made the streets resound."⁴⁷ Three days later, on October 28, 1858, Lincoln spent two hours talking to a Chicago crowd in the rain, leaving nothing to chance.⁴⁸

Conclusion

It was his friend and bodyguard Ward Hill Lamon who thought that the “character of no statesmen in all the history of the world has been more generally or more completely misunderstood” than Abraham Lincoln’s. Lamon wrote that “The truth is, that Mr. Lincoln was at once the ablest and the most adroit politician of modern times. . . Mr. Lincoln was not the creature of circumstances. He *made* circumstances to suit the necessities of his own situation.”⁴⁹

As is well-known, it was after all these events, in March of 1859, that Lincoln secretly purchased a German newspaper and contracted with Dr. Theodore Canisius to make sure it was published regularly. Seen in this light, Lincoln’s undercover work in securing Chicago as the location of the Republican Convention takes on a new significance.

Lastly, remember who was certainly guarding the door to the Wigwam during the Republican Convention. It was none other than the burly Sheriff of Cook County, Anton Hesing. Perhaps his political trickery even extended to allowing more loud and enthusiastic Germans for Lincoln through the door than scholars have previously thought.

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Notes

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² “Douglas Coming Home,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1858.

³ *Chicago Tribune*, July 12, 1858.

⁴ “Speech at Chicago,” Illinois, 10 July 1858, *CW*, 2:484-502.

⁵ Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. LC-USZ62-60931-A.

⁶ See Moses Rischin, “Envoi” in Elliot Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and James P. Danky, *The German-American Radical Press: The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1992), 202. See also Gabor S. Boritt, Mark E. Neely, Jr., and Harold Holzer, “The European Image of Abraham Lincoln,” *Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture* 21, 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1986): 169; Ray Ginger, *Altgeld’s America: The Lincoln Ideal Versus Changing Realities* (New York, Harper & Row, 1958); Werner H. Steger, “German Immigrants, the Revolution of 1848, and the Politics of Liberalism in Antebellum Richmond,” *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 34 (1999): 19-34; and Christian B. Keller,

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“The Reaction of Eastern Pennsylvania’s German Press to the Secession Crisis: Compromise or Conflict?” *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 34 (1999): 35-61.

⁷ See also Peter H. Olden, “Anton C. Hesing: The Rise of a Chicago Boss,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 35, 3 (September 1942): 271.

⁸ Edmund Deuss, “Anton Caspar Hesing,” *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 11 (1911): 112.

⁹ “Rioting and Lawlessness,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 5, 1857. See also “Scene in the Bloody Seventh,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 7, 1855; “German Mass Meeting in the Seventh Ward,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 23, 1858; and “Grand Procession of the German Americans of the Seventh Ward,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 4, 1858.

¹⁰ “Why They Hate Him So,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 28, 1860.

¹¹ Peter H. Olden, “Anton C. Hesing: The Rise of a Chicago Boss,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 35, 3 (September 1942): 271.

¹² Jacksonville *Sentinel*, October 22, 1858.

¹³ *Daily Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 7 July 1858, 3:1; Toast to the Pioneer Fire Company of Springfield, Illinois, 5 July 1858, *CW*, 2:483.

¹⁴ “The Eighty-Second Anniversary of American Independence,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1858, and October 13, 1858. Although this letter is noted in Basler, the “sentiment” Lincoln sent along with it is curiously missing.

¹⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1858.

¹⁶ “Great Republican Demonstration on Saturday Evening,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 12, 1858.

