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Carl Schurz in Michigan

Carl Schurz, as exemplary representative of German-American immigrants, has evoked an unending outpouring of political, social, literary, and multicultural scholarship. As recently as 1996, Hans L. Trefousse, the well-known investigator of German-American studies and the author of a standard biography on Schurz, reentered the field with a cross-cultural article, "Carl Schurz and the Politics of Identity."¹ Equally indicative, scholars from a variety of fields mention him in their investigations. An early bibliography of American journalism, *Some Great American Newspaper Editors* devotes a chapter to him,² Allan Nevins's monograph on the *Evening Post* accords him no less space.³ The environmentalist Jeanne Riha, who recently warned us about the follies of despoiling the environment by chronicling the way in which land was exploited directly after the Civil War, identifies Carl Schurz as one of the few heroes of a villainous age:

However, when Carl Schurz, one of the era's few honest men, became head of the Department of the Interior in 1877, he introduced stiffer protection for timber and repealed or modified some land disposal laws. Schurz condemned miners, hunters, prospectors, settlers, railroaders, lumbermen, and thieves for the destruction of the resources, but he accused the prevalent public opinion that was unmindful of the reckoning to come as well.⁴

The article clearly heroizes Schurz. But Carl Schurz had risen, in fact meteorically, to heroic stature even before he came to the United States. As Hans Trefousse puts it in his masterly summary:

Schurz's career was truly astounding. Born in Liblar near Cologne in 1829, the son of a local school teacher and storekeeper, he attended the Marcellen-Gymnasium in Cologne and enrolled at the University of Bonn, where he fell under the influence of Gottfried Kinkel, a high spirited professor of art history, who became a leader of the most extreme republican and democratic faction during the revolution of 1848. Enthusiastically taking part in this upheaval, Schurz assisted his professor, joined the revolutionary army in Baden and the Palatinate, and was almost taken prisoner at Rastatt, besieged

by the Prussians who might have dealt severely with him had he not managed to escape through a sewer before the surrender of the fortress and reach the French side of the Rhine.

The professor was less fortunate. Captured by the Prussians, he was condemned to life imprisonment, and Schurz determined to free him. He returned to Germany incognito, bribed a guard at the prison in Spandau, near Berlin, where he had Kinkel lowered from the roof by means of a rope, and then took him by relays to the Baltic coast of Mecklenburg. From there, the two made their escape to Scotland, so that Schurz became famous at the age of twenty-one, the liberals recognizing him as one of the heroes of the failed revolution.⁵

His life in the United States was almost as heroic. After his arrival, he spent some years getting assimilated to America; in later years it was said of him that "he was the only statesman of his generation who could make an eloquent speech either in English or German without revealing which was his native tongue."⁶ His most amazing demonstration of linguistic skill, however, took place on the floor of the Senate, when he translated a technical article impromptu into four separate languages.⁷ He became a fervent advocate of bilingualism. In a speech, delivered in New York in 1897, he was greeted with standing applause when he said:

Es gibt keine Sprache der Welt, deren Eigentümlichkeiten schwerer in einer anderen Sprache wiederzugeben sind, wie die deutsche; und keine, in die andere Sprachen mit all ihren Redeweisen und Vermassen mit solcher Treue übertragen werden können und so reichlich übertragen worden sind. . . . Und so sollen wir uns als Amerikaner die englische Landessprache aneignen und dabei die deutsche Muttersprache nicht verlieren.⁸

Schurz's first permanent home was located in Watertown, Wisconsin, where Margarethe Meyer, Schurz's wife since 1852, opened the first American kindergarten.⁹ Schurz, without even having his naturalization papers in hand, ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor; already during the campaign he distinguished himself as an ardent antislavery advocate.¹⁰ After his defeat, he started and edited two German-language newspapers, the Watertown *Anzeiger*, and the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, respectively.¹¹

Today, it may surprise us to learn that a small community such as Watertown, Wisconsin, could support a German-language newspaper. But we have it on good authority—namely, the *Familien-Blätter*, a little-known but well-edited German newspaper published in Detroit by the redoubtable newspaperman August Marxhausen—that in the middle of the nineteenth century a cornucopia of German-American newspapers were published in the United States: "In 23 Staaten und dem District Columbia gibt es zusammen 166 deutsche Zeitungen, einschließlich 46 tägliche. Dazu kommen 5 wöchentliche in Kanada. . . . Es gibt hiernach 98 Städte in den Vereinigten Staaten und in Kanada, in welchen deutsche Zeitungen erscheinen."¹²

