

Charles Reitz

Socialist Turners of New York City, 1853: Archival Materials Warrant Further Research

A vivid political episode in the history of the German-American Turner Movement has come to my attention since the acquisition of the archive of the *Sozialistischer Turnerbund* of New York City by the Max Kade German-American Studies Center of the University of Kansas in October 2009. This affair offers a clear indication of the German-American solidarity displayed by the New York City Turners toward the multidimensional European socialist/communist movement in a significant 1853 event. Greater familiarity with this matter will also suggest continuities with radical German-American leadership in U.S. labor history and further topics for research.¹

Political liberalism and radicalism have long been recognized as important elements in history of the German-American Turner movement, though much of this radical heritage tends to be played down in our contemporary historical understanding of the Turners.² According to the classic treatment of Carl Wittke, however, the Turners became a significant political influence in this country only after émigrés from the armed struggles for democratic freedoms in 1848 came to the U.S. from Germany and across Europe.³ Liberal and radical activists and fighters there had been intensely persecuted by forces of reaction after they were defeated by the Prussian military. Waves of German political refugees thus fled to England, and also to the U.S., in which places they generally continued their struggles for greater equality and human rights. In the U.S. many of these German immigrants became leaders within the abolitionist movement, fighters for a slavery-free Kansas, and officers in the Union army.⁴

New York City's first German-American athletic association, the *Turngemeinde*, founded in November 1848⁵ underwent a split in 1849 between its liberal and radical members giving rise to the more militant formation that concerns us here: the *Sozialistischer Turnerbund* – New York City's Socialist Turner Organization. Most prominent among the members of

the new Socialist Turners of New York City was Franz Sigel, who (along with Friedrich Hecker) had led the armed revolution in Baden. Both Sigel and Hecker were subsequently highly visible as German-American commanders during the U.S. Civil War.⁶ Sigismund Kaufmann, a German-Jewish Forty-eighter, was the first "speaker" of the New York Socialist Turners. He also edited their *Turnzeitung*, and nearly a decade later, in 1860, served as a Republican Party elector for Abraham Lincoln.⁷

In January 1853 New York City's Socialist Turners took a stand in support of seven jailed communist revolutionaries in Germany who had been tried for sedition by the Prussian courts at Cologne. The Turner leadership in New York City issued the following *Aufruf!* [Call to Action!] in bold type in its nationally-circulated New York *Turnzeitung*, a twice-monthly socialist organ:⁸

Because of the trial in the Cologne Court of Assizes, which took place a few months ago against the citizens Becker, Bürgers, and others that resulted in convictions, we must once again assist families that have been catapulted into catastrophe. Each one of these who was sentenced was a defender of the rights of workers! In order to more easily gain convictions, the Prussian police doctored the evidence against these brave men. Even from our distance we can hear these families, having been robbed of their breadwinners, cry for help. Given the justice of supporting these fighters for the proletariat, who can hesitate? The Central Administration requests that all of our affiliated organizations respond by actively and strenuously collecting funds to alleviate the suffering of the destitute without delay. These funds are to be conveyed to the Central Administration which will publish a timely account of their use.⁹

Immediately after the publication of this *Call*, in February 1853, Eugen Lievre, a prominent German-American Forty-eighter and owner of New York's Shakespeare Hotel,¹⁰ wrote a letter that encouraged the Socialist Turners of New York City to act expressly in solidarity with the Central Committee of the Communist League in London, of whom the Forty-eighter German émigrés, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, were the most high-profile members. Lievre suggested that the Turners coordinate this solidarity effort through Ferdinand Freiligrath, the radical poet and close associate of Marx and Engels, who at the time was similarly situated as a political refugee in England. Below in translation is the letter Lievre submitted to the Socialist Turner Organization of New York suggesting a Ball at his hotel to raise funds for the London Committee in order to express solidarity with those convicted

in the Cologne communist trials:

New York [City], February 17, 1853
To the Socialist Turner Organization,
Fellow Turners!