¹⁷ Abraham Lincoln to Gustave P. Koerner, 15 July 1858, *CW*, 2:502-3; Ten days later, on July 25, 1858, Lincoln wrote again to Körner about Hecker and their general strategy regarding the Germans, indicating that he was familiar with Hecker as far back as 1856. For example, on September 14, 1856, during the Frémont campaign Lincoln wrote and asked Hecker “Could you not be with us here on the 25th of this month, when we expect to have a large mass-meeting? We cannot dispense with your services in this contest; and we ought, in a pecuniary way, to give you some relief in the difficulty of having your house burnt.” Lincoln then told him that “I have started a proposition for this, among our friends, with a prospect of some degree of success. It is but fair and just; and I hope you will not decline to accept what we may be able to do.” See also John M. Palmer, *The Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1899), 1:47-50; John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 10:486-87; Abraham Lincoln to William H. Hanna, 15 July 1858, *CW*, 2:502; *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph* (IL), 8 August 1870, 2:1; William H. Hanna to Abraham Lincoln, 13 July 1858, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

¹⁸ James M. Bergquist, “The Political Attitudes of German Immigrants in Illinois, 1848-1860” (Ph.D. diss, Northwestern University, 1966), 154-55.

¹⁹ Walter D. Kamphoefner, “German-Americans and Civil War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis,” *Civil War History* 37, 3 (September 1991): 226-40.

²⁰ See “Letter to Norman B. Judd, September 23, 1858,” in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:202. In recognition of his services in the German-American world, Lincoln would name Judd his Consul to Prussia.

²¹ See “Speech at Meredosia, Illinois, October 18, 1858,” in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:328

²² See Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4: 67.

²³ See “A Day of Glory for Chicago’s Germanity,” in the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, January 29, 1901, an editorial based on Rudolph Cronau’s *Chicago und sein Deutschtum* (Cleveland, German-American Biographical Pub. Co., 1901-1902), 109-12, which is currently the primary source for Schneider’s biographical information, since it is likely Cronau actually interviewed

Schneider shortly before his death. James Bergquist argues that the story comes from A.T. Andreas, *History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (3 vols., Chicago, 1884-1886), but it is likely that he also got it directly from Schneider himself since it would have been virtually impossible not to include him in any such project. A. E. Zucker used this exact source as well for *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1950), 339. The fire has apparently never been researched, as it is passed over in the sources. See also *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, February 1, 1872, in the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey, PN-6, Roll # 19 (hereafter CFLPS) at UIC, Richard J. Daley Library, Microfilm Department. See also *Abendpost*, August 13, 1896. Francis Arnold Hoffmann (June 5, 1822- January 23, 1903) was born in Herford, Westphalia, Prussia. He left home at age 18 in 1840, and arrived in New York City, reportedly penniless. He reached Illinois in the early 1840's and became a living embodiment of the "urge to rise" which became the Lincoln Ideal. Alternately a Lutheran minister, real estate man, banker, and journalist before becoming a politician, Hoffmann began his journalistic career as an editor for Robert B. Hoeffgen's *Chicago Volksfreund* in 1845. The *Volksfreund* (Friend of the People), would eventually become the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* (Illinois State Newspaper) in 1849, and Hoffmann would rise to become a co-founder of the Republican Party and Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, 1861-1865. See also D.I. Nelke, "Francis A. Hoffmann," in Don Heinrich Tolzmann, ed., *Illinois' German Heritage* (Milford, Ohio, Little Miami Publishing Co., 2005), pp. 117-126. George Hillgärtner, a lawyer from Heidelberg, was also sentenced to death for his part in the 1848 revolution, and came to America with Gottfried Kinkel to raise funds. Hillgärtner also worked with Schneider at the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*. 1848 revolutionary Daniel Hertle studied law and was an ardent Turner. See Roland Paul, "Daniel Hertle: Ein Achtundvierziger aus der Südfalz," in *300 Jahre Pfälzer in Amerika* (Landau, 1983); Fredrick Baumann was an 1848 revolutionary, and would become famous for his architectural pioneering in Chicago. Baumann worked for Chicago's first architect, John Mills Van Odsel, and authored "*Die Baukunst im Staate Illinois*" for the first issue of *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, January 1901, pp. 25-32. See also Eugen Seeger and Eduard Schlaeger, *Chicago: Entwicklung, Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau der Wunderstadt* (Chicago, np, 1872).