In short, Schurz's attempt was anything but quixotic. For a good part of his life, he combined journalism with politics. He led the Wisconsin delegation to the Republican Presidential Convention of 1860 in Chicago, switched from supporting Senator William Seward to Lincoln on the third ballot, and served as a member of the Notification Committee that carried the news of Lincoln's nomination to the candidate.¹³ The two remained lifelong friends, especially after Schurz's effective campaigning for Lincoln. Shortly after his inauguration, the President posted him as ambassador to Spain. At the beginning of the Civil War, Schurz rushed back to the United States to join the Union army; he served with honor at Chancellorsville and other battles, rose to the rank of Major General, drew commendations from Generals Sherman and Hancock, and undeserved censure from Generals Howard and Hooker.¹⁴

After the war, Schurz filled journalistic posts in New York, Washington, Detroit, and St. Louis. But during his stay in Washington, he also accepted an assignment from President Andrew Johnson to study and report on Reconstruction in the former Confederate States. His classic paper, advocating an immediate right-to-vote for former slaves, was anathema to Andrew "Tennessee" Johnson. The report was quickly squelched by Johnson, but it was widely quoted in legislatures and by the public.¹⁵

During his time in Missouri, he ran for the United States Senate. He won, and thus became the first German-born citizen to sit in the Upper House. The policies that he would later champion as Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes—a more enlightened policy towards Native Americans, suffrage for Black Americans, civil service reforms, and setting aside parklands for the benefit of all citizens he already advocated when he served in the Senate. Their controversial nature, coupled with his "hard-money" stand, and the fact that the Democrats won the state legislature that elected the senators from Missouri, precluded his reelection to the Senate.¹⁶

While Schurz was fighting for these issues in the U.S. Senate, during the first term of President Ulysses S. Grant, one of Detroit's German-language newspapers, the aforementioned and as yet largely unexplored *Familien-Blätter*, fought right alongside him. When, in April 1868, the citizens of Michigan rejected the new state constitution by approximately fifteen to twenty thousand votes, largely because it carried a provision granting immediate voting rights to Negroes (*Negerstimmrecht*), Marxhausen, the publisher, was scathing in his editorial denunciation. Having heard and read that the opponents of black suffrage wanted first to introduce a literacy test for the freed slaves, he countered that he had observed illiterates among white voters: "Wir wollen hier nicht über die Frage disputieren, ob die Aufstellung einer solchen Forderung überhaupt zulässig ist oder nicht, auch wollen wir nicht die Aufrichtigkeit Derjenigen, welche sie stellten, in Zweifel ziehen; aber die Gerechtigkeit würde verlangen, daß dieselbe Qualifikation allen Bürgern auferlegt wird." Elsewhere, he demands "equal rights for all citizens," an attitude reified by his positive coverage of Jewish events in Detroit—for example of a successful masked ball during the Festival of Purim.¹⁷

Carl Schurz kept fighting for Civil Service Reform as President of the National Civil Service Reform League, and as editor of *Harper's Weekly* even after his tenure in President Hayes's cabinet. He took on Tammany Hall in an election for the mayoralty

of New York, when he wrote of one of the political bosses: "No doubt he has extraordinary abilities in his own way. There never was a successful robber chief who did not have extraordinary abilities of his trade."¹⁸

Schurz made his last public appearance in 1905 when he delivered an address at the University of Wisconsin, the public university of the state in which he had started his illustrious American career. The university bestowed an honorary doctorate on him. Until his death in 1906, he crafted position papers, continued working on his reminiscences, and wrote letters to prominent friends and allies in the Republican Party. In two of his last letters, one of which was addressed to President Theodore Roosevelt, he argued for disarmament and deplored the genocidal cruelty against the Armenians.¹⁹

This brief summary of an extraordinary life indicates, in a general way, what is known about the life and times of Carl Schurz. Schurz's own writings, supplemented by assiduous scholarly work, provide the basic source material for this sketch. But his visits and activities in Michigan have not been equally well explored. There is, to be sure, documentation of the fact that Schurz visited Michigan at least five years before becoming a resident of the state; in fact, the visit elicited a rather woeful comment from the statesman. Writing to his wife from Hillsdale, Michigan, on 4 February 1861, he complains:

