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Margarethe Meyer Schurz: A Problematic Biography

Not long after their marriage in Marylebone, England, Carl and Margarethe Schurz arrived in New York City on September 17, 1852. Carl Schurz, a Forty-Eighter who had been banned from Germany for his participation in the failed revolution of 1848, had decided to immigrate to America, because, as he explained to Adolf Meyer, his future brother-in-law, "If I cannot be the citizen of a free Germany, then I would at least be a citizen of free America,"¹ and his new bride was clearly in full agreement with this move.²

After living in Philadelphia after their arrival in the United States in 1852, Carl Schurz moved his wife and three-year-old daughter, Agathe, in 1856 to Watertown, Wisconsin, where he had settled his parents and two sisters the year before and where he had purchased a farm of eighty-nine acres on the northwest edge of the city. However, when he and his family arrived, the house that Schurz himself had designed was not yet finished, and they had to wait until the end of October 1856 to move in. Not long after getting settled in their new home Margarethe Schurz began a kindergarten class in the living room for daughter Agathe and four nieces, thus establishing the first German kindergarten in the United States.³

In 1849 Margarethe and her sister Bertha had attended the lectures of Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852) in Hamburg on pre-school education for children or "the new education" as it had become known, and for which Froebel had coined the term "Kindergarten."⁴ Bertha established the first kindergarten in England in St. John's Wood in London for the children of German refugees of the 1848 Revolution. In 1851 Margarethe traveled to England to help her seriously ill sister Bertha with the household and run her kindergarten, and there she met and fell in love with Carl Schurz.⁵ Schurz was undoubtedly unaware of the importance of his wife's work in the area of pre-

school education, since he never mentioned her kindergarten in his *Reminiscences*.⁶

The biographies of Margarethe Meyer Schurz are plagued by a plethora of contradictory facts, ranging from different birth dates: was she born in 1832 or 1833; ancestral history: was her family Jewish as some biographies maintain; the number of siblings: was she the youngest of four, seven, or eleven children of Heinrich Christian and Agatha Meyer; and when did she die: two days, seven days, or ten days after giving birth to her son Herbert, and where did she pass away: in Washington, D.C., St. Louis, Missouri, New York City, or Germany? A review of the



Margarethe Meyer Schurz, 1861.

sources cited by various biographers makes it possible in many instances to determine how and where these conflicting facts of Margarethe Schurz's life originated and continue to persist in biographies of her to the present.

Much about the life of Margarethe Meyer Schurz can be learned indirectly from the major biographies of her husband, but this information is necessarily limited. There is only one slim English biography of Margarethe Schurz by Hannah Werwath Swart, which was published in 1967 and which incorporates many of the errors found in the few secondary sources that she used.⁷ Gerd Stolz published the only book-length German biography of Margarethe Schurz, *Das Leben der Margarethe Meyer Schurz: Wegbereiterin des Kindergartens in den USA*, in 2007. By consulting historical records and documents Stolz was able to correct many of the mistakes that continue to beset English biographies of Margarethe Schurz to this day.⁸ There are also numerous biographies of her in encyclopedias, in collections of biographies as well as in online biographical sites, ranging from Wikipedia, the Kindergartenpädagogik Online-Handbuch and the Froebel Web to the online publication, *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, published by the German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.⁹

In 2007 Greta Anderson published a collection of twelve biographies of famous women in Wisconsin with the title *More Than Petticoats: Remarkable Wisconsin Women*, and Margarethe Meyer Schurz is the fourth biography in this anthology.¹⁰ *More Than Petticoats* is a series of books that now covers biographies of noteworthy women in thirty-five states in the United States.