²⁴ Levine writes: "Chicago's first mass protest against the Nebraska bill occurred on March 16, 1854, at North Market Hall in the heart of the immigrant Eighth Ward. Its resolutions, roster of officers, and speaker list reflected the political diversity of the coalition that the gathering represented." See Bruce C. Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 204-5. The North Market Hall location is contradicted by the *Chicago Tribune*, "Another Voice Against the Repeal. German Mass Meeting." March 15, 1854, which says South Market Hall was where the meeting was held.

²⁵ See *Chicago Tribune*, "German Mass Meeting. The German Voice Against the Nebraska Outrage," March 20, 1854.

²⁶ See *Chicago Tribune*, "The Late German Demonstration," March 25, 1854, and *Chicago Tribune*, "Burning Douglas in Effigy," March 29, 1854. Because Schneider disapproved of the burning, Bruce C. Levine writes that George Schneider was himself burned in effigy by pro-Nebraska Germans, an illuminative indicator of his power as opinion-maker in German Chicago. See Bruce Carlan Levine, "Free Soil, Free Labor, and *Freimänner*," in Harmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910: A Comparative Perspective* (DeKalb, Illinois, Northern Illinois Press, 1983), 174.

²⁷ Matthew Pinsker, "Not Always Such a Whig: Abraham Lincoln's Partisan Realignment in the 1850s," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 29, 2 (Summer 2008): 27-46. George Schneider was born December 13, 1823 in Pirmasens, Rheinpfalz, where he attended Catholic Latin school, and early decided upon a journalistic life. He worked through various newspapers in the region and became noted for his brilliant writing. He was only 25 when the

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1848 revolution started and was instrumental in setting up the *Volksverein*, or people's union in Pirmasens, getting elected as a delegate to the Kaiserslautern assembly. Most importantly, Schneider was the man who arranged the *Volksbewaffnung*, or "arming of the people" in his district. As such he would either have been a witness or a participant when the 1st Division of the 1st Prussian Army Corps decimated the untrained people's militias at Kirchheimbolanden on June 14, 1849. In either case he was forced to flee Germany in the face of capture by Prussian troops. For his part in the uprising he had received a death sentence. The young man landed in New York in July of 1849. Going first to Cleveland, where he found journalistic work, he soon drifted down the Ohio to German St. Louis, where he started a newspaper with his brother named the *Neue Zeit*. Historian A.E. Zucker wrote that this was "a paper of liberal, antislavery tendency in a slave state," so it was not surprising that it was destroyed. Schneider was forced to teach in a college for a time, but by 1851 he was in Chicago's German newspaper world, "interfering and attacking everywhere it seemed necessary or useful" through the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*.

²⁸ See "Speech at Bloomington, Illinois," September 12, 1854, in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:230-33.

²⁹ See "Abraham Lincoln to Friedrich K.F. Hecker," September 14, 1854, in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:376.

³⁰ James M. Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes of German Immigrants in Illinois, 1848-1860" (Ph.D. diss, Northwestern University, 1966), 44.

³¹ See Doris Kearns Goodwin, in *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2005). See also Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, 2:284.

³² James M. Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes of German Immigrants in Illinois, 1848-1860" (Ph.D. diss, Northwestern University, 1966), 162.

³³ See Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1990).

³⁴ See Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German-Americans on Parade," in Werner Sollors, *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1989), 50, 58.

³⁵ See John R. Edison, "German Club Life as a Local Cultural System," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, 1 (March 1955): 357-82.

³⁶ See Hartmut Keil, and Heinz Ickstadt, "Elements of German Working-Class Culture in Chicago, 1880 to 1890," in Hartmut Keil, ed., *German Working-Class Culture in the United States 1850-1920* (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 94. See Glenn