This morning I left Oberlin and reached here between three and four o'clock. . . . spent Sunday in the family of a pious doctor where they cook no midday meal on the Sabbath. Think what a situation that placed me in! At breakfast no meat, at midday none, and at evening none. I will gladly be pious, but I am not wild about traveling on an empty stomach.²⁰

But neither Schurz nor Schurz-scholars have much to say about Schurz's year and a half in Michigan or about his subsequent visits. The reasons are not hard to adduce; Schurz came to Detroit with high hopes, hopes which were subsequently overshadowed by tragedy. Two months before departing from Washington, on 28 January 1866, he voiced his expectations to his wife:

Detroit is a fine city of some seventy-five thousand inhabitants and one of the cheapest places to live which the country affords. The undertaking, as stated [i.e., the founding of the *Detroit Post*], is ready; press, types, a business—site all have been bought and paid for and sufficient cash capital is on hand to carry on the business. The undertaking stands on the solidest basis, and from the way it is organized I do not doubt it will be successful.²¹

But his arrival in Michigan began with a not-so-minor tragedy, and his stay ended with a major one. In a German letter from Detroit of 10 June 1866, subsequently translated, and sent to his German friend Heinrich Meyer, he reports:

We had our household goods sent from the East by rail. Two large boxes had just arrived at the station when a fire broke out and destroyed not only the buildings but all the goods there. Among these were our boxes. They contained our most valued possessions and their loss is irreparable. You may know how M.[argarethe—i.e., Mrs. Schurz] valued the letters which she had received from me. A box containing all these was destroyed. They contained not only a record of all the closest mutual relations of our lives, but, in part, a very detailed sketchy diary account of all the interesting events I have been connected with during the past fourteen years. M[argarethe] had collected and arranged them with the greatest care, even to the scraps of paper on which I had written to her during the war, on the battlefield or on the march. The letters were of quite indescribable value to us. They would have been the most splendid legacy to our children. When they were lost, we felt as though a part of our lives had been taken from us, and as though we could see our past only dimly, through a veil. You can imagine how severe the blow was to us, and even now, when we speak of it, we can hardly repress our tears. I do not believe that we shall ever become reconciled to this loss. And there were other heavy losses. First among these are all my manuscripts, collected materials and notes, extracts etc. etc.; then a lot of letters from prominent persons, for example from Lincoln, then all our pictures, large photographs, of which we had a very pretty collection—fortunately the albums with the portraits were in the trunks; then all our music, and the most valuable of my war relics, my old, shot-riddled Division flag, my sword; then my entire military library and the greater part of my books on political economy and history . . . and my entire, very valuable, collection of military and geographic maps.²²

The last visit to Detroit was even more tragic. As Hans Trefousse describes it:

Just before completing arrangements in St. Louis, however, he suffered a major blow. In the spring of 1867, while he was away on a campaign trip in Connecticut, he received news that his little daughter Emmy, then three years old, was seriously ill. Hurrying back to Detroit, he found her dying. For the grief-stricken parents, the loss was staggering, and Margarethe's health took a serious turn for the worse.²³

With these calamities overshadowing his Detroit sojourn, it is not surprising that the years 1866-67 are the least detailed annals in Schurz's reminiscences. These gaps, however, can be filled by hitherto neglected archival material: the morgue of the Detroit *Wochenpost*, now edited by Ingrid Stein; four letters by Carl Schurz preserved at the Bentley Historical Library of the University of Michigan; and the previously largely ignored papers of Udo Brachvogel, located at the New York Public Library, which contain an unpublished fragment by Brachvogel entitled "Carl Schurz."²⁴

We may begin by asking: What brought Carl Schurz to Detroit in the first place? While the reasons offered by different accounts vary, a fact not generally pointed out in the Schurz literature, they are ultimately reconcilable. An article-length history of Detroit newspapers ably summarizes Schurz's send-off to Detroit:

Senator Chandler was inclined toward the radical policies advocated by Senator Thad Stevens and other vengeful politicians but the *Advertiser and Tribune* refused to adopt such rigorous policies and got completely out of control. Thereupon Senator Chandler and a few influential associates decided to put the heretofore party organ out of business by promoting a new newspaper in Detroit which would be their party organ. To that end he arranged for Gen. Carl Schurz to come to Detroit with a new group of able newspapermen chosen in the east and on March 27, 1866, the *Detroit Daily Post* was founded. Carl Schurz was the intellectual equal of his employers. . . .

[But] because of . . . [his] experience [during his inspection trip to the Southern states] and his natural honesty of opinion, he soon tired of his Detroit engagement and at the end of a year he resigned from the *Post* and went to St. Louis to edit a German newspaper, the *Westliche Post*. [When Schurz came to Detroit he found that] the *Detroit Post* was established in a building belonging to Senator Chandler at the northeast corner of Larned and Shelby.²⁵

This account is confirmed by biographies of Senator Chandler and by Schurz himself in his memoirs: "I remained at the head of the *Tribune* office at the national capital, according to my promise to Mr. Greeley, to the end of the winter season [of 1866] and then accepted the chief-editorship of the *Detroit Post*, a new journal established in Detroit, Michigan, which was offered to me . . . I might almost say, urged upon me . . . by Senator Zachariah Chandler."²⁶

But the chroniclers of the German-language press tell it differently. They speak of the entrepreneurial spirit of two newspapermen, Conrad and August Marxhausen, immigrants from Kassel, who founded the *Michigan Journal*, one of the first German-language newspaper in Detroit, and then recruited Carl Schurz for their next venture:

Er [Marxhausen] sah, daß die vielen neu ankommenden deutschen Immigranten einen fast unstillbaren Nachrichtenhunger hatten, und brachte zusätzlich 1866 eine Wochenzeitung, "Die Familien-Blätter," heraus. Ehrgeizig wie Marxhausen war, nutzte er den guten Draht zu seinen republikanischen Freunden, um das Konkurrenzblatt an die Wand zu spielen. Mit dem berühmten Redakteur Carl Schurz holte sich Marxhausen einen wichtigen und einflußreichen Mann ins Haus. Den hielt es aber nur solange in Detroit, bis sich das neue Blatt gefestigt hatte.²⁷

The solution to the puzzle is easy. Schurz, debt-ridden as he was, undertook editorial assignments for both newspapers. Since the *Detroit Post* did not have a Sunday edition, he could squeeze in work for the weekly *Familien-Blätter*, located on nearby East Jefferson Avenue. This double duty explains the frenetic activities of Schurz in Detroit. As Hans Trefousse was able to ascertain:

In any case, regular daily routines never suited Schurz, who was now tied to his desk from morning to night. Friends who visited him found him on his swivel chair in the office, puffing at his cigar—he loved to smoke. Although he did not complain, he told them he could not say he had too little work. Every morning he collected material for articles that he assembled in the afternoon. Then at night, when he thought he was finished, the foreman and the printers would grumble that half a column was still missing. Even his maid protested about his long hours.²⁸

It is fair to add that a penchant for hard work accompanied Schurz all his life. A charming, hitherto unpublished description of him by Udo Brachvogel, who worked under Schurz in the editorial offices of the St. Louis *Westliche Post*, confirms this fact. Brachvogel, who would himself become a well known German-American author, translator, and journalist—he appears prominently in standard reference works on German literature,²⁹—was a close observer of his editor and friend Schurz. He observed: “Leben und Arbeit sind immer eines gewesen . . .”³⁰

Schurz consistently championed his convictions in the *Post*. In an editorial of Friday, 11 May 1866 (p. 4, col. 5), he argued: “Nothing is more profitable than justice,” for the voting rights of freed slaves. “In his admirable letter to the Anti-Slavery Society, which we publish in full elsewhere, Chief Justice Chase utters the prophetic oracle of American destiny: ‘That all freeman are entitled to suffrage, on equal terms, is an axiom of free government.’” Schurz added: “By that crucial test this republic must abide or fall.”

Sometimes, he offered views about matters pertaining to university life. On Saturday, 6 October 1867, he noted that typhoid fever had broken out at Yale College and commented wryly: “The dormitory system of our colleges is probably a remnant of monastic institutions and its utility is very questionable.”

