

Chapter 3. The Kansas Campaign

There was in the action of those pioneers who left Boston and Worcester to settle in Kansas a moral grandeur that eclipsed anything in the history of emigration.

Eli Thayer, *New York Times*, August 4, 1854

[Kansas has been] settled against the South by immigration.

J. H. Stringfellow, letter to the *Washington Union*, January 7, 1858

The Germans are a power here. They are Republicans and it is their right to be fairly represented in the party.

Champion Vaughan, Leavenworth *Daily Times*, September 4, 1858

The “organized and assisted emigration” from New England to Kansas in the 1850s was a political initiative without precedent. Reacting to the perceived iniquity of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, this emigration movement originated in Boston. Eli Thayer (1819–99), member of the Massachusetts state assembly in 1853 and 1854, forged a plan to counteract the southern drive to extend slavery, unalterably changing the course of American history. The movement drew strength from a commitment of its participants to the proposition that slavery was evil and had to be contained, if not destroyed. Thayer saw the purpose of that movement “to make a cordon of Free States from Kansas to the Gulf of Mexico. . . . There was in the action of those pioneers who left Boston and Worcester to settle in Kansas a moral grandeur that eclipsed anything in the history of emigration.”¹

Many believed that as a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 the Kansas territory would be won for the South as a state with slavery. The neighboring state, Missouri, was, after all, in an ideal position to guarantee the extension of slave power. What many in the South expected to be inevitable did not occur. Although initiated by the singular energies of one individual, many participated in the effort to counter the most natural course of events.

In the resolute actions of the subsequent years, the spirit of the German revolutions of 1848 and 1849, represented most notably by the Turner societies, is discernible.

Thayer lost no time in recruiting supporters for his project. He won generous financial support from Amos Lawrence. To reach broad public support, Thayer could do no better than to be promoted in the columns of the *New York Daily Tribune*. He secured the influential backing of the editor, Horace Greeley:

G[reeley:] Here is the most important question of all: can you get men to go from the free states to Kansas, in view of the great sacrifices they will be obliged to make, risking property, peace, and even life itself, for a principle—I might say for patriotism? Remember that the whole power of the government is against you; that Missouri, crowded with Border Ruffians, is on the entire eastern border of Kansas, that your emigrants will have a very long journey before reaching Kansas, and more than three hundred miles of it in the slave state of Missouri. Can all these difficulties be overcome?

T[hayer:] They can be and will be. We already have a number of men pledged for our first colony. The next one can be secured with far less effort. It is true that there has never been an emigration of this kind in the world's history—a self-sacrificing emigration. It is now time for this new development, and, with proper effort, it can be made manifest and effective in saving Kansas and destroying slavery.²

In an article a few days later, Greeley followed up by declaring that one of the primary goals in the coming days had to be “Immediate, energetic, and comprehensive organization to aid the migration of freedom-loving settlers in Kansas.” The emigration Greeley had in mind could involve the Germans. He said, “a strong current of German immigration can be directed upon the new territory next spring. . . .”³ Thayer elaborated at a meeting to establish a new organization for emigration from New York. He was able to report that the first settlers had established a network of fifty huts and support for the accommodation of some 20,000 emigrants in the course of the current fall.

George W. Brown, a native of Crawford, Pennsylvania, was prepared to publish a Kansas paper called the *Herald of Freedom*. The New York audience applauded when Thayer explained that the project would eventually result in a line of free states down to the Gulf of Mexico. This was not the last time an audacious strategy of creating a cordon of states against the extension of slavery beyond its present limits was proposed. To the southern states this bold intention could appear something like a declaration of war. Thayer said:

"Seeing that threats had been made, it might be well for the emigrant to be furnished with his Bible and his rifle; and if he were not protected in his rights according to the principles of the first, let him rely upon the execution of the latter." Thayer announced that information on Kansas could be found in a book by Edward Everett Hale.⁴

The *New York Times* also considered Thayer's plea for the establishment of the New York Kansas League worthy of a detailed report. It followed up on January 5, 1855, with another article on "The German Immigration." It took issue with Thayer's apparent exclusive focus on native-born Americans as settlers in Kansas.

It is very satisfactory to know that the Emigrant Aid Association ha[s] accomplished so much in introducing sturdy New England settlers into the Kansas Territory. . . . Better still, these German peasant men are good friends of liberty. The Bavarian, the Rhinelander, the Prussian, the Bohemian know what is tyranny. Some have themselves felt the lash and the fetters; and all have the shame of slavery. They have too long seen one class absorbing the unearned means of another class; they have too long struggled against the close bonds of a political mastership, to wish to behold the same system on this free land. Slavery in Austria and slavery in Kansas will not seem to them two so different institutions. . . . Why should not advantage be taken of all these favorable circumstances, to lead this immigration into the Nebraska-Kansas territories? The Germans are pouring into the country; they are good laborers, fitted in some respects, for a new country, and sterling friends of free labor. Is it not at once the practical course, to direct these men into this new country, where the great battle of freedom is being fought!

Although in the beginning of the movement Thayer's focus was clearly on native-born Americans, it was not his intention to exclude Germans. After all, the very first party of settlers to Kansas included a young German, Arthur Guenther (see below). The report that Thayer and Hale submitted on May 24, 1854, to the Massachusetts state assembly includes the claim about the relevance of the German immigration: "Of the whole emigration from Europe, amounting to some 400,000 persons, there can be no difficulty in inducing 30,000 or 40,000 to take the same direction."⁵ The effort to win Germans to the movement began in earnest only in 1857. All over the United States, Germans instinctively recognized the affinity between the struggles for freedom in Europe and in the United States. In Chicago, German-Americans marched in protest against the Kansas-Nebraska Act and burned an effigy

of its author, Senator Stephen A. Douglas.⁶ Eighty German newspapers throughout the country declared their opposition to this act.

The reactions of Germans in Cincinnati, a city with a strong German presence, went even further. Friedrich Hecker, the most famous leader of the German revolution, arrived in Cincinnati on October 22, 1848. Although his stay was brief, he is credited with inspiring the first Turner organization in the United States. Albert Tafel, one of the founding members and later the head of the national Turner organization, saw the primary political goal of the Turners in the struggle against slavery.⁷ The impetus for an emigration movement from Cincinnati to Kansas came from the Turners. When the office of the *Deutsche Republik* took the first steps to establish a "Kansas Actual Settlers Association," its president became a Turner, J. B. Wernert. After reading about Thayer's plea to the New York Kansas League organizers on the *New York Daily Tribune*, this Cincinnati office addressed a lengthy letter to Thayer. It is an important document of the immediate responsive chord the Thayer project had struck among the Germans there.

[To:] Mr. Eli Thayer, Oread Hill, near Boston.

[From:] Cincinnati Walnut Street

Corner of Mercer Street

(German Republik) Sept. 23, 54.

Sir,

Enclosed you will find a copy of the constitution of a Kansas Actual Settlers Association lately formed in this city, by which I have been directed or charged as their corresponding secretary, to collect and report information about the proceedings, progress, and prospect of other similar societies, and to inquire, whether we could not be admitted or acknowledged by them as a branch-society for mutual cooperation, reciprocal assistance or instructive correspondence. Although the majority of our members are Germans by birth or descent, we all regret, shun, and detest slavery as one of the most direful plagues of this our adopted country, and we are determined therefore, to exert all our influence, power and means for the reduction of this great evil in general and especially for its exclusion, as far as possible, from Kansas Territory.

Supposing that you are besieged by too many inquirers or inquiries on this subject, I shall not trouble you any further but content myself, if you will be so kind, as to request or to direct any one of your

friends or corresponding secretaries, who is best acquainted with these matters, to inform us:

- 1.) Whether it is true or not that till now only native[-born] Americans have joined your societies, as it was stated in some of the newspapers, or
- 2.) If you can name to us some German gentlemen enrolled in your lists, as some of our members, who cannot yet speak or write English correctly, should like to assist me as corresponding secretary by writing in German, for those, who are able and willing, to answer them in their native tongue, especially.
- 3.) Which are the leading members of your first colony (German- or English-American) at Oread Mount, Kansas? As soon as possible a commission of three of our members will be sent to Kansas, according to [Articles] 10 and 11 of our constitution, to explore the country for the purpose of selecting an eligible site for a German-American Squatter-Community of at least 100–200 members, who will start and settle there simultaneously early next spring as near as possible to Oread Mount, if practicable.
- 4.) Which are the best books, pamphlets or printed reports about the topography of Kansas? – Has Mr. Edward E. Hale of Worcester written or compiled something on this subject, as it was intimated by the Editor of the N[ew] York Tribune? Where may this, or any similar description be had? Our association would gladly pay the expenses, if anything of that sort would be sent to us, directed to me or to our President, Mr. T. B. Wernert, Main Street next Liberty, as I could get nothing of that kind in 5 of our first-rate bookshops here, excepting Col. Frémont's (old) Report of 1845.
- 5.) Is the Emigration-Aid-Society lately established at Oberlin, Ohio, a branch of yours? – Have you no connection or any members yet in our city?

An early answer by you or any of your friends will oblige us and be acknowledged by similar services on our side.

Respectfully,

A. Oestreicher⁸

A careful look at Oestreicher's letter provides a glimpse of the excitement generated by Thayer's project, and of its implementation. The impact was imme-

diate. Although the author professed ignorance, he had made inquiries and ascertained, among other things, Thayer's influence in the naming of "Mount Oread" in Lawrence, Kansas, after the location of his own home near Boston. Whether Thayer himself ever responded to this inquiry is not known. He had complained in his New York lecture: "The company has already hundreds of letters which it cannot reply to." But the trustees of the New England Emigrant Aid Society discussed the letter from the Cincinnati Germans at their meetings of December 9 and 23, 1854.⁹ With so much attention, it is likely that some action was taken to provide orientation for the Ohio settlers.

Like the *New York Times*, Oestreicher was concerned about Thayer's apparent exclusive focus on native-born Americans. If the initial exploratory group of three did visit Lawrence and Mount Oread from Cincinnati, the contact with Germans would not have been easy to make. For example, for Lawrence, the 1855 census showed only seven Germans.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it is important to consider who these earliest settlers were and why they had come.

The Cincinnati Germans about to depart for Kansas needed information about the region. According to the *New York Daily Tribune*, Thayer announced a publication by Hale. In his letter to Thayer, Oestreicher hoped that such a book might be useful for the emigrants. The *Tribune* article did not reveal the title of Hale's book, but it was undoubtedly the book that was just being published in Boston about *Kanzas and Nebraska*.¹¹

Hale, an author and Unitarian minister, explained how his collaboration with Thayer had come about. In a pamphlet on Texas, published in 1845, he had expressed his earlier interest in the possibilities of defeating slavery through emigration. Then Hale heard about Thayer in 1854.

Mr. Eli Thayer was a near neighbor of mine in Worcester, and as soon as I knew of his prompt and wise movement I went over to see him, showed him my Texas pamphlet, and told him I was ready to take hold anywhere. He was very glad to have a man Friday so near at hand. There was enough for all of us to do. We called meetings in all available places, and went to speak or sent speakers wherever we were called for.

Having become a supporting partner to Thayer, Hale compiled a book on the Kansas territory on the basis of available literature. The full title covers the essential content: *Kanzas and Nebraska: The History, Geographical and Physical Characteristics, and Political Position of those Territories. An Account of the Emigrant Aid Companies, and Directions to Emigrants*. It was prepared and published in 1854.¹² A copy undoubtedly found its way to the Cincinnati emigrants.

The information that the Cincinnati Germans needed about Kansas was soon to be available also in Cincinnati. An ad in the *New York Times* in October 1854 announced a publication by T. R. Mason and Rev. C. B. Boynton, who made an "observation tour" to Kansas. It bears the publication date of 1855.¹³ The ad states that *A Journey through Kansas with Sketches of Nebraska* provided a description of "the country, climate, soil, mineral, manufacturing, and other resources." Noteworthy is the fact that the authors represented the Kansas League of Cincinnati. This evidence reflects movements initiated independently in the German and American communities of Cincinnati.

Oestreicher's question about an emigration project in Oberlin, Ohio, can be identified as that of the Kansas Emigrant Aid Society of Northern Ohio, founded on August 21, 1854. This society had the purpose of helping "anti-slavery men, temperance men, and otherwise men of good moral character" to seek a new life in Kansas. At least seven different groups left for Kansas from Oberlin, ranging from twenty to a hundred settlers in size.¹⁴

It is difficult to trace the results of these independent initiatives. The census of 1855 does show that settlers came from Ohio. The most convincing indication of Cincinnati settlers in Lawrence is the existence of a Cincinnati House. When negotiations took place about the exchange of prisoners after the proslavery attacks on Franklin (Kansas Territory), in August 1856, those talks, which involved territorial Governor Wilson Shannon, took place in Lawrence in the Cincinnati House. This house served in the early days of the emigration as a hotel for the first settlers from that Ohio city.¹⁵

An article in the *Journal and Courier*, Lowell, Massachusetts, reported on March 26, 1855: "600 are ready to start from Cincinnati; while from that city last week 130 Germans with their families, household goods, stools, fruit-trees, etc., marched in true German style with their fine band of music on board the steamer and started."¹⁶

Who were the earliest German emigrants to come to Kansas?

In November 1855, Sara Robinson, wife of Charles Robinson, the leader of the Lawrence pioneers and first state governor of Kansas, recorded the first death in the region. She wrote:

[November 18, 1855] The cholera raged for a time upon the Wakarusa, for which drinking of the stagnant water in the river's bed, the result of an unprecedented drought of ten months, and in many cases a sad want of personal cleanliness, was the prolific cause. About the same time, a gentleman near the same region walked into Lawrence in the heat of the day, with perspiration starting from every pore, and blood at fever heat. He plunged into the river for a cooling

bath, remaining some time. A pleasant coolness was induced; but the blood was driven back from the extremities, to course madly about the internal organs. Soon after eating a hearty supper, he retired. The awaking, after a short, restless sleep, came with bitter pains, and life-crushing agonies. Death in a few hours closed the scene. The stricken wife, coming to gladden his home, heard of this sudden blighting of her hopes, as she reached Kansas City.¹⁷

Sara Robinson does not name the unfortunate settler, but her journal entry helps to link him to the first death recorded in Pioneer Cemetery in Lawrence. A prominent gravestone for Karl G. Rau, which his widow dedicated, identifies the deceased as a young German settler.

GATTE
KARL G. RAU
Geb. 22. Mai 1827
Gest. 4. Nov. 1855
Gewidmet von der Witwe Elise geb. Meier,
mit ihrem Kind¹⁸

In 1853 Rau had declared his intention to leave his home town of Göttingen for the United States.¹⁹ He was remembered by his widow with an inscription on stone of solid granite, surrounded by a metal railing. Later, the name Elizabeth Maier appears in the state census of 1875 as a woman married to Dr. Moritz Harttmann. The couple resided in Lawrence until she and Harttmann returned to Germany in the late 1880s. Harttmann had come to Lawrence in 1855 and practiced medicine. As a German physician he undoubtedly came to know Elisabeth Meier at the time of Rau's death. Two years later he led a community of German settlers about ninety miles south of Lawrence and founded the town of Humboldt. In this newly founded town, the street names at first were in German and included not only the classical authors like Goethe and Schiller, but also the revolutionaries Truetzschler and Blum. The name of Robert Blum was particularly dear to the hearts of those who had experienced the revolution in Germany. Blum had been executed in Vienna and thereafter considered a martyr of the revolutionary cause. The choice of the name of Humboldt also reflected a revolutionary spirit. At this time the explorer Alexander von Humboldt was famous as the traveler who managed to climb almost to the summit of the Chimborazo in Ecuador, but he was also known as a most outspoken critic of slavery. The naming of the

city was a clear message of defiance.²⁰ Later, in 1861, at the outset of the Civil War, the city was attacked and burned down by cavalry units of the pro-southern Missouri State Guard.

Arthur Guenther (1836–1909) arrived in Lawrence with the very first contingent from Boston. He had been too young to participate in the German revolution, but his father had been actively involved. Dr. Georg Guenther (1808–71) was a physician and newspaper publisher in Leipzig when the revolution broke out and had been elected to the Frankfurt parliament. His brother-in-law was one of the most famous revolutionaries, Robert Blum. When the revolution failed, he came to the United States, first to Boston and later, in 1855, to Milwaukee. He represented the Turners at the Republican state convention in 1856, promoting the German positions on slavery and naturalization laws.²¹ He collaborated with Bernhard Domschke as a contributor to the Milwaukee *Atlas*.²²

Arthur Guenther, Georg's son, inherited his father's revolutionary zeal. He gave his age as twenty-one in the 1855 census, but he was considerably younger, possibly only seventeen.²³ He listed his profession as clerk, indicating a certain degree of academic background, and he subsequently he served as the city's treasurer in 1860–61 and the journal clerk of the state legislature in 1861. He was one of the earliest members of the Stubbs Militia Company, which began drilling in the summer of 1855 to protect Lawrence.²⁴ During the Wakarusa War of 1855 crisis Guenther participated in the defense of Lawrence against an attack by Missouri proslavery forces. His captain certified that he "faithfully and gallantly served as private in the Wakarusa Liberty guards, Kansas volunteers, from the 27th day of November 1855 to the 13th day of December, 1855, in defending the city of Lawrence."²⁵ In the following year he took part in an attack against a proslavery outpost at Franklin, which his men captured, but Guenther was wounded. A Chicago paper erroneously reported that he had been killed.²⁶ Although he received a serious lung wound, he recovered.²⁷ His report to newspapers after the 1858 elections became an important historical document for the turning point in the Kansas struggle against the proslavery forces.

It is almost impossible to assess the organizational role of the Lawrence *Turnverein* in this development. The records of that society have been lost, and we have only the institutional memory of a later member. Henry Albach reported the early history at the beginning of the twentieth century. From a handful of scattered sources it is possible to reconstruct only the vague outlines of an active society.

Although at first the German presence in Lawrence was relatively weak, an influx of German immigrants became evident in the second half of the decade. The Lawrence *Turnverein*, was established in 1857, and the Lawrence

city directory for 1860 reports the number of members as forty-six. The officers were Michael Oswald (chairman), Henry Weiler (secretary), David Prager (treasurer), Henry Biebusch (first *Turnwart*), T. J. Steinberg (second *Turnwart*). At first, the Turners met in the garden of the gymnastic instructor Henry Biebusch; they proceeded to build a wooden structure at 93 New York Street (on the corner of Tenth). At the outbreak of the Civil War forty-four of the forty-eight members enlisted in the Union Army.²⁸

When one of the Turner members was killed at an early military engagement near Springfield, Missouri, on August 10, 1861, the Turners came together to remember their beloved friend. Caleb S. Pratt was a second lieutenant in Company D, First Kansas Infantry, and was one of more than three hundred Union men who died in the battle of Wilson's Creek.²⁹ In that fierce battle, about 50 percent of the regiment was either killed or wounded. The sad news cast a "universal gloom" over the Lawrence community and especially "a feeling of bitter grief" on the members of the Turner Society of Lawrence. The fallen friend was one that members "loved like a brother."

We honored him as one of our worthiest members, an amiable companion, a sincere friend, an upright man, a zealous promoter of the noble principles of the Turners—a Turner in the full sense of the word—*frisch, froh, frei* [spirited, joyful, and free].

Lieutenant Pratt had fought "for the fundamental principles of the Turners—the preservation of the inalienable rights of man—he died the death of a hero." The meeting of the Turners concluded with resolutions to publish these sentiments in the journal of the Turners, *Lawrence Republican*, and the *Kansas State Journal*. The meeting concluded under the chairmanship of M[oritz] Harttmann with Ernest Vilter serving as secretary.³⁰

How and why did an American from Boston, probably with only minimal knowledge of German, become an active member of the German Turner organization in Lawrence? Like Arthur Guenther, Pratt came to Lawrence as one of the first settlers and quickly became involved, together with Guenther, in the Stubbs Militia Company, in the struggle against the Border Ruffians. He could have joined the Turners for gymnastic exercises and companionship with likeminded young men. We do not know if Harttmann, the fervent Forty-Eighter, recently elected to the Lawrence city commission, had been an active Turner up to this time, but in this period of crisis, with the departure of so many members at the outset of military engagements in the Civil War, he stepped up to show solidarity with the Turners and the Union cause.

Information is more readily available about the Leavenworth Turners than about the Lawrence society. Cincinnati emigrants, on the whole,

chose Leavenworth as a more accommodating community. In doing so, the Germans contributed substantially to a shift in population from proslavery to Free-State settlers. In 1855, Leavenworth was considered a powerful proslavery city. That began to change by the end of the following year. In 1857, Leavenworth's concentration of Germans became evident, especially in the section of the city named Cincinnati. The *Turnverein* of Leavenworth, established also in 1857, played an increasingly important role in the social and political life of the community.³¹ The spirit of the Forty-Eighters made itself felt. It was not only a matter of Leavenworth; the immediate question was whether the initial advantage of the proslavery forces could be overcome. Could the emigration wave from the northern states make a difference? Was it possible to correct the voting fraud of the Missouri incursions? The proslavery forces were supported, after all, by the federal government and the United States Army. Could the growing Free-State population tip the scale in favor of a state free of slaves? The stakes were high.

Wilhelm Pfänder, a veteran of the German revolution and one of the founders of the Cincinnati *Turnverein* (established in 1848), became the most aggressive promoter of a Turner emigration project. He had been a Turner in Württemberg. His proposal to have the national Turner organization support a settlement in the West was hotly debated at a meeting on September 24, 1855. With Pfänder as their spokesman, the Turners expressed opposition to slavery in no uncertain terms, and this project was to promote that principle.³² The question had to do with the degree to which the national society would take responsibility for a specific project. After a lengthy debate the majority voted to make the project strictly a responsibility of the Cincinnati *Turnverein*, but not of the national organization.³³

Further meetings in 1855 focused on organization. A second convention, on March 2, 1856, assumed the title of *Ansiedlungs-Verein des Sozialistischen Turnerbundes*. It selected a committee, or "Land Commission," that had the task of exploring possible locations for the emigrant settlement and consisted of Cincinnati Turners Pfänder, Preiser, and Seeger. The geologist Leo Lesquereux, a prominent Swiss scientist who had settled in Ohio, was asked to serve as a consultant.³⁴ This commission undertook to explore areas in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Nebraska, and Kansas. They started in May and returned on July 3. The scouting of an appropriate location also included a stop in Kansas. Why was Kansas not chosen?

The answer to this question can be reconstructed from Pfänder's report on the experiences of the land commission during its stop in Kansas. When the committee's ship arrived in Kansas on the Missouri River, the struggle between the Free-State settlers and the proslavery Missouri forces had reached a violent climax. The *Weekly Chicago Democrat* on June 14 translated a passage

from Pfänder's report.

Most of the members of this band wear flannel shirts and carry bowie knives and revolvers openly in their belts. To all appearance, however, this national guard was not sufficiently armed, and the United States government (Gov. Shannon) has supplied their lack by distributing among them a lot of United States rifles. The steamer on which I am now present[ly] writing took on board at Leavenworth City twenty boxes of these weapons, which were sent to Gov. Shannon under the name of the Quartermaster of Fort Leavenworth, and distributed on the way. I kept a tolerable sharp look out for this freight, and noticed that six boxes were landed at Kickapoo, four at Atchison, five at Doniphan, and five at a point in the prairie, in the Sacs and Foxes Reserve. Gen. Richardson, a prominent Border Ruffian, superintended this distribution, and with the last installment, left the boat himself. In the above named places squads of thirty or forty from the southern companies came out drunken and noisy, and tricked out in full robber costume, and took the boxes in charge with exulting yells.³⁵

Pfänder's original report appeared in a more complete form in the *Turn-Zeitung* of May 27, 1856. The editor of the *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, which reported on recent events, was selective about what he took from Pfänder's report. A part of that report appeared in the conservative *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, but that segment, which the Chicago paper chose to ignore, put the focus on the unfavorable conditions for settlers in Kansas. Pfänder had been critical of the prevailing image of Kansas that newspapers had been promoting. He claimed, in effect, that the advertising was deceptive. The perception of favorable conditions in the new territories was false. Pfänder complained that the Shawnee, Wyandot[te], and Delaware Indians owned the most wooded areas south of the Kansas River. Whatever lands were free of claims lacked trees and water. The prairies, which were ideal for grazing animals, also lacked water. The political situation was extremely unstable. Missouri citizens were preparing for aggression towards Kansas. Because the "Rowdies" (who were residents) represented a considerable segment of the voting population, and most Indians (if they were allowed to vote) were in favor of slavery; Kansas's becoming a slave state was a distinct possibility. As much as the author wished for a peaceful resolution of the conflict, he foresaw the prospect of an impending civil war.

These general negative impressions suggest that the land commission from Ohio had a relatively short stay in Kansas. Perhaps the visitors did not

even leave their ship; they had seen enough. They ascertained that the crisis in Kansas made it irresponsible to recommend as the location for settlement. If Pfänder had received reliable reports about the destruction of Lawrence, which had occurred on May 21, his argument could have been even more dramatic.

Although initially Pfänder had considered Kansas seriously as a realistic target for emigration, a previously unforeseen opportunity to collaborate with Germans in Chicago ultimately shifted his focus from Kansas to the future New Ulm in Minnesota.³⁶

Not everyone was prepared, on the other hand, to accept defeat. The *Weekly Chicago Democrat* evidently did not approve of Pfänder's focus. That focus on unfavorable conditions was not in the interest of the ongoing, aggressive effort to prevail over the proslavery forces. This was not the kind of report that would encourage emigration. As a result, the paper ignored the dark assessment of Kansas. The *Weekly Chicago Democrat* supplemented the report, instead, with information from other sources.

When these robbers began their work, and while they were plundering the houses of peaceful settlers, driving off cattle and destroying settlements, Marshal Donalson answered complaints which came before him in this, by saying that he could not control the mob, and would not be answerable for their conduct. And this rabble calls the slave breeders and their newspaper the "law and order party."

Within nine days before the destruction of Lawrence, sixteen Free-State men were shot in the vicinity. The murders belong to the law and order party.

So horrible were the cruelties of the slavery banditti towards the Free-State men that the dragoons exhibited a desire to interfere, and Col. Sumner found it necessary to order them to remain in quarters.

All the Germans in the territory go with the Free-State Party to a man. Herr Deitzler, who was arrested, is a German. Another German was dragged through the streets of Lawrence by the bandits and shamefully abused.³⁷

Although the names of proslavery military officers and their role appear to be accurate, the specifics about the events surrounding the destruction of Lawrence represent mostly rumors. The claim that sixteen Free-State men were shot cannot be confirmed; at most three or four murders have been attributed to actions of proslavery forces.³⁸ George W. Deitzler, a prominent Lawrence member of Lawrence's committee for public safety, was one of

those arrested by proslavery authorities. He had a German background and hailed from Pennsylvania. The claim that a German was dragged through the streets of Lawrence is not supported by other sources.³⁹ The sensational news about the destruction of Lawrence, even if not accurate in detail, was a call for action.

The attack on Lawrence had been a carefully orchestrated event designed to defeat once and for all the movement against slavery in Kansas. Preparations were being made as early as the first days of January. Lawrence citizens appealed to Marshal Donalson for aid to protect the city, but he was clearly on the side of the planners and held the Lawrence population guilty of provoking an attack. Donalson participated by making arrests, but the real leader of the posse that carried out the attack was Sheriff Samuel J. Jones. Four cannons were set up to destroy the Free-State Hotel—considered to be a fortress—and the printing press of the *Herald of Freedom*. Before the cannons were fired against these buildings, David Rice Atchison, the former United States senator from Missouri, spoke to the men who assembled to deal the decisive blow to the antislavery movement.

Gentlemen, officers & soldiers! - (Yells) This is the most glorious day of my life! This is the day I am a border ruffian! (Yells.) The U.S. Marshal has just given you his orders and has kindly invited me to address you. . . . Tear down their boasted Free-State Hotel, and if those hellish lying Free Soilers have left no port holes in it, with your unerring cannon make some, Yes, riddle it till it shall fall to the ground. Throw into the Kansas [River] their printing presses, & let's see if any more free speeches will be issued from them! Boys, do the Marshal's full bidding! - Do the sheriff's entire command! - (Yells.) For today Mr. Jones is not only sheriff, but deputy marshal, so that whatever he commands will be right, and under the authority of the administration of the U.S.! - And for it you will be amply paid as U.S. troops, besides having an opportunity of benefiting your wardrobes from the private dwellings of those infernal nigger-stealers. (Cheers.)⁴⁰

The message in the speech reflects a clear plan for the operation that will follow. What Atchison asked, the posse delivered. One of the cannons used became known as the Kickapoo cannon, captured by a Missouri regiment during the Mexican War, and it had its own perspective on the swiftly moving events. Atchison had the first opportunity to aim and commence the bombardment of the Free-State Hotel. That first shot missed the hotel entirely and flew over the roof. Subsequent attempts (one report estimated twenty-nine shots being

fired) also failed to destroy the building. Finally Sheriff Jones had a fire set to it, and thus it burned down.

The Kickapoo Rangers carted the frustrated cannon to the village of Kickapoo, where it remained until the momentous election of January 4, 1858.⁴¹ At that time it became the subject of a daring maneuver. The Leavenworth *Turnverein* played a significant role in the capture of this trophy in at least two major events in Kansas history. The story of the capture will be told in the context of the 1858 election.

The attackers counted on their destructive foray to be the final blow to the antislavery movement in Kansas. What Atchison and Jones calculated so carefully and accomplished may not have been a resounding success in the context of national politics. The *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, a paper that supported the administration policies and the Democratic Party, reflected on the possible consequences of the recent developments in Kansas. Reluctantly, the paper considered that the actions there could cost the Democratic Party "thousands and thousands of votes" in the next presidential election: "The prosecution and the arrest of the Free-State men was the greatest folly that could have been perpetrated on the part of the friends of the administration." The actions were a mockery of the Nebraska bill.⁴²

For the New York *Tribune* the admissions of such mistakes provided an opportunity to remind foreign-born citizens that those events were not unlike the wrongs they might have suffered from or witnessed. The *Tribune* (i.e., Horace Greeley) did not imagine that German citizens could be induced to support current policies.

The enforcement undertaken in Kansas of absurd and tyrannical laws, enacted by a government of disputed legality, and the making of those laws, a pretence of driving the whole body of Free-State men out of Kansas, finds no parallel in anything we know of in the recent history of Europe, except in the proceedings of some of the Austrian officials in Hungary and the wholesale murder and banishment of the unfortunate French Republicans by the present emperor of France, and these, surely, are not the models likely to recommend what is going on in Kansas to the especial approbation of any intelligent lover of liberty.⁴³

What did the Kickapoo cannon and the destruction of Lawrence actually accomplish? If the news shocked the rest of the country with the attack's brutality and caused many to reconsider their support of the president's policies, the undertaking could have been a colossal failure. The success was temporary and even provided the impetus to overcome any advantages the

proslavery party had. The German-Americans had traditionally aligned with the Democratic Party. Despite its allegiance to the Democratic Party, the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* was admitting the failure of policies that could lead to such a disaster. The newly forming Republican Party provided a realistic alternative. The *Tribune* invoked the legacy of the revolution and could expect that Germans would naturally shift away from the Democratic Party. The events in Kansas rekindled the revolutionary spirit of 1848.

Despite the news of those turbulent events, the emigration to Kansas continued and even intensified. Fervent young Cincinnati citizens, including members of the *Turnverein*, were determined to take up the cause against slavery and to seek their fortune in Kansas. It is as if those reports of adverse conditions in Kansas even increased their determination. Instead of joining the Turner expedition to Minnesota, they chose the more adventurous and dangerous life in Kansas.

In 1857, influential German emigrants converged from two directions, from Boston and Cincinnati, to help shape a turning point in Kansas history. Charles Friedrich Kob came from Boston. He hailed from the East Prussian village of Arys (today Orzysz in Poland). He had studied medicine at the University of Königsberg (1840–45). Kob was “first surgeon in the Schleswig-Holstein war against Denmark.” This would have been a high rank for a man only twenty-nine years old. As an exile in the United States he resumed his work as physician in Hartford, Connecticut, where he met his future wife, Emily.

In 1851, Emily’s family had emigrated from Holstein. Soon after arriving in Hartford, Emily’s father became ill and died, survived by his widow, Minne, and daughter.⁴⁴ In 1855, Kob, his young wife, a daughter, Dalia, and his mother-in-law moved to Boston. Still only thirty-five years old, Kob was too young to abandon the lofty causes he had fought for in Germany.

The year 1856 provides ample evidence of Kob’s active political engagement. The great influx of immigrants from Germany—215,000 Germans arrived in 1854—generated a powerful opposition to foreign influence. Secretive members of the nationalistic movement against foreigners were the Know-Nothings. The movement threatened foreigners in many ways, especially through restrictions on citizenship and voting rights.⁴⁵ Under pressure from the Know-Nothings, the Massachusetts legislature considered a severe limitation of voting rights. Adolf Douai (1819–88) and Kob testified against such restrictions at meetings of the committee considering these measures. German politicians had to take such nativist reactions seriously. It was to become the most pressing issue for Germans at the Republican Party conventions of 1856 and 1860.

Kob clearly took a radical position and, together with his colleague

Douai, who also assumed a radical position on many social issues, resolved to ignore the danger of backlash. After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Kob and Douai became Republicans and actively campaigned for its first presidential candidate, John Frémont. They revived the previous, failed attempts to form a united political organization of Germans. The Louisville meeting of March 1854, at which Karl Heinzen played a leading role, was such an attempt. The "Louisville Platform" had condemned slavery and made demands about free trade, women's rights, and land reform. Attempts to follow up in Illinois were unsuccessful.⁴⁶

Wasting no time, within three weeks after the 1856 election, and not dwelling on the disappointment of Frémont's defeat, Kob and Douai embarked on a plan to organize Germans on a national basis to resist the tyranny of the proslavery administration. On the basis of recent events, they asserted confidently that Germans could be united into a solid block of voters, and on November 30 they published their proposals in the *Pionier*, a socialist journal edited by Karl Heinzen. Acting on a proposal made by the Frémont Club no. 5 of Boston on September 24, the authors proposed specific steps to establish a central committee, a structure that had links to local organizations, a news organ in German and English to represent views to the general public, and a convention to discuss details of organization and implementation.⁴⁷ The signers requested reactions, and it took only a few days for the *Atlas* of Milwaukee, edited by Bernard Domschke, to publish a negative response in the name of the local Republican Club's executive committee.⁴⁸ A negative response also came from Eduard Schläger in the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*. There was a fear of a backlash from Americans who generally opposed immigrants. According to Douai, Ohio, and Michigan applauded the Boston initiative. The strong opposition from Wisconsin and Illinois, however, forced him into a defensive posture, and the public exchange dragged into January of the following year.⁴⁹ The frustration of such dissension undoubtedly caused Kob to rethink his personal involvement. In the early days of 1857 he began to explore other options.

Even as Douai was engaged in defending the Boston initiative, Kob turned to the New England Emigrant Aid Company for help with a new proposal. The records of the executive committee for January 2, 1857, discussed Dr. Kob's request for aid to "establish a first class German Free-State Paper" in Boston. The secretary, Thomas H. Webb, recorded the reaction of the executive committee:

Although the committee deemed such an enterprise worthy of encouragement, the more immediate and pressing demands for funds are so great, it was not considered advisable to embark on it.

Feeling, however, an interest in the movement, it was voted to refer the subject to Rev. Edward E. Hale with a request that he would use his influence in the community to accomplish Dr. Kob's wishes.⁵⁰

We can only guess what took place in the discussions between Kob and Hale. Hale worked closely with Eli Thayer to promote the idea of aggressive immigration to fight against slavery. In his book on Kansas, Hale had written:

Since the formation of the Emigrant Aid Companies I have been deeply interested in their success. The trustees of the Boston company offered me, very kindly, any assistance in their power; but they are in no sense responsible for my opinions, as expressed here. I should never have undertaken this work, however, but from a wish to assist in the great enterprise of settling Kansas at once—an enterprise which appears to me to open a nobler field for effort than any public undertaking which has called upon our energies for many years.⁵¹

In discussion of Kob's proposed project, Hale would have asked whether it really made sense to invest in a German paper in Boston. The impact of such a paper could be multiplied many times by making its location Kansas. Kob, the revolutionary with experience in such matters, could not deny this with a good conscience. The result of such a discussion was predictable. During the committee meeting of February 20, Webb reported that Rev. Hale could not be present, but Hale had asked Webb to report on Dr. Kob's proposal for a "German paper to advocate Free-State principles and direct German immigration to Kansas." Web went on to explain that "the present proposed plan, as the most economical, is to print the paper at Lawrence, for which purpose, seven or eight hundred dollars only, will be needed."

The committee was clearly pleased to invest money in this direct involvement in Kansas affairs. On March 6, the executive committee "voted that Messrs. Cabot and Hale be a committee to make arrangements with Dr. Kob for going to Kansas Territory and to Germany as an agent for German colonization. At an expense of not more than three hundred dollars." On March 19, the committee appointed to look into the arrangements, consisting of Samuel Cabot, Jr. and Hale, recommended

that the money voted (\$300) be used for the purchase of German type, which type shall be held as the property of the company, and any balance left on hand shall be retained for the purpose of sending Dr. Kob to Germany after his return from Kansas.

The project acquired a significant new feature at this stage. It involved not simply the establishment of a printing press and publishing a German newspaper in Kansas; Kob was also assigned to recruit Germans to go to Kansas, directly from Germany. For this purpose Kob was to make an exploratory visit to Kansas, return, and then make a trip to Germany. He did go to Kansas, but the trip to Germany never took place.

The executive committee also contacted George W. Brown of the *Herald of Freedom* in Lawrence to ascertain whether he could help in establishing a German press in Kansas. Although Brown showed willingness to collaborate on this project, Dr. Kob later made another arrangement. He took over the proslavery press at Atchison.

Kob's exploratory trip to Kansas was astonishingly quick and efficient. After he arrived in Lawrence in April, he began a tour of Kansas settlements to collect information for a guidebook. Within about one month he was back in Boston, and the guidebook was ready for printing. During this short period Kob had gathered personal experiences about the attractions and requirements for settlers in Kansas. The focus was on the perspective of a German settler who would require information, for example, about costs and the availability of land, livestock, and generally needed merchandise. Thomas H. Webb's English guidebook was already in its twelfth edition, and Kob was able to draw from this work numerous relevant facts and data.⁵² Kob's original contribution was the vivid description of settlements (including Lawrence, Eudora, Topeka, Tecumseh, Mills Creek, Rock Creek, Manhattan, Ogden, Riley City, Humboldt, Moneka, Hyatt, Osawatimie, Council City, Wyandotte, Quindaro, Delaware City, Leavenworth, Atchison, Doniphan, Palmira, and Grasshopper Falls) and, specifically the German individuals or communities. In a number of instances he was able to identify names of persons who would be prepared to aid fellow countrymen. More so than Webb's guidebook, Kob's text emphasized the important political role that the German settlers could play. In his introduction Kob wrote:

May each one keep in mind that every settler in Kansas is participating, even if passively, in the great struggle against slavery and thus indirectly taking part in the most significant development of the American states. The more we succeed in resisting slavery and driving it back, the closer we come to our final goal—its total abolition. Each battle against slavery is at the same time a service to humanity and freedom.⁵³

Kob saw an overall strategy in the emigration movement in Kansas, and it

was reminiscent of Thayer's design of a line or cordon that would hold back slavery from Kansas through Texas.

If we are successful in establishing German settlements in southern Kansas, we will be able to extend our hands to our brothers in Texas in a matter of a few years, and be able to build a belt of freedom around those unfortunate southern states afflicted with slavery.⁵⁴

When he wrote about Osawatimie, Kob focused on John Brown's heroic role:

It was here that old, courageous [John] Brown bravely resisted 400 knights of slavery with only 34 men. They were forced to flee quickly back to Missouri suffering a loss of 42 dead and 100 wounded. In his small band of heroes there were also 5 Germans, one of whom as well as a noble Hungarian unfortunately sealed their love of liberty by their honorable deaths. One of Brown's 4 sons also died a valiant death here.⁵⁵

It is true that John Brown had recruited a number of Germans for his famous Kansas battles. August Bondi, a veteran of the revolution of 1848 in Vienna recorded the events at Osawatimie as an eyewitness. The "noble Hungarian" who was killed there was actually a Bavarian, Karl Kaiser, who had fought in the Hungarian revolution. Other Germans in Brown's small fighting force were Theodore Wiener and Jacob Benjamin. For John Brown's radical war against slavery the revolutionary experience of the Germans was a valuable asset.⁵⁶

Kob reported that Lawrence was a city of 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. Only about 60 Germans resided inside the city and in the outlying regions. On the other hand, Leavenworth had about 3,000 inhabitants, and, according to Kob, almost half were Germans. He added that in Leavenworth there was "already a *Turnverein*. A choir is being organized, and soon German music and German culture will be firmly established on the left bank of the Missouri."⁵⁷

When Kob returned to Boston, the executive committee of the New England Emigrant Aid Company was informed that Kob was prepared to submit his "pamphlet of information for German immigrants, which it is desirable to be issued with as little delay as practicable." It was reported that the Kansas Aid Committee would be willing to defray half of the expense. The company then voted to cover the balance of the cost. The final product of this effort, *Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas (Guide for Settlers in the Territory of Kansas)*, was printed in New York. Kob's preface shows the date May 26, 1857. His guidebook provided helpful information for settlers,

but it was also an emphatic political statement.⁵⁸

The urgent need for action appeared now to be in Kansas, not just to recruit immigrants from Germany. The financial participation of the Kansas Aid Committee, also a Massachusetts organization, shows the scope and interconnectedness in efforts to influence events in Kansas. Kob's promotion of a national center for German Republicans coincided with a move to create a national coordinating body for Kansas aid groups. A conference of July 9, 1856, in Buffalo, established the National Kansas Committee with a central office in Chicago. The fifty-seven delegates from twelve states took to heart Gerrit Smith's angry admonition that "you are looking at ballots, when you should be looking to bayonets; counting up voters, when you should be mustering armed and none but armed emigrants . . ." For him the only remedy for the wrongs of Kansas was "the action of armed men." The final resolution appeared to tone down the harsh rhetoric by stating that the attempt to impose slavery on Kansas had to be defeated "at whatever cost." William Fredrick Milton Arny, appointed by the convention as the chief agent of the national body, soon became the National Kansas Committee's most visible representative. An ad at the back of Kob's guidebook announces the formation of a joint real estate company between Kob and Arny in Lawrence and Atchison, Kansas. Although this establishment of a partnership between German and American advocates of the Kansas cause was short-lived, it reflects the intense and wide-ranging communications, planning, and collaboration during the crucial phase of the Kansas crisis.⁵⁹

Like Kob, Arny had worked for the Republican Party and Frémont. He also favored resolute action in Kansas. In his function as chief agent of the National Kansas Committee, Arny made numerous trips from Chicago to Kansas, during which he often transported relief goods. At times the transports included arms. When Arny, along with committee members Thaddeus Hyatt and Edward Daniels, visited Washington to plead the National Kansas Committee cause, Buchanan placed the blame squarely on the North:

At this crisis, the North, instead of sending in armed men, who went about boasting of their ability to protect themselves, should have sent in order loving and law abiding citizens; should have sent in peace-seeking men, who would have promoted concord by moral agencies—by Bibles rather than by Sharp's rifles. . . .

In response to the question whether in light of the present dark reign of terror . . . any change in this policy of the administration is to be expected, President Buchanan responded: "No, sirs! There will be none!"⁶⁰

In light of the administration's unyielding stand against the emigrants from the North, there was a growing feeling among Kob's and Arny's associates that only arms would make it possible for a free state to prevail. A letter that Arny wrote to Hyatt on September 5, 1856, reflects his emotional involvement in arming the settlers against the attacks of the proslavery forces.

Oh my heart bleeds when I think of the apathy of our people and their apparent neglect of those who are fighting our battles in Kansas. The arms have arrived here [in Chicago] and will be forwarded as soon as we can get a sufficient escort to protect them so that they will get safe in the territory.⁶¹

The progressive radicalization had been taking place since the dramatic events of the spring and summer 1856: the sack of Lawrence, Charles Robinson's arrest, and John Brown's engagements at Pottawatomie, Black Jack, and Osawatimie. The need for armed resistance became part of the record in the financial statements of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. On March 11, 1857, Arny sent John Brown food and clothing and wrote: "Anything I can do further for you, please let me know . . ."⁶²

Kob began his work as editor and publisher of his newspaper, *Kansas Zeitung*, with a frame of mind that was prepared for armed conflict. At the same time, changes in Kansas show that the proslavery forces were losing ground. The Atchison *Squatter Sovereign*, a Kansas paper that up to this point had aggressively promoted the Southern cause, even encouraging such actions as the sack of Lawrence, was sold, and on May 9 its printing shop became the home of a newspaper that favored a state free of slavery.

The new proprietor was Samuel C. Pomeroy, an agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas. As early as the middle of July, the same press served Kob's *Kansas Zeitung*. (Subtitle: *Ein Organ für freies Wort, freien Boden und freie Männer* [an agent for free speech, free soil, and free men]). On July 22, Kob offered an "Appeal to the American People" to explain the mission of the German language paper.

The *Kansas Zeitung*, a German weekly Free-State paper, will appear regularly every Wednesday in Atchison, K[ansas] T[erritory]. The main object of this paper is (besides helping to build up Kansas a Free-State, to diffuse knowledge and political news among the German settlers, mechanics, and business men, throughout the territory) to give the millions of German citizens in the States and the emigrants who come to our shores from Europe, a vivid and true picture of our land so blessed by nature, to show them that here is a broad field and

a speedy reward for their labor, and that they will find all conditions for future happiness, which a congenial and healthy climate, a fertile soil, and an energetic, intelligent, and industrious population under a new and liberal government can afford. Not committed to any political party—we will support all measures which bear the stamp of the broad, liberal and true Jeffersonian Democracy. We appeal in our precarious and costly undertaking to the generosity of American citizens to give us their support by taking our paper; they will help in this way to sustain the German Kansas pioneer paper. Atchison, K.T., July 15, 1857.⁶³

The editorials and articles in German addressed specific interests and needs. The paper would attempt to represent German intellect, customs, and art in a way that earned respect; on this basis the Germans would emerge with their useful and unique qualities as a model among the heterogeneous elements in the state. Although his long-range prognosis for a free state status was positive, Kob foresaw difficulties and a need for decisiveness. In an article about Lawrence, where a confrontation seemed imminent, the author saw the problem in the fact that citizens were not radical enough. He commented: "We are convinced that if two years ago we had been really serious in hanging the Border Ruffians immediately, as soon as they were caught, if need be even Governor Shannon, and had shot some of the attackers, Kansas would now be a Free-State."⁶⁴

In a later issue of his paper Kob looked back on his personal experiences in the German revolution. There were many resolutions to aid the revolutionary cause, but they did not prevent Austria and Prussia from sending armies to put down the uprising. From that Kob had learned his lesson: "We no longer believe in resolutions. If the free states organized volunteer companies and simply sent President Buchanan the list of the 20,000 members, in which case the Kansas issue would be decided in twenty-four hours."⁶⁵ In general, Kob aligned himself with the radical wing of Kansas politics, taking sides with General James Lane, rather than with the moderate Charles Robinson.

Kob recognized Lane's importance. In his article of August 5 he praised Lane as most talented speaker of the Free-State Party. Lane hated slavery. His speeches could move and electrify the masses. Kob proceeded to provide a German translation of a speech the *Herald of Freedom* had published. Lane had declared in Topeka:

I have had frequent occasions to be proud of the Free-State Party, but never so proud as now. Today we are a unit. There is no division among us, and never will be. Talk of limiting our influence to

Kansas. You could not, if you would. . . . Our aspirations for liberty here will vibrate upon kindred breasts all over the world. . . . I came directly from Washington here, and the Democratic Party—hoping through that party to make Kansas free, and that the question might be settled and out of the way before the presidential election of 1856. You know that it was in a Democratic caucus that the Topeka movement was brought forward—that the adherents of Pierce and Douglas scouted that organization, and it failed. There, and not until then, did I attach myself to the Free-State Party of Kansas. [President] Pierce and his party played false; they treated you ill; they basely deserted the democracy of Kansas.⁶⁶

Lane had hoped that he could persuade his friends in the United States Congress when he pleaded for Kansas in March and April of 1856. He was ignored, and he felt betrayed by the Democrats. That was for him the decisive turning point. The transition from the Democratic Party to the Free-State Party was for Lane the abandonment of peaceful negotiations to aggressive military actions. He saw the crisis in revolutionary terms. The government that was imposed from Washington had to be defeated.⁶⁷ Lane's transformation won enthusiastic support among the Germans.

When Lane stopped in Cincinnati on his way back from Washington, he took part in a meeting with the German Turners there. Lane appreciated the German support of the Kansas struggle. He said: "Sons of Germany! I offer you my heartfelt thanks for the understanding and support you have offered me as the representative of the Kansas population!"⁶⁸

Kob had a chance to work with Lane at the convention of the Free-State Party at Grasshopper Falls (today Valley Falls). On August 26, 1857, four hundred to five hundred proponents in favor of a slave-free Kansas met here. The delegates chose Kob as one of the secretaries of the meeting. In his speech to the convention Kob asserted that the participation of the Germans was based on the assumption of equality in every respect; he compared the struggle to that of the peoples of Europe. Passive resistance had failed. Kob supported taking part in the upcoming election but saw the necessity of warning the Democrats of the administration and Missouri not to join forces to undermine the election. If they did that, people would certainly rise up in opposition, and that would be a cause for revolution.⁶⁹

The deliberations of the convention resulted in an "Address to the American People on the Affairs of Kansas," which demanded fair elections. "We are organized for defense." If it came to some form of intervention, the proclamation warned that "a war must ensue, protracted and bloody, between Missouri and Kansas; it may be extended all along the line to the Atlantic

coast. A dissolved Union and a broken government may be the result." James Lane signed as chairman. Among the names of other thirteen signers were the familiar names of Dr. Charles F. Kob and W. F. M. Arny.⁷⁰ At this conference the delegates authorized General Lane to use military force to protect the ballot boxes. If fraud could be prevented, it was thought, the voters for a slave-free state, increased in number through immigration, could prevail.⁷¹

At this time a slate of Free-State candidates was proposed. For the state legislature we see for the first time the name of J. P. Hatterscheidt, a German emigrant from Ohio, variously identified as a carpenter or architect, also a member of the Leavenworth *Turnverein*. Kob referred to a meeting of the previous week at which Hatterscheidt was nominated for the state assembly. Kob had no doubt that Hatterscheidt, who had come to Leavenworth from Cincinnati, would be elected "since he is respected by the Germans as well as by the Americans." Hatterscheidt appeared in the 1860 Kansas Census to be thirty years old and originally from Germany. His wife, Elizabeth, twenty-two years of age, and son, John, three, hailed from Kentucky. The *Leavenworth City Directory* for 1859–60 listed him as president of the German Turner Society. The society met at Turner Hall, on the north side of Delaware, between Sixth and Seventh, every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock. Gymnastic exercises took place every Monday and Thursday evening.⁷² Hatterscheidt and the Turners were destined to play a remarkable role in the dramatic shift from a proslavery territory to the slave-free state of Kansas.

On February 28, 1858, the *Kansas Zeitung* appeared for the last time with Kob as editor, but it continued under L. Soussman, who promised to foster the political principles on which the paper was founded. On April 10, Kob moved to Leavenworth and continued to be active in Kansas politics. In October 1858 he became a successful candidate for the Kansas legislature, but an accident prevented him from taking office. Although he stressed that he would devote time exclusively to his work as a physician, he served on the school board and was a founding member of the Kansas Medical Society.⁷³ Kob was just forty years old when he suddenly died. In Leavenworth papers, solemn obituaries of 1861 reviewed Kob's short but influential career in Kansas. An imposing procession, accompanied by a band of musicians, led Kob to his final resting place. One Leavenworth newspaper noted that "by his brilliant mind, his scholarly tastes, and his skill in his profession, Dr. Kob gained an extensive reputation."⁷⁴

Kob's legacy has much to do with the spirit that his newspaper represented in a crucial period of Kansas history. Every issue and almost every page of his paper expressed the sense of crisis and the urgency to protect a vulnerable island of freedom with a revolutionary spirit. Because in the back of his mind he was always reminded that the revolution in Germany had failed because

of hesitation and too much trust, he did not waver in recommending force and aggressive attacks against the proslavery party. During the years of his editorship, his paper participated in and contributed to the shift from a proslavery Kansas to one that rejected slavery.

Kob's *Kansas Zeitung* reported regularly on the activities of the Turner societies. The Leavenworth Turner Society formed a militia to prevent Missouri citizens from taking part in the upcoming elections.⁷⁵ With considerable pride, Kob had reported that the first well-armed company of a Kansas volunteer army was located in Leavenworth under the auspices of the *Turnverein*. According to Kob's report, the organizational structure of the Turner battalion included 150 men with the officers: [Heinrich] Haas (captain), Petz (lieutenant), Ranst (lieutenant), Thelen (standard-bearer), Hasenkamp (sergeant), Tafel (sergeant), Seeland (corporal), and Denzler (corporal). General Lane had inspected the company and was impressed. The rapid militarization of the Turners was a response to the call by General Lane for volunteers.⁷⁶

The official muster roll of the "Kansas Volunteers for the Protection of the Ballot Box" from the same year included all the Turners. It showed Kob's business partner, Wilhelm Kempf from Indiana, as captain. Kempf was the first chairman of the Leavenworth *Turnverein*.⁷⁷ The muster roll showed forty-one members, all of whom were Germans with the exception of the first lieutenant Josef Mrosowsky, who was from Poland. Three members had come to Kansas from Ohio.⁷⁸

When the Turner society of Leavenworth was established on July 4, 1857, its motto was "strength through exercise, and enlightenment by way of struggle" (*Durch Übung zur Kraft; durch Kampf zum Licht!*) The constitution proclaimed goals that addressed the crisis in Kansas. It declared that the Turners always had to be in the first ranks of those who are fighting for progress and freedom.⁷⁹ One of the chief architects of this society was Hugo Tafel, a former member of the Cincinnati *Turnverein*. When he arrived in the United States in 1848 he was only fourteen years old, yet old enough to be infected by the revolutionary spirit, which his brothers had imparted to him.⁸⁰

The founding of the pioneering Cincinnati *Turnverein* had taken place on November 21, 1848, inspired in part by the revolutionary hero Friedrich Hecker, who came there briefly after his arrival in the United States. Prominent participants were the Tafel brothers: Albert, Gustav, Rudolph, Hugo, and Richard. They represented a strong contingent with a total of twelve members. Hugo and Richard were not full-fledged members; they were too young and thus considered apprentices. Gustav, an attorney, became a major player and intensively involved in the national Turner organization.

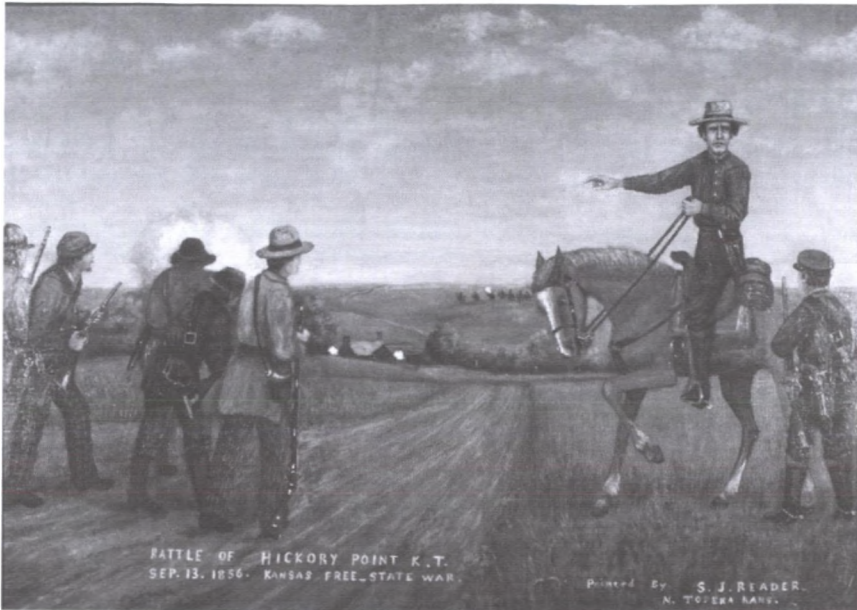
Hugo did not compete with his brothers. Undoubtedly inspired by Wilhelm Pfänder's ambitious plans and aggressive recruitment for settlements in the West, he turned his attention to Kansas.⁸¹

In the earliest minutes of the *Turnverein*, Hugo Tafel appears as secretary. He signed the minutes of July 12, 1857, along with the subsequent ones. He took care to advertise the events of the society in the *Kansas Zeitung* regularly, and he kept contact with the newspaper of the national Turners to report on noteworthy events. These reports provide a vivid insight into the crisis of bleeding Kansas. The first was the Turners' military engagement in Atchison, where James H. Lane was scheduled to speak to an election meeting.⁸² The Turners had learned that if Lane attempted to speak there, the proslavery men would try to kill him. On an early Saturday morning eleven Turners and nine Americans started out for Atchison with revolvers. The Germans had two carriages and two horses; the Americans were all on horses. Later, they bitterly regretted not having taken rifles. In Atchison a big troop of Border Ruffians met them. "The ruffians had fifty shotguns and muskets, and they were already somewhat drunk." In the confrontation that followed, the Turners pulled out their guns, and that seemed to be enough to prevent violence. Lane changed his plans, however, and did not come to Atchison. The Turners decided to return to Leavenworth.⁸³

Tafel's comments about Atchison as a major center of the Border Ruffians described events during a dramatic shift in political fortunes. Atchison, named after the proslavery Senator David Atchison in 1856, had been a safe and solid base from which the sack of Lawrence could be encouraged. Atchison was the former home of the major proslavery newspaper and the most prominent propaganda tool of the proslavery forces, the *Squatter Sovereign*, edited by Dr. J. H. Stringfellow. That position of strength fell apart. At the time it may have been a source of distress for a few Free-State citizens (including Hugo Tafel) had heard that Lane and an agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, Samuel Pomeroy, would make business deals with proslavery leaders. Lane purchased land in Doniphan, and Pomeroy bought the printing press of the *Squatter Sovereign*, which allowed Kob to print his *Kansas Zeitung*. The concerns disappeared soon; it became clear that the business arrangements with those proslavery leaders opened the area for a firm Free-State foothold. The *Squatter Sovereign* could no longer incite against the Free-State cause. One proslavery paper complained: "The sale of that paper has injured the cause more than the sale of every proslavery town in Kansas." Stringfellow accepted defeat; he wrote that the future of Kansas "is settled against the South by immigration."⁸⁴

A new atmosphere of confidence became evident among the settlers on the Free-State side. The Turner Company under Captain Haas joined

Captain Dixon in a hostile demonstration against John Calhoun, the leading proponent of the proslavery constitution. An effigy of Calhoun was hanged and burned in front of his house. Exchanges of fire took place. Several proslavery men were wounded; one Free-State man was killed. According to a report by the *Kansas Zeitung*, 200 Germans joined the Turner Company, to form a battalion of 260 men.



James H. Lane leads his troops during the battle of Hickory Hill, September 13, 1856. Painting by S. J. Reader. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society. Many Germans immigrants rallied to Lane's support for a slave-free state of Kansas.

The excitement led to a mass meeting on December 26, 1857, which involved a debate that lasted about ten hours on the legitimacy of the proslavery Lecompton constitution. Dr. Kob took part. A German mass meeting took place during the same night, and at this meeting also the fate of the Lecompton constitution was the issue. The crucial election was just a few days away, on January 4. The constitution was to be voted down; that was clear to all, but Hatterscheidt argued, based on his recent experiences in the state assembly, that the opportunity to vote for a Free-State slate was essential.⁸⁵

Free-State candidates won a decisive victory in the election, and the accompanying defeat of the proslavery constitution indicated that the tide had definitely turned. There was no longer any doubt about a clear majority. It was only a matter of time before the federal government had to accept this

fact and admit Kansas as a free state.

Arthur Guenther of Lawrence, who had strong parental blood ties to Robert Blum, the prominent revolutionary martyr of 1848, composed a report on the elections and proudly sent it to the *New Yorker Demokrat*. His article was also published by the *Cincinnati Republikaner*. Like Kob, Guenther identified himself with the new radicalism of James Lane.

On January 4, the election took place here about the bogus constitution, state officials, and the legislature. The interest was immense; strong conviction impelled all voters to cast their ballots. Everyone was eager to cast his vote against the Lecompton constitution. Many also voted for the state ticket. Here are the results for Lawrence:

Against the constitution	763
For the constitution	0
For state officials	278

Yesterday General Lane returned with a company of rangers from a military campaign in Johnson County. He returned from Oxford with a proslavery judge named Caniell as prisoner. In Oxford, Lane had learned that about 1,800 Missouri citizens had registered to vote, and the resident commanding officer of the US troops, instead of preventing this vile act, calmly tolerated it. We have more evidence about the incompetent and weak administration, which, behind the pretence of neutrality, sends troops to Kansas only to allow the South to implement its ulterior designs.

General Lane, enraged by these repeated fraudulent actions, spoke to a meeting of Lawrence citizens. He said, among other things, that he had listened long enough and patiently to the conservatives. "Don't talk to me any longer about peaceful measures. You see what Uncle Sam has done for us and what we can still expect from him. Tomorrow I will go to Lecompton and attempt to persuade the legislature, which is meeting there, to establish a provisional government quickly and then declare war against Missouri."

I cannot say whether Lane can accomplish this, but serious steps need to be taken soon.

News reports from Kickapoo confirm that the election there was also carried out in a fraudulent manner.⁸⁶

Guenther's report is important as evidence of Lane's rapidly evolving radicalism. That he was prepared to "declare war on Missouri" comes at the time

when he promoted the idea that his soldiers were "Jayhawks" (or "Jayhawkers"). The Jayhawks became the popular symbol of antislavery fighters and eventually the mascot of the University of Kansas. Its early history comes to light in August Bondi's autobiography. Bondi, the veteran revolutionary from Vienna, came to Kansas in 1856. Like numerous other German revolutionaries who settled in the state at this time, Bondi took a radical position on the slavery question. He joined John Brown's fighters against the Border Ruffians. His autobiography, which is a first-hand account of the battles of Osawatomie and Black Jack, also described the circumstances of the Jayhawk's origins.

The occasion was a meeting of antislavery troops in southeastern Kansas in December 1857. At Sugar Mound (Mound City), near the border of Linn and Bourbon counties, Bondi observed Lane addressing volunteer soldiers. Lane asked his audience to take on the role of Jayhawks. Bondi described Lane's appeal to his troops. At midnight on the 14th of December Gen. Lane

... enrolled all present (about 150) as the first members of the Kansas Jayhawkers. He explained the new name in this wise: As the Irish Jayhawk with a shrill cry announces his presence to his victims, so must you notify the pro-slavery hell-hounds to clear out or vengeance will overtake them. Jayhawks, remember, "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord," but we are his agents. So originated the name, Jayhawks (corrupted Jayhawkers), afterwards applied indiscriminately to all Kansas troops. Of all the 150 in and around the school house that night I am the only survivor.⁸⁷

Lane's rhetoric was undoubtedly instrumental as a catalyst for an image that immediately attained widespread use.

About one year later, Lawrence's newspaper, *Herald of Freedom*, published a manuscript of nearly two hundred pages, a serialized novel of fifteen chapters: *The Jay-Hawker: A Tale of Southern Kansas*. Phillip P. Fowler's narrative treated all the troubles in southern Kansas for the last two years (1858–59) and brought to light much of the secret working of the radical Free-State movement. James Lane emerges in this narrative as one of the most radical leaders, next to John Brown. Historian James C. Malin took it seriously, less as literature and more as history. He believed that the text was worthy of attention because it was "fictionalized history with very little fiction." This *roman à clef* disguised its main characters only thinly, and these characters were the major radical players of Kansas history before the Civil War.

Fowler's *Jay-Hawker* reveals a meeting between Lane and Brown in which they discussed plans for the future conduct of Kansas affairs. Available sources

do not refer to any such meeting. Did Fowler just imagine such a meeting? In an amicable conversation, Brown presented his radical program: to create excitement and pit the North against the South, which in turn would result in a deadly encounter and an insurrection of slaves. Thus, their liberation would be assured. This was the radical vision of the future that had the full support of all Jayhawkers present. Fowler, reportedly "an intimate associate of old John Brown," disclosed a plan of which he evidently did not approve. He characterized Brown (called "Rook" in this text) as the "old Jayhawk apostle who received sanctions from the 'Highest power.'" The radical vision of liberating slaves had in it the seeds for Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry and for Lane's later actions in the Civil War.⁸⁸ In the author's view, Lane deserved a radical reputation through this fictional connection to John Brown. In the final chapter of the novel, Lane had absorbed Brown's lesson: he declares that he is "in favor of inaugurating a general civil war" and is "ready to lead the movement," the consequence of which would be emancipation. At the same time, Lane also appeared in the final chapter as the organizer of a secret society, known as Danites, in support of his political vision. According to the *Jay-Hawker*, the members had to swear absolute loyalty to the Free-State cause.

Recollections by Charles Leonhardt, a German immigrant with claims of a revolutionary past, confirm that the Danites did exist and that he himself had been a member. Another member, James Redpath, who belonged but later broke relations with Lane, claimed that the society even contemplated assassinations of proslavery politicians.⁸⁹ Public revelations about this society probably put an end to the existence of this phase of extremism.

Guenther's confident report and Lane's aggressive declaration signaled a new stage in the war against the proslavery faction. Now the alliance of Free-Staters was clearly on the offensive. When the Leavenworth *Daily Times* reported on the triumph of the Free-State Party and called it a "glorious victory," it devoted an article to recognize the role of the Leavenworth Germans.

There was a heroic spirit in 1848 in Germany, when Blum spoke for patriots of the fatherland, and that spirit warms the blood of our German citizens here. They are true. In every contest where Free-State principles have been at stake, they have been among the first to take position, whatever the peril, and among the last to leave it. All honor to such men! They are worthy of the companionship of Blum—worthy to represent the best spirit of the Republic and of the fatherland!⁹⁰

There was an unspoken alliance between Kob's *Zeitung* and the *Daily Times*,

under Champion Vaughan. In many issues of his paper Vaughan took note of the actions and ambitions of the German citizens in his city. He also realized that the legacy of the failed German revolution, especially Robert Blum's execution, deserved to be seen in a historical perspective.⁹¹

Hugo Tafel was certainly the unnamed Turner who sent a second report about events that followed the election. This account, directed again to the national newspaper of the Turners, is dated January 9, 1858, from Leavenworth. It reflects a growing spirit of confidence. Tafel's report describes a military campaign against the town of Kickapoo, where the proslavery forces were in control and appeared to be engaged in voting fraud. They had the cannon that had been used against Lawrence in 1856 in their possession. Tafel described the capture of the cannon.

It was decided last Tuesday that we would take the cannon from the headquarters of the proslavery men in Kickapoo that was set up to shoot down the Free-Staters. Captain Haas with thirty-five men from his Turner Company and approximately thirty-five Americans under Captain Dixon left from here at two in the morning. When they arrived after a three-hour march, they took the cannon by storm, searched the houses where weapons were supposed to be, confiscated the weapons that were found and arrested one of the voting officials who had helped with the falsification of the last vote. Never were soldiers coming back from such a long campaign greeted with more celebration, than this little group upon their return. They had completed a feat of which, as often sworn by the Ruffians, no 1,000 men were capable. A band was sent to greet them, and after that, the cannon was lead in triumph through the city.

The stolen cannon belonged to the Missouri Border Ruffians who had used it last year when they battered down the Free-State Hotel in Lawrence. Because of this, it was decided that the cannon would be given to the city of Lawrence as a gift. In the days after this, the women of Leavenworth gave the German company a flag as a sign of gratitude.

In Kickapoo, the proslavery forces held a meeting and decided to take back the cannon. For this they requisitioned 500 Missourians. In the evening of the day before yesterday, together with the Democrats, they approached Leavenworth. At 10:00 p.m. everyone here received the news, all bells were rung, the drums sounded, and within ten minutes, 150 Germans under Capt. Haas were ready to receive the Border Ruffians; the 400–500 Americans assembled more slowly because of their lack of organization. As soon as the enemy

saw that we were ready to receive them, they pulled back, and we have not heard anything from them since then, except that the price of whiskey in Kickapoo has risen.⁹²

The capture of the Kickapoo cannon excited the imagination, and several articles about it appeared. The *Leavenworth Times* wrote on January 9, 1858, only about the heroic actions of the Free-State boys, who were "greeted with cheers upon cheers." In this context German participation was not mentioned. A report by H. C. Fields, however, credited Captain Haas as the leader of the *Turnverein* Company. The procession that greeted the returning heroes consisted of 1,000 people. The *Kansas Annual Register* took care to give a special tribute to the Turner Company: it stated that the Kickapoo cannon was really a "trophy of the Leavenworth Turners."⁹³ The cannon that had participated in the destruction of Lawrence two years earlier witnessed the celebration of a remarkable recovery.

A new era of confidence was also evident in other parts of Kansas. From the town of Humboldt, made up of mostly German citizens, the pastor Francis Serenbetz could report on February 3 that the entire population, counting only eighty-three citizens, had voted as a block against the proslavery constitution. In Lawrence, a slate of Free-State city officials was elected, and it included as councilman Dr. Moritz Hartmann, the former president of the Humboldt settlement company.⁹⁴ In Leavenworth, Wilhelm Kempf, a member of the Turners, was elected to the newly formed Free-State legislature. In a report about the July 4 celebrations the *Leavenworth Times* reported the spirit of a new era in Kansas. The activities described took place in an area of the city called "Little Cincinnati," in the northwestern part of the city, the fifth ward, somewhat north of the large German churches, where the largest concentration of Germans were found.⁹⁵ This way of naming a section of the city occurred in analogy to the naming of a part of Manhattan, "little Germany."⁹⁶ Undoubtedly, this part of the city was first settled by the emigration inspired by the Turners.

Every citizen felt that for the first time under our own laws and institutions, established by the valor of the people, against a despotic administration, he could rejoice in freedom's great festival, and he so with his whole heart. Business was suspended, and all the people were out! We had a glorious, patriotic revel.

The Shields Guards appeared in fine uniforms of military trim, and, after marching through the streets, met in Cincinnati, where an oration was delivered by Capt. Perry and Declaration of Independence was read by Judge Purkins. . . . The Turners were out

in their force. They marched under Capt. Haas, through the city, and then proceeded to the Flora Gardens, where they were joined by a large body of our citizens. – The morning was spent in gymnastic exercises by the company, interspersed with stirring music and fine singing. At two o'clock the oration was delivered by J. P. Hatterscheidt, Esq. It was alike brilliant and sound. The necessity of liberty for all; the necessity of having the whole nature of man rightly cultivated, to possess and perpetuate that liberty; the having a sound mind in sound body, with all mental and moral faculties fully developed, and always looking up and struggling for a higher and wider progress for humanity; these were the points ably and eloquently urged by the orator of the day. . . . Immediately after the last song J. C. Vaughan, Esq. was called out, and made a short address. Dr. Kob followed in a witty and telling speech, when the ceremonies of the day closed at the Flora Garden. The Turners then marched to the Stone Building, where the evening was spent in the merry dance.⁹⁷

John P. Hatterscheidt emerged as a prominent leader of the German Leavenworth community. Elected to the state assembly, he was duty bound to look beyond the local interests of the German community. His focus, nevertheless, was on the Turner spirit, the central theme of his speech. He spoke of the Turner motto: a sound mind in a sound body (*Mens sana in corpore sano*). As an active member of the Turners, he elaborated on the history of the Turner movement and its role in the revolution. The Turners, Hatterscheidt asserted, were among the first to take up arms against the oppressors. They emigrated because they loved liberty more than "all the ties which bound them to their own country." Moreover, "they were ready to exert themselves for the maintenance of republican institutions in America," for which he saw the Declaration of Independence the strong and clear expression. Hatterscheidt's involvement in Free-State politics and his Turner philosophy formed the background for his commitment to the Republican Party. Up to this point Kansas was too concerned with its own crises to assume serious roles in national politics. As it emerged from its crises the transition from Free-State politics to that of the Republican Party became natural. The Free-State cause of the past became for Hatterscheidt the Republican cause of the present. The *Leavenworth Daily Times* of May 14, 1859, reported on his involvement in the proceedings of a Republican meeting in Atchison.

Massive immigration and the resulting shifts in population created new centers of political power. The most comprehensive scholarly investigation of the foreign-language settlements in Kansas was conducted by J. Neale Carman, who noted that before 1857, Leavenworth had been a violently

proslavery city. He attributed to the German immigration the transformation of Leavenworth from proslavery to Free State. He estimated the population of Leavenworth at about 10,000 in 1858, of which approximately 3,000 were Germans.⁹⁸ Leavenworth was unique in this respect. No other city of noteworthy size in Kansas had such a high concentration of Germans. This concentration could be translated into political strength. The significance of such a strong presence of Germans in the city was not lost on the editor of the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, Champion Vaughan, himself from Cincinnati, where the German-Americans represented a powerful presence, wrote on September 4 an article specifically about the Germans.

The Germans are a power here. They are Republicans and it is their right to be fairly represented in the party.

We go one step further. As a matter of feeling and principle, we would so deal with them. For what is the basis of emancipation in Missouri and Texas? On what does it rest, chiefly, in all the slave states? On the German element! It is for free soil without compromise, and for free labor without qualification or disguise.

We stand by the Germans, then on principle, because they are men of principle.⁹⁹

If the Germans had reason to complain, Vaughan continued, then it was the fault of the Democratic Party, men like Douglas or Buchanan. The author of the article concluded with a warning against this "wily and dishonest foe." Vaughan's comments indicated a shift in party affiliation. There was no longer the need to insist on being a Free-State adherent. The struggle for a Free-State had been won. Attention turned to the future and the promise of a Republican Party victory.

Vaughan also responded to the challenge by the *Kansas Zeitung* not to be silent about the attack by reactionary elements in Massachusetts against the voting rights of Germans. He wrote: "The *Times*, like the *Zeitung*, defends on this subject the policy of the fathers of the Republic, and upon that broad principle of humanity which would make a brotherhood band of free men the world over."¹⁰⁰ Vaughan spoke out against the Massachusetts Amendment, which would have prevented German citizens from voting for two years beyond formal naturalization. Thus he touched on the most pressing issue for the Germans in the United States before the Republican Nominating Convention met in Chicago in 1860. Vaughan signaled a change in that Kansas was not just struggling for the survival as a free state; Kansas was now prepared to take part in a national debate.

The first efforts to organize a Kansas Republican Party took place in

Lawrence in 1858. Only fifteen delegates appeared and could not make an impact.¹⁰¹ A second effort was more successful in Osawatomie in May 1859. The most prominent guest was Horace Greeley. Abraham Lincoln apologized for not being able to come. Hatterscheidt was one of the representatives of Leavenworth.¹⁰² The meeting did not produce any clear-cut results; the business of selecting delegates for the convention was left to a later meeting. Differences of opinion were expressed about the wisdom of shifting from Free-State to Republican identity. George W. Brown, the editor of the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom* opposed the idea of abandoning the Free-State identity and criticized Greeley for his attempt to bring Kansas into the Republican fold before the issue of statehood was resolved. Brown even proposed an alternate convention.¹⁰³

The need to form a viable Republican Party in Kansas and to overcome opposition to it became more urgent as the time for the presidential nominating conventions drew nearer. Abraham Lincoln may have agreed to travel to Kansas in part to stir interest in the Republican cause and to secure its six delegates in the upcoming convention. When he arrived on November 30, 1859, Hatterscheidt, along with Col. John C. Vaughan and Judge Marin F. Conway, was in Topeka, addressing a Republican meeting. Hatterscheidt was quoted by the *Topeka Tribune* as saying that the Democrats Douglas and Buchanan represented "two factions pulling on different strings, but both were dragging along the same great black ship of slavery."¹⁰⁴ Lincoln was stopping for speeches in Troy (Dec. 1), Doniphan (probably also on Dec. 1), Atchison (Dec. 2), and finally Leavenworth (Dec. 3–7). Hatterscheidt hurried back from Topeka to meet Lincoln. He was part of the reception committee in Troy, together with A. D. Richardson and A. Carter Wilder. In a 1902 interview, Col. Daniel R. Anthony recalled riding in a carriage with Lincoln, Hatterscheidt, and William Tholen to Doniphan.¹⁰⁵

Senator William H. Seward was generally assumed to be the only serious candidate for the presidency in the upcoming election. Leavenworth, nevertheless, took Lincoln seriously as a representative of its interests on the national stage. Lincoln had risen to prominence thorough his debates against Douglas on slavery, and although defeated in the election held by the state legislature, he had won the popular vote.

Henry Deckelman, chairman of the Turners, received a petition to prepare for Lincoln's arrival in Leavenworth. A group met at Turner Hall on November 29 and appointed a committee of seven to make arrangements: Capt. J. M. Dixon, L. F. Gaylord, Capt. L. Weil, Geo[rge]. W. Still, David Baum, Adam Fisher, and Capt. [Heinrich] Haas. One of the organizers was Capt. Haas, the leader of the military action that took possession of the Kickapoo cannon and soon chairman of the newly formed Republican Club. Col. Vaughan

received the task of delivering the welcoming speech. The Kickapoo cannon was assigned to "speak" at the arrival of the distinguished guest. Upon his arrival, Lincoln was greeted with a band, and a parade accompanied him into the town. The Turners had experience in planning and executing parades.¹⁰⁶

In his speech in Leavenworth, Lincoln stressed that his cause was that of Kansas. When he spoke of the trials of Kansas to make the land the home of the free, he received enthusiastic applause. He assured his audience that their battles would not have to be fought again. Vaughan summed up the significance of Lincoln's visit.

His short stay in Kansas has been full of significance. He has met a reception that would be accorded to but few in the nation, and he has sown seed that cannot but be productive of great good. We part with him regretfully, and we echo but the sentiments of our people when we wish for him a long life and the honors befitting such a gallant captain in the army of Freedom.

Abe Lincoln came to us no stranger but his presence, and his words have drawn him closer to our hearts. He is our friend—the friend of Kansas—and he will ever find the latch-string out when he may choose to honor us with another visit. Full of gratitude for services rendered, of admiration for his heroic qualities, we bid honest Abe a kind and heartfelt farewell.¹⁰⁷

This appreciation for Lincoln did not translate into a serious challenge to Seward as the favorite candidate of Kansas for the presidency. Lincoln did not even come into consideration. A Republication convention in Lawrence, unlike the convention in Osawatimie, achieved a high degree of harmony. All agreed that Senator Seward should be the Republican candidate for president, but there was a consensus that Lincoln was "a highly acceptable and available candidate."¹⁰⁸ The *Leavenworth Daily Times* provided details that shed light on the way in which the nomination of Hatterscheidt for the Chicago delegation evolved. Names were put in nomination for only five delegates. The balloting produced the following results: A[bel] C[arter] Wilder, 58; John A[lexander] Martin, 48; William A. Phillips, 48; W[illiam] W[allace] Ross, 41; A. G. Procter, 39. These candidates were confirmed by acclamation. After the formal election Phillips made an extraordinary motion, to include Hatterscheidt, who had not been nominated in the initial balloting. Phillips's motion was approved by acclamation.¹⁰⁹ The *Times* added a commentary to this report: "The Convention desired to testify its faith in the German element. It wanted to say, and it did say, by this act that the free spirit was true—alive to all the claims of liberty, and steadfast in defense of the principles

on which these claims rested.”¹¹⁰ The *Lawrence Republican* also expressed its support for the selection of the delegates: “The Kansas delegation at Chicago will be a credit to the state.” The paper singled out Col. Phillips as a leader known throughout the Union and respected as a defender of the Free-State cause. “He is one of our purest and best men, far above the range of ordinary politicians.” Phillips, correspondent for Greeley’s *New York Tribune* and author of *The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and Her Allies*, was an influential radical Free-State advocate in word and deed.¹¹¹ Hatterscheidt’s having won the respect and support of Phillips might be considered also a recognition of the political mission and achievements of the *Kansas Zeitung* under Kob and the Leavenworth Turners.

The movement to save Kansas from slavery began with Thayer’s emigration project in 1854, followed almost immediately by the German settlement initiatives in Cincinnati. Six years later that crusade had ended, and the selection of Hatterscheidt as a Kansas delegate to a national convention can be considered a victory for the campaign that rallied the revolutionaries of the 1848-49 and the Turners with a strong commitment to the cause of freedom.

Notes

¹ Eli Thayer, *The New England Emigrant Aid Company and Its Influence through the Kansas Contest, upon National History* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Franklin P. Rice, 1887), 13. *New York Times*, August 4, 1854.

² Eli Thayer, *A History of the Kansas Crusade: Its Friends and Its Foes* (New York: Harper, 1889), 45.

³ *New York Daily Tribune*, May 24, 1854.

⁴ *New York Daily Tribune*, August 3, 1854; *New York Times*, August 4, 1854.

⁵ William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago: Lewis, 1918), 1:344. The same text is also in William E. Connelley, *History of Kansas: State and People* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1928), 1:311.

⁶ Bergquist, “The Political Attitudes,” 143.

⁷ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 1:88, and 52–3, 105, 130–31, 198, 278, 280, and 284.

⁸ Oestreicher first wrote Oread Hill, but then crossed out Hill and wrote mount. An Andrew Oestreicher, a Württemberg native, is listed as a member of the Harmony Society in Pennsylvania in the 1870 census. At that time he was seventy-one years old. The original letter is in the Kansas State Historical Society and on Territorial Kansas Online at http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/~imlskto/cgi-bin/index.php?SCREEN=show_document&document_id=100401&SCREEN_FROM=search&submit=search&search=thayer&startsearchat=0&searchfor=keywords

⁹ See reference to the New England Aid Company trustees meeting of January 13, 1855. Ralph Volney Harlow, “The Rise and Fall of the Kansas Aid Movement,” *The American Historical Review* 41 (1935): 3.

¹⁰ Katja Rampelmann, “Small Town Germans: The Germans of Lawrence, Kansas, from 1854 to 1918” (Master’s thesis, University of Kansas, 1991), 7.

¹¹ *How to Conquer Texas before Texas Conquers Us* (Boston: Phillips and Sampson, 1854).

Abraham Lincoln and the German Immigrants: Turners and Forty-Eighters

¹² Cora Dolbee, "The First Book on Kansas: The Story of Edward Everett Hale's *Kansas and Nebraska*," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 2 (1933): 139–81.

¹³ *New York Times*, October 30, 1854. See also a copy listed by the Ohio Historical Society. The publication date was actually 1855.

¹⁴ Harlow, "The Rise and Fall of the Kansas Aid Movement," 3.

¹⁵ Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence* (Lawrence, Kansas: Journal Press, 1895), 57.

¹⁶ William G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: Andreas, 1883), 99. See Connelley, 1:344.

¹⁷ Sara T. Robinson, *Kansas: Its Exterior and Interior Life* (Boston: Crosby and Nichols, 1856), 99–100.

¹⁸ Karl L. Gridley, "A Survey of Nineteenth-Century Gravestones in Pioneer Cemetery," The University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 1997, deposited at the Lawrence Public Library in Lawrence, Kansas, and B. Jean Snedeger, "Complete Tombstone Census of Douglas County, Kansas" (The Douglas County, Kansas Genealogical Society), 68, deposited at the Topeka Public Library, Topeka, Kansas.

¹⁹ *Ancestry.com* lists Rau's name as Karl Gottlieb Rau and indicates that he applied for emigration to the United States in December 1853.

²⁰ Cf. Frank Baron and G. Scott Seeger, "Moritz Harttmann (1817–1900) in Kansas: A Forgotten German Pioneer of Lawrence and Humboldt," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 39 (2004): 14–16.

²¹ *Turn-Zeitung* (published in Cincinnati), June 24, 1856.

²² Herriott assumed but did not document that he participated with Domschke in the *Deutsches Haus* meetings in preparation for the Republican National convention in Chicago in May 1860. F. I. Herriott, "The Conference in the *Deutsches Haus* Chicago, May 14–15, 1860," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1928): 172.

²³ Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1854," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 12 (1943): 117; D. W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, Kansas: Thacher, 1886), 160. Wilder lists him as born in 1838.

²⁴ Martha B. Caldwell, "The Stubbs," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 6 (1937): 124–31; V. E. Gibbon "Letters on the War in 1856," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 10 (1941): 369–79.

²⁵ *Annals of Kansas*, 315.

²⁶ "A young German by the name of Guenther, son of Dr. Guenther of Milwaukee . . . was killed by the proslavery men in Kansas at the time of the attack on Franklin." *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, August 13, 1856.

²⁷ *The History of Waukesha County, Wisconsin* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1880), 950. During the Civil War Guenther served as captain until he was discharged in 1865. Subsequently he resided in Wisconsin. See obituary in the *Hartland*, Waukesha County, May 29, 1909.

²⁸ Albach reported that the Turner Society was disbanded, but this assertion is not supported by the subsequent report about Pratt. Cf. Katja Rampelmann (Hartmann), "Small Town Germans: The Germans of Lawrence, Kansas," 80. See text of this thesis at <http://history.lawrence.com/res/resource/403>. Cf. *Lawrence City Directory* (Lawrence, Kansas: Sutherland, 1860), 47.

²⁹ Susan Calbeck, "Caleb S. Pratt," *Pratt Tribune*, October 28, 1977.

³⁰ *The Lawrence Republican*, September 19, 1861.

³¹ Dieter K. Willbourn, "Two Prominent Kansas Turnvereins: Leavenworth and Topeka. Research paper directed by Robert W. Richmond at Washburn University in 1971. This unpublished paper is available in the Turner collection of the Indiana University Library in Indianapolis.

³² See declaration of April 1854, Metzner 1:245 and September 1855 in Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters*, 100. On Pfänder see Metzner 3:43–47.

³³ Metzner, 1:261–63.

³⁴ Lesquereux is one of the most important figures in North American paleobotany through the second half of the nineteenth century, and his works are still useful as a tool in the identification of new plant fossils from the Midwestern U.S. Cf. Leo Lesquereux, *Letters Written from America 1849–1853*, translated from the French by H. Dwight Page (Rockland, Maine: Picton Press, 2006).

³⁵ June 14, 1856, *Weekly Chicago Democrat*. The report evidently appeared originally in the *Turn-Zeitung* of May 27, 1856. The *Turn-Zeitung* identified the author as Pfänder. The *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* did not publish the passage quoted in the Chicago paper. Appendix D includes the segment that the *Weekly Chicago Democrat* chose not to publish.

³⁶ Metzner, 3:49–51.

³⁷ Because neither the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* nor the *Turn-Zeitung* reported such details about the dramatic destruction of Lawrence, the Chicago paper probably inserted them to encourage support of the Kansas cause.

³⁸ Cordley, 99–105.

³⁹ The names of Deitzler and Donalson reflect a general use, but sometimes also appear in alternate spellings, Dietzler and Donaldson.

⁴⁰ <http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/>. This speech, along with letters describing the sacking of Lawrence, can be found on the “Territorial Kansas Online” Web site.

⁴¹ “Old Kickapoo Gun: An Ancient Cannon That Has a Remarkable Record,” *Kentucky New Era*, August 10, 1895. The article, taken over from the *St. Louis Republic*, originally published in Topeka. It reported that for a long time the cannon was in the possession of the Turners, who then discarded it. After it was recovered, it became a property of the Kansas State Historical Society.

⁴² *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, May 26, 1856, translated and quoted by the *Tribune* of May 27.

⁴³ *New York Daily Tribune*, May 27, 1856.

⁴⁴ *Amtliches Verzeichnis des Personals und der Studierenden auf der Königl. Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg i. Pr.* (Königsberg: Hartungsche Hof- und Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1835–1921). According to information made available from Judith Ellen Johnson of the Connecticut Historical Society Museum, Emily’s father died on March 29, 1852. The information is based on the Charles R. Hale Collection index of headstone inscriptions and newspaper death notices for Connecticut.

⁴⁵ Howard B. Furer, *The Germans in America (1607–1970): Chronology & Fact Book* (New York: Oceana, 1973), 43.

⁴⁶ Bergquist, “The Political Attitudes,” 147–53.

⁴⁷ The following persons signed the proclamation: Dr. Kob, Dr. Finois, C. Schmidt, Dr. Douai, and A. Babo. *Der Pionier*, September 24, 1856.

⁴⁸ The *Atlas* of Milwaukee, December 13, 1858.

⁴⁹ See articles of January 11 and 18 in *Der Pionier*, 1858.

⁵⁰ Meeting of January 2, 1857, 58. New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers, Kansas State Historical Society, Microfilms, reel no. 7, records of meetings, from January 2 to May 29, 1857, reel no. 9, journal of accounts, 31–58.

⁵¹ Edward Everett Hale, *Kansas and Nebraska* (Boston: Philips, Sampson, J. C. Derby, 1854), iv.

⁵² Thomas H. Webb, *Information for Kansas Immigrants* (Boston: Mudge, 1855 ff).

⁵³ Karl Friedrich Kob, *Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas* (New York: Teubner, 1857), 75, cf. 82–85.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁵⁶ Frank Baron, “August Bondi: Excerpts from the Autobiography,” *Yearbook of German-*

American Studies 40 (2005): 87–160. In 1850, a German carpenter named Kaiser was active in a German labor meeting during which he spoke out in support of reforms (*New York Daily Tribune*, August 8, 1850). Kaiser later appeared in the Shakespeare Hotel at a meeting of the German Social Reform Society and the Socialistic Turners. The meeting passed resolutions that included the demand to abolish slavery, the establishment of a free school system, and a demand for land reform. Kaiser was appointed to the Acting Committee of the Radical Free Soil Party (*New York Daily Tribune*, August 26, 1851). At a meeting of workers two years later in New York, Kaiser is shown as vice president of an organization of workers demanding reforms (*Die Reform*, March 26, 1853). Cf. Hermann Schlüter, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika*, ed. Carol Price (New York: Lang, 1984 [1907]). Unfortunately, this Kaiser is not identified by first name, and no further information is available from known sources. It is tempting to identify him with the Karl Kaiser in Kansas, as Levin has done, but it is not certain that the person in New York is the same as the one who joined John Brown in Kansas. Cf. Levine, *The Spirit of 1848*, 151.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 56. Cf. Carman's estimate below.

⁵⁸ New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers, Kansas State Historical Society, Microfilms, reel no. 7, records of meetings, May 22 and 29, 1857.

⁵⁹ Ralph V. Harlow, "The Rise and Fall of the Kansas Aid Movement," *American Historical Review* 41 (1935): 15–16; convention results were reported in the *Boston Atlas* of August 18. The first appeal for aid to forward supplies went out in October 1856, according to a letter by Arny and Thaddeus Hyatt, quoted in the *New York Daily Tribune* of October 11; Arny arrived in Kansas a few days later, see report of October 24 in the *New York Daily Tribune*; Arny reported on the destitute conditions he found there, published in the *Boston Atlas*, on November 1, 1856. Although Arny's records were destroyed in the great Chicago fire, much can be reconstructed from newspaper records.

⁶⁰ The *Boston Atlas*, September 4, 1856.

⁶¹ Kansas Historical Society, Coll. Hyatt, 978.

⁶² Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969 [first printed in 1885]), 362. The Kansas State Historical records of the New England Emigrant Aid Society in 1857 show that the society supported Brown with funds to come to Boston, box 626, v. 7, 645.

⁶³ *Kansas Zeitung*, July 22, 1857. This newspaper is available online at a site linked to the Kansas City Community College. Cf. Eleanor L. Turk, "The Germans of Atchison, 1854–1859: Development of an Ethnic Community," *Kansas History* 2 (1979): 146–56.

⁶⁴ *Kansas Zeitung*, July 22, 1857. Since Moritz Harttmann was the agent for Lawrence, it is conceivable that the author of this view is not Kob. Cf. Baron and Seeger, "Moritz Harttmann (1817–1900) in Kansas," 14–16.

⁶⁵ *Kansas Zeitung*, February 3, 1858.

⁶⁶ Ian Michael Spurgeon, *Man of Douglas; Man of Lincoln: The Political Odyssey of James Henry Lane* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 116–17. Quoted from *Herald of Freedom*, July 25, 1857. Cf. *Kansas Zeitung*, July 27, 1857.

⁶⁷ Spurgeon describes the evolution of Lane's thinking, 116–17.

⁶⁸ *Turn-Zeitung* (published in Cincinnati), June 24, 1856.

⁶⁹ *Kansas Zeitung*, September 2, 1857.

⁷⁰ The document was published with the date August 26, 1857. The signatures are on p. 7. Territorial Kansas Online. <http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/cgiwrap/imlskto/index.php>. (cf. *Quindaro Chindowan* for September 19, 1857 for the full text), 118.

⁷¹ Spurgeon, 118.

⁷² "... da er sowohl bei Deutschen wie Amerikanern allgemein beliebt und geachtet ist." *Kansas Zeitung*, July 27, 1857; *Annals of Kansas*, 174; *Quindaro Chindowan*, July 25, August 18, and September 19, 1857.

⁷³ *Leavenworth Zeitung*, November 20, 1858.

⁷⁴ *The Leavenworth Daily Times*, March 6, 1861, vol. 7, no. 17; *Lawrence Republican*, March 14, 1861, reprinted from the *Leavenworth Conservative*.

⁷⁵ *Kansas Zeitung*, December 30, 1857.

⁷⁶ *Kansas Zeitung*, January 20, 1858. For confirmation of the accuracy of this newspaper report, consult the muster roll for the "Volunteers for the Protection of the Ballot Box," Leavenworth County. Kansas State Historical Society, "History, Military, Oversize 3, #102905." This source, poorly photographed, shows Wilhelm Kempf as captain.

⁷⁷ Wilhelm Kempf became Kob's real estate partner (see Kob's frequent ads in his *Kansas Zeitung* and in the *Wegweiser*). Kob is reported to have "laid out" the town, another ghost town. According to the *Freedom's Champion*, it was on Independence Creek, about ten miles from Atchison and twenty-five miles from St. Joseph. Information supplied by Rita L. Noll, *The Early Settlements of Atchison County* (Atchison, Kansas: ACKGS, 1997), 35. Kempf was also active in the *Turnverein* militia.

⁷⁸ See Territorial Kansas Online: "Kansas Volunteers for the Protection of the Ballot-Box." 1857. <http://www.territorialkansasonline.org>. See also at the same site order no. 1, July 18, 1857, signed by James H. Lane as organizer.

⁷⁹ A copy of the Leavenworth Turnverein constitution is available in the Turner collection of the Indiana University Library in Indianapolis.

⁸⁰ A ship record from Bremen, dated July 8, 1848, includes the names of Albert (19), Richard (14), and Hugo (15). The 1860 census shows Hugo Tafel (18) as tinsmith by profession.

⁸¹ Metzner 1:88.

⁸² See Appendix E.

⁸³ Metzner 2:285–87. "Eine Turnfahrt in Kansas" appeared originally in the *Turn-Zeitung* (published in Cincinnati) on September 22, 1857.

⁸⁴ Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 208. Cf. Spurgeon, 113 and 135.

⁸⁵ *Kansas Zeitung*, December 30, 1857.

⁸⁶ *Cincinnati Republikaner*, January 21, 1858. Translation by Frank Baron.

⁸⁷ "Excerpts from the Autobiography of August Bondi," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 40 (2005): 87–195. Cf. Todd Mildfelt, *The Secret Danites: Kansas' First Jayhawkers* (Winfield, Kansas: Central Plains, 2003), pp. 24–27 and 72. The presence of the Free-State militia at Sugar Mound (Mound City) is confirmed for the dates December 17 to 24, 1857. Cf. James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1942), 390–91, 678–79, and 730.

⁸⁸ Chapter 7, *Herald of Freedom*, April 30, 1859. On Fowler's relationship to John Brown we have only the undocumented biographical statement by Cutler: "He was an intimate associate of old John Brown and concealed and defended that notorious champion of freedom on several occasions" (Cutler, *History of Kansas*, 1:883; see also *The United States Biographical Dictionary. Kansas Volume* [Chicago: Lewis & Co., 1879], 486). Cf. Frank Baron, "James H. Lane and the Origins of the Jayhawk," *Kansas History* 34 (Summer 2011): 114–27.

⁸⁹ Cf. Mildfelt, 25–76.

⁹⁰ *Leavenworth Daily Times*, January 9, 1858.

⁹¹ For example, see the article on the "Voice of the Germans" in the *Leavenworth Daily Times* on August 21, 1858.

⁹² Metzner 2:283–85. See Appendix F.

⁹³ See the article by L. Weil, 120–21, issued late in December 1864, by the State Agricultural Society with Andrew Stark.

⁹⁴ Cordley, *A History of Lawrence from the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion*, 159–60.

⁹⁵ J. Neale Carman et al., "Foreign Language Units of Kansas, Volume II: Account of

Settlement and Settlements in Kansas," typescript in the University Archives of the University of Kansas Libraries, 594. See <http://kusolarworks.ku.edu/dspace/handle/1808/7160>

⁹⁶ William Pancak et al., eds. *Immigration to New York* (London: Associated University Presses, 1991), 29.

⁹⁷ *Leavenworth Daily Times*, July 10, 1858. It is a source of confusion that two persons named Vaughan, John C[hampion]. Vaughan and Champion Vaughan, father and son, both contributing to the *Leavenworth Daily Times*, were active in Kansas politics and later served in high military positions in the Civil War. Champion Vaughan gets credit as the editor of the *Times*.

⁹⁸ Carman, "Foreign Language Units of Kansas," 2:591. "Though Leavenworth became a Free-State town, in 1855 and 1856 it had been violently proslavery. Uncle George Keller, popular though he was as landlord of the Leavenworth Hotel, was run out of town early in 1856, and returned when 'the excitement had blown over,' apparently in 1858. The transformation of Leavenworth from pro-slavery to Free State is probably attributed to the German immigration." *Ibid.*, 593.

⁹⁹ *Leavenworth Daily Times*, September 4, 1858. Cf. an article on the "German Vote" of May 8, 1858 in the *Kansas Tribune*. "The German vote has constituted a new and important element in the South and West. This fact has until recently escaped attention, but is destined to become more and more prominent with the steady and rapid increase of this class of our population. It is gratifying feature of this fact that the German vote is almost invariably cast on the side of freedom and antislavery." The author attributed recent Republican victories in Cincinnati, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Jefferson City to this fact. "Especially here in Kansas has this influence contributed materially to swell the preponderance on the side of the free institutions." He saw the motivation of the Germans caused by the suffering they had endured under the repressive government in their fatherland.

¹⁰⁰ *Leavenworth Daily Times*, April, 30, 1859.

¹⁰¹ G. Raymond Gaeddert, *The Birth of Kansas* (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1974), 11.

¹⁰² *The Lawrence Republican*, May 26, 1859. See scan of the paper at the site of the Kansas City Kansas Community College.

¹⁰³ Gaeddert, 12. Charles Reitz, "Horace Greeley and the German Forty-Eighters in the Kansas Free-State Struggle, *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 43 (2008):11–34 and *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society* 10 (1908): 640. Present were S. C. Pomeroy, Thomas Ewing, Jr., W. A. Phillips, T. Dwight Thacher, John A. Martin, Mark Delahay, Web and [A. Carter] Wilder, James McDowell, C. K. Holliday, D. W. Houston, Charles Branscomb, O. E. Learnard, and A. D. Richardson. Cf. Marsha B. Caldwell, "When Horace Greeley Visited Kansas in 1859," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (1940): 115–40, especially 122.

¹⁰⁴ *The Leavenworth Daily Times*, December 1, 1859.

¹⁰⁵ "Lincoln in Kansas," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society* 7 (1901–02): 540–41.

¹⁰⁶ See the *Leavenworth Daily Times* of November 28 and 30, December 2 and 3, 1859. Fred W. Brinkerhoff, "The Kansas Tour of Lincoln the Candidate," *Kansas History* 31 (2009): 279–83.

¹⁰⁷ *Leavenworth Daily Times*, December 6, 1859.

¹⁰⁸ Gaeddert, 19.

¹⁰⁹ D. W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 299.

¹¹⁰ *Leavenworth Daily Times*, April 13, 1860.

¹¹¹ *The Lawrence Republican*, April 19, 1860. William A. Phillips, *The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and Her Allies* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1856).