You have resolved in your membership meeting to do everything in your power to support to the champions of the revolutionary workers' party recently condemned by the bourgeois jury in Cologne. I know that I can therefore certainly rely on you for a favorable response to my proposal to raise a considerable sum for this purpose by holding a Ball at my Hotel. The Ball will take place on Monday the 28th of February; members of worker's organizations shall pay an entrance fee of 50 cents, all others \$1.00. I shall underwrite all of the costs myself. Nonetheless, I would find it congenial if the Turner Organization would deputize some members of its body to constitute a finance committee, along with deputies of other organizations, to oversee the receipt of funds until these are sent to the treasurer of the central committee in London, *Ferd. Freiligrath*.

With warmest regards,
Eugen Lievre¹¹

The Lievre letter clearly indicates his belief that many of New York City's Socialist Turners would be ready and willing to act in international solidarity with Freiligrath, Marx, and Engels as leaders of the increasingly suppressed Communist League. To understand the significance of this letter in response to the *Call* by New York City's Socialist Turners, it is important that we become more familiar with the political context of the "monster"¹² show trials of the arrested members of the Communist League at Cologne (1851-52). According to Karl Obermann,¹³ the ultimate impact of the trials was quite the opposite of their intended repressive function. Instead of intimidating the international communist movement, the trials ushered in its resurgence. German Forty-eighter exiles in the U.S. who had fled reaction in Europe certainly followed these trials with much interest.

In March and April of 1853 Karl Marx addressed the affair in his "Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne." Published in the *Neue-England-Zeitung* of Boston, he begins by explaining –

On May 10, 1851 Nothjung was arrested in Leipzig and Bürgers, Röser, Daniels, Beckers and the others were arrested shortly after. The arrested men appeared before the Court of Assizes in Cologne on October 4, 1852 on a charge of 'conspiracy for treason' against

the Prussian state. . . . When Nothjung and Bürgers were arrested police discovered copies of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. . . .¹⁴

Franz Mehring later summed up the consequences of the trial in which seven members of the Communist League were sentenced from three to six years:

The cigar-maker Röser, the author Bürgers, and the journeyman-tailor Nothjung were sentenced to six years' imprisonment in a fortress each, the worker Reiff, the chemist Otto and the former barrister Becker received five years each, whilst the journeyman-tailor Lessner received three years. The clerk Ehrhardt and the three physicians Daniels, Jacoby and Klein were all acquitted.¹⁵

While the members of New York City's *Sozialistischer Turnerbund* were, as a whole, explicit advocates of revolution and socialism, Lievre, and the group of Socialist Turners to whom he turned in this appeal, represented what they considered to be a middle ground in their turn to Ferdinand Freiligrath, Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels. These figures were critical of the traditional liberalism of some exile Forty-eighters on the one hand, and what they saw as incendiary displays of nationalist rhetoric by those who longed to return to Germany for a new opportunity at revolution. The latter position was frequently advocated in the pages of the *Turnzeitung*.¹⁶

The stance in the socialist middle was developed in London exile by leading Forty-eighter communists, Freiligrath, Marx, and Engels – and also in New York City by Joseph Weydemeyer,¹⁷ a prominent Forty-eighter émigré who was also among the closest political confidants of Marx and Engels, both in Europe and throughout his U.S. exile.

Weydemeyer functioned as a kind of literary agent¹⁸ for Marx and Engels in New York City, and succeeded in having certain of their writings – and his own – published in the Socialist Turners' newspaper beginning in 1852.¹⁹ Weydemeyer had a special regard for Freiligrath, who had not been publishing any new work since he evaded arrest with the other Cologne defendants²⁰ by fleeing from Germany to London in the summer of 1851.²¹ Weydemeyer succeeded in having Marx encourage Freiligrath to resume his writing, and Freiligrath's "Poetic Epistles" were published in New York City, in German, by Weydemeyer (January 1852) in his short-lived political journal, *Die Revolution*.²² Freiligrath's work is described as combining his radical political values with his literary art, and functioning as a kind of editorial commentary on contemporary events and circumstances. One of the key themes of Freiligrath's "Poetic Epistles" was a satire of certain Forty-

eighter exiles whom he dismissed as sectarian and theatrical egoists only playing at revolution. In this regard, Freiligrath was articulating in poetry a political criticism also being made in prose by Weydemeyer, Engels, and Marx against what Wittke calls "German Fenianism"²³ – that ardent desire of some Forty-eighter émigrés who wished to return to Europe to carry out another uprising against its kings and princes. Such persons Weydemeyer considered to be petty-bourgeois, conspiratorial, adventurist, fringe elements. His commentary was incorporated by Marx and Engels in their critical exposé of "The Great Men of the Exile,"²⁴ a tract which they had hoped to publish in 1852 in New York in Weydemeyer's *Die Revolution*, but which was not actually published anywhere until 1930.²⁵ Marx did publish his closely related pamphlet, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln* [Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne] as mentioned above in Boston in German in 1853. This circulated widely among German-American immigrants. In it he condemned not only the "infamies perpetrated by the Prussian police,"²⁶ but also those of August Willich, Gottfried Kinkel, and others, for their "beer-house bluster"²⁷ and for being "entrepreneurs in the business of the German-American revolutionary loan."²⁸ Marx stressed that the "sole function" of the European emissary of the German National Loan organization "was to promote antagonism among the workers towards the party of the accused in Cologne."²⁹

The *New York Turnzeitung* of February 1, 1852, noted that Kinkel had been a welcome guest in January and raised "almost 100 dollars" for the German National Fund. The March 1, 1852, issue included an article by Joseph Weydemeyer criticizing "Herr Kinkel and his Friends."

Marx and Engels had a definite *intellectual* presence in New York City at this time (though conventional historical scholarship has little appreciated it) given their publications, at first in German in the *New York Turnzeitung*,³⁰ and then also via a steady stream of journalistic and political statements, in English, in Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*.³¹ It is insufficiently recognized that Greeley was a major proponent of socialism in the United States, generally that of French utopian Fourier and Fourier's main spokesperson in the U.S. Albert Brisbane, but his partnership with Marx endured for more than ten years, from 1851-62. This gave Marx and Engels a voice across the entire country since the *New York Tribune* was the first nation-wide newspaper in the U.S. Their first *New York Tribune* contributions, actually penned by Engels but published under Marx's byline, were nineteen installments over the course of a year from October 1851 to October 1852 precisely on the details of the 1848 revolution and the counter-revolution in Europe.³²

In November 1852 Engels wrote a separate focus piece, "The Late Trial at Cologne,"³³ which was published as a letter to the *Tribune* (again

under Marx's name) that December. This summarized two earlier accounts of the Cologne communist trials published in London newspapers under four signatures: "F. Engels, F. Freiligrath, K. Marx, W[ilhelm]. Wolff."³⁴ As these men viewed the matter, the Cologne trials were primarily intended to suppress and ultimately to destroy the Communist League (to which they all belonged) as a legal political formation. Marx and Engels publicly protested what they considered the cruel and unusual circumstances of the arrest of their "friends at Cologne,"³⁵ and the illegitimacy of the convictions. As "F. Engels, F. Freiligrath, K. Marx, and W. Wolff" described the situation, the accused had all been held in solitary confinement for eighteen months: time simply wasted during which they were prohibited from conferring with lawyers and were refused proper medical treatment. When their case came to trial, their jury was composed of six reactionary aristocrats, four representatives of high finance, and two functionaries of the Prussian government. According to Engels, Freiligrath, Marx, and Wolff, the trials generated convictions only upon forged evidence and resulted in a circumstance in which all of Europe was being now held in bondage by the German secret police that was placing its agents in foreign embassies (in this case London) where they worked as spies and organized paid informants to infiltrate German communist refugee associations.

Engels's letter on the Cologne Trial to the *New York Tribune* was published December 22, 1852, just a few weeks before the January 1853 *Call* for funds published in the *New York Turnzeitung* for the defense of the accused as well as Lievre's February letter. Engels made the case that the Communist League and its members, including those on trial in Cologne, were not advocates of immediate revolution in Germany; that the organization had studied the 1848 uprisings and understood that they failed because times were not yet ripe in terms of society's class structure. Thus, the program of this organization as Marx and Engels saw it was the "*preparation* of such a movement"³⁶ for a workforce revolution in the future, and—not against today's "mere 'tyrants,' 'despots,' and 'usurpers,'—but . . . [against] . . . a power far superior, and more formidable, than theirs: that of capital over labor."³⁷ Engels wrote furthermore, "In accordance with the principles of its 'Manifesto' (published in 1848) and with those in the series of articles on "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany" published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, this party never imagined itself capable of producing at any time and at its pleasure, that revolution which was to carry its ideas into practice."³⁸ These facts about the publicly stated goals and aspirations of members of the Communist League, in Engels's estimation, fully undercut all allegations against its members in Cologne. Within this organization Marx and Engels had criticized, as premature, the insurrectionist proposals of "a

few ambitious imbeciles.”³⁹ These individuals then split from the League and formed an actual conspiracy in Paris. Certain of these former members were subsequently convicted of undertaking a Parisian coup d’état. Efforts by the Prussian police failed to implicate the Communist League led by Marx and Engels.⁴⁰

For its part the leadership of New York City’s Socialist Turners declined to send any of the funds it raised to Freiligrath in London. In several statements in the *Turnzeitung* immediately after Lievre submitted his letter, the Central Administration made its opposition to the Lievre proposal clear, yet at first in quite an understated fashion:

We wish to share the following gratifying announcement with all of our member associations. For the support of those convicted in Cologne: the Louisville Turner Organization has sent in \$50 and the Social Democratic Turners of Baltimore, \$35. When all donations have been collected, we will send these *directly* to Cologne (emphasis in original). New York, March 1, 1853. The Central Administration.⁴¹

Bold print and a single word reminded the readers of the *Turnzeitung* that the Central Administration had initially proposed that it, itself, would coordinate the collection and distribution of funds to assist the families who had lost their breadwinners through the Cologne trials. Apparently however, a fuller explanation for the New York City leadership’s desire to maintain its political distance from the exile London communists was needed, and its position was directly challenged by the Washington, D.C., Turnverein in an open letter (in support of working with Freiligrath and the London committee) published, with a rebuttal, by the New York City Central Administration in the next issue of the *Turnzeitung*:

Washington, D.C. March 7, 1853

Re: Issues with regard to the support of those sentenced in Cologne and their families.

We wish to report that we have today conveyed a sum from our own organization in the amount of \$97.12, together with other monies that have been transferred to us, *directly* to Ferd. Freiligrath. We hope this step will inspire other fraternal organizations and that it will not be interpreted as a separatist action. The [New York City] Central Administration has shown itself to be unworthy of our trust . . . inasmuch as it is trying to take the funds out of the hands of Ferd. Freiligrath, whose name stands without blemish before the German nation and high *above* the reputation of the New York [City] Central

Administration, and turn them over to some functionaries or other whom we do not know. As revolutionary socialists we protest⁴²

The Washington, D.C., Turners argued that the New York City Central Administration was transforming a radical act of political solidarity with the Cologne prisoners into the more conservative kind of conduct better suited to a churchly collection of alms. The Baltimore Turners published a letter in the same issue stating rather diplomatically that they also preferred linkage through Freiligrath, but that they did not want to insist on this approach. The New York City Central Administration responded that it had announced from the start that it wanted to send assistance to families. In addition, it had no qualms about Freiligrath's integrity, but it had to consider not only the Washington, D.C. group's desires but those of the majority of the of other fraternal organizations as well, which like Cincinnati in particular, had expressed negative experiences working through such European committees.

The historical and political significance of this debate may be pursued in the future through deepened consideration of the strategic controversies that appeared among the several factions of Turners. For example, the enduring issue in radical politics of resolute direct action as compared to the patient recognition of the material necessity for conditions to ripen. There is also the organizational and philosophical matter of thinking in terms of autonomous and heroic individuals or thinking in terms of structured social systems. The controversies in reaction to Lievre's letter did lead to increased differences rather than unity in the movement. Yet the robust discourse testifies to the vibrant state of radical politics within German-American Turner circles. Widespread radically democratic German-American activism stands out in U.S. social and labor history during the following century. According to Obermann,⁴³ the solidarity of radicals in the U.S., like Lievre and Weydemeyer—with Freiligrath, Marx, Engels, and the Cologne communists—resulted in a "Revival of the Labor Movement" in America. The spirit of 1848 lived on with the [1853] formation of the "American Workers' League."⁴⁴

Karl Marx emphasized the linkages among German Forth-eighters, abolitionists, Republicans, Lincoln, and labor radicals, as preparing the way for the post-Civil War American workingmen's pursuit of the shorter working day. In *Das Kapital* he writes:

In the United States of North America every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight

hours' agitation.⁴⁵

Of course German-American socialists were central to the culmination of this eight hours' movement during the May 1 through May 4 general strike and demonstrations at the Haymarket in Chicago in 1886.⁴⁶ German-American labor leaders, August Spies, Adolf Fischer, Georg Engel, Louis Lingg and Michael Schwab, were executed for their revolutionary agitation for the shorter work week. As a result, and in honor of the American eight hours' movement, Marx and Engels advocated that this May 1, 1886, date be taken up by European workers and become the international day of labor solidarity – May Day. American socialism's strength in the 1880s and 1890s was of such magnitude that it had to be massively suppressed by U.S. Attorney General Palmer in 1919. Furthermore, labor strength, strife, and success reached its apex in the 1930s, as exemplified by such radical tactics as the 1936 sit-down strike at General Motors in Flint, Michigan. This strike did in fact shorten the work day to eight hours and secure the recognition of the United Auto Workers (under Walter Reuther, son of a German socialist, and early-on a member of the American Socialist Party). Radical labor activism opened the door to the industrial unionism of late twentieth-century America and its sense of workforce solidarity led to more: the spirit of 1848 has lived on also in twentieth-century civil rights agitation, women's rights struggles, even the New Left peace and free speech movements.⁴⁷ It is easy to see how and why the legacy of nineteenth-century German-American socialism is suppressed in today's establishment historiography. Under the spell of what I call the "American Pageant View of History," writing of this conventional sort has played down immigrant, indigenous, women's, and ethnic minority voices, and the resistance of these subaltern groups to class, race, and gender-based exertions of power. The militancy and the sense of social justice among the German-American socialist Turners should serve in the U.S. history and civics curriculum as a model of the pursuit of a fuller political and economic commonwealth for us all today and for the generations of the future.

Kansas City Kansas Community College
Kansas City, Kansas

Notes

¹ Special thanks to Frank Baron and three anonymous reviewers from the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* for constructive readings of this manuscript. Fred Whitehead, author of *Freethought on the American Frontier* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Press, 1992) and historian of German radicalism in Free State Kansas originally excited my interest in this area

of scholarship. Stephen Spartan made supportive criticisms and comments that strengthened this essay.

² Often this is due to a particular focus on the German-American Turners' important contributions to physical education programs and sports history in the U.S. Nonetheless, a characteristic aversion to radical voices in conventional U.S. historiography has been well documented by James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (New York: Touchstone, 1995). In contrast to the usual avoidance of any mention of the Turner movement's radical politics, Annette R. Hofmann is explicit about the nature and role of socialism in the history of German-American Turnerism, see Annette R. Hofmann, *The American Turner Movement: A History from its Beginnings to 2000* (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis [IUPUI], 2010). See also Eric Pumroy and Katja Rampelmann, *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996) and related scholarship by Katja Rampelmann, *Im Licht der Vernunft: Die Geschichte des deutsch-amerikanischen Freidenker-Almanachs von 1878-1901* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003). See also Dolores J. Hoyt, *A Strong Mind in a Strong Body: Libraries in the German-American Turner Movement* (New York: Grove/Atlantic, 1999).

³ Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952).

⁴ Charles Reitz, "Horace Greeley and the German Forty-Eighters in the Kansas Free State Struggle," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 43 (2008): 11-34.

⁵ Second in the nation following Cincinnati's Turner Organization founded by Friedrich Hecker and associates in October, 1848, according to Wittke, 148.

⁶ On Hecker, see especially Sabine Freitag, *Friedrich Hecker: Two Lives for Liberty*, transl. and ed. Steven Rowan (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2007).

⁷ Wittke, 84, 149. It should be acknowledged here that Abraham Lincoln, himself, expressed the following view consistent with Locke, Smith and Marx of the relationship of labor to capital: "Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration." Lincoln's Annual Message to Congress, December 3, 1861, cited in Michael Parenti, *Democracy for the Few* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 10.

⁸ This German-language newspaper ran several series of articles through successive issues on such topics as "The Necessity of Socialism" and "Democracy and its Institutions," also lengthy articles on topics like "Turners and Workers" and "Historical Sketch of Various Workers' Movements."

⁹ The Central Administration of the N.Y. Socialist Turners [headed by Sigismund Kaufmann] published in the *Turnzeitung*, January 15, 1853, p. 152. My translation. Original text: "Aufruf! Durch den Prozess, welcher von wenigen Monaten gegen die Bürger Becker, Bürgers und Andere vor den Assissen zu Cöln verhandelt wurde; und welcher mit Verurtheilung der Genannten endete, sind abermals Familien ins Elend gestürzt worden, denen Hilfe werden muss. Jene Verurtheilten kämpften für die Rechte der Arbeiter! Die preussische Polizei liess Dokumente fälschen, um die wackern Männer dann desto leichter verurtheilen zu können. Der Nothschrei der Verlassenen, denen Ernährer geraubt wurden, tönte zu uns herüber; wer wird da noch zaudern, wenn es gilt, die Kämpfer fürs Proletariat zu unterstützen? Der Vorort stellt das Gesuch an sämtliche Bundesvereine sich thatkräftig bei der Sammlung von Geldern zu betheiligen, damit die Lage der Hilflosen so schnell als möglich erleichtert werde. Die gesammelten Gelder wolle man den Vorort übermachen, welcher seiner Zeit über deren Verwendung öffentliche Rechenschaft ablegen wird. New York den 9. Jan. 1853. Der Vorort."

¹⁰ See Wittke, 33. Located at No. 9 Duane Street, corner of William. The editorial offices of the *Turnzeitung* had been at No. 24 Duane Street, but moved to No. 1 Franklin Square by

February 1853.

¹¹ Eugen Lievre, letter 17 February 1853 (emphasis in original; my translation) from General Membership Correspondence, 1850-53, File No. 3.18, Archive of the Socialist Turners of New York, Max Kade German-American Studies Center, Sudler House, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Special thanks to Frank Baron, Director of the KU Max Kade Center, for bringing this letter by Lievre to my attention. We know from Wittke, 166, that Lievre's Ball did in fact take place, yet Wittke furnishes no specific documentation of the event. Original text: "New York, 17. Febr. 1853. Dem Sozialistischen Turnverein! Turner! Ihr habt in Eurer Versammlung beschlossen für die Unterstützung der, von Bourgeois-Geschworenen Kölner, verurtheilten Vorkämpfer der revolutionären Arbeiterparthei Alles aufzubieten, was in Euren Kräften steht. Ich darf daher mit Sicherheit darauf rechnen bei Euch eine günstige Aufnahme meines Projectes zu finden, durch die Veranstaltung eines Balles in meinem Hotel eine Summe für den gleichen Zweck aufzubringen. Der Ball soll am Montag den 28. Februar stattfinden; den Eintrittspreis habe ich für Mitglieder der Arbeiter Vereine mit 50 Cents für andere mit \$1.00 festgesetzt. Für alle Kosten werde ich selbst aufkommen. Doch wäre mir es angenehm. Wenn der Turnverein einige Mitglieder aus seiner Mitte deputieren wollte, die mit den Deputierten der anderen Vereine zu einer Finanz-Comitee zusammentreten, um die Controlle über die Einnahme des Geldes bis zu seiner Versendung an den Cassirer des Londoner Central-Comitees, *Ferd. Freiligrath* zu übernehmen. Gruß und Handschlag, Eugen Lievre."

¹² Friedrich Engels, "The Late Trial at Cologne," first published in 1852 in the *New York Daily Tribune* under the signature of Karl Marx, December 22, 1852; *Marx-Engels Collected Works* (MECW), vol. 11 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1979), 388.

¹³ Karl Obermann, *Joseph Weydemeyer Pioneer of American Socialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1947), 53.

¹⁴ Karl Marx, "Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne," *MECW*, 11: 399. The *MECW* editors note that this pamphlet was first published in Basel in January 1853, then in Boston in installments during March and April 1853 (p. 672).

¹⁵ Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx: The Story of His Life* (London: Routledge, [1936] 2003), 221.

¹⁶ According to Wittke, 95-96, the Shakespeare Hotel did nonetheless host Sunday briefings for militias preparing to return to Germany!

¹⁷ See Weydemeyer's article in the *New York Turnzeitung* (published just prior to the paper's *Call*), "Die geheimen Gesellschaften und der Kommunisten-Prozess [The Secret Societies and the Communist Trial]," December 1852, pp. 147-48.

¹⁸ Wittke, 170.

¹⁹ Obermann, 45-46. See also Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigration, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1992), 161.

²⁰ Editors' note, *MECW*, 11: 671.

²¹ Obermann, 39.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Wittke, 92.

²⁴ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Great Men of the Exile" *MECW*, 11: 227-326. Marx and Engels singled out Arnold Ruge, Gottfried Kinkel, August Willich, and Karl Schapper, as politically immature revolutionary agitators. It should be noted however that Kinkel, a professor at Bonn, had been a significant influence in the life of Carl Schurz, and Willich conducted himself with much honor as a U.S. Civil War officer.

²⁵ Editors' note, *MECW*, 11: 228.

²⁶ Karl Marx, "Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne," *MECW*, 11:

433. This 1853 piece was not published in English until 1971 by Lawrence and Wishart, London.

²⁷ Ibid., 403.

²⁸ Ibid., 449.

²⁹ Ibid., 451.

³⁰ Joseph Weydemeyer had Engels's *Peasant War in Germany* reprinted in installments from 1852-53 in the *New York Turnzeitung*, which was also the first periodical to open its pages to Weydemeyer's own writings (Obermann, 45).

³¹ See James Ledbetter, *Karl Marx: Dispatches for the New York Tribune* (London: Penguin, 2007).

³² Friedrich Engels [using Marx's byline], "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany," *New York Daily Tribune* in nineteen installments from October 1851 to October 1852. See "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany," *MECW*, 11: 3-96.

³³ Friedrich Engels, "The Late Trial at Cologne," 388-93.

³⁴ F. Engels, F. Freiligrath, K. Marx, W. Wolff, "Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press" *MECW*, 11: 379, and "A Final Declaration on the Late Cologne Trials," *ibid.*, 387.

³⁵ Engels, Freiligrath, Marx, and Wolff, "A Final Declaration on the Late Cologne Trials," *MECW*, 11: 384.

³⁶ Friedrich Engels, "The Late Trial at Cologne," 389.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., 390.

⁴⁰ Editors' note, *MECW*, 11: 655.

⁴¹ *New York Turnzeitung*, 1 March 1853, p. 175. Emphasis in original. German text: "Wir teilen den Bundesvereinen die freudige Nachricht mit, daß uns eben zum Besten der Cölner Verurtheilten von der Turngemeinde zu Louisville \$50. vom soc. dem. Turnverein zu Baltimore \$35. eingesandt wurden, welche wir, wenn die Einsammlungen geschlossen sind, *direkt* nach Cöln befördern werden. New York, 1. März 1853. Der Vorort."

⁴² *New York Turnzeitung*, 1 April 1853, p. 190. Emphasis in original. German text: "In Sachen der Unterstützungsangelegenheit der verurtheilten Kölner und ihrer Familien. Washington, 7. März 1853. Wir zeigen hiermit an, daß wir heute zu gleicher Zeit mit einer uns zur Weiterbeförderung überkommenen Summe, die Gabe unseres eigenen Vereins im Betrag \$97, 12 Cents *direkt* an Ferd. Freiligrath absandten und motiviren hiermit den verbrüdernten Vereinen unsern Schritt, damit er nicht als Sonderbündlerei ausgelegt werde. Der Vorort hat sich unseres Vertrauens unwürdig gemacht, indem er auf Grund einer Aufforderung von Freunden der Verurtheilten hin zu Beiträgen, und nun die Gelder aus der Hand von Ferd. Freiligrath, dessen Name vor der deutschen Nation und hoch *über* dem Urtheil des New Yorker Vororts ohne Makel dasteht, in die Hände beliebiger Werkzeuge, die wir nicht kennen, überzuspielen sucht, wogegen wir als revolutionäre Socialisten protestieren . . ."

⁴³ Obermann, 53, 55.

⁴⁴ Obermann, 57.

⁴⁵ Karl Marx, *Capital* (New York: The Modern Library, [1867]1906), 329. See also Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Der Bürgerkrieg in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1976).

⁴⁶ See Heinrich Nuhn, *August Spiess, ein heussischer Sozialrevolutionär in Amerika: Opfer der Tragödie auf dem Chicagoer Haymarket 1886-87* (Kassel: Jenior & Pressler, 1992).

⁴⁷ Charles Reitz, "Marcuse in America: Exile as Educator," *Fast Capitalism* 5.2 (2009) http://www.uta.edu/huma/agger/fastcapitalism/5_2/Reitz5_2.html