There appears to have been no substantial disagreement between Schurz and his employer Chandler, at least no public disagreement. To be sure, the latter favored a speedy impeachment of President Johnson during that divisive year of 1866. As a biography of the Michigan Senator puts it, “Chandler contributed significantly to the work of the thirty-ninth congress, keeping the anti-Johnson members at white heat.”³¹

Schurz, on the other hand, urged further deliberations and delay in his editorials. “In this respect the delay will be of great advantage to the public, giving the people also an opportunity to read the testimony and make up their minds concerning its proper weight and bearing.”³²

Schurz, in describing his leave-taking from Detroit and his newspaper posts, was nonetheless exceedingly tactful. He refers to the advantageous offer which he had

received from the *Westliche Post* in St. Louis and then adds tersely: "My connection with the *Detroit Post*, which owing to the excellent character of the persons with whom it brought me into contact, had been most pleasant, was amicably dissolved, and I went to St. Louis to take charge of the new duties."³³

Probably, Schurz was not only running towards his new job, but also away from the old one. He had accepted the position at the *Detroit Post* after some arm-twisting by Senator Chandler. I infer, as did Catlin before me, that Schurz and the Michigan Senator differed on many political issues, some extending quite beyond the latter's simply waving the bloody shirt, as the hard-liners were characterized at the time.³⁴ In later years, Schurz would be unsparing of his erstwhile employer. In letters to Rutherford B. Hayes, then running for the presidency, he accused Chandler of influence peddling, conflict of interest, and a penchant for illegal fund raising. He predicted that Chandler (then Secretary of the Interior) would proceed with "the levying of assessments on officeholders under the name of 'voluntary contributions,'" if he also became national chairman of the Republican Party.³⁵ It appears that his leave-taking from Detroit, motivated at least in part by his political differences with Chandler, may have anticipated this future falling-out.

But there is a happy ending to the story. Carl Schurz was remembered fondly in Michigan and by the German-language press long after his departure. When General Sheridan visited St. Louis, for example, August Marxhausen's *Familien-Blätter* reported not only the "glittering reception" of the Civil War hero, but also mentioned the paper's erstwhile editor: "Carl Schurz hielt bei dieser Gelegenheit eine vortreffliche Rede."³⁶ And Schurz returned to Michigan repeatedly. Among the unpublished papers collected in the Bentley Historical Library of the University of Michigan we find evidence that James B. Angell, acting president of that prestigious institution, made several attempts to secure Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior, as a guest speaker. On 1 November 1871, Schurz writes to Angell from Kalamazoo that he will accept the invitation to lecture—as we know from another source—on "Civil Service Reform".³⁷

My dear Sir,

Your note of Oct. 23rd has reached me, and I gratefully accept your kind invitation. I shall be at Ionia on the 3rd and intend to take the night train from there to Detroit. If that can be conveniently done, I shall arrive at Ann Arbor by the train which leaves Detroit at 9 a.m. I shall probably have to return to Detroit the same night [4 November] in order to be ready for an early train southward on Monday morning. While I am most happy to accept the hospitality of your house, I can do it only on the condition that you permit me to arrange things as to cause you no inconvenience by my departure at an unreasonable hour.

very truly yours,
C. Schurz³⁸

A little more than four years later, on 17 January 1876, Schurz had occasion to recall his visit. He writes to Angell: "Sincere thanks for your kind offer of the hospitality of your house, the enjoyment of which is among my pleasantest memories. . . . Please remember me kindly to Mrs. Angell."

Carl Schurz, whose life in Michigan was intense and crisis-ridden, remained until one hundred years later the only German-born American to rise to a cabinet post. His successor to an analogous position paid him an eloquent compliment: "The streak or the strain of German liberalism which Carl Schurz represented stood for human dignity and individual freedom and democratic systems in the forefront of European movements of similar persuasion." That was of course the voice of Henry Kissinger.³⁹ But we, as citizens of Michigan and its neighboring states, can feel gladdened that he walked here before us—in Detroit, Kalamazoo, Ann Arbor, and Ionia.

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Notes

¹ See Hans L. Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1982); also Trefousse, "Carl Schurz and the Politics of Identity," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 31 (1996): 1-11.

² See Margaret Ely, *Some Great American Newspaper Editors* (White Plains and New York: H.W. Wilson, 1916). In her introduction Ely points out that "Carl Schurz, the patriot and orator, and Whitelaw Reid, the diplomat, are widely known in other than the editorial field." See also pp. 22-30 for an extensive bibliography.

³ Allan Nevins, *The "Evening Post": A Century of Journalism* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922), ch. 20.

⁴ See Jeanne Riha, "Environmental Echoes," *Monthly Review* [NYC] 48 (Jan. 1997): 40-44, here 42.

⁵ Trefyusem "Carl Schurz and the Politics of Identity," 1.

⁶ See John L. Butler, "Carl Schurz," in *American Newspaper Journalists, 1873-1900*, ed. Perry J. Ashley, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 23 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1983), pp. 313-22, here p. 320.

⁷ Butler, "Carl Schurz," 320.

⁸ Carl Schurz, "Die deutsche Sprache in Amerika," reprinted from the *Festbericht* (i.e., 50th anniversary celebration of "Der Deutsche Liederkranz") in *Detroit Abendpost*, 3 Nov. 1954, pp. 16 and 22.

⁹ See Lawrence S. Master, "Schurz, Margarethe Meyer," in John F. Ohles, *Biographical Dictionary of American Educators* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1978), 3:1156f.

¹⁰ See Butler, "Carl Schurz," 318: "His forceful support of antislavery forces (during the campaign) brought him instant recognition nationally."

¹¹ Butler, "Carl Schurz," 318.

¹² Anon., "Die deutsch-amerikanische Presse," *Familien-Blätter* 4,90 (19 March 1868): 170. For an article dealing specifically with the foreign-language press in Detroit, including the German newspapers, see Charles D. Cameron "Detroit's Foreign Language Press," *Detroit Saturday Night*, 27 Feb. 1926, p. 18.

¹³ See Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, 86.

¹⁴ Butler, "Carl Schurz," 319: "Schurz won the regard of Sherman, Winfield S. Hancock, and many others who ranked among the best of the Northern generals."

¹⁵ See President [Andrew] Johnson, "Message of the President of the United States, communicating, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 12th instant, information in relation to the states of the Union lately in rebellion: accompanied by a report of Lieutenant General Grant, on the same subject," [18 December] 1865 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865). While Johnson quashed the report, Congress voted its publication. It received extensive coverage in the press.

¹⁶ See Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, 222.

¹⁷ See August Marxhausen, "Vereinigte Staaten," *Familien-Blätter* 4,94 (11 April 1868): 233, cols. 2 and 3. Also see his "Stadt Detroit," *Familien-Blätter* 4,88 (27 February 1868): 144: "Am Montag, den 9. März wird der große jährliche Purim-Maskenball in Merrill-Hall stattfinden, worauf wir unsere Leser um so lieber aufmerksam machen, weil der Reinertrag desselben für einen edlen Zweck . . . bestimmt ist."

¹⁸ Speech given at Cooper Union, New York, in 1900, quoted by Butler, "Carl Schurz," 321.

¹⁹ See Frederic Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, 6 vols. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam, 1913) (Volume 1: 20 October 1852/26 November 1870; Volume 2: 13 December 1870/ 27 February 1874; Volume 3: 4 March 4, 1874/ 28 June 1880; Volume 4: 20 July 1880/ 15 September 1888; Volume 5: 30 January 1889/ 27 December 1898; Volume 6: 1 January 1899/ 8 April 1906), here 6:309-11, 436-40, letters dated, respectively, 29 December 1903 and 14 September 1905.

²⁰ Carl Schurz, *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841-1889*, edited and translated by Joseph Schaefer, Wisconsin Historical Collection (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1928), 242.

²¹ Schurz, *Intimate Letters*, 358.

²² See Frederic Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, 1:375-76.

²³ Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, 163.

²⁴ The Brachvogel papers are located in the Rare Books and Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library. The "Carl Schurz" fragmentary essay is stored in Box 3.

²⁵ George B. Catlin, "Adventures in Journalism," *Michigan History Magazine* 29, 3 (July, August, September, 1945): 343-76, here, 361-62.

²⁶ Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, 3 vols., ed. Frederic Bancroft and W. C. Dunning (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1908), 3:21ff.

²⁷ Marie-Therese Leopold, "Geschichten machen Geschichte: Rückblick auf das Werden und Nicht-Vergehen der 'Nordamerikanischen Wochen-Post,'" *Nordamerikanische Wochen-Post* [Detroit], 8 October 1994, p. 1A-2A.

²⁸ See Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, 161. Schurz himself admitted his "workaholic" habits. In a letter from Detroit of 16 December 1866 to his close friend Theodore Petrasch, