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Carl and Margarethe Schurz: Their Years in Watertown, Wisconsin

More than sixty Forty-Eighters from Germany settled in Watertown, Wisconsin, in the 1850s. Many of them had university educations, but now they could find little use for their academic training in a frontier town. In order to make a living, former university students and professors became farmers, saloonkeepers, tinsmiths, shoemakers, bakers, music teachers, newspapermen, and even cigar makers. Since those who turned to farming were better at speaking Latin than English, they were often referred to as the “Latin farmers.” Of all of the Forty-Eighters who at one time lived in Watertown, Carl Schurz had by far the most distinguished career in his adopted homeland.¹

For eleven years, from 1855 to 1866, Carl and Margarethe Schurz maintained Watertown, Wisconsin, as their legal address, and it is those years of their lives that are the focus here. While some biographers like Joseph Schafer view Schurz’s Watertown years as a negative interlude in his life, where he was far from the centers of world politics, the argument can also be made that these were formative years that prepared him for his role on the state and national political stage.²

Early Life

Carl Schurz was born on March 2, 1829, in Liblar, a small village near Cologne in the Prussian Rhine Province, where most of his relatives were farmers. His father, Christian Schurz, the village schoolteacher, recognized his son’s academic ability early on and arranged for him to attend the Jesuit Gymnasium in Cologne to prepare for university studies. His father also believed that all children should study music, and therefore he enrolled six-year-

old Carl in piano lessons with the church organist in Brühl, a village four miles away. Carl showed considerable musical talent in singing and in playing the piano. In 1847 he matriculated at the University of Bonn to study history. Here he came under the influence of his history professor Gottfried Kinkel, a strong advocate for a unified and democratic Germany.³ Through Kinkel, Schurz became involved in political protests and eventually joined the revolutionaries in taking up arms against the Prussian troops, who had been sent in to restore order. When the Prussian military forced the revolutionaries to surrender in the siege of the fortress Rastatt, Schurz was able to escape through an unguarded sewer and to flee to France and eventually to Switzerland. Using his cousin's passport, Schurz returned to Germany in 1850 to help his friend and mentor Gottfried Kinkel, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment for his revolutionary activities, escape from Spandau prison near Berlin. After their successful flight to England by ship from Rostock, Schurz accompanied Kinkel to Paris, where he spent six months improving his French. After a short trip to London to visit Kinkel and his wife Johanna, Schurz was arrested on his return to Paris, held in jail for four days, and informed that his presence was no longer welcome in France. Considering England to be safer than any country on the continent, Schurz returned to London in 1851, where he supported himself by teaching German and music and resumed his study of the piano with Mrs. Kinkel, who instilled in him a deep appreciation of Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, and Chopin.⁴

It was during a visit to the home of his friend Johannes Ronge, an ex-priest and Forty-Eighter, that Schurz was first introduced to Ronge's eighteen-year-old sister-in-law, Margarethe Meyer. Born on August 27, 1833, to a wealthy family in Hamburg, Germany, Margarethe was the eleventh child of Agatha Margarethe Beusch Meyer and Heinrich Christian Meyer. Her mother died at Margarethe's birth, and her father, who had made his fortune manufacturing canes and walking sticks, died when Margarethe was fifteen years old. Margarethe, or Gredel as she was called by family and friends, was raised by an aunt and her older siblings; her two brothers Adolph and Heinrich Christian served as her financial guardians and doled out her family inheritance over her lifetime. In 1851 she traveled to England to help her seriously ill sister Bertha with the household and run her kindergarten.⁵

In 1849 Margarethe and her sister Bertha had attended Friedrich Froebel's lectures in Hamburg on pre-school education for children or "the new education" as it had become known, for which Froebel had coined the term "Kindergarten."⁶ When the Ronges were forced to flee to England, Bertha needed a means of support for herself and her husband, and she established the first kindergarten in England in St. John's Wood in London for the children of German refugees of the 1848 Revolution.⁷



Wedding Photo of Carl and Margarethe Schurz, 1852.

In his *Reminiscences*, Schurz described Margarethe as a young woman of “fine stature, a curly head, something childlike in her beautiful features, and large, dark, truthful eyes.”⁸ Apparently it was love at first sight for both Carl and Margarethe. They were married in a civil ceremony in the parish registry of Marylebone, London, on July 6, 1852.⁹ Exiled from his fatherland and feeling that he would always be a foreigner in England, Schurz resolved to rebuild his life in America, in “a new world, a free world, a world of great ideas and aims.”¹⁰ In a letter to his future brother-in-law, Heinrich Adolph Meyer,

Schurz expressed a similar reason for his decision to move to America: "If I cannot be the citizen of a free Germany, then I would at least be a citizen of free America."¹¹ He also explained that there was a second reason. Ever since he had helped Kinkel escape from prison, the Prussian police had harassed his parents, and he had resolved to help them move to Wisconsin, where relatives of his mother lived. Margarethe must have been in agreement with his plan to immigrate to America, since they were scheduled to sail from Portsmouth just two weeks after their marriage. However, their departure was delayed when they were unable to obtain passports, and they spent their honeymoon in a rented cottage in Hampstead. Their honeymoon was cut short when Carl came down with a serious case of scarlet fever and had to spend several weeks recuperating in Malvern taking the famous water cure.¹²

America

Carl and Margarethe Meyer Schurz arrived in New York City on September 17, 1852, on the sailing ship the *City of London*. Unlike most immigrants, they did not travel in steerage, but could afford a comfortable cabin with dinner at the captain's table for the twenty-eight-day journey. After spending a few weeks in New York City, the Schurzes traveled to Philadelphia to visit Carl's German friends Adolph Strodtmann, who had opened a bookstore and published the weekly German newspaper *Die Lokomotive*, and Dr. Tiedemann, a physician and brother of Colonel Tiedemann, on whose staff Carl had served as aide-de-camp during the siege of Rastatt. The Schurzes found life very agreeable among their German friends in Philadelphia. Here they had the opportunity to observe Americans of various stations in life and to familiarize themselves with the American way of thinking.

Carl immersed himself in the politics of the day as well as in the political history and institutions of what was to become their new homeland. When the Schurzes arrived in the United States in 1852, neither one was able to hold an adequate conversation in English. Schurz now set out to teach himself to read, write, and speak English fluently, and in his *Reminiscences* he described the simple methodology he used:

I did not use an English grammar. I do not think I ever had one in my library. I resolutely began to read—first my daily newspaper, which happened to be the *Philadelphia Ledger*. Regularly every day I worked through editorial articles, the newsletters and dispatches, and even as many of the advertisements as my time would allow . . . Then I proceeded to read English novels. The first one I took up was "The Vicar of Wakefield." Then followed Walter Scott, Dickens, and Thac-

keray; then Macaulay's historical essays, and, as I thought of preparing myself for the legal profession, Blackstone's "Commentaries," the clear, terse and vigorous style of which I have always continued to regard as a very great model. Shakespeare's plays, the enormous vocabulary of which presented more difficulties than all the rest, came last. But I did my reading with utmost conscientiousness. I never permitted myself to skip a word the meaning of which I did not clearly understand, and I never failed to consult the dictionary in every doubtful case.¹³

His method for teaching himself to write in English is equally fascinating. He purchased an English edition of the *Letters of Junius*, a collection of letters by the anonymous Junius published in London in 1772. First he translated some of the letters into German, and then he translated his German translations back into English, which he then compared to the English original. Although this was a very laborious process, he said, "I felt in my bones how it helped me. Together with my reading, it gave me what I might call a sense of the logic and also of the music of the language." Thus it was that in six months he had made sufficient progress in English to be able to carry on a conversation in English about non-technical subjects and to write letters.¹⁴ When asked once if he thought in English or German when speaking or writing either language or whether he was translating from one language into the other, he said he was unconscious in which language he was thinking. Similarly, when asked whether he preferred to speak in English or in German, he responded that this depended on the occasion:

On the whole, I preferred the English language for public speaking, partly on account of the simplicity of its syntactic construction, and partly because the pronunciation of the consonants is mechanically easier and less fatiguing to the speaker. I have preferred it also for the discussion of political subjects and of business affairs because of its full and precise terminology. But for the discussion of philosophical matters, for poetry, and for familiar, intimate conversation I have preferred the German.¹⁵

However, it was not until his move to Watertown, Wisconsin, that Schurz perfected his use of English and gave his first political speeches and lectures in English.

When Carl's parents and two sisters arrived from Germany in spring of 1853, he and Margarethe gave up their rented rooms to share a house with his family. On May 3, 1853, their first child, daughter Agathe, was born.

To escape the summer heat of Philadelphia, the Schurzes spent the summer of 1853 in the resort Cape May, New Jersey, where they became acquainted with Jay Cooke and his family. Cooke became a life-long friend and financial advisor of Schurz.¹⁶ In the summer of 1854 the Schurzes rented a house in the Moravian community of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, which had become a major musical center of nineteenth-century America. The musically talented Schurzes no doubt enjoyed the cultural life and the concerts of the Bethlehem Philharmonic Society, and Margarethe even sang in the Bethlehem Chorus.¹⁷ In a letter to Margarethe of September 17, 1860, Schurz reminisced about their pleasant summer in Bethlehem six years before and how he hoped to relive those happy days. It was here that their little daughter Agathe, whom they had nicknamed Hans or Handy, first learned to walk, that they took long walks in the old and new cemeteries, where he practiced pistol shooting, and where together they read Dicken's *Bleak House* and *Nicholas Nickleby*.¹⁸ The Schurzes must have felt very much at home among the German settlers of Bethlehem, since the city became one of Margarethe's favorite retreats when her husband was on the campaign trail, fighting in the Civil War, or involved in government service.

After almost two years in America with no regular income except for what he earned for a few articles he wrote for a New York newspaper, Schurz undoubtedly was interested in establishing himself in a business to provide for his family. With funds provided by his brother-in-law Adolph Meyer, Schurz entered into an agreement to expand the retail musical instrument business of a German by the name of Dümig from Philadelphia. Unfortunately, Schurz's first business venture in America turned out to be no more successful than his subsequent real estate speculation in Wisconsin.¹⁹

In the spring of 1854 Schurz made his first visit to Washington, D.C., which he described as a "big, sprawling village" with muddy streets and unfinished government buildings. He was interested above all in the debate of Senator Stephen Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which sought to overturn the Missouri Compromise and to allow Kansas and Nebraska to decide whether or not they wanted to become slave states. With letters of introduction from a medical student by the name of Vaughn, whose acquaintance Schurz had made while living in the Philadelphia boarding house, Schurz was able to meet Senator Richard Broadhead of Pennsylvania, Senator James Shields of Illinois, and Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, whose dignity and manner of speaking impressed him the most of the politicians he met. Through conversations with Francis Grund, a German-American newspaper correspondent, Schurz gained insight into the backroom politics and patronage system of Congress. Although Schurz was generally unimpressed by the debates in the Senate or the House, he was able to hear firsthand the speeches of the propo-

nents of slavery and of those against slavery. He was struck by the casual dress and behavior of many of the members of Congress, especially those chewing tobacco during sessions. However, the visit to Washington, D.C., convinced Schurz that some form of politics would definitely be part of his professional life in his new homeland.²⁰

Wisconsin

Although it was Schurz's intention from the beginning to move his family to Watertown, Wisconsin, where his cousin Edmund Jüssen and uncle Jacob Jüssen had settled, it was not until the fall of 1854 that he made a solo exploratory trip to what was then known as the "West." After passing through Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, he stopped in Indianapolis, where according to a letter to his wife, he wanted to check out the "gas business."²¹ It was at about this time that gas streetlights were first introduced in Indianapolis.²² From there he traveled to St. Louis, where he wrote a letter to Margarethe about his first visit to Chicago. When he was unable to find lodging in Chicago, Schurz ended up wandering the streets and finally fell asleep on a curb, where he dreamed that he had to address an assembly of rats in English. This humorous part of the letter is the first example that we have of Schurz's use of English and shows how far his command of English had come in two years. He concluded this letter to his wife with the enthusiastic statement that "I am more and more convinced that we should be on easy street here in a couple of years."²³ From St. Louis he traveled back to Chicago, where letters from his uncle Jacob inviting him to Watertown awaited him. He took the night steamboat up Lake Michigan from Chicago to Milwaukee and then traveled by rail and stagecoach to Watertown, forty miles west of Milwaukee. Schurz found the natural beauty of southern Wisconsin much to his liking and was surprised to discover that settlers had already turned much of the frontier here into prosperous farmland.²⁴

It may well have been Margarethe's apprehensions about life on the frontier that delayed their move to Wisconsin for two years. In a letter to Charlotte Voss, Schurz hinted at his wife's trepidations, "You know how she imagined this wild America to be."²⁵ Margarethe had thus far lived a life of relative ease and comfort in Hamburg, and as Schurz indicated in a letter to her brother, "Problems have been lacking in her life. Because she has never felt what it means to provide her living she has not yet learned to enjoy it."²⁶ His letters from the West to his wife were written clearly to accentuate the positive and to reassure her that she would find life in Wisconsin both tolerable and pleasant. In one of his letters, he wrote:

I believe you would quickly lose your dislike for the West if you could once see it. I will not say that in beauty this country surpasses the East. On the contrary, the tremendous plains on both sides of the Mississippi are not exactly interesting in the long run; but an infinitely fresh breeze blows through this land. Wherever you direct your gaze you see something great developing. Grandeur is the characteristic of all western life. All life looks at you hopefully, and the war against obstacles opposing civilization is carried on in the serenest confidence of victory. I have never seen so many cheerful people as here.²⁷

Schurz had a number of reasons for his decision to settle his family in Watertown, Wisconsin. First of all there were family connections. His cousin Edmund Jüssen and uncle Jacob Jüssen, who operated a successful liquor business and who later purchased and managed the hotel Germania Haus, had invited Schurz to join them. The Jüssens were part of a large number of German immigrants who had settled in the area. In the back of his mind Schurz undoubtedly saw an opportunity to become a spokesperson for these newly settled German-Americans in Wisconsin and thus initiate a political career. In a letter of March 25, 1855, to his old friend Kinkel, Schurz wrote that he hoped to develop influence with these newly minted German-Americans:

The German element is powerful in that State, the immigrants being so numerous, and they are striving for political recognition. They only lack leaders that are not bound by the restraints of money-getting. There is the place where I can find a sure, gradually expanding field for my work without truckling to the nativistic elements, and therefore I hope, in time, to gain influence that may also become useful to our cause. It is my belief that the future interests of America and Germany are closely interwoven. The two countries will be natural allies as soon as a European upheaval takes place.²⁸

At that time Watertown also appeared to have a promising commercial future. It was the second largest city in the State with a population of 10,006 in the city and township, whereas Madison, the state capital, had a population of only 8,296.²⁹ The topography and climate of that area was not at all unlike that of the homeland he had left in Europe, and with over half of the population of Watertown of German origin, new immigrants from Germany found a common language and culture. The railroad from Milwaukee to Watertown had been completed, and three new railway lines were being built:

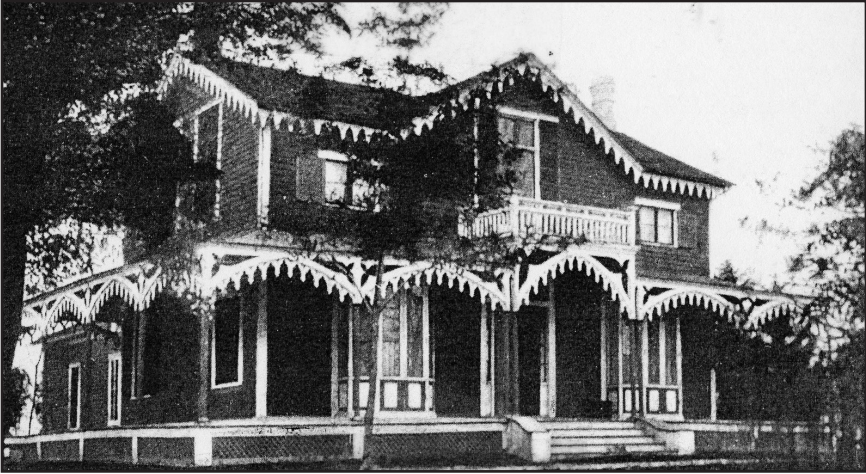
one line to connect Watertown with Madison and Prairie du Chien, a second line to Columbus and La Crosse, and a third to Fond du Lac. It looked as though Watertown might become a booming railroad center like Indianapolis. In 1856 each arriving train brought two or three new families to this bustling frontier town.³⁰ In a letter to his brother-in-law Heinrich Meyer, Schurz described Watertown as a thriving railroad center:

One sees and hears nothing but houses under construction, which are rising with the speed of the wind; excavating on every hand, and harvesting in the neighborhood. Before winter all three railroads are to be ready for traffic as far as the nearest main points. And if you look at the map you will find that Watertown is a railroad center of importance.³¹

In his *Reminiscences* Schurz wrote that he found in the West “something of the America that I had seen in my dreams; a new country, a new society almost entirely unhampered by any traditions of the past; a new people produced by the free intermingling of the vigorous elements of all nations, with not old England alone, but the world for its motherland; with almost limitless opportunities open to all, and with equal rights secured by free institutions of government.”³² He said that the atmosphere of the West was “so congenial that I resolved to establish my home in the Mississippi valley. What I had seen and heard of the State of Wisconsin and its people was so exceedingly pleasing that I preferred that State to any other. . . .”³³

In March of 1855 Schurz moved his parents and two sisters to Watertown, Wisconsin, but stayed only a few weeks to get them settled in a house, which he purchased for \$1,000. Schurz’s sisters, Antonie, also known as Tony, and Anna, soon announced in the *Watertown Democrat* that they were opening a millinery and dress-making shop with the finest and latest Eastern fashions. However, the following year his sister Tony married her cousin Edmund, who had recently become a widower, and moved to Columbus, Wisconsin, about twenty-four miles from Watertown.³⁴ On his return to Pennsylvania, Schurz found that Margarethe was suffering from a lung ailment, and he then made arrangements to sail with his wife and two-year-old daughter, Agathe, to England on April 21, 1855, where his wife was to take the same water cure in Malvern that had been so beneficial for his own recovery from scarlet fever three years earlier.³⁵

By July 1855 Schurz had returned from England and was back in Watertown to finalize the purchase of a farm of eighty-nine acres on the northwest edge of the city from John Jackson. He probably paid about \$100 per acre. To purchase this parcel, which included a house and two outbuildings, he



Schurz Home in Watertown, Wisconsin, 1856.

took a mortgage for \$8500.³⁶ Although he overpaid according to land prices at the time, he hoped that he would eventually be able to sell some of the land as lots and make a profit, since farmland was continuing to double in value.³⁷ He set about immediately to have the farm surveyed for lots “so that no square foot of land shall remain unutilized,” as he wrote to his wife.³⁸

In October of 1855 Schurz was confined to bed for several days with a serious leg injury he received when his horse stumbled and fell. During his convalescence Schurz wrote to Margarethe that not only had he read Heine’s miscellaneous writings and large parts of Schlosser’s *History of the Eighteenth Century*, but he also had drawn up a complete plan for their future home with a “ground plan, façade, sided-elevation and all detailed drawings.”³⁹ In the next two letters to his wife he described his happiness with the location of the farm, with its fruit trees, half-acre strawberry bed, currant and gooseberry bushes, a stream on the left and wooded hills on the right, and its view of Watertown with its white houses.⁴⁰

Although frontier towns like Watertown lacked the cultural amenities of larger cities, in a letter of September 4, 1855, to his wife Schurz provided an example of the cultural life of Watertown. He wrote that he had just had the pleasure of attending an “operatic concert” of large sections of the opera *Norma*,⁴¹ performed by three travelling artists of the Milwaukee Music Society:

You can imagine that a presentation of the production without scenery, without orchestra, with a bare piano accompaniment upon a bare concert stage looked pretty bad. But so far as the musical performances themselves were concerned, they surpassed my expectations, and would in part have forced even an art critic to give a favorable

judgment. I now understand very well how they put on more ambitious performances in Milwaukee, with the best success. I do not believe they can perform any better in most of the small capitals of Germany.⁴²

Milwaukee, known as the “German Athens of America,” he noted, spent a lot of money on theatrical performances with good costumes and paid the director a better salary than what was paid in most German theaters. He added that both Philadelphia and New York now also had built well-equipped German theaters.

In December 1855 Carl rejoined his wife and daughter in England and took them to Montreux, Switzerland, for a reunion of the Meyer family. On June 21, 1856, the Schurzes set sail for America to prepare for their move to Wisconsin.⁴³

While Schurz was in Europe, construction commenced on an impressive frame house with gingerbread trim in a grove of trees on a hill that came to be known as “*Karls Huegel*” or “Carl’s Hill.” Although Schurz referred to his new home as “a modest, but pretty comfortable cottage,”⁴⁴ the people of Watertown considered it more as a villa or chateau.⁴⁵ When Margarethe and Agathe arrived in August 1856, the house at 749 North Church Street was not yet finished, and they had to wait until the end of October before they could move in. In a letter dated November 20, 1856, to his brother-in-law, Heinrich Meyer, Carl wrote that they were very happy in their new home:

We have been living for a number of weeks in the new house, and Margarethe has an extended field for her activities . . . Briefly, our house suits us so well that we prefer not to go out, and there is nothing lacking in it but a visit from you and a piano, on which we could play with satisfaction. For the rest, the cottage is situated so beautifully, and its external appearance is so tasteful, that envious looks have already been cast upon it. . . .⁴⁶

In a letter of December 1, 1856, to his friend Gottfried Kinkel, Schurz wrote how pleased he and Margarethe were with their new home and provided a more complete description of it:

I write you today out of the full pleasure of my home situation. Picture to yourself a handsome country home, upon a gentle acclivity, a gunshot distance from the town; an unhampered view over stream and town and the encircling hills before it, and looking out at the back upon an oak forest enlivened here and there by small dwell-

ings. Within the house, to the right of the hallway, are two high spacious rooms connected by a wide sliding door. In the bay window of the one room are a lovely young woman at work and a red-cheeked, angel-faced child at play; in the other is a person of the male species at the writing-table, surrounded with books . . . on the walls, guns, implements of the chase, and the like—the ensemble so cheerful and agreeable—the front room also not without elegance.⁴⁷

Although the “farm,” as Schurz called it, was located within the city boundaries of Watertown, it was still a functioning farm. This meant that Schurz, who had no training in agriculture, now had to become involved in the day-to-day operation of the farm. In a letter of August 27, 1855, Schurz had written to his wife about the challenges he faced on the farm, noting that “The grain harvest is completed; the wheat, barley, and oats, however, are not yet threshed, so that I do not know definitely how much there will be. But it looks fairly promising.”⁴⁸ A few weeks later in a letter to his wife, he expressed the typical frustration of a farmer with the weather and the fact that he had learned a lot already about farming:

And my hay! My hay! Two days more of rain would finish it. And I fear greatly, for we are in the midst of the equinoctial period which sets in here usually before the twentieth of September. How sorry I am that you cannot share with me directly the cares of the farmer! You will not believe it, but when a man attends so much to it he is bound to learn something.⁴⁹

Although not really suited to being a farmer, Schurz fared better than many of his fellow Forty-Eighters with university educations who had also turned to farming to support themselves. Schurz was more a gentleman farmer and manager than a hands-on farmer. In 1857 his parents became part of the Schurz household; his father tended the garden and flowers and helped manage the farm in Carl’s absence, and his mother helped in the dairy and ran the household.⁵⁰ With Schurz now often away for extended periods of time on lecture tours or on the campaign trail, Edward Kruger, a local farmer, was hired to oversee the planting and harvesting of crops and to tend the livestock. Kruger and his wife Johanna and two sons also became part of the Schurz household. To help with the care of the children as well as other household chores the Schurzes engaged two young women, Ella B. Flavin, the daughter of neighbors, and Mina Humbolt from Prussia.⁵¹

Once he had settled his family, Schurz was able to pursue various business ventures in Watertown and to become involved in local politics. In a

letter to his friend from student days, Friedrich Althaus, of November 15, 1856, Schurz reported that he had been able to sell an entire row of lots and that besides the real estate business he had been given a commission as notary public by the governor of Wisconsin, to which the office of advocate would be added in March of 1857. Schurz had also become president of a newly founded insurance company in Watertown.⁵² In March of 1857 he and his partner C. T. Palme advertised in the *Watertown Democrat* that as notaries public and as land agents they would “attend promptly to all business entrusted to their care.”⁵³ When it looked as though the county seat would be moved from Jefferson to Watertown, Schurz was appointed commissioner of public improvements in Watertown to consider construction of a new courthouse, schools, bridges, streets, and sidewalks. When a vacancy occurred on the city common council, Schurz was elected as alderman from the heavily German fifth ward in Watertown and served as supervisor for both the fifth and sixth wards for two years. Although Schurz attended common council meetings very regularly at first, he was often unable to attend city common council meetings later when his speaking engagements increased.⁵⁴ Even though he was a staunch Republican, he befriended Daniel W. Ballou, the editor of the *Watertown Democrat*, and before each common council meeting the two men would meet in Ballou’s office to go over the English of the proposals and resolutions that Schurz planned to introduce. His fellow common council members expressed their surprise at the command of English of this “green young Dutchman” compared to that of the other German councilmen.⁵⁵ One of Schurz’s closest friends on the Watertown common council and a frequent hunting partner was Emil Rothe, a fellow Forty-Eighter and founder and editor of the Watertown newspaper *Der Weltbürger*. Since Rothe was a staunch Democrat, he and Schurz often clashed when it came to politics, and it looked for a while as if their friendship would come to an end. However, after 1872 they overcame their personal differences.⁵⁶

Finances and Law

During Schurz’s second summer in Watertown, the Panic of 1857 spread across the country, and Wisconsin and Watertown were not immune to it.⁵⁷ The severe economic downturn not only halted the growth of the city, but it dashed Schurz’s plans to sell additional lots to payoff the mortgage on his farm. When Schurz was unable to make the payment on the blanket mortgage that also covered the parcels of land he had already sold, he as well as the new owners lost their land. Foreclosures and bankruptcies were so commonplace at the time that no one took much notice or blamed Schurz for the financial disaster. However, years later, one of the farmers, named Spiegelberg, who

had lost his land when Schurz was foreclosed on, contacted Schurz to see if anything could be done, and Schurz to his credit reimbursed him for his loss, even though he was not legally liable. These financial setbacks embarrassed Schurz and in later campaigns were to come back to haunt him.⁵⁸

As the number of bank failures increased, money became scarce. Watertown had issued bonds to support the expansion of the railroads, and when the railroads in Wisconsin went bankrupt, the city was unable to pay off the bonds.⁵⁹ In his *Reminiscences* Schurz mentioned that their favorite family joke during the economic down turn was “that we might have to ask our butcher to accept as payment a table and to return the change in the shape of chairs.”⁶⁰ Yet the cost of living in Watertown was reasonable, and his mother could run the household for \$12 to \$14 a month. Since Schurz enjoyed hunting, he was often able to provide game, especially prairie chickens, for the family dinner table.⁶¹

As a result of his family's financial straits, Schurz decided that he had to seek new sources of income by pursuing a career as a lawyer. He had been studying law on the side for some time, and now that the political campaigns of 1858 were past, he applied to the Circuit Court of Jefferson County, Wisconsin, for admission to the bar. A lawyer from Watertown submitted Schurz's request to the presiding judge, and as Schurz recounted in his memoirs, it was granted with “a smile and a nod by the judge, a hand-shake, the signing of a paper and finally a moderate tittle and hilarious exchange of lawyers' jokes at the village tavern nearby.”⁶² Although offered a position as lawyer in Chicago with a good salary, Schurz felt that his best political connections as well as his financial interests were in Wisconsin, and he decided to become a partner in the law firm of Halbert E. Paine in Milwaukee on January 1, 1859. The plan was to spend winters in Milwaukee and summers in their home in Watertown. While Margarethe and the children were in residence in Watertown, Schurz planned to return once a week by train from Milwaukee. Even before being actively engaged in the practice of law, Schurz had agreed in November 1858 to supplement his income by contributing articles on a regular basis to the radical German newspaper in Milwaukee, the *Atlas*, which had just become a daily paper.⁶³ However, even as Schurz noted later with regret in his *Reminiscences*, he continued to be drawn to public action, and the practice of law never became his primary focus. With the encouragement of his partner, Schurz continued to accept invitations to give lectures against slavery or to become involved in political campaigns; for example, in 1859 he campaigned actively to elect Byron Paine to the Wisconsin Supreme Court.⁶⁴ The law partnership of Halbert E. Paine and Carl Schurz lasted only until 1861, when both men moved on to public service, while, however, remaining lifelong friends.⁶⁵

Schurz never mentioned his wife's inheritance in his *Reminiscences* as the primary means of support after their marriage and during their first years in the United States, and the topic rarely came up in his correspondence. When Schurz was forced to flee from Germany to England, he supported himself by giving language and music lessons. In response to a request from his future brother-in-law, Adolph Meyer, that Schurz acquaint him with his past and future plans, Schurz had written on April 19, 1852, that he would be able to support himself and a wife by teaching, without taking into account Margarethe's property, and that he planned to immigrate soon to America, where he hoped to earn his livelihood by giving lectures on what he knew the best, namely the events in France between 1789 and 1852. This was the first mention that Margarethe would bring considerable assets into the marriage, and Schurz assured Adolph that he did not need "a large capital in order to make my living, but only the opportunity and scope for work. These I have never lacked."⁶⁶ Adolph requested that Margarethe return to Hamburg from London, probably hoping that he could convince her not to marry this penniless radical German exile. However, when she insisted on following through with the marriage, her brother arranged for her to receive 700 thaler of her inheritance, which undoubtedly paid for their cabin passage across the Atlantic.⁶⁷ In May of 1852, two months before his marriage, Schurz had sent his parents all the money he had earned except the few pounds that were still owed him.⁶⁸ Schafer estimates that Schurz could not have earned more than \$200 in the six weeks in England before he and his wife sailed for America. Margarethe's inheritance, estimated to have been between \$12,000 and \$15,000,⁶⁹ was undoubtedly the major source of income to finance their first three years in Philadelphia, several trips back to Europe when Margarethe became ill, and to underwrite the move to Watertown, Wisconsin, but it is uncertain whether the funds were received in a lump sum or in installments over the next years. During this time there is no mention of Schurz being gainfully employed or receiving any type of income from either lectures or publishing.⁷⁰ According to Schafer a portion of the Meyer family estate consisted of land outside of Hamburg that eventually became part of the city. When this land was finally sold, the receipt of their mother's share made the Schurz children quite well off.⁷¹

First Kindergarten

Not long after finally being able to move into their newly completed home in Watertown at the end of October 1856, Margarethe established the first German kindergarten in America in her living room for five students, including her three-year-old Agathe and four nieces. Here she taught the chil-

dren songs and games in German that she had learned in the classes that she and her sister Bertha had taken with Friedrich Froebel in Hamburg in 1849. Froebel believed that children learned by doing, and each exercise used the “Froebel gifts,” which consisted of bright balls, blocks of wood, strips of paper, and cardboard.⁷² With these the children were encouraged to fashion and create things by using their own imagination. As her text she used *A Practical Guide to the English Kindergarten*, which her sister Bertha and brother-in-law Johannes Ronge had written in 1851 after opening their own kindergarten in London. This book had received considerable acclaim at the International Exhibit of Educational Systems in 1854 in London.⁷³

Since the Schurz home was situated on the outskirts of Watertown, Margarethe soon decided to make her kindergarten more accessible for other children by moving it to the small frame house in which her in-laws had first lived in the center of Watertown, on the southwest corner of North Second and Jones Street. Here she was able to equip one room as a classroom, in which she conducted classes during the winter months. She continued to direct the school until 1858 when she and her husband moved to Milwaukee for the fall and winter months. Then Carl Schurz’s cousin, Elizabeth Jüssen, and later Mrs. Rose Kunert oversaw the private school. In 1876 Ella König, the sister of Mrs. Kunert, took over the school and moved it to a different location. Margarethe Schurz’s kindergarten continued to operate as a private school in Watertown until 1915, when prejudice against the German language during World War I forced it to close.⁷⁴

On a trip to Boston with her husband in the fall of 1859 Margarethe Schurz met Elizabeth Palmer Peabody at the home of a mutual friend. When Peabody expressed her amazement at how well behaved six-year-old Agathe Schurz was and how well she was able to get along with the other children in the family, Mrs. Schurz explained that her daughter had been brought up in a kindergarten. When Peabody indicated that she was unfamiliar with this term, Mrs. Schurz explained to her the concepts of a kindergarten as developed by Froebel in his theory of early childhood education. Peabody was so taken by these new ideas that in 1860 she established her own first English kindergarten in Boston and became a lifelong advocate of the kindergarten movement.⁷⁵

Carl Schurz was undoubtedly unaware of the importance of his wife’s work in the area of preschool education since he never mentioned her kindergarten in his *Reminiscences*. The kindergarten movement was still largely unknown in the United States in 1856 when Margarethe Schurz founded the first American kindergarten in Watertown, Wisconsin. Her school represents an important milestone in the history of education in the United States, and as a result she remains without a doubt one of Watertown’s most renowned women.

Local and State Politics

When Schurz first arrived in Watertown, he wrote in his *Reminiscences* that many people at first sought his acquaintance, but he never succeeded in really becoming popular among the townspeople. This was due in large part to his being “ein verdammter Republikaner” in a predominantly Democratic city.⁷⁶ The animosity toward Republicans was so great at the time that the few Republicans of the sixth ward of Watertown had to march as a group to the polls on Election Day to protect themselves from being beaten up by Democratic sympathizers.⁷⁷ Schurz was drawn to the newly formed Republican Party primarily because of its opposition to slavery, and although he gave many speeches against slavery, he was never able to convince his fellow townsmen that slavery was the real political issue.⁷⁸ Since the editors of the two newspapers in Watertown, *Der Weltbürger* and *Der Anzeiger*, were both staunch Democrats, Schurz in 1857 founded the Republican *Volkszeitung*, but it existed only through the presidential election of 1860 with a subsidy from the Republican Party. The bilingual format of the *Volkszeitung* at first was unique in that one side was written in English by the editor Hermann Lindemann, another Forty-Eighter, and the other side was written in German by Schurz. Eventually it was written only in German.⁷⁹

Another reason that the people of Watertown did not warm to Schurz may well have been the fact that neither Schurz nor his wife were churchgoers, in a city where virtually from its founding settlers had formed congregations and built churches and where the social life of most families revolved around their church. Although Schurz was born and raised in a Catholic family in the Rhineland, already in his youth he had begun to have serious doubts that the Catholic Church offered the only path to salvation as he had been taught. His freethinking father, Christian Schurz, had encouraged his son to see the good in all people, even in Protestants and Jews, and he tried to inculcate in his son the basic lessons of tolerance by reading to him Lessing’s *Nathan der Weise*. While Schurz did not participate in organized religion after about the age of sixteen, in his *Reminiscences* he admitted, however, that he had a life-long “strong religious want, a profound respect for religious thought.”⁸⁰ Aside from anticlerical statements in his private letters, Schurz generally refrained from making statements critical of the Catholic Church during his career, and yet he was often charged with being an atheist. When the school board in Watertown banned religious instruction from the city’s public schools at the insistence of the Catholic residents, Schurz stated that in his opinion this ban was not the result of abuses and that Protestant families should still have the choice of allowing their children to be instructed in religion. For expressing this view the Appleton *Crescent* and the radical newspaper *Wisconsin* at

first attacked him as a “defamer of religion, unfit for office,” but the *Wisconsin* later retracted the statement.⁸¹

Unlike her husband who grew up in the small German village of Liblar, Margarethe Meyer Schurz’s background was cosmopolitan. She came from an affluent family in the port city of Hamburg, where she lived a sheltered and indulgent life as the youngest of eleven children. Raised by an aunt and her older siblings after her parents died, she was educated at home by private tutors and was strongly influenced by her second-oldest sister Bertha, who actively supported such liberal causes as the Hamburg women’s movement and equal educational opportunities for women. Bertha had become an early advocate of the kindergarten movement and joined the Hamburg free congregation of German Catholics, a sect that broke away from the Roman Catholic Church and that eschewed all forms of church dogma and gave women an equal voice in all church matters.⁸² In spite of the differences of their upbringing, Carl and Margarethe Schurz were both well educated, shared similar open-minded and freethinking attitudes, and loved to play the piano and sing. Schurz was especially taken with his wife’s fine alto voice.⁸³ With regard to organized religion the Schurzes did not differ from many other Forty-Eighter families in Watertown, who usually had no formal religious affiliations, except for a few who were Lutheran or Catholic. Those Forty-Eighters who were not anti-religious and did profess a religion mostly belonged to a “*freie Kirche*” or Free Church in Watertown. For example, Schurz’s friend Emil Rothe was a prominent member of the oldest “*freie Kirche*,” the Evangelical German Church of Watertown, later renamed St. Luke’s, but there is no evidence that the Schurzes ever attended this church.⁸⁴

Other reasons for Schurz’s lack of popularity among the residents of Watertown were the frankness with which he expressed his political opinions, his unwillingness to suffer fools gladly, and a refusal to compromise if he felt himself to be in the right, even if he was in the minority. Schurz could also be very critical of his fellow German countrymen. He criticized his fellow Germans for their clannishness and for living in predominantly German sections of Indianapolis or Cincinnati. He even felt that Milwaukee suffered “from the presence of too many Germans. Wherever the German in this country has to live off Germans, things go badly for him.”⁸⁵

However, he sided with other Germans in his strong opposition to the temperance movement. He wrote jokingly to his wife from New York on August 8, 1855, that the only good he saw in the temperance laws was that they would reduce the number of drunks on the streets. Similarly, he opposed Puritan Sabbath laws or “blue laws” that might curtail typical German Sunday afternoon festivities or even walks in the woods.⁸⁶

Not long after arriving in Watertown, Louis P. Harvey, the Republican state senator, who later was elected governor of Wisconsin, asked Schurz to accompany him to Jefferson, which had not yet become the seat of Jefferson County, Wisconsin, to attend a campaign rally against slavery. Although Schurz had declined to speak to the Germans there, Harvey had Schurz sit with him on the platform, and after Harvey finished his speech, the chairman of the meeting introduced Schurz and announced that the latter would now address the crowd in German. Although unprepared and somewhat embarrassed, Schurz spoke extemporaneously for over half an hour against slavery and the responsibilities of citizens of German background to their newly adopted homeland. This was his first political speech in America, and soon invitations to speak poured in from all sides. However, his speeches were still in German since he did not trust himself to speak publicly in English.⁸⁷ The Wisconsin Republicans saw in Schurz, an educated and intelligent young German emigrant, who could campaign for them in German, thereby attracting the many German-speaking voters in the state, who usually tended to vote for the Democratic Party. By 1858 Schurz's command of English had improved so much that he mentioned in letters to his friend Gottfried Kinkel that he found English in some respects easier than German and that he was now more popular among the Americans than among the Germans because he spoke English better than most Americans and had a better knowledge of European affairs. For Schurz the major difference between the two political parties was the question of slavery, and this became the primary focus of his speeches.⁸⁸

In the fall of 1857 the Watertown Republicans sent Schurz as their delegate to the state convention, and to his surprise he was nominated as the Republican candidate for lieutenant governor. Even though few knew much about him, the Republicans felt it was crucial to have a German on the ticket. Although he appeared rather eccentric to some of the delegates because of his tall, lanky frame and ill-fitting, threadbare suit, his oratory skills at his impromptu acceptance speech won over the doubters, and he received a standing ovation. According to the historian Thomson:

He had spoken but a few words before he had the attention of the convention riveted upon himself. If the delegates were astonished at his uncouth appearance, they were amazed at his eloquence and the charm and power of his masterly oratory. When he left the platform he also left the impression upon the mind of every one present that a man of splendid intellectual abilities had appeared among them, challenging their criticism and winning their admiration.⁸⁹

Thus began the political career of Carl Schurz, who through his oratorical skills was able to bring many of his German-speaking compatriots into the Republican fold. At the time Schurz was not yet a citizen; however, Wisconsin allowed immigrants to vote after one year of residence regardless of whether they had acquired citizenship, which could be attained after five years of residency. The campaign became his first opportunity to make speeches in English, some of which were even published in Eastern newspapers. While the Republican Randall won the governorship, Schurz lost the lieutenant governorship by only 107 votes.⁹⁰

Along with his Republican colleagues, Schurz garnered his fair share of unfavorable criticism from the local Democratic press. The antipathy of the Germans and the Irish to the Republicans increased even more when the Know Nothing Party with its anti-foreign and anti-Catholic bias joined ranks with the Republicans.⁹¹ The Watertown *Democrat* praised Schurz's integrity as a person and wrote that he was "moderately respectable as to ability" when compared to other Republican candidates. However the *Democrat* usually referred to him as "Carl Schurz of Jefferson County" instead of Watertown.⁹² One newspaper even went so far as to misspell his name and to refer to him as "Shirts."⁹³ Other charges that were repeated were that Schurz was not a naturalized citizen, but a foreigner and therefore ineligible to run for office, that he had been able to keep his considerable wealth in Germany, while the assets of his former revolutionary comrades had been confiscated, and that he was a Prussian spy sent to hunt down his former revolutionary friends. When these last two accusations appeared in the *Democrat* in Beaver Dam, Wisconsin, Schurz at first suspected that his friend Emil Rothe was the source of this slander, but this later proved to be totally false, and Schurz and Rothe eventually reconciled. Schurz made it a life-long habit of usually not replying to personal attacks, although as he admitted in his *Reminiscences*, this could be interpreted as an "indirect confession."⁹⁴ Schurz's strongest advocates among Wisconsin newspapers were the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, the *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, and the Milwaukee German *Atlas*, which reported fully on his activities and speeches. Schurz was now averaging about five speeches or lectures per week.⁹⁵

Fame as Orator

At this time the Lyceum Movement was particularly popular in the Northeast and the Midwest. The Lyceum societies arranged lecture series that were partly educational and informational and partly entertainment. The speakers were not only paid a handsome fee, but they were also reimbursed for their travel and lodging expenses. As Schurz confessed in his *Reminiscences*

these lecture tours allowed him “to replenish his exhausted bank account in the shortest possible time,” especially after neglecting his own affairs during a political campaign.⁹⁶ He gave his first Lyceum lecture to the Watertown YMCA on January 20, 1858, on “Democracy and Despotism in France,” and it even received a favorable review in the Watertown *Democrat*, which had opposed him during the election.⁹⁷ Although Schurz often found the lecture tours exhausting, he noted in his *Reminiscences* that they were some of “the most interesting and cheering of my early American experiences. I saw what I might call the middle-class culture in process of formation.”⁹⁸ He was amazed at the intellectual level of the small town schoolteachers, tradesmen, doctors, and lawyers whom he met on his trips across the country. At times, however, his lecture tours were also filled with adventure. One of his most unforgettable memories was getting lost while crossing on foot the ice-covered Mississippi River that was beginning to break up at Burlington, Iowa, to reach the train station on the Illinois side during a snow storm and slogging through several inches of water on the ice.⁹⁹

Schurz prepared his lectures with utmost care, often writing out his speeches first and then committing them to memory. He wrote out his lectures so he could be certain that his grammar and idioms were correct, and as a result he was usually able to supply reporters with a copy of his manuscript. Not only was Schurz therefore quoted accurately, but many of his speeches also ended up being published in newspapers. Schurz’s reputation as an orator was based both on his eloquence and dramatic presentation as well as on the “terrible sincerity” with which he spoke according to one listener who had heard him often. Schurz used his thorough knowledge of European history and current affairs to lecture on such topics as Germany, France, and American civilization.¹⁰⁰

Schurz was invited by the Achaean Society of Beloit College to deliver the commencement address on July 12, 1858, in the Congregational Church in Beloit, Wisconsin. He spoke on “America and Americanism” and focussed on the importance of the American idea of freedom for the world. His speech was well received and resulted in an invitation from the wealthy abolitionist Gerrit Smith to participate in the New York State political campaign of 1858.¹⁰¹ He repeated the Beloit address to the Literary Society of the University of Wisconsin two weeks later to enthusiastic reviews. Two days after this address the board of regents of the University of Wisconsin nominated him for a professorship in modern languages, which he, however, declined. On August 31, 1858, Governor Randall appointed Schurz to the board of regents of the University of Wisconsin to fill out the term of Professor E. S. Carr, who had resigned, but the following February Schurz was re-elected by the legislature on a straight party vote.¹⁰²

Schurz's Beloit College commencement address on "Americanism," large parts of which he reused in later speeches, was one of his first major addresses in English and demonstrated how well he had mastered the English language in the six years since he and his wife had arrived in the United States. His audiences were impressed with his command of the history of civilization and of democracy as well as his views on slavery, tolerance, and education. The speech received favorable reviews in the Republican newspapers in Madison and Milwaukee, and the *Chicago Press and Tribune* concluded that he had won over his audience by his "spirit, genius, learning, and great ideas."¹⁰³ This speech established Schurz's reputation as an effective and skillful orator beyond the borders of Wisconsin and resulted in invitations to speak before other groups.

The University of Wisconsin was barely ten years old when Schurz was appointed to the Board of Regents in 1858, and he wrote to his old friend Althaus that in his view the university had not yet reached "the standard of German universities, but rather that of the German 'gymnasium,' only more liberal and without elementary classes."¹⁰⁴ Schurz attended the meetings of the board of regents regularly and served on committees that dealt with which subjects should be taught, salaries of professors, and the reorganization of departments at the university. When Henry Barnard was to be inaugurated as the new chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, the regents chose Schurz to deliver the official welcome on July 27, 1859. In this address Schurz stressed that the primary purpose of education along with intellectual training was the development of character, and he extolled the study of classical literature for promoting the culture of the ideal to counterbalance the practical: "In cultivating the noble and the beautiful along with the useful, we should evade the onesidedness of character which may make a people for a while rich but not good, powerful but not great."¹⁰⁵ Although the regents voted to publish Schurz's address along with other welcoming speeches as a separate publication, this did not occur for political reasons, since Schurz was a Republican, but the Wisconsin *State Journal* published his speech in its entirety.¹⁰⁶

Life in Watertown

Life on the farm in Watertown was idyllic for the Schurzes. Margarethe was a charming hostess, and the Schurz home became a favorite gathering place for family and friends from far and wide. Conversations at their dinner parties revolved around politics, philosophy, and current events and invariably included music, charades, "living pictures," and even a masked ball. Although small frontier towns like Watertown lacked the cultural opportunities

afforded by larger, more civilized cities, Schurz noted in his *Reminiscences* “that lack was not grievously felt as a positive privation.”¹⁰⁷ As a diversion Schurz would patronize his favorite saloons operated by fellow Forty-Eighters Henry Bieber, Jacob Karst, and M. D. Marx or play billiards at Wiggenhorn’s Buena Vista House, the best hotel in Watertown. Schurz also loved to hunt prairie chicken, snipe, and quail with Emil Rothe, and Schurz soon became known as the “country Gentleman from Watertown.”¹⁰⁸

On March 15, 1857, the Schurz’s second daughter, Marianne, named after Carl’s mother, but called Pussy by the family, was born. The birth was very difficult, and Margarethe almost bled to death. It may well have been Margarethe’s fragile state of health and Carl’s frequent trips away from home on business or politics that led Carl’s parents to move in with them that year.

Music played an important part in the lives of Carl and Margarethe Schurz. They both loved to sing and were accomplished pianists, especially Carl, who had started piano lessons when he was six years old and who supported himself in London by giving music lessons. Soon after the Schurzes arrived in Watertown, Margarethe, along with Carl’s sister and aunt, joined a singing society, which rehearsed in a public hall and was directed by a local piano teacher.¹⁰⁹ At times the entire family was involved in performing scenes from favorite operas, for example, the *Magic Flute*, *Der Freischütz*, and *Norma*; and Schurz often served as both pianist and conductor. Even during the winter months the Schurzes held musical soirees in their new home, especially after they acquired a new piano.¹¹⁰ In November of 1856 Carl wrote to his brother-in-law Heinrich that he and Margarethe enjoyed their new home so much that they did not want to go out, but that they sorely missed a piano.¹¹¹ However, after Thanksgiving a new piano arrived, and Margarethe was now able to accompany the children’s singing in her kindergarten class.¹¹²

Later Schurz was even able to put his musical talents to good use at the White House after returning to Washington, D.C., from his post as U.S. Minister to Spain in 1862. According to his niece, Marie Jüssen Monroe, Schurz happened to be at the White House one evening when President Lincoln was resting in his sitting room unable to sleep during one of his most difficult times. Schurz went to the piano and started to play Beethoven softly, and the president was lulled into the first deep sleep that he had been able to enjoy in days.¹¹³ Schurz also played the piano at the White House for President Hayes and guests when he served as secretary of the interior.¹¹⁴

Campaigns

In 1858 Schurz was asked to campaign for Republicans in Illinois in the Lincoln-Douglas senate race. On September 28, 1858, at the Illinois Repub-

lican Ratification Meeting at Mechanics' Hall in Chicago, Schurz delivered one of his most significant speeches, "The Irrepressible Conflict," in which he laid out the irreconcilable differences between slavery and the institutions of a democratic government. The following evening Schurz gave the same speech to the Germans of Chicago, but this time in German. His address became a sensation and was published in numerous Republican newspapers across the country. The influential *New York Tribune* reproduced it in full and called it "one of the ablest and clearest expressions yet made of the chief political questions to be settled in the coming elections," and of Schurz's ability as an orator it stated that "He speaks with an eloquence, force, and intelligence which prove him an invaluable acquisition to his adopted country."¹¹⁵ To this the Milwaukee *Sentinel* and the *State Journal* added their own praise of Schurz: "His political sentiments are not mere matters of convenience of an enlightened mind and a noble heart."¹¹⁶ In a letter to his friend Friedrich Althaus, Schurz wrote that a million copies of his speech had been printed and that it had been read from Maine to Minnesota.¹¹⁷ This speech, more than any other, established Schurz's national reputation.

After the address in Chicago, Schurz had agreed to give campaign speeches for the Republican State Committee of Illinois in the interior of the state, and it so happened that Schurz was scheduled to be in Quincy, Illinois, on the day that Lincoln and Douglas were to have their debate. By coincidence Schurz was travelling on the same train to Quincy as Lincoln, and when Lincoln came through his car, Schurz for the first time was introduced to Lincoln. In his *Reminiscences*, Schurz recalled that Lincoln greeted him "with an off-hand cordiality, like an old acquaintance" and then he sat with Schurz and discussed the points he planned to make in his debate with Douglas. The following day Schurz was invited to sit on the platform to observe firsthand the Quincy debate between Lincoln and Douglas.¹¹⁸ This chance meeting between Lincoln and Schurz was the beginning of a lifelong friendship between the two men based on genuine respect for each other.

In April 1859 Schurz was invited to speak in Boston's Faneuil Hall, where he made one of his most memorable speeches entitled "True Americanism," which was a polished and shorter version of his Beloit College address.¹¹⁹ In a letter to his wife of April 19, 1859, he described the reception his speech received:

My reception at Faneuil Hall was magnificent. There were between fifteen hundred and two thousand people. I spoke like a god, and today I cannot get away from the praises of my speech. It is in all the papers; you will perhaps have seen it already. I cannot write more, but will tell you all when I am with you again.¹²⁰

In Boston he was introduced to some of the city's leading intellectuals, among them Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Charles Eliot Norton, Charles Sumner, the leader of the anti-slavery forces in Massachusetts, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. It was with Longfellow that Schurz developed a close, life-long friendship.¹²¹

During the last half of 1859 and 1860 Schurz was back on the lecture circuit around the country, and the theme of his speeches continued to revolve around anti-slavery, nativism, and the weaknesses of Senator Douglas's arguments. Fearing that a nativistic trend was taking hold in the Wisconsin Republican Party, German-born Republicans as well as some American Republicans pushed for the nomination of Schurz as a foreign-born candidate for governor. However, the convention in Madison re-nominated Governor Randall, and Schurz was unanimously nominated for lieutenant governor. To the dissatisfaction of his friends, Schurz declined to run in large part because his involvement on the national political scene was increasing and because in his own words he had "neither the aptitude nor the liking for the business of the 'practical politician.'"¹²²

Among the many invitations to speak that fall was a request to campaign for the Republicans in the first election in the state of Minnesota. Since there were no railroads yet in Minnesota, Schurz traveled more than 600 miles by buggy, gave over thirty-one campaign speeches in small towns around the state, and was credited with the Republican electoral victory. After helping the entire Wisconsin Republican ticket to victory, Schurz left at the end of November with his wife and children for Boston to lecture on Napoleon and France. They spent most of the winter on the East coast, and while Schurz was giving lectures, his wife and family stayed with the Tiedemanns in Philadelphia.¹²³ In January Schurz gave a speech in Springfield, Massachusetts, on "Douglas and Popular Sovereignty," in which he attacked Douglas's claim that slavery was protected by the Constitution and was not a product of state or local law as Schurz saw it and Douglas's failure to take a moral stand on slavery. After reading Schurz's speech, Lincoln wrote to congratulate him because in many respects it foreshadowed the anti-slavery address that Lincoln himself was to give two weeks later at the Cooper Union in New York City and showed how similar their views on slavery were.¹²⁴

Although Schurz, along with the Wisconsin delegation, had originally supported Seward in the presidential race, he switched his support to Lincoln at the Republican Convention on May 16–18, 1860, in Chicago, where he served as the chair of the Wisconsin delegation.¹²⁵ As a member of the National Committee, Schurz had to travel to Springfield to inform Lincoln of the convention's choice, and Schurz also assured Lincoln that he would campaign tirelessly on his behalf to get the German-American vote: he would

“do the work of a hundred men” and put together a list of foreign-born speakers to campaign on Lincoln’s behalf.¹²⁶ In his campaign for Lincoln, Schurz endured a grueling schedule and traveled over 21,000 miles giving speeches, many of which were reprinted and served as campaign literature. The campaign also meant that Schurz spent even more time away from home, much to his wife’s unhappiness.¹²⁷

Schurz met Lincoln again during a stop in Springfield, at which time Lincoln visited him in his hotel room, and the two discussed the campaign for two hours. That evening Schurz was invited to the Lincoln home for supper and met Mary Todd Lincoln and the children for the first time. At eight o’clock that evening Schurz and Lincoln walked arm in arm to the Illinois State capitol escorted by a group of young Wide Awakes in a torchlight procession.¹²⁸ Here Schurz gave speeches in German and English, which in a letter to his wife, he claimed were some of the best he had ever given. After he had finished, Lincoln shook his hand and said: “You are an awful fellow! I understand your power now!”¹²⁹

In addition to the fees for his Lyceum lectures Schurz was also paid for his campaign speeches. At times people confused his lectures with his campaign speeches, and he was accused of campaigning for pay. Because of his financial difficulties in Watertown, Schurz did have to ask the national and local committees for financial assistance. When Schurz was asked to campaign for Lincoln in Indiana, the state committee paid him \$200 a week. When Schurz was accused of profiting financially from his campaigning, he replied that after traveling over 21,000 miles for the Republican Party he had been paid only \$1800, of which \$800 had gone to cover his railroad tickets.¹³⁰

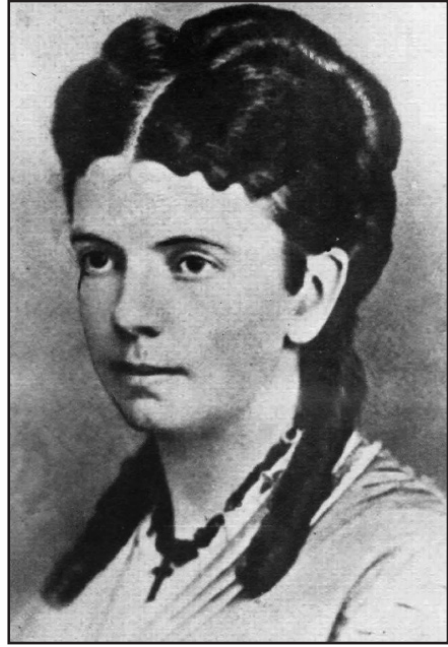
After the exhausting schedule of campaign appearances for Lincoln, the election, and then a few days of rest in Watertown, Schurz immediately embarked on a hectic schedule of lectures in order to replenish the family income. In fact, he gave twenty lectures alone in New England in the month of December. In letters of December 11 and 20, 1860, from Boston, Schurz informed his wife that they would have to postpone Christmas because he had speaking engagements through the second week of January, and he apologized that he would not be able to spend Christmas Eve with her and the children in Philadelphia in order to provide for his family:

What shall I do—give up my engagements and the money I could earn and come to New York and Philadelphia, or assemble riches for wife and child as becomes a good husband and father?¹³¹

Schurz was clearly not happy that his financial problems took him away from his family, even at Christmas, and in a letter of January 31, 1861, to his



Carl Schurz, 1861.



Margarethe Schurz, 1861.

wife he admitted his frustration and unhappiness with being on the lecture circuit during the holidays:

All the same, it is no pleasure to repeat a thousand times things which have been said about France or about American civilization, . . . It is hard for a fiery soul and an active mind to be condemned to think of earning when he might be acting publicly in the general interest. Still, we have to yield to necessity.¹³²

By the end of January Schurz had completed the series of lectures in New York and was off to Ohio; after a week in Michigan he traveled to Springfield, Illinois, for a lecture, during which time he had a cordial meeting with President-elect Lincoln before moving to his next stop in Burlington, Iowa.¹³³

Although in his *Reminiscences* Schurz noted that he never expected that he would be rewarded with an appointment in the new administration if Lincoln were to win the election,¹³⁴ it is evident from a letter to his wife of July 1, 1860, that he had assumed all along that he would be in line for an important position and that the topic had already come up for discussion:

The question came up in committee as to what would follow upon the election of Lincoln. That I was to go upon a European mission was treated as if it were a matter of course.¹³⁵

However, Schurz did not want to ask for a position himself since it would take away from his independence, and so he worked primarily through his friend John F. Potter, the congressman from Wisconsin.¹³⁶ During his lecture stop in Springfield, Illinois, on February 9, 1861, Schurz asked the president-elect for offices for some friends, and Lincoln informed Schurz that he also had something in mind for him. In a letter to Margarethe of February 10, 1861, Schurz then described how Lincoln shared the draft of his inaugural address with him:

Suddenly bringing our conversation to a halt, he [Lincoln] said, "I will give you a mark of confidence which I have given no other man." Then he locked the door and read to me the draft of his inaugural address. After we had discussed it point by point, he said, "Now you know better than any man in the country how I stand and you may be sure that I shall never betray my principles and my friends."¹³⁷

Although Schurz would have preferred an appointment as minister to Germany or Austria, he realized that his radical past would make that impossible; he lobbied for a diplomatic post to Italy, but the Italians refused to consider a former German radical. Since it was generally assumed that the German vote had helped elect Lincoln, German-Americans as well as the German press felt strongly that anything less than a first-class diplomatic post for Schurz would be seen as a nativistic trend among the Republicans and could result in their defection. Schurz continued to lobby Lincoln relentlessly as well as Secretary of State Seward, who opposed sending Schurz to Europe and who preferred for Schurz instead an assignment in Latin America.¹³⁸ So it was with a great sense of relief when Schurz called at the White House on March 28, and Lincoln handed him a piece of paper on which was written:

I nominate Carl Schurz of Watertown, Wisconsin, to be Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Spain.
(Signed) A. Lincoln

Schurz gladly accepted the assignment and wrote jubilantly to his wife: "This outcome is better than the Turin mission would have been. It is a vic-

tory. Next to Mexico, Spain is the most important diplomatic post—and it is mine.”¹³⁹

Before departing for Spain, Schurz first made a quick trip to Watertown to take care of family business and then returned to Washington when war seemed unavoidable to ask permission of Lincoln and Secretary of War Cameron to raise a cavalry regiment of German-born soldiers in New York State. Although many young men of German background had already heeded Lincoln’s call for volunteers and had enlisted in a number of German regiments, Schurz was able in a relatively short time to organize several companies of men, many of whom had received military training in Germany before coming to America.¹⁴⁰ Before leaving for Madrid, Schurz offered his former law partner from Milwaukee, Halbert E. Paine, the position of secretary of the American mission in Spain, but Paine declined. Paine was now serving as colonel in the Wisconsin troops stationed at Camp Randall in Wisconsin.¹⁴¹

When Secretary of State Seward wrote Schurz that his presence was needed in Madrid, Schurz could no longer postpone his departure, which he had already delayed for three months, and he and his family sailed on the *Persia* to Liverpool in June of 1861. After visiting friends in London and meeting with the American minister in Paris, Schurz traveled to Madrid, while Margarethe and the children journeyed to Hamburg for a reunion with her family. Schurz’s primary mission in Spain was to prevent Spain as well as the other European countries from recognizing and aiding the Confederacy and to keep the European powers from intervening in Mexico. Based on his perception of public sentiment abroad, Schurz also advised Seward that, if foreign intervention were to be avoided, it was necessary for the United States to declare that the primary objective of the Civil War was the abolition of slavery and not preservation of the union.¹⁴²

When Schurz learned of the Union Army defeat at the first battle of Bull Run, he wrote to Lincoln and Seward in November of 1861 to ask that he be granted a leave of absence from his ministerial post in Spain in order to serve in the army. Seward finally agreed to Schurz’s request, and with special permission from the Prussian government Schurz was allowed to travel to Hamburg, where on January 14, 1862, the Schurzes sailed on the *Bavaria* to New York. Schurz traveled directly to Washington, D.C., to plead his case personally with Lincoln that only a policy of emancipation could prevent European powers from intervening on behalf of the South. On March 6, 1862, Schurz gave his “Reconciliation by Emancipation” speech at the Cooper Institute in New York. Not only had Lincoln approved the draft of Schurz’s address, but Lincoln himself had indicated that he might have something important to announce the same day. So it was also on March 6 that Lincoln sent Congress his special proposal for gradual emancipation.¹⁴³

Lincoln finally accepted Schurz's resignation as minister to Spain after asking Schurz to talk it over with Margarethe and receive her approval first and promised to find a military post that was commensurate with Schurz's diplomatic mission. Although Lincoln sent Schurz's nomination to the War Department on March 25, Schurz had to wait until April 15 for Senate confirmation, and it was not until June 2, 1862, that his commission as brigadier general and orders came through. In May Schurz became seriously ill, and it was first assumed that he might have typhus. He spent several weeks recuperating with the Tiedemann family in Philadelphia, but during his convalescence the ever-impatient Schurz even got his wife to plead his case with President Lincoln, which he followed up with a letter to the president.¹⁴⁴ While still in Philadelphia, Schurz wrote to his mother in Watertown, Wisconsin, to explain why he was leaving his diplomatic post to join the army:

I well know, dear Mama, that you could not rejoice in the thought of seeing me in the army instead of in a foreign country; but when a man has fought as I have, for a good cause to which he is bound with all the force of conviction, it is hard to desert it just at the moment a final decision is pending. It is hard to sit inactive and lazy abroad when the result of years of labor, nay, the fate of the republic to which one has dedicated himself, hangs by a thread.¹⁴⁵

At first attached to John C. Frémont, Schurz later served under Franz Sigel and William T. Sherman. Viewed as a "political" general, Schurz was not always popular with the professional officers, but he acquitted himself well on the battlefield. He commanded troops in the second battle of Bull Run as well as at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Chattanooga. At Chancellorsville, however, he was criticized when his troops were charged with cowardice.¹⁴⁶

In July of 1862 Margarethe visited her husband for six days on the front in Virginia. In a letter to her husband's parents in Watertown, Wisconsin, of July 15, 1862, she described vividly the burned homes and dead horses on the side of the road that she and Mrs. Tiedemann encountered on their way to Middletown, Virginia.¹⁴⁷ In 1863 Schurz was promoted to major general. Margarethe spent the next three years with the Tiedemanns on their farm outside Philadelphia or in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. On December 30, 1864, Emilie (Emmy) Savannah, the third daughter of the Schurzes, was born in Bethlehem.

When Schurz wrote letters to Lincoln that were critical of McClellan, Halleck, and Buell, Lincoln finally responded that there were people who thought that Schurz was also not performing well. In spite of Schurz's impatience and frequent requests and letters, Lincoln rarely showed his annoyance

with Schurz and clearly respected his opinion. The two remained on friendly terms, and Schurz campaigned tirelessly for Lincoln's reelection in 1864, and it is generally assumed that Schurz would have been a member of Lincoln's cabinet in a second term.¹⁴⁸

When the election campaign came to an end, Lincoln asked Grant to find an appropriate command for Schurz, and Grant placed Schurz with Henry W. Slocum's army in North Carolina. It was here that Schurz learned of the assassination of Lincoln a few days after the event. Devastated by the news, Schurz wrote to his wife from Raleigh on April 18, 1865:

A thunderclap from the blue sky could not have struck us more unexpectedly and frightfully. Our good, good Lincoln! Even now, whenever my thoughts drift to some other object and then return to this terrible event, I am obliged to ask myself whether it really can be true. The murderer who did this deed has killed the best friend of the South.¹⁴⁹

From Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Margarethe responded to her husband on April 21, 1865:

And what you have always said is true; that after Washington, he [Lincoln] is our greatest President and the greatest emancipator. How happy I am that you served him so loyally.¹⁵⁰

For most of 1865 Schurz traveled through the Southern states at the request of President Andrew Johnson to prepare an official report on the progress of reconstruction. This report became not only the basis for congressional action, but it also served as an indictment of the Johnson administration and led to the break in friendship between Johnson and Schurz.¹⁵¹ During this time Margarethe, who again was not feeling well, and the children remained in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.¹⁵² Agathe, the oldest Schurz daughter attended the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies in Bethlehem, and Margarethe sang in the Moravian Church Choir.¹⁵³

From Watertown to St. Louis

During 1866 and 1867 the financial situation of the Schurzes took a decided turn for the worse, and even Margarethe's additional heritage from her father's estate was not enough to cover their indebtedness. In 1858 Schurz had taken a second mortgage of \$3500 on their farm, which he had originally purchased with a mortgage of \$8500. Sometime before 1866 Schurz had

speculated on railroad land, and that venture had failed leaving him \$5000 in debt. Now the administrator for the estate of John Jackson, from whom Schurz had purchased the farm in 1855, sued for foreclosure of the mortgage. When Schurz was unable to come up with the necessary funds to pay what he still owed, the farm was sold at a sheriff's sale on Saturday, March 30, 1867, to a James K. Hyde of Vermont for \$5000, which was less than half of what Schurz had originally paid for the land, but without a house.¹⁵⁴ In an article on the sale of the Schurz property, the Watertown *Weltbürger* commented that "Der General [Schurz], welcher kürzlich die Redaction der 'Detroit Post' niederlegte, ist Redacteur der 'Westlichen Post' in St. Louis geworden. Er ist ein besserer Zeitungsschreiber wie Farmer."¹⁵⁵

Schurz was deeply humiliated by the loss of his farm in Watertown and the failure of his land speculations. He worried how Margarethe's family in Germany would react to news of his financial problems. In the election campaign of 1872 Schurz's political opponents, even some Republicans after Schurz joined the Liberal Republicans, tried to use his financial difficulties in Watertown to discredit him, and they spread the rumor that he did not dare show his face in Watertown. Col. Wetelstedt, a Milwaukee newspaperman hired to investigate Schurz's financial dealings, produced disparaging statements and affidavits, which were published in the Chicago *Inter Ocean* and widely disseminated in the Republican press.¹⁵⁶

After returning from his inspection tour of the Southern states for President Johnson, Schurz turned to journalism and accepted an offer to become the chief correspondent of the Washington bureau of Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. However, Margarethe, who was still not feeling well, did not want to move to Washington, D.C., from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where she and the children had been living. When Zachariah Chandler, the radical Republican senator from Michigan, in early 1866 offered Schurz the editorship of the Detroit *Daily Post*, he decided to accept the job, although he would have preferred a position in St. Louis. After spending the summer in Watertown on the farm to escape the heat of Detroit, Margarethe and the children left the farm in Watertown for the last time in August to return to Detroit, and Schurz's parents, who had been managing the farm in his absence, went to live with their oldest daughter, Anna (Mrs. August Schiffer), in Monee, Illinois.¹⁵⁷ Although Schurz found the post of editor too confining, he did find time to write some articles and to deliver lectures in Illinois and Missouri to supplement his income. On a lecture trip to St. Louis, Schurz had the good fortune to meet Emil Preetorius, a fellow Forty-Eighter and editor of the *Westliche Post* (later the *St. Louis Post*), who offered Schurz the position of co-editor of the newspaper. Preetorius and his lawyer, James Taussig, raised \$10,000 from wealthy German friends, making it possible for the financially

strapped Schurz to purchase enough shares of the newspaper to become co-owner. Within two years Schurz was able to repay this loan as well as pay off some of his old debts.¹⁵⁸

In the spring of 1867, before the move to St. Louis, Schurz had to rush back to Detroit from a campaign trip to Connecticut when he learned that his youngest daughter, Emmy Savannah, was seriously ill. The death of their youngest daughter Emmy affected Margarethe's health so much that it was decided that she and the two remaining daughters should return to Germany, where Margarethe could concentrate on regaining her health and the children could attend a good German school. For the next two years Margarethe and the children lived in Wiesbaden. Carl traveled to Germany in November of 1867 to visit the family at Christmas and returned to St. Louis in April 1868. During his stay in Germany Schurz spent a week in Berlin and was invited to meet with Bismarck three times. The press in America and Europe reported favorably on Schurz's reception in Berlin, and it strengthened his prestige among the German-Americans.¹⁵⁹

Margarethe was still in Europe when Schurz was elected senator from Missouri in 1868, the first German-born American to be elected to that body. Schurz considered his election as a United States senator the pinnacle of his career, since this was the highest governmental position a foreign-born person could attain in the United States. As he took his seat in the Senate chamber, he remembered in his *Reminiscences*:

I had actually reached the most exalted public position to which my boldest dreams dared to aspire. I was still a young man, just forty. Little more than sixteen years had elapsed since I landed on these shores, a homeless waif saved from the wreck of a revolutionary movement in Europe. Then I was enfolded in the generous hospitality of the American people opening to me, as freely as to its own children, the great opportunities of the new world. And here I was now, a member of the highest law-making body of the greatest of republics.¹⁶⁰

Unfortunately, Margarethe's concerns about her health kept her in Wiesbaden when her husband took the oath of office in the Senate on March 4, 1869, the same day that Grant was inaugurated as president. In a letter to his wife of January 24, 1869, Schurz wrote that his election had received unanimous recognition from both the Republican and Democratic press and that his friends considered it the "beginning of a new era of Germanism in America."¹⁶¹

In October of 1869 Margarethe Schurz and her two daughters returned to the United States on the *Westphalia*, and Schurz met them in New York. They established a home at 139 F Street in Washington, D.C., where they became part of the social life of the nation's capital. Much like life in Watertown, Wisconsin, music played a major role in their Washington home. The Schurzes were well known in Washington society for the musicales performed in their home Saturday evenings. On February 28, 1871, their first son, Carl Lincoln, was born. For the first time in his life Schurz no longer had to worry about his finances.¹⁶²

Last Visits to Watertown

On a campaign swing through Wisconsin in 1867 Schurz made a nostalgic visit to Watertown at the invitation of his uncle Jacob. In a letter to his wife Schurz mentioned that twice he was able to view the house that he had designed and had built for them as the train passed through his former farm and that this brought back a lot of memories. The new owner, he noted, had planted onions and potatoes where previously there had been flowerbeds. The visit with his uncle Jacob Jüssen and his aunt turned out to be most enjoyable, and Schurz left the following afternoon for a campaign rally in Milwaukee. Here he experienced one of the largest and most enthusiastic German meetings, where, as he wrote to Margarethe, he now had found "the right tone which carries an audience along irresistibly."¹⁶³

What may well have been Carl Schurz's last trip to Watertown took place on September 18 and 19, 1872, during the presidential campaign of Horace Greeley, the candidate of the Liberal Republicans. Schurz enjoyed one of the warmest receptions the people of Watertown had ever given him. Not only had his fame spread by this time, but also the fact that he had helped to organize the Liberal Republicans and served as their leader.¹⁶⁴ Included on the platform was also his friend, Emil Rothe, who now resided in Cincinnati and with whom Schurz had patched up differences. The chairman of the event was the editor of the *Watertown Democrat*, D. W. Ballou, who used to help Schurz with his English, but with whom Schurz had a falling out when his paper pointed out that Schurz was not yet a citizen when he was a candidate for lieutenant governor in 1857. Both Democratic newspapers, the *Weltbürger* and the *Democrat*, heralded his homecoming visit, but the *Watertown Republican* made only cursory mention of it. On September 18 Schurz and Emil Rothe were met by welcoming parties at Milton Junction, just outside of Janesville, about thirty-five miles south of Watertown, and then proceeded by train to Jefferson, where between 600 to 1000 people greeted the train. At four o'clock in the afternoon the train arrived in Watertown to music played

by the German Band and the firing of a cannon, and Schurz was taken to the home of his old friend Henry Mulberger, a Forty-Eighter who had become one of Watertown's best lawyers and Schurz's own legal representative.¹⁶⁵

On the morning of September 19 Schurz visited his former home and his neighbors, and that afternoon he was escorted in a parade led by 100 riders and five bands to the Public Square (now Veteran's Memorial Park, between South Third and Fourth Streets), where a crowd of 7000 to 8000 people had gathered. Seventeen cities and villages in the area, including Columbus, where Schurz's sister Antonie Jüssen lived, sent delegations.¹⁶⁶

At 2:00 p.m. the program began, and Schurz gave a two-hour speech in English in which he denounced the failures and mistakes of the Grant administration "with all the eloquence at his command," according to Dr. William F. Whyte, a Watertown physician who was in the audience. Whyte said "as a supporter of Grant, I must confess that while listening to his speech he nearly took me off my feet. It was a terrific arraignment of Grant's administration; but I had to admit its truthfulness."¹⁶⁷ However, only at the end of the speech did Schurz even mention Horace Greeley, about whose candidacy he was not very excited. After Schurz finished his speech, Emil Rothe spoke in German to the enthusiastic crowd.

That evening a torchlight parade formed at seven o'clock at the train station, where ten railroad cars full of people from Milwaukee had arrived to hear Schurz. The throng carrying 600 torches marched down Main Street under a triumphal arch decorated with a wreath of evergreen boughs and flowers that read "Welcome Carl Schurz," to the Turner Hall. Here first Emil Rothe and then Schurz in German spoke to a crowd of 2000 people inside and another 3000 outside. The rally ended at about 11:00 pm, and Schurz took the night train to Chicago, since he was scheduled to speak in Fort Wayne, Indiana, the next day. Thus ended Schurz's last visit to Watertown, Wisconsin, which for eleven years had been his family's legal address.¹⁶⁸

Joseph Schafer refers to Schurz's decision to settle in Watertown, Wisconsin, as "one of the fatalities which came to Schurz occasionally,"¹⁶⁹ and at times Schurz was of the same opinion. Not long after his arrival in Watertown, Schurz had complained to his wife in a letter of September 29, 1855, that he was only able to observe world events from afar: "Why must I sit here—a mere non-entity occupied with miserable plans for making money, although my head is full of ideas and the consciousness of inexhaustible strength—while out there momentous decisions are made and scoundrels and mediocrities crowd the world's stage?"¹⁷⁰ It was nevertheless here that he perfected his mastery of English and honed his skills in writing English, became acquainted with the life and thoughts of average Americans and especially of German-Americans, built his reputation as an orator, established a base of political support among

German immigrants, and began his political career. Although Schurz's optimistic view of Watertown's business prospects did not prove to be accurate, Schurz himself looked back in later life to the years spent on his farm in Watertown as the happiest and most carefree times of his life:

The years I spent on our farm in Watertown, Wisconsin, were, taking it all in all, very happy. Perhaps we, my wife and I, should not have liked Western life so much had we not been young. But we *were* young,—blessed with health and high spirits, enjoying heartily the simple pleasures of our existence; full of cheery hope for the future, always disposed to look at the bright or at least the humorous side of everything, and bent upon appreciating what we had instead of uselessly pinning for what we had not.¹⁷¹

After his term as senator had ended, the Schurzes decided to spend the summer of 1875 in Europe, where Carl was received with numerous honors, especially in Germany. He returned to the United States in September, when the Liberal Republicans requested his help in rallying the German vote in Ohio for Rutherford B. Hayes as governor. When Margarethe and the children eventually followed him across the Atlantic, Schurz rented an apartment for the family at 40 West 32nd Street in New York City so the family could be together. Margarethe did not want to return St. Louis, whose hot summers she disliked intensely. She was also not feeling well as the result of her pregnancy and had not been able to go steps for several months. On March 5, 1876, their fifth child and second son, Herbert, was born, and ten days later on March 15, Margarethe died at the age of forty-three of complications of childbirth, leaving Schurz widowed at age forty-seven with four children.¹⁷² On the night of her death Schurz is said to have drowned his grief in music at the piano.¹⁷³ To his friend Francis W. Bird, Schurz wrote, "The loss of the wife of one's youth is unlike any other bereavement. It is the loss of the best part of one's life."¹⁷⁴

Margarethe Schurz's funeral service was held at the family apartment and began with the singing of a funeral hymn by a chorus from the Liederkrantz Society of New York City. The Rev. Dr. O. B. Frothingham, the first president of the Free Religious Association, then gave a short eulogy, and the service concluded with a second dirge by the chorus.¹⁷⁵ Friends then accompanied the Schurz family to the Green-Wood Cemetery in New York City for the burial.¹⁷⁶

Although Schurz rarely mentioned religion in his *Reminiscences*, the fact that the Rev. Frothingham was asked to speak at Margarethe Schurz's funeral indicates that Schurz, like many of his fellow Forty-Eighters, was drawn to

humanistic organizations like the “*Freie Gemeinden*” or free congregations that rejected the dogma of organized religious denominations, that elevated reason above revelation, and that believed that good works were the basis of an ethical culture. Later in life Schurz became friends with Dr. Felix Adler, a German-American who founded the New York Society of Ethical Culture, and it was Adler who was asked to speak at Schurz’s private funeral service.¹⁷⁷ Although Schurz and his wife never joined a church during their lifetime, he was never openly antagonistic to organized religion, was always respectful of the right of individuals to choose their own religious beliefs, and vehemently opposed any form of religious bigotry. In fact, in his *Reminiscences*, Schurz admitted to feeling uncomfortable whenever organized religion was criticized in his presence.¹⁷⁸

Schurz was grief-stricken by the death of his wife. Although they had spent long periods of time apart, they remained devoted to each other as is evident from their letters. Although often unhappy with her husband’s long absences from home while he supplemented the family income on the Lyceum lecture circuit or campaigned extensively for the German vote for Republican candidates in the Midwest and on the East coast, Margarethe supported him in all of these endeavors. However, she also spent considerable time away from her husband, especially in Germany and Switzerland recuperating from a recurring lung ailment, but Schurz usually was able to arrange to visit his wife and children when they were abroad.

Although still grieving for his wife, Schurz assumed a major role in the presidential campaign of Rutherford B. Hayes. With the successful election of Hayes as president in 1876, Schurz was appointed secretary of the interior in 1877 and served in the cabinet until 1881. Schurz thus became the first naturalized citizen from Germany to hold a cabinet-level appointment. During his four years as secretary of the interior he worked on civil service reform and instituted the first civil service exam; promoted conservation of natural resources, especially of forests; oversaw the establishment of the Geological Survey; and tried to reform the Bureau of Indian Affairs, particularly in the area of education and training.¹⁷⁹

The Last Decades

Schurz was only fifty-two years old when he left government service at the end of President Hayes’ term, although he probably would have continued to work in the government had the right opportunity presented itself. He spent the last twenty-five years of his life in New York City working as a journalist, editor, writer, and lecturer. Although Schurz never reached the point in life where he did not have to be concerned about his finances, he

lived comfortably and actively took part in the social and cultural life of New York City. In 1885 Schurz's family joined him, and his daughter Agathe took over the management of his household.¹⁸⁰

As an eligible widower, there were many rumors about Schurz's possible marital plans, but these proved to be false. Living on the East coast rather than in the Midwest did have the additional benefit of making possible frequent visits with Fanny Chapman, whom Schurz may have met in winter of 1879–80 through Henry Adams, the Massachusetts neighbor of Fanny's sister. A widower for more than three years, Schurz was understandably lonely and soon became enamored with the intelligent and beautiful thirty-three-year-old Fanny, the daughter of a wealthy judge from Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Although they spent as much time together as possible and carried on a lifelong correspondence, Schurz never married Fanny because of his daughter Agathe's apparent disapproval. As a result Fanny's name does not appear in any publication over which Agathe had control.¹⁸¹

Schurz still found time to write articles to supplement his income and to continue to campaign from time to time, but now he paid his own expenses. On a campaign swing through Milwaukee for Garfield in 1880 Schurz spoke for two hours to over 6000 German-Americans.¹⁸² From 1881 to 1883 Schurz was editor-in-chief of the New York *Evening Post*, owned by the German-American financier Henry Villard. When not giving lectures during the next four years, Schurz was occupied with the research and writing of what eventually became a two-volume biography of Henry Clay. Published in spring 1887, *Henry Clay* became an immediate success, and Schurz received congratulatory letters from many well-known American writers and politicians, including President Cleveland and former President Hayes, who praised the biography for its lucid and elegant literary style. The *Atlantic Monthly* wrote that it was the best biography in the Great Statesmen Series. In 1891 Schurz published one of his most noteworthy essays on Abraham Lincoln in the *Atlantic Monthly* as a review of the multivolume biography of Lincoln by John G. Nicolay and John M. Hay.¹⁸³ In this lengthy essay, which was later published as a small book, Schurz gave his personal assessment of Lincoln's strengths and weaknesses and concluded that Lincoln's greatest asset during the Civil War was his unparalleled ability to lead.¹⁸⁴ Although Schurz had planned to write a history of the United States up to the Civil War after he finished his biography of Henry Clay, he decided to devote his remaining years to producing his personal *Reminiscences*. The first two volumes appeared serially, and all three volumes were published posthumously.¹⁸⁵

After a trip to Germany in summer and fall 1888, during which Schurz again was invited to meet twice with Bismarck, he accepted an offer to become the representative of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company. This posi-

tion, which Schurz held for four years, provided a generous annual salary of \$18,000 a year as well as trips to Germany in 1889 and 1891. In 1892 he became editorial writer for *Harper's Weekly*, a post he held until 1898.¹⁸⁶ Although no longer in public office, Schurz still wielded considerable influence, especially among the German-Americans. Politically he had become totally independent, and he did not hesitate to speak his mind publicly or to write to members of Congress or to the president when it came to such issues as civil service reform.

Although not in the best of health, Schurz traveled to Madison, Wisconsin, with his daughter, Agathe, to deliver the commencement address at the University of Wisconsin on June 22, 1905, and to receive an honorary Doctor of Laws degree.¹⁸⁷ In his citation President Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin stated that Schurz was "being recognized, by common consent here and abroad, as the foremost German-American" and as "a sincere and bold leader of public opinion and an ardent advocate of wise measures of national reform."¹⁸⁸ During his stay in Madison, Schurz and his daughter were houseguests of Governor Robert M. LaFollete.¹⁸⁹

In November of 1905 Schurz fell to the pavement when getting off a New York street car and suffered a severe concussion, from which he never completely recovered. After spending the winter in Georgia, he died of pneumonia on May 14, 1906, at the age of seventy-seven and was buried next to his son Herbert in the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, located not far from Pocantico Hills, New York. He was survived by two daughters, Agathe and Marianne Schurz, and his son, Carl Lincoln Schurz. Tributes poured in from leading statesmen and intellectuals in the United States and Europe.¹⁹⁰

When word went out that Schurz was near death, a Catholic priest called at his home in New York City to administer last rites, but the family refused him entrance. Schurz died early in the morning of May 14, 1906, and at his private funeral in Schurz's home at 24 East 91st Street in New York City, Felix Adler, spoke in English, and Schurz's closest friend from his student days in Germany, Dr. Abraham Jacobi, a medical doctor, gave a eulogy in German. A public memorial was held on November 21, 1906, in Carnegie Hall with Joseph H. Choate, an American diplomat (ambassador to Great Britain), lawyer, and fellow Republican presiding. Frank Domrosch conducted the orchestra in two of Schurz's favorite pieces: the funeral march from Wagner's *Götterdämmerung* and the prelude to the *Meistersänger*. Speakers included former President Cleveland, President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, Secretary of the Navy Charles J. Bonaparte, Professor Hermann Schumacher of the University of Bonn, and Booker T. Washington.¹⁹¹

Much of Carl Schurz's success in the political arena of his adopted homeland must be attributed to his mastery of English in a remarkably short time.

He continued to use his mother tongue to court the German ethnic vote by speaking directly to his fellow émigrés and becoming their spokesperson. However, it was his command of idiomatic English that allowed him to argue his political positions in his speeches so persuasively and that brought him national acclaim. Schurz obviously had a good ear for languages, which may well have been connected with his musical ability in singing and in playing the piano.

Schurz was clearly one of those individuals with remarkable linguistic talent that allowed him to become truly bilingual and to develop extraordinary oratorical skills so evident in his speeches. In the words of the historian Frederic Bancroft, “Carl Schurz, our American Burke, was one of the most careful and accurate writers, and his mastery of English has perhaps never been and may never be surpassed by any German beginning to learn it after reaching manhood.”¹⁹² To become a full-fledged American citizen, Schurz realized that he had to master the *lingua franca* of his new homeland. However, this did not mean that he had to give up his mother tongue, and German continued to be the language spoken in his home. In fact a sign at his house announced: “Hier wird Deutsch gesprochen.”¹⁹³ He lectured in both German and English and continued to carry on a voluminous correspondence in both languages. These letters are not only a treasure trove of the personal history of Carl and Margarethe Schurz and their families, but they provide a window into the historical events of their day.

After visiting German communities in Missouri, Schurz wrote to his wife on July 8, 1867, that “The mission of Germanism in America, about which some speak so loudly, can consist in nothing other than a modification of the American spirit, through the German, while the nationalities melt into one.”¹⁹⁴ While he recommended that immigrants learn English so that they could participate fully in the American political process, this did not mean that they should give up German or their ethnic traditions. As co-editor of the German *Westliche Post* in St. Louis, Schurz felt that the prejudice against the German-American press was unfounded. He argued that as long as there were German-born citizens whose knowledge of English was limited, a German press was necessary, and he therefore resisted the charge that “the use of the German language in this country impedes the development of a healthy American patriotism among the population concerned.” Schurz made a strong case for knowing a foreign language: “the knowledge of more than one language tends to widen our mental horizons, to facilitate the acquisition of useful intelligence, and thus to broaden education.” The preservation of the German language, he felt, had done a great service to America by promoting the German love for music, especially in the form of the German Lied, the German Glee Club, and the German Musical Society.¹⁹⁵



Marker Commemorating Site of First Kindergarten in Watertown, Wisconsin.

The Schurzes Remembered

In 1907 the Carl Schurz Memorial Association of Wisconsin was founded with General F. C. Winkler as its president. The goal of this organization was to raise \$60,000 by general subscription to endow a chair at the University of Wisconsin in Madison to be known as the Carl Schurz Professorship and to be filled annually by a distinguished professor from Germany, who would give lectures not only at the University, but also throughout the state. In spring 1911 Winkler informed the Regents of the University of Wisconsin that \$30,000 was available for the Schurz Professorship, and Dr. Eugen Kuehnemann from the University of Breslau was chosen to be the first holder of the chair (1912-13).¹⁹⁶ Currently there are sufficient funds in the Schurz endowment to invite a professor from Germany for one semester every other year.

In 1908, just two years after Schurz's death, his homestead in Watertown, Wisconsin, was again on the auction block at a sheriff's sale. According to the *New York Times* the farm could be purchased for as little as \$1,000, and the paper urged the city as well as the contributors to the Carl Schurz chair at the University of Wisconsin to purchase the farm and create a Schurz memorial park.¹⁹⁷ According to the *Watertown Gazette* of October 16, 1908, the Schurz home plus eight acres were purchased on the sheriff's sale for \$3,500 by the Milwaukee Light, Heat and Traction Company in order to secure the right of



First Kindergarten, Watertown, Wisconsin.

way for an extension of its rail line. The company then turned around and offered the Schurz property for the same price it paid to the Watertown Homecoming Club, which had plans to turn the estate into a park to honor Schurz. Apparently this project failed for lack of funds, and in September of 1909, the Milwaukee *Sentinel* announced that John I. Beggs, the new owner, was selling the Schurz farm to the Wisconsin Society of New York for \$10,000 for a Carl Schurz National Memorial. However, that deal also never materialized undoubtedly due to insufficient funding, and the park never became a reality.¹⁹⁸ In 1915, the Schurz home was about to be turned into a museum when it burned to the ground.¹⁹⁹

The Schurz name, however, continues to be memorialized in Watertown by the Carl Schurz addition to the city, which was the original Schurz farm; the Margarethe Schurz Elementary School built in 1958; and a street named Carl Schurz Drive in the northern part of the city. One hundred years after Margarethe Schurz founded the first kindergarten in the United States, the small home of her husband's parents, in which she had operated her kindergarten, was moved to the grounds of the Octagon House on Richards Hill in Watertown, where today it is a museum open to visitors.²⁰⁰ Since 1929 a granite marker with a bronze tablet commemorates the original site of the first kindergarten in the United States.²⁰¹



Sign Commemorating First Kindergarten, Watertown, Wisconsin.

In 1953, almost a hundred years after Schurz for the first time visited his relatives in Watertown, Wisconsin, the American Book Company published the first of two readers in its popular cultural graded readers series for beginning German students that commemorated Carl and Margarethe Schurz and Watertown, Wisconsin. The readings in Book Three, *Carl Schurz*, by C. R. Goedsche and W. E. Glaetli, focus on Schurz's participation in the German Rev-

olution of 1848 and the siege of Rastatt and his organizing the escape of his University of Bonn professor, Gottfried Kinkel, from Spandau prison in Berlin and flight to England by ship from Rostock. Book Five in the series, *KleinStadt in Amerika*, by C. R. Goedsche, Eloise Neuse, and Elizabeth H. Zorb, was published in 1955 and concentrates on the history of Watertown, Wisconsin, as a typical German-American community; Carl and Margarethe Schurz's establishment of their home in Watertown; and Margarethe Schurz's founding of the first kindergarten in the United States there in November of 1856.²⁰²

In less than three decades in his adopted homeland, Carl Schurz had become a popular orator and editor; U.S. minister to Spain at the age of thirty-one; a general in the Civil War, during which he took a gun shot to his leg; U.S. senator from the State of Missouri in 1868 at the age of forty; and U.S. secretary of the interior in 1877 at age forty-eight. Carl Schurz's primary goal in his newspaper articles and lectures had always been to serve as a mediator between the cultures of Europe, and especially Germany, the country of his birth, and the United States, and in this he succeeded beyond his expectations. During his lifetime he did not hesitate to rally the ethnic German-Americans to the political and social justice causes that he believed in and to try to educate his fellow German-Americans regarding their role and responsibilities as citizens in their new homeland. During the last two and a half decades of his life Schurz remained actively engaged in the substantive political issues facing the United States, and as Frederic Bancroft and William A. Dunning so aptly state in the preface to their sketch of "Carl Schurz's Political Career, 1869–1906," his "political influence was unique."²⁰³ Schurz's accomplishments are a tribute to his remarkable energy and perse-

verance, his thorough research of the facts, his lucid and logical arguments, and his moral integrity. In the words of his biographer, Hans L. Trefousse, "His achievements in fields ranging from race relations to the preservation of natural resources were so manifold that had he never obtained the honors he did he would still have to be considered a significant influence on American civilization."²⁰⁴

On June 3, 1983, seventy-seven years after his death, the U.S. Postal Service honored Carl Schurz as a champion of democracy with a commemorative stamp in its Great American Series, issued in Watertown, Wisconsin, his home for eleven years.²⁰⁵ On April 25, 2005, almost 150 years after Margarethe Schurz opened her first kindergarten in Watertown, Wisconsin, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution, sponsored by Senator Ken Salazar of Colorado, that declared April 21 as National Kindergarten Recognition Day and that recognized Mrs. Schurz as the founder of the first German kindergarten in the United States.²⁰⁶

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Notes

¹ Charles J. Wallman, *The German Speaking 48ers: Builders of Watertown, Wisconsin* (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, University of Wisconsin, 1992); in Appendix A the author lists 61 former residents of Watertown who were connected with the German Revolution of 1848 with their birth and death dates, city or region of origin, and previous and subsequent occupation or profession. See also Charlotte L. Brancaforte, ed., *German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989) and A. E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950). For a history of Watertown, see Elmer C. Kiessling, *Watertown Remembered* (Milwaukee, WI: Watertown Historical Association, 1976), which was written for the nation's bicentennial and the 140th anniversary of the founding of Watertown, Wisconsin.

² Joseph Schafer, *Carl Schurz: Militant Liberal* (Evansville, WI: The Antes Press, 1930), 91.

³ Johann Gottfried Kinkel (1815–82) studied theology in Bonn and Berlin, and in 1846 was appointed professor of art history at the University of Bonn. Schurz studied rhetoric and speech under Kinkel.

⁴ Towards the end of his life Carl Schurz completed two volumes and half of the third volume of *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, 3 vols. (New York: The McClure Company, 1907–08), which were published posthumously by his children. Volume 1 covers the years from his birth in 1829 to his arrival with his wife in the United States in 1852. Volume 2 deals with their first ten years in America, including the move to Wisconsin. Schurz was only able to bring Volume 3 up to the Grant administration before his death. At the request of his children, Frederic Bancroft, a close friend of Schurz, and William A. Dunning, a professor at Columbia University, added a concluding section consisting of seven chapters that detail his career in the U.S. Senate and professional work after leaving government service. Although proficient in English, Schurz wrote the first volume in German because he felt he could best express his

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experiences in Germany in German. Volume 1 was then translated into English by Eleonora Kinnicutt. The German version of the *Reminiscences* was published as *Lebenserinnerungen*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1907, 1912). Volume 2 of this edition incorporates the first part of Volume 3 of the *Reminiscences* written by Schurz; and Volume 3 of the *Lebenserinnerungen*, published five years after the first two volumes appeared, contains 187 letters selected by his daughter, Agathe Schurz, and a history of Schurz's political career, "Carl Schurz' politische Laufbahn: 1869–1906," by Bancroft and Dunning that was translated into German by Max Blau. A selection of Schurz's speeches and letters was published by Frederic Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, 6 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913). For an overview of Schurz's political career, see Joseph Schafer, "Carl Schurz, An Immigrant Statesman," *The Wisconsin Historical Magazine* 11,4 (June 1928): 373–94. In 1929 Marianne Schurz, then the only surviving member of the immediate family, provided a collection of letters by Schurz that was published by Joseph Schafer, trans. & ed., *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz: 1841–1869* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1829) to mark the centennial of the birth of Carl Schurz. The major biographies of Carl Schurz are: Chester Verne Easum, *The Americanization of Carl Schurz* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929); Joseph Schafer, *Carl Schurz: Militant Liberal* (Evansville, WI: The Antes Press, 1930); Claude Moore Fuess, *Carl Schurz: Reformer* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1932); Bayard Quincy Morgan, *Carl Schurz 1829–1906: A Great German-American* (Berlin: Vereinigung Carl Schurz, 1938); Rudolf Baumgardt, *Carl Schurz: Ein Leben zwischen Zeiten und Kontinenten* (Berlin: W. Andermann, 1939); Hans L. Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee, 1982), which is the most complete and reliable biography of Schurz; Walter Kessler, *Carl Schurz: Kampf, Exil und Karriere* (Cologne: Greven, 2006); Rüdiger Wersich, ed., *Carl Schurz: Revolutionary and Statesman: His Life in Personal and Official Documents with Illustrations* (Munich: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1979), a bilingual German/English edition. See Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 1:367–69. While in London, Mrs. Kinkel invited Schurz to a concert of the music of Richard Wagner, and to her consternation Schurz became a lifelong admirer of Wagner's music.

⁵ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 39–40. The only biography of Margarethe Meyer Schurz in English is by Hannah Werwath Swart, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz: A Biography* (Watertown, WI: The Watertown Historical Society, 1967), and it incorrectly lists her birth year as 1832. According to Helmut and Marianne Hirsch, "Stammte Margarethe Meyer-Schurz aus einer ursprünglich jüdischen Familie?" in *Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ludger Heid and Joachim H. Knoll (Stuttgart: Burg Verlag, 1992), 86, family histories and secondary sources list Margarethe Meyer's birthday as August 27, 1833, but the baptismal register of St. Johannes Evangelical Lutheran Church in Eppendorf, Hamburg incorrectly lists August 29 as her birthday. Fuess and Swart also state that Margarethe Meyer's family was Jewish, but this has not been corroborated. It is unlikely, however, since her parents were married in the Lutheran Church of Rahlstedt on June 3, 1816, according to church documents; see Helmut and Marianne Hirsch, 87. The well-known portrait of Margarethe Meyer Schurz of 1861 shows her wearing a necklace with a Christian cross. In an article on the Fuess family, Claude M. Fuess, "The Making of an American Family," in *The Common Ground Magazine* (Spring 1943): 24–29, states that it was a well-known fact that Margarethe Meyer's family had Jewish ancestry and that Carl Schurz referred to this fact in his letters. However, it has not been possible to confirm either statement. Fuess continues that after the National Socialists were in power he received a letter in 1935 from the Carl Schurz Haus in Berlin that Margarethe Meyer Schurz was of pure Aryan ancestry. The only biography in German of Margarethe Schurz is by Gerd Stolz, *Das Leben der Margarethe Meyer Schurz: Wegleiterin des Kindergartens in den USA* (Husum: Husum Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007).

⁶ Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852), a student of the Swiss educator Pestalozzi, is best known as the founder of the German kindergarten movement and his ten "Froebel Gifts," ranging

from soft balls to wooden spheres, cubes, and blocks, were to be introduced to pre-school children in a specific order.

⁷ Schafer, *Schurz*, 74; Nina C. Vandewalker, *The Kindergarten in American Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1908), 14.

⁸ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 1:402.

⁹ According to the registry entry of the Schurz's wedding, Margarethe's sister Bertha and her husband Johannes Ronge served as witnesses. An eyewitness of the wedding, Emilie Wüstenfeld, described the wedding reception at the Schurz's home as well as the bride's white dress with wide sash and beautiful white veil and a bouquet of myrtle and orange blossoms; see Stolz, 48, and Helmut and Marianne Hirsch, 94-98. In his *Reminiscences*, 1:402, Schurz stated that he wrote up a detailed description of the wedding for his children in the "Fragment für seine Kinder," which is part of the Schurz Papers in the Library Congress, and which Trefousse used as a source for his biography of Schurz.

¹⁰ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 1:401.

¹¹ Letter of April 19, 1852, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 107-11.

¹² Schafer, *Schurz*, 72-75; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 39-44; Stolz, 48-52.

¹³ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:9-10.

¹⁴ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:10-11.

¹⁵ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:11-12.

¹⁶ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:14.

¹⁷ Schafer, *Schurz*, 85; Stolz, 59.

¹⁸ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 222-23; Schafer, *Schurz*, 85; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 49.

¹⁹ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 48-49.

²⁰ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:19-38; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 49-51.

²¹ Letter from Indianapolis, September 22, 1854, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 121-25.

²² Schafer, *Schurz*, 86.

²³ Letter from St. Louis, September 30, 1854, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 126-32. See also Easum, 89-90.

²⁴ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:39-48.

²⁵ Bancroft, *Speeches, Correspondence*, 1:1-5. Charlotte Voss, a close friend of Margarethe Schurz from her childhood, married Friedrich Althaus, a student friend of Schurz at the University of Bonn.

²⁶ Letter of April 19, 1852, to Adolph Meyer, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 110.

²⁷ Letter from Watertown, WI, October 9, 1854, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 137-40.

²⁸ Letter of March 25, 1855, to Gottfried Kinkel, in Bancroft, *Speeches, Correspondence*, 1:19.

²⁹ Watertown *Democrat*, August 2, 1855. See also Easum, 106-07.

³⁰ Wallman, 4-7; Easum, 156; Schafer, *Schurz*, 91-94; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 53-55.

³¹ Letter from Watertown, WI, of November 15, 1856, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 169-71.

³² Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:48.

³³ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:49.

³⁴ Easum, 106; Schafer, *Schurz*, 89.

³⁵ Schafer, *Schurz*, 91; Easum, 101-04. While Schurz only refers to one return trip to Europe in the *Reminiscences*, his letters mention two in 1855.

³⁶ According to Schafer, *Schurz*, 94-95, the deed of September 12, 1855, does not show the purchase price. It is unclear exactly how much Schurz paid for the farm and the additional lots. According to Trefousse, *Schurz*, 308, note 34, Schurz wrote to his wife that he paid a total of \$15,700 for the land, but to his brother-in-law he mentioned the amount of \$10,000. Schurz took a mortgage for \$8,500 and paid down \$1,500, for a total of \$10,000. The additional \$5,700 may have been for the lots next to the farm.

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³⁷ Easum, 107-08; Schafer, *Schurz*, 93-95; according to Trefousse, 53, the farm consisted of 96 acres.

³⁸ Letter from Watertown, WI, of October 9, 1855, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 153. This eventually became the Carl Schurz addition to the city of Watertown.

³⁹ Letter from Watertown, WI, of October 21, 1855, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 155-56. Friedrich Christoph Schlosser (1776–1861), history professor in Heidelberg, in 1823 published his popular *Geschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* in two volumes, which he later expanded into six volumes to include the first half of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁰ Letters from Watertown, WI, of October 28 and 29, 1855, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 156-57.

⁴¹ Opera by Italian composer Vincenzo Bellini (1801–35) was first performed in 1831.

⁴² Letter of September 4, 1855, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 151.

⁴³ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:3-15.

⁴⁴ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:74.

⁴⁵ Wallman, 83.

⁴⁶ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 173-75.

⁴⁷ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 175-76.

⁴⁸ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 148-49.

⁴⁹ Letter of September 16, 1855, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 152.

⁵⁰ Swart, 40; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 69.

⁵¹ Stolz, 68; according to Wallman, Flavin was originally from Massachusetts, 84.

⁵² Letter of November 15, 1856, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 171-73.

⁵³ Watertown *Democrat*, March 5, 1857.

⁵⁴ Easum, 154-61, 195-96. However, the following year the Wisconsin Supreme Court ruled the move of the county seat to Watertown unconstitutional; see John Henry Ott, *Jefferson County, Wisconsin and Its People: A Record of Settlement, Organization, Progress and Achievement*, 2 vols. (Chicago: S.J. Clarks Publishing Co., 1917), 2:77-81.

⁵⁵ Wallman, 86.

⁵⁶ Schurz's friendship with Emil Rothe (1826–95) went back to their university student days and their participation in the German student congress in Eisenach. Rothe came to Watertown in 1851 and first supported himself by manufacturing cigars before becoming a newspaper man. He became editor of the Watertown newspaper, *Der Anzeiger*, and merged it with *Der Weltbürger*. He left Watertown later and became a successful lawyer and editor of the Cincinnati *Volksfreund*. See also Easum, 155-56, 169-70.

⁵⁷ In the Panic of 1857 the Great Lakes area of the U.S. was especially hard hit when demand for goods from the region decreased. Many railroads went into bankruptcy when they were unable to repay bank loans, thereby forcing banks to fail.

⁵⁸ William F. Whyte, "Chronicles of Early Watertown," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 4 (1920–22), 300; Easum, 156-58.

⁵⁹ Wallman, 84, 92-93. Watertown made final payments on its bonds until 1905 after the case had gone to the Supreme Court. See also Whyte, 296-98.

⁶⁰ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:75-76.

⁶¹ Easum, 109, 156-58.

⁶² Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:104.

⁶³ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 72-73.

⁶⁴ Byron Paine had been the counsel for abolitionist Sherman Booth, who was arrested for helping to free the slave Joshua Glover from a Milwaukee Court House jail in 1854. Strongly opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law, which had been declared illegal in Wisconsin, Schurz gave a speech in favor of states rights, a viewpoint he was later to repudiate. Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:112-15.

⁶⁵ When Schurz was named secretary of the interior, he offered Paine the position of assistant secretary of the interior, but for economic reasons Paine accepted the position of Commissioner of Patents, see *Reminiscences*, 2:104-05; Easum, 233-46; Fuess, 62-63; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 72-76. See also letter to Adolph Meyer of October 18, 1858, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 186-87; and letter to Friedrich Althaus of November 5, 1858, in *Lebenserinnerungen*, 3:156-59.

⁶⁶ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 107-11.

⁶⁷ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 42, and note 30 on p. 306.

⁶⁸ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 111-13.

⁶⁹ Schafer, *Schurz*, 84; Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 110. According to Trefousse, *Schurz*, 42, and Helmut and Marianne Hirsch, 96, Margarethe Schurz's inheritance amounted to 78,557 gold marks.

⁷⁰ Schafer, *Schurz*, 83-85.

⁷¹ Schafer, *Schurz*, 85, note 36, based on the author's interview with Marie Jüssen Monroe.

⁷² The "Froebel Gaben" or "gifts" were given to children to play with in a prescribed sequence, often in ten "gift boxes."

⁷³ Johannes and Bertha Ronge, *A Practical Guide to the English Kindergarten: For the Use of Mothers, Governesses, and Infant Teachers: Being an Exposition of Froebel's System of Infant Training: Accompanied by a Great Variety of Instructive and Amusing Games, and Industrial and Gymnastic Exercises, also Numerous Songs Set to Music, and Arranged for the Exercises*, 5th ed. (London: A.N. Myers & CO., 1873). Bertha Ronge established kindergarten schools in London, Leeds, and Manchester, thus becoming the founder of the kindergarten movement in England. See also Vandewalker, 14.

⁷⁴ Kiessling, 90-92, 100; Stolz, 68-69.

⁷⁵ Swart, 46-49; Vandewalker, 12-16; Elizabeth Jenkins, "How the Kindergarten Found Its Way to America," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 4,1 (September 1930): 50.

⁷⁶ Whyte, 289.

⁷⁷ Whyte, 298-99.

⁷⁸ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:65-67; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 58-61; Easum, 118-21.

⁷⁹ Wallman, 25-26; Easum, 158-61. After Rothe resigned as editor of *Der Anzeiger*, Schurz succeeded him, but only for a few weeks. See also Fuess, 54; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 65.

⁸⁰ Schurz, 1:34-35, 69-71.

⁸¹ See Easum, 139, note 2.

⁸² In 1849 Bertha Meyer Traun invited Fröbel to come to Hamburg to present a series of lectures on his concept of the kindergarten that she and Margarethe attended. Through her work to establish a school of higher education for young women, Bertha Traun became acquainted with Johannes Ronge, the ex-priest and founder of the German Catholic Association, who founded the free congregation of the German Catholic Association in Hamburg in 1846. Both Bertha and Margarethe were among the founding members of the "Frauenverein zur Unterstützung der Deutschkatholiken" of this congregation. As a result of the friendship between Bertha and Ronge, Bertha divorced Friedrich Traun and fled with Ronge to London, where they were married in 1851 and joined the German exile community around Gottfried Kinkel. They supported themselves by establishing the first kindergarten in England; see Stolz, 15-24. See also footnote 72.

⁸³ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 39-40.

⁸⁴ Founded by freethinking Forty-Eighters, "free congregations" or "freie Gemeinden" were not affiliated with any religious denomination and did not adhere to any set of specific dogmas that every member had to accept. In 1852 Wisconsin had thirty free congregations. The "freie Kirchen" (free churches) are often incorrectly identified as "freie Gemeinden" (free congregations) as in Wallman, 7, 31, 49-51, 69-70. For more on "freie Gemeinden," see Hildegard Binder Johnson, Chapter Three: "Adjustment to the United States," in Zucker, 55-58. "Free churches" were not humanistic congregations, but they were churches that maintained

their Christian beliefs without joining an organization of churches or synod. The Evangelical German Church of Watertown, founded in 1847-48 as a “free church,” refused to accept the strict biblical interpretations or doctrines of either the orthodox Lutherans (*Altlutheraner*) or of the Reformed confession. However, they required that their pastors be Lutheran or Reformed.

⁸⁵ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 137-40.

⁸⁶ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 144-47.

⁸⁷ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:67-70; Easum, 145-50.

⁸⁸ Schurz, *Intimate Letters*, 182-86; these are the letters of February 15 and 23, 1858. Also see Easum, 147.

⁸⁹ Alexander McDonald Thomson, *A Political History of Wisconsin: 1822-1898* (Milwaukee, WI: E.C. Williams, 1900), 141-42. Later in life Schurz was known for his dapper dress; his well-worn clothing was undoubtedly indicative of his financial state at the time.

⁹⁰ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:80-83; Easum, 162-90.

⁹¹ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:66; Easum, 127-30. The Know Nothing Party in Massachusetts wanted to bar all foreign-born citizens from voting for two years after having been naturalized.

⁹² The *Watertown Democrat* of September 10, 1857, as quoted by Easum, 161.

⁹³ The *American*, quoted in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, of October 10, 1857, see Easum, 168, note 22.

⁹⁴ Wallman, 88. In his *Reminiscences*, 2:133-39, Schurz discussed how his political opponents attacked him in the press.

⁹⁵ Easum, 168-73.

⁹⁶ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:137-38, 157-60.

⁹⁷ Schafer, *Schurz*, 96-98; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 68.

⁹⁸ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:158.

⁹⁹ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:158-61.

¹⁰⁰ Fuess, 57-61.

¹⁰¹ Easum, 199-204; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 69.

¹⁰² Easum, 205-12.

¹⁰³ Easum, 200-05; *Chicago Press and Tribune*, July 20, 1858, in Easum, 205.

¹⁰⁴ Letter to Friedrich Althaus of November 5, 1858, in Bancroft, *Speeches, Correspondence*, 1:36-38.

¹⁰⁵ Easum, 211. Easum quotes major sections of Schurz’s welcoming speech that was published on July 27, 1859, in the *Wisconsin State Journal*.

¹⁰⁶ Easum, 205-12.

¹⁰⁷ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:74-75.

¹⁰⁸ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 146-47. See also Wallman, 85.

¹⁰⁹ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:73-74. This was undoubtedly the *Liedertafel*, the first singing society in Wisconsin founded in 1847 by Fritz Meyer. In 1848 this group gave two concerts to celebrate the 1848 Revolution in Germany, and the second concert was followed by a torch light parade down Main Street; see Kiessling, 86-87, 156-59. Frederick Hooper and E. C. Gaebler each founded musical groups in 1860 and 1861; the two groups eventually merged under Gaebler’s leadership to form the Concordia Musical Society in 1862. According to Whyte, the Watertown Turnverein and the Concordia Musical Society were rivals; the Turners presented theatrical performances and athletic events, whereas the Concordia Musical Society alternated between concerts and plays; see Whyte, 341; Wallman, 71-76.

¹¹⁰ Marie Jussen Monroe, “Biographical Sketch of Edmund Jussen,” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 12, 2 (Dec. 1928): 162-63; note that the Jüssen name is spelled here without the normal umlaut.

¹¹¹ Letter to Heinrich Meyer of November 20, 1856, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 173-75.

¹¹² Swart, 36.

¹¹³ Marie Jüssen Monroe was the daughter of Schurz's sister Antonie and his cousin Edmund Jüssen. Schafer asked her to write the introduction to Schafer, *Schurz*, xi-xii.

¹¹⁴ Wallman, 87.

¹¹⁵ Easum, 221.

¹¹⁶ As quoted by Easum from the Milwaukee *Sentinel* and *State Journal* of October 21, 1858; see Easum, 214-21.

¹¹⁷ Bancroft, *Speeches, Correspondence*, 1:36-38.

¹¹⁸ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:88-99; of particular note is Schurz's physical description of Lincoln as well as his account of the debate between Lincoln and Douglas, including Lincoln's unusual delivery with his high-pitched voice and awkward gestures; see 90-96. Easum, 221-24.

¹¹⁹ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:120-26.

¹²⁰ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 190-91.

¹²¹ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:126-30.

¹²² Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:133; Thomson, 142.

¹²³ Easum, 252-54; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 80-81.

¹²⁴ Easum, 259-66; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 81.

¹²⁵ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:173-85.

¹²⁶ See letter from Schurz to Lincoln of May 22, 1860, in Bancroft, *Speeches, Correspondence*, 1:116-18. Hans L. Trefousse, "Abraham Lincoln and Carl Schurz" in *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States*, ed. Charlotte L. Brancaforte (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 184-86. Trefousse also points out that recent voter analysis shows that the German-American vote was not solely responsible for Lincoln's victory in the election. See also Easum, 275-86.

¹²⁷ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 88-90.

¹²⁸ The Wide Awakes were groups of young Republicans organized to support Lincoln in the 1860 election.

¹²⁹ Letter from Schurz to his wife of July 25, 1860, in Bancroft, *Speeches, Correspondence*, 1:119-21; Easum, 283-84.

¹³⁰ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 88, 94. According to Easum, 322-23, Schurz was usually paid up to \$50 per lecture plus travel and hotel expenses; on the other hand, Schafer estimates that Schurz averaged about \$25 net per lecture.

¹³¹ Letter from Schurz to his wife of December 11, 1860, from Boston in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 233-34; see other letters from Schurz to his wife from December 12, 20, 24, 27, 1860, 234-39.

¹³² Letter to his wife of January 31, 1861, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 241-42.

¹³³ Schafer, *Schurz*, 147-48.

¹³⁴ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:218-19.

¹³⁵ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 211-12.

¹³⁶ Easum, 325-26; Trefousse, "Lincoln and Schurz," 187.

¹³⁷ Bancroft, *Speeches, Correspondence*, 1:179.

¹³⁸ Trefousse, 98-103.

¹³⁹ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 252-53.

¹⁴⁰ Easum, 330-33. Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:228-38. After Schurz left for Spain, Col. McReynolds of Michigan was put in charge of Schurz's regiment, which then became known as the First New York Volunteer Cavalry Regiment or "Lincoln's Cavalry." See also, Schafer, *Schurz*, 152-53; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 104-05.

¹⁴¹ Easum, 234-35.

¹⁴² Trefousse, *Schurz*, 106-14; Easum, 335-48.

¹⁴³ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:320-22; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 113-14; Easum, 348-55.

¹⁴⁴ Schurz's letter to his mother of May 5, 1862, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 270-72; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 116-17; Schafer, *Schurz*, 154-55.

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¹⁴⁵ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 271.

¹⁴⁶ Schafer, *Schurz*, 154-58; Easum, 343-56; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 115-49.

¹⁴⁷ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 274-78; Margarethe Schurz wrote this letter to her in-laws on July 15, 1862, from the Philadelphia area.

¹⁴⁸ Trefousse, "Lincoln and Schurz," 190-96.

¹⁴⁹ Bancroft, *Speeches, Correspondence*, 1:252-53.

¹⁵⁰ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 334.

¹⁵¹ Schafer, *Schurz*, 163-69.

¹⁵² Trefousse, *Schurz*, 150-69.

¹⁵³ Stolz, 82.

¹⁵⁴ Schafer, *Schurz*, 172-73; the judgment of the Dodge County Court for foreclosure was dated January 22, 1867; see Schafer, 173, note 75.

¹⁵⁵ *Der Weltbürger*, Jahrg. 14, Nr. 14 (April 6, 1867), p. 3, col. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Whyte, 300; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 210.

¹⁵⁷ In a letter of January 25, 1866, to his friend Theodore Petrasch, Schurz mentioned that his legal address was still Watertown, Wisconsin; see Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 359-60.

¹⁵⁸ Schafer, *Schurz*, 171-74, 189; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 162-63.

¹⁵⁹ Schurz reported on his visits with Bismarck in two letters to his brothers-in-law, Adolph and Heinrich Meyer, of February 3, 1868; see Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 419-24; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 165-66. Although Germany had not officially lifted the arrest warrant for Schurz, Schurz asked George Bancroft, the American minister in Berlin, to find out if he would be welcomed in Prussia, and the answer was in the affirmative; see Trefousse, *Schurz*, 324, note 36; see also letter to Margarethe Schurz of November 23, 1867, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 417-18.

¹⁶⁰ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 3:302, quoted in Chapter X, the last chapter that Schurz was able to complete of Volume 3 of his *Reminiscences*.

¹⁶¹ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 469-70; Schafer, *Schurz*, 188-89.

¹⁶² See Schafer, *Schurz*, Chapter 7, "The Senatorial Period," 190-206; and Trefousse, *Schurz*, 174-76.

¹⁶³ Schurz wrote to his wife about the visit to Wisconsin and to Watertown after he returned to St. Louis; see Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 412-16; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 64.

¹⁶⁴ Lawrence S. Thompson and Frank X. Braun, Chapter 5: "The Forty-Eighters in Politics" in Zucker, 147-51. Together with Charles Sumner, Schurz fought corruption in the Grant administration. He was elected president of the convention in Cincinnati in 1872, where the Liberal Republican Party was formally organized and which chose Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, as their candidate. See also Schafer, *Schurz*, 195-204.

¹⁶⁵ Wallman, 88.

¹⁶⁶ Wallman, 89.

¹⁶⁷ Whyte, 300.

¹⁶⁸ Wallman, 89-91.

¹⁶⁹ Schafer, *Schurz*, 91.

¹⁷⁰ Letter of September 29, 1855, in Bancroft, *Speeches, Correspondence*, 1:21-22.

¹⁷¹ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:80.

¹⁷² Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 3:366; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 225-27; according to Trefousse, the address of the apartment that Schurz rented was 40 72nd Street. However, Margarethe Schurz's death announcement and obituary in *The New York Times*, March 17 and 19, 1876, both list her residence as 40 West 32nd Street. This is the address also listed on her death certificate; see Stolz, 93. Schurz's father, Christian, had died in Monee, Illinois, on February 17, 1876, only two months before Margarethe's death, and Schurz's mother Marianne died the following year on February 13, 1877, in St. Louis, Missouri. Birth and death dates of Margarethe Schurz as well as place of death are often reported incorrectly, e.g., Swart indicates that Mrs. Schurz died in Washington, D.C.; Fuess gives her date of death as March 12, 1876.

¹⁷³ Fuess, 219, attributed to Henry Holt.

¹⁷⁴ Schurz to Francis W. Bird on April 17, 1876, quoted by Trefousse, *Schurz*, 227.

¹⁷⁵ The Free Religious Association was formed in 1867 with the goal of freeing religion from all dogma and supernaturalism. One of its first members was Ralph Waldo Emerson. The Rev. Octavius Brooks Frothingham (1822–95), a graduate of the Harvard Divinity School, became a radical Unitarian and abolitionist when anti-slavery was still unpopular in New England. At the time of Mrs. Schurz's death, he was pastor of the Independent Liberal Church in New York City, which was no longer associated with the Unitarian denomination.

¹⁷⁶ See Margarethe Schurz's obituary in *The New York Times*, March 19, 1876, p. 12. Although Mrs. Schurz was buried in the New York Green-Wood Cemetery, in July of that year her rosewood coffin was shipped to Hamburg, Germany, for reburial in the Meyer family crypt in the St. Petri Church Cemetery. On May 7, 1914, her remains were moved to the Ohlsdorf Cemetery of Hamburg; see Stolz, 95.

¹⁷⁷ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 295-96. The major aim of the Ethical Culture Society was to promote ethical behavior in one's personal life and in all social interactions and to separate ethics from religious doctrines and all creeds and to provide a universal fellowship without religious rituals, while remaining neutral with regard to religious beliefs or advocating atheism.

¹⁷⁸ Schurz, 1:34-35, 69-71.

¹⁷⁹ Schafer, *Schurz*, 207-23; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 227-52. See also Hans L. Trefousse, "Carl Schurz Reconsidered," *Lincoln Herald* 83 (1981): 567-68.

¹⁸⁰ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 273, 286-87; Fuess, 376.

¹⁸¹ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 249, 253, 257. A collection of correspondence between Schurz and Chapman is available at the University of Münster; in the extensive Hogue Collection of Schurz papers in Bloomington, IN; and in the Library of Congress. Trefousse, "Carl Schurz Reconsidered," 565.

¹⁸² Schafer, *Schurz*, 237.

¹⁸³ John G. Nicolay and John M. Hay were Lincoln's private secretaries and in charge of Lincoln's personal papers after his death. They collaborated on the official biography, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, which was published serially between 1886 and 1890 in the *Century Magazine* and then in ten volumes in 1890-94.

¹⁸⁴ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 269-70; Fuess, 311-13; Schafer, *Schurz*, 243-45. This essay, Schurz's only published assessment of Lincoln as president, was reprinted in the Houghton Mifflin's Riverside Literature Series (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1891) and appeared in German translation as *Abraham Lincoln* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1908).

¹⁸⁵ See note 3 for the complete bibliographical reference. Before his death Schurz was only able to complete the first two and a half volumes. Volume 3 was completed by Frederic Bancroft and William A. Dunning.

¹⁸⁶ Schafer, *Schurz*, 250-51; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 264-76.

¹⁸⁷ Schurz received honorary Doctor of Laws degrees from Harvard in 1876, Columbia University in 1899, and from Washington University in St. Louis in 1904.

¹⁸⁸ Fuess, 379-80.

¹⁸⁹ Schafer, *Schurz*, 253.

¹⁹⁰ Schafer, *Schurz*, 224-54; Fuess, 380-81; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 253-300.

¹⁹¹ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 296-97.

¹⁹² Frederic Bancroft, ed., "Editor's Preface," *Speeches, Correspondence*, 1:vii.

¹⁹³ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 293.

¹⁹⁴ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 381-83.

¹⁹⁵ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 3:257-62; see also Fuess, 333. On January 9, 1897, Schurz gave an address to the Deutscher Liederkrans in New York on its fiftieth anniversary on the importance of the German language.

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¹⁹⁶ Ernst Voss, "Perpetuating the Spirit of Carl Schurz," *La Follette's Weekly Magazine* 4,49 (December 7, 1912): 7-8. See also "Carl Schurz Memorial" (Milwaukee: The Carl Schurz Memorial Association of Wisconsin, n.d.), which includes a letter from University of Wisconsin President Van Hise endorsing the creation of the Carl Schurz Professorship; and Ernst K. Voss, "The Schurz Professorship," *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 11,4 (January 1910): 145-48.

¹⁹⁷ *The New York Times*, September 15, 1908. In 1910 New York City dedicated the Carl Schurz Park in Yorkville, in which the mayor's residence, Gracie Mansion, is located. In 1913 the Austrian-born American sculptor, Karl Bitter, was commissioned to produce a bronze statue of Schurz that stands on Morningside Drive and 116 Street in New York City facing Columbia University. In 1914 John Hicks gifted a copy of Bitter's statue of Schurz to Oshkosh, Wisconsin.

¹⁹⁸ See articles from the *Watertown Gazette* of October 2, 9, 16, 1908; December 18, 1908; January 19, 1909; and August 20, 1909; in Ken Riedl, ed., *The History of Watertown, Wisconsin*, http://www.watertownhistory.org/History_of_Watertown_Online.htm.

¹⁹⁹ Kiessling, 78. Kiessling, then a student at Northwestern College, in Watertown, Wisconsin, stood on the ruins of the Schurz home the next day and wrote an elegy that was published in the *Black and Red*, the Northwestern College student magazine; see also "Schurz Home Fire Recalled," *Watertown Daily Times*, December 28, 1991.

²⁰⁰ The original school building, minus the storefront, on the southwest corner of North Second Street and Jones Street in Watertown, WI, was moved in 1956 and reconstructed by the Watertown Historical Society on the grounds of the Octagon House, 919 Charles Street, Watertown, WI. In 1972 the first kindergarten school building was placed on the National Register of Historic Places.

²⁰¹ In 1956 the Library of Congress confirmed that Margarethe Meyer Schurz's school was the first kindergarten in the United States.

²⁰² C. R. Goedsche and W. E. Glaetli, *Carl Schurz*, German Series: III (Elementary) (New York: American Book Company, 1953) and C.R. Goedsche, Eloise Neuse, and Elizabeth H. Zorb, *Kleinstadt in Amerika*, German Series: V (Elementary) (New York: American Book Company, 1955).

²⁰³ Frederic Bancroft and William A. Dunning, "Prefatory Note" to "A Sketch of Carl Schurz's Political Career: 1869-1906," in Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 3:313.

²⁰⁴ Trefousse, "Carl Schurz Reconsidered," 565.

²⁰⁵ The Schurz stamp was issued in 1983 as part of the German-American Tricentennial celebration of 300 years of German immigration to America along with stamps of the *Concord*, the ship that brought the first German immigrants from Krefeld, and of John A. Roebling, German-born engineer, who designed the Brooklyn Bridge in New York City, completed in 1883.

²⁰⁶ On April 25, 2005, the U.S. Senate passed Resolution 119 (109th Congress) designating April 21 as "National Kindergarten Recognition Day."