In *More Than Petticoats: Remarkable Wisconsin Women*, Greta Anderson makes numerous errors in portraying the life of Margarethe Schurz. For example, she states that Margarethe's father and two older brothers were wealthy sugarcane manufacturers in Hamburg who belonged to the educated business class, when in reality Margarethe's father had established a successful walking cane factory. In fact, his friends often called him "Stockmeyer" ("walking stick Meyer"). Not only did her father sell the finished product, but he also sold the materials required for the walking cane business, such as ivory and rattan. Margarethe's brother Adolph Meyer established a branch of the family business in Jersey City, New Jersey, in 1842.¹¹ Anderson incorrectly states that Margarethe's father died when she was ten instead of fifteen years of age, and she writes that Margarethe helped her sister found the first kindergarten in England, whereas her sister Bertha had already established the kindergarten, together with her husband, Johannes Ronge, in England well before Margarethe traveled to London to help her seriously ill sister with the household and her kindergarten in 1851. Anderson is off by a year, 1850 instead of 1849, for the date that Margarethe and her sister Bertha attended Froebel's lectures on the kindergarten movement in Hamburg, and she incorrectly states that Carl Schurz's parents and his two sisters came to the United States in 1854 instead of 1853. Similarly, Anderson indicates that Margarethe Schurz founded her kindergarten in Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1857 instead of November of 1856. She states that Margarethe gave birth to Marianne, the Schurz's second daughter, in Europe in 1857 rather than in Watertown, on March 15, 1857. She writes that Carl Schurz held out for a European appointment after Lincoln's election for Margarethe's sake. This was also not the case. Lincoln had promised Schurz an assignment abroad for his strenuous campaign efforts to secure the ethnic German vote for Lincoln that traditionally went to Democratic candidates. Schurz would have preferred an assignment in Germany or Austria, but his radical past and the fact that he was still banned by the Prussian government clearly made that impossible. In fact, even the Italians objected to having a German radical as the American envoy when Schurz was proposed for an appointment in Italy, and so Lincoln finally named Schurz as U.S. minister to Spain.¹² Anderson states that Margarethe Schurz died two days after giving birth to her second son and fifth child, Herbert; in fact, Margarethe Schurz died on March 15, 1876, ten days after giving birth to Herbert on March 5, 1876.¹³

According to the bibliography, Anderson's major sources for information about the life of Margarethe Schurz are the three volumes of Carl Schurz's *Reminiscences*, Hans L. Trefousse's biography of Carl Schurz, and Hannah Werwath Swart's biography, to which many of Anderson's errors can be traced.

Although Mrs. Swart claims to have consulted family records in Hamburg for her biography of Margarethe Schurz, she gives 1832 as her birth date rather than the correct date of 1833 and states that her family "belonged to the Jewish upper-bourgeoisie of nineteenth-century Germany."¹⁴ This family ancestry is questionable since Margarethe Schurz's parents, Heinrich Christian Meyer and Agatha Margarethe Beusch, were married in the Lutheran Church of Rahlstedt, located in the Wandsbek district of Hamburg, on June 3, 1816, and Margarethe's birth was listed in the baptismal register of the St. Johannis Lutheran Church in Eppendorf of Hamburg on August 29, 1833, although family histories give August 27 as her birth date, which is generally recognized as the correct date.¹⁵ The well-known photo of Margarethe Schurz of 1861 also shows her wearing a necklace with a Christian cross on it. While it is entirely possible that the Meyer family in the distant past had some Jewish ancestors, it is quite clear that her family did not consider themselves to be Jewish and that she was not raised in the Jewish faith. The Meyer family did have Jewish friends among their circle of liberal acquaintances in Hamburg, and Margarethe's sister Bertha was co-founder of the Society for the Equality of Religious Denominational Differences, which was made up of eight Jewish women and eight Christian women.¹⁶

According to Swart's bibliography, her primary sources for the life of Margarethe Schurz are Carl Schurz's *Reminiscences*, Joseph Schafer's *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz*, and Chester V. Easum's *The Americanization of Carl Schurz*.¹⁷ Among her other sources are several histories of education and journal and newspaper articles on the origin of the kindergarten and the history of Watertown, Wisconsin. One of the articles cited by Swart appeared in the *Milwaukee Journal* on June 1, 1937, to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the first kindergarten in Blankenburg, Germany, by Friedrich Froebel and the 81st anniversary of Mrs. Schurz's first kindergarten in Watertown, Wisconsin. This article contains numerous factual errors. It states that Mrs. Schurz first began her kindergarten on the porch of a Watertown home and then moved it to a vacant store in Watertown in 1856; it also mentions that the two Schurz daughters, Agathe and Marianne, attended the kindergarten. Mrs. Schurz started her kindergarten in the living room of the home on the Schurz farm located on the outskirts of Watertown in November 1856 and later moved it to what had been her in-laws' home on the corner of North Second and Jones Street in Watertown, since that location was more centrally located and accessible to other students. The

Schurz's second daughter, Marianne, was not born until March 5, 1857, and therefore could not have been a student yet in her mother's kindergarten.¹⁸

Although Swart does not include the biography of Carl Schurz by Claude M. Fuess, *Carl Schurz: Reformer*, in her bibliography, the reference to the Meyers being Jewish undoubtedly originates with Fuess. He states that Margarethe was the "daughter of a well-to-do Jewish manufacturer of Hamburg."¹⁹ In an article on his family, "The Making of an American Family," that appeared in *The Common Ground Magazine* eleven years after his Schurz biography, Fuess writes 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 *Reminiscences* and letters. However, it has not been possible to corroborate either statement in either Schurz's *Reminiscences* or in his letters.²⁰ 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, "dass Frau Schurz, geb. Meyer, rein arischer Herkunft ist."²¹

In Mrs. Swart's account the marriage of Carl and Margarethe Schurz took place on July 10, 1852, in the parish church of Marylebone in London, which she misspells as "Marleybone," whereas the young couple was actually married in a civil ceremony four days earlier, on July 6, 1852, in the parish registry of Marylebone, London.²² Swart writes that the Schurzes' youngest daughter, Emilie or Emmy as she was known in the family, was born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in April 1865, but she was actually born on December 30, 1864. She was given the middle name of Savannah to commemorate the fall of Savannah, Georgia, to Union troops under the command of General William Tecumseh Sherman on December 20, 1864, ten days before Emmy's birth. Emmy Schurz died of a serious fever in Detroit on March 30, 1867, while her father was editor of the Detroit *Daily Post* and not in St. Louis as Mrs. Swart reports.²³ The Schurzes were devastated by the loss of their youngest daughter, and when Margarethe's health worsened after their move to St. Louis, Missouri, Carl arranged to send his wife and two daughters to Germany, so that his wife could recuperate and his daughters could attend German schools.²⁴

The Swart biography also includes discrepancies regarding the birth date of the Schurzes' last son, Herbert, as well as the date and location of Margarethe Schurz's death. Mrs. Swart gives the birth date of Herbert as March 13, 1876, whereas he was born eight days earlier on March 5, and Margarethe Schurz died of complications of childbirth ten days later on March 15, 1876.²⁵ Carl Schurz had rented an apartment for the family at 40 West 32nd Street in New York City so that the family could be together when Margarethe and the children returned from Germany. Margarethe refused to return to St. Louis because she disliked the hot summers there intensely. She was also not

feeling well as the result of her pregnancy and had not been able to go steps for several months. Even the very reliable biographer of Carl Schurz, Hans L. Trefousse, has the Schurz family living at 40 West 72nd Street, only forty blocks away from their actual residence.²⁶ Mrs. Schurz died in New York City and not in Washington, D.C., as Mrs. Swart indicates or in St. Louis, Missouri, or in Germany as other sources report.

In their article in *Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Helmut and Marianne Hirsch conclude that the possibility of Jewish ancestry in Margarethe Schurz's family cannot be confirmed. In spite of their research, the Hirsches incorrectly state that Margarethe died in St. Louis, Missouri, three days after giving birth to Herbert, her fifth child.²⁷

The biography in the *Encyclopedia of Early Childhood Education* states incorrectly that Margarethe Schurz returned to Hamburg, Germany, after the death of her second daughter in 1867 and that she remained there until her death.²⁸ The Schurz's second daughter, Marianne, was born in Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1857 and died in 1929. Their third daughter, Emilie, died in 1867 at the age of two and three months, after which Margarethe and her two older daughters took up residence in Wiesbaden, Germany, for two years. As was mentioned above, Mrs. Schurz died in New York City on March 15, 1876. The *Dictionary of Wisconsin History/Biography* also reports inaccurately that Margarethe Schurz returned to Germany after her daughter died in 1867 and that she continued to live there until her death, which would have been nine years later.²⁹ These errors are difficult to explain since the major sources listed for this article are the biography by Joseph Schafer, *Carl Schurz: Militant Liberal* and Schafer's collection of Schurz's correspondence, *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz 1841–1869*, both highly reliable sources.³⁰

Numerous biographical errors are also found in Manfred Berger's article, "Margaretha Schurz: Amerikas First Kindergarten," which appeared in *Kinderzeit: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik und Bildung* in 1996. According to Berger, Mrs. Schurz and Elizabeth Peabody met in 1858, but they were actually introduced to each other at the home of a mutual friend in Boston in the fall of 1859, when Mrs. Schurz accompanied her husband on one of his lecture tours. Elizabeth Peabody was so taken with Mrs. Schurz's description of a kindergarten that she opened her own English kindergarten in Boston in 1860 and became a life-long advocate for the kindergarten movement in America. Berger also incorrectly states that Margarethe died in St. Louis, Missouri, three days after giving birth to their son Herbert. He is off by a year with regard to Carl Schurz's appointment as U.S. minister to Spain (1861–62) and mistakenly informs readers that after serving as secretary of the interior Schurz became vice-president of the United States, an office for which Schurz as a naturalized citizen was not eligible.³¹

Margarethe Schurz's funeral service took place in the apartment on West 32nd Street in New York City and began with the singing of a funeral hymn by a chorus from the Liederkrantz Society. 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.³² Friends then accompanied the Schurz family to the Green-Wood Cemetery in New York City for the interment. In July of the same 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.³³

The least reliable and most error-filled sources of biographical information about Margarethe Schurz are the online biographies, from Wikipedia, the Froebel Web, the Jewish Women's Archive, and the Civil War Women site to the recent online article, "German Social Entrepreneurs and the First Kindergartens in Nineteenth Century America," by Stephani Richards-Wilson in the online publication *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*.³⁴ Many of these online biographies reference each other and consequently repeat each other's errors. Some of the strangest assertions about the life of Margarethe Schurz are made in Wikipedia. For example, it states that when the Schurzes moved to Watertown, Wisconsin, they "started a small farm, where Margarethe's gift for financial affairs put them at an advantage."³⁵ Schurz never mentions his wife's financial acumen, but in a letter to her brother, indicates her lack of ability in dealing with the practicalities of daily life: "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."³⁶ In 1857 Schurz's parents moved in with Carl and Margarethe, and his mother took over management of the household.³⁷ There is also no reference to Margarethe's family inheritance that helped to finance their travels, their first years in Philadelphia, the down payment on the farm, and construction of a new home in Watertown, Wisconsin. Wikipedia states incorrectly that the Schurzes spent two years in New York before moving west. After arriving on September 17, 1852, the Schurzes spent a few weeks in New York City, before traveling to Philadelphia, where they lived until Carl moved his wife and daughter to Watertown, in August of 1856. According to Wikipedia, Margarethe Schurz's kindergarten functioned only from 1854 to 1856. However, Mrs. Schurz did not move to Watertown until 1856, and she began her kindergarten in November of that year for her daughter Agathe and four nieces, Anna and Nannie Jüssen and Julia and Margarethe Miller, the daughters of Carl's sisters. The kindergarten also did not cease operation in 1856, but Mrs. Schurz directed the school until 1858. When she and her husband moved to Milwaukee for the fall

and winter months, Carl Schurz's cousin, Elizabeth Jüssen, and later Mrs. Rose Kunert operated Margarethe Schurz's kindergarten. It continued to function as a private school in Watertown until 1915, when prejudice against the German language during World War I forced it to close.³⁸ Wikipedia also claims that Elizabeth Peabody traveled to Watertown in 1859 to meet Mrs. Schurz. As was mentioned above, Elizabeth Peabody and Margarethe Schurz first became acquainted in Boston and not in Watertown. According to Wikipedia, "In 1856 the mortgage on her [Margarethe's] home was foreclosed [and] as a result she moved back to Hamburg in June of the same year."³⁹ The foreclosure on the Schurz farm did not occur until 1876 when the administrator for the estate of John Jackson, from whom Schurz had purchased the property in 1855, sued for foreclosure of the mortgage. Since Schurz was unable 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.⁴⁰ Margarethe also did not return to Hamburg in June of 1856 as Wikipedia maintains. When Margarethe came down with a lung ailment, Schurz arranged for his wife and two-year-old daughter Agathe to sail to England on April 21, 1855, so that his wife could take the water cure in Malvern that he had found so helpful three year earlier. In December of 1855 Carl joined his wife and daughter, who were houseguests in the London home of Gottfried Kinkel, Schurz's old professor from the University of Bonn. In February of 1856 Margarethe's brother Heinrich Meyer invited the Schurzes to Montreux, Switzerland, for a Meyer family reunion, and on June 21, 1856, the Schurzes set sail for America to prepare for their move to Wisconsin.⁴¹ While Wikipedia does not indicate where Mrs. Schurz died, it does provide the correct date of death, March 15, 1876, but then states that her death occurred three days after giving birth to son Herbert instead of the correct ten days after his birth.⁴²

Many of the biographical errors of Margarethe Schurz's life and her family history found their way into the recent article by Stephani Richards-Wilson on the founders of the first kindergartens in America. A review of the footnotes readily confirms that these inaccuracies can be traced directly to the Swart and Anderson biographies and demonstrates how important the choice of reliable sources is.⁴³

An overview of the bibliographies and notes of the online websites or articles that deal with the life of Margarethe Schurz reveals that many include the latest publications about her, but yet they continue to perpetuate the mistakes of the past. It is obvious that these websites rarely undergo rigorous editing or updating, and as a result the latest research is not incorporated even though it appears in the bibliography.

Biographies, like those by Swart and Anderson, belong to the category of popular, non-scholarly biographies that often do not use quotation marks or footnotes, even when material is quoted directly, but that may provide a bibliography of works consulted. This raises the question whether these non-scholarly biographies should be held to the basic standards of accuracy that one expects of scholarly biographies and histories.

To what can the errors and widely differing facts of Mrs. Schurz's biography be attributed? In some cases, it may be an inadequate knowledge of German and not being able to consult historical records, such as birth and marriage documents. These mistakes may also be the result of careless research or the misfortune of relying on faulty source materials or a combination of both. Whether dealing with an article or book in hardcopy form or an online publication or website, researchers and students must check their sources for accuracy and corroborate facts whenever possible. This is particularly true of often anonymous, unvetted online publications, whose sources must be viewed critically and subjected to rigorous validation. The warning *Caveat Lector*, applies equally to the researcher as to the reader.

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Notes

¹ Joseph Schafer, *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz 1841-1869* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1928), 107-11.

² 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.

³ Gerd Stolz, *Das Leben der Margarethe Meyer Schurz: Wegbereiterin des Kindergartens in den USA* (Husum: Husum Druck und Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007), 55-72. See also the articles by Gerd Stolz, "Wie der Kindergarten nach Amerika kam: Margarethe Meyer Schurz und die 'deutsche Idee,'" *Globus* 4 (2003): 6-9; and "Margarethe Meyer Schurz: eine Pionierin der Kindergarten-Idee aus Norddeutschland in den USA," *Natur- und Landeskunde* 111, 3-4 (2004): 29-35.

⁴ Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852), a student of the Swiss educator Pestalozzi, is best known as the founder of the German kindergarten movement; 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. See also Elizabeth P. Peabody, "The Origin and Growth of the Kindergarten," *Education: An International Magazine* 2 (1882): 507-27.

⁵ Stolz, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz*, 42-50; Trefousse, 39-40; Joseph Schafer, *Schurz*, 74; Nina C. Vandewalker, *The Kindergarten in American Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1908), 14.

⁶ 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 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.

⁷ 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.

⁸ Stolz, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz*, see note 3. In addition to photos of family and friends, Stolz provides certified copies of the Schurzes' wedding registration and death certificate of Margarethe Schurz.

⁹ The online project *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present* was started by the German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C., in 2010 and focuses on immigration and entrepreneurship in America: <http://www.immigrant-entrepreneurship.org>. The article on the first kindergartens is by Stephani Richards-Wilson, "German Social Entrepreneurs and the First Kindergartens in Nineteenth Century America," published in 2016. The *Immigrant Entrepreneurship* series comprise five volumes: Vol I: 1720-1840; Vol II: 1840-1893; Vol. III: 1893-1918; Vol. IV: 1918-1945; Vol: 1945 to Today.

¹⁰ Greta Anderson, "Margarethe Meyer Schurz: Envoy of the Kindergarten" in *More Than Petticoats: Remarkable Wisconsin Women* (Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2004).

¹¹ Stolz, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz*, 10-12, 28.

¹² Trefousse, 98-103.

¹³ Anderson, 37-48; Stolz, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz*, 23-24, 68, 95.

¹⁴ Swart, 3; see also 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), 99-100. According to the Hirsches, 86, family histories and secondary sources agree that Margarethe Meyer was born on August 27, 1833; however, the baptismal register of St. Johannes Lutheran Church in Eppendorf, Hamburg, gives the birth date for "Agatha Margaretha" [*sic*] as August 29, 1833.

¹⁵ Helmut and Marianne Hirsch, 86-87; see also Stolz, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz*, 14-15.

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¹⁶ The Sozialer Verein zur Ausgleichung konfessioneller Unterschiede was founded in 1848 for the purpose of teaching young women to assume their proper role in life, and one of their endeavors was to promote the establishment of kindergartens in Hamburg; see Stolz, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz*, 22-23.

¹⁷ See notes 1 and 2.

¹⁸ "The First Kindergarten in America Started in Watertown, Wis., in 1856," *The Milwaukee Journal* (June 1, 1937). See also Elizabeth P. Peabody; Nina C. Vandewalker, note 5; Elizabeth Jenkins, "How the Kindergarten Found Its Way to America," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 14, 1 (September 1930): 47-62; Jürgen Eichhoff, "Kindergarten and Its Progeny in American English," *Monatshefte* 80, 1 (1988): 82-95.

¹⁹ Fuess, *Carl Schurz*, 39.

²⁰ The author, however, did not have access to all of the Schurz correspondence.

²¹ Claude M. Fuess, "The Making of an American Family," *The Common Ground Magazine* (Spring 1943): 24-29. The reference to Mrs. Schurz's Jewish background in Joachim Maass, *Der unermüdliche Rebell. Leben, Taten und Vermächtnis des Carl Schurz* (Hamburg: Claassen & Govers, 1949), 31, probably derives from Fuess, although Maass provides no bibliographical references for his biography. Susan Fleming's biography of Mrs. Schurz in the online Jewish Women's Archive also originates with Fuess: <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/schurz-margarethe-meyer>.

²² Stolz, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz*, 49.

²³ Mrs. Swart gives both 1867 and 1868 as the death date for the Schurzes' youngest daughter, Emmy; see Swart, 60, 69; Stolz, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz*, 81-83.

²⁴ Trefousse, 147, 163.

²⁵ Swart, 64.

²⁶ Trefousse, 225-27.

²⁷ Helmut and Marianne Hirsch, 106.

²⁸ J.K. Smith, "Schurz, Margarethe Meyer," *Encyclopedia of Early Childhood Education*, ed. Leslie R. Williams and Doris Pronin Fromberg (New York: Garland Pub., 1992), 91-92.

²⁹ "Schurz, Margarethe [Meyer] (Mrs. Carl Schurz) 1833-1876," *Dictionary of Wisconsin History/Biography*, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1960.

³⁰ See notes 1 and 2.

³¹ Manfred Berger, "Margaretha Schurz: Amerikas First Kindergarten," *Kinderzeit: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik und Bildung* 3 (1996): 22-23. Note that Berger spells Mrs. Schurz's first name with an "a."

³² 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.

³³ See Margarethe Schurz's obituary in *The New York Times* (March 19, 1876): 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.

³⁴ Stephani Richards-Wilson, see note 9.

³⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Margarethe_Schurz.

³⁶ Letter of April 19, 1852, to Adolph Meyer, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 110.

³⁷ Easum, 109; Trefousse, 69.

³⁸ Elmer C. Kiessling, *Watertown Remembered* (Milwaukee, WI: Watertown Historical Association, 1976), 90-92, 100; Stolz, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz*, 67-69.

³⁹ See note 32 on Wikipedia article.

⁴⁰ Schafer, *Schurz*, 172-73; the judgment of the Dodge County Court for foreclosure was dated January 22, 1867; see Schafer, 173, note 75.

⁴¹ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, II:3-15.

⁴² Stolz, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz*, 92-95; Trefousse, 225-27.

⁴³ Richards-Wilson, see note 9. The errors range from Margarethe Schurz's supposed Jewish ancestry and position among her siblings to her father's profession, date of the Schurzes' wedding, and place of her death.