C. Altschuler & Stuart M. Blumin, *Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2000).

³⁷ For works on the Germans of Chicago see the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 1901-1937, the scholarly publication of the Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. See also Max Baum, "Chicago und sein Deutschtum. Eine Quellenstudie" (Chicago, *Deutsches Maifest Programm*, 1922), 13-20, and Rudolf Cronau, *Chicago und sein Deutschtum* (Cleveland, German-American Biographical Publishing Co., 1901-1902). English language treatments include Rudolf Hofmeister, *The Germans of Chicago* (Chicago, Stipes Publishing Co., 1976); Melvin G. Holli, "German-American Ethnic and Cultural Identity from 1890 Onward," in Melvin G. Holli and Peter d'A. Jones, ed., *Ethnic Chicago: A Multicultural Portrait* 4th Ed. (Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans, 1995), 93-109; Andrew Jacke Townsend, "The Germans of Chicago" (Ph.D. diss, University of Chicago, 1927) and Andrew Jacke Townsend, "The Germans of Chicago" in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 32 (1932): 1-47; Hartmuth Keil, "The Chicago Project: A Study in German Ethnicity" in *American Studies International* 20 (Summer 1982); Hartmuth Keil, *German Workers in Chicago: A Documentary History of Working Class Culture from 1850 to World War I* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press,

1988); Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910: A Comparative Perspective* (DeKalb, Illinois Northern Illinois University Press, 1983); and Hartmut Keil, ed., *German Workers Culture in the United States, 1850 to 1920* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988). For studies of Germans in other Northern cities see James S. Lapham, "The German-Americans of New York City, 1860-1890" (Ph.D. diss., St. John's University, 1977); Leslie Ann Kawaguchi, "The Making of Philadelphia's German-American: Ethnic Group and Community Development, 1830-1883" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1983); Andrew Paul Yox, "Decline of the German-American Community in Buffalo, 1855-1925" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1983); Stanly Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-80* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1990); George Theodore Probst, *The German in Indianapolis: 1840-1914* (Indianapolis, German-American Center, 1989); Robert J. Rombauer, *The Union Cause in St. Louis in 1861* (St. Louis, St. Louis Centennial Year, 1909); Steven Rowan, ed., *Germans for a Free Missouri. Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1857-1862* (Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1983); Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1976), and Kathleen Neils-Conzen, *Germans in Minnesota* (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2003).

³⁸ See Ronald E. Bailey et al., eds., *Chicago City Council Proceedings Files 1833-1871: An Inventory* (Springfield, Illinois State Archives, 1987), File # 0460, p. 695. Secondary sources include Richard Wilson Renner, "In a Perfect Ferment: Chicago, the Know-Nothings, and the Riot for Lager Beer," *Chicago History* (Fall 1976): 161-70; Bob Skilnik, *Beer: A History of Brewing in Chicago* (Chicago, Barricade Books, 2006); John J. Flinn, *History of the Chicago Police* (Montclair, N.J., Patterson-Smith, 1987); Richard C. Lindberg, *To Serve and Collect: Chicago Politics and Police Corruption from the Lager Beer Riot to the Summerdale Scandal, 1855-1960* (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 3-6; and A.T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (1884).

³⁹ See "Trial of the Rioters," in *Chicago Tribune*, June 20, 21, 27, 1855. Alan Pinkerton was also present at the "riot" and testified at this trial.

⁴⁰ See "Anti-Liquor Law Demonstration," in *Chicago Tribune*, June 28, 1855.

⁴¹ Bergquist, p. 194.

⁴² Benjamin P. Thomas wrote that it was as Postmaster of New Salem that Lincoln "formed the habit of newspaper reading which he continued throughout his life, and through which, in part, he learned to interpret public opinion." Paul M. Angle, ed., *The Lincoln Reader* (Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1947), 59.

⁴³ See Otto R. Kyle, *Abraham Lincoln in Decatur* (New York, Vantage Press, 1957), 72.

⁴⁴ See Gustave Körner, *The Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, 2:54-57.

⁴⁵ See Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1926), 2:101.

⁴⁶ Herndon to Theodore Parker, Springfield, April 8, 1857, Herndon-Parker Papers, University of Iowa.

⁴⁷ See "The German Republicans in Council," *Chicago Tribune*, October 26, 1858.

⁴⁸ See *Chicago Tribune*, October 28, 1858.

⁴⁹ See Ward Hill Lamon, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago, A.C. McClurg & Co., 1895), 199-200. Italics in the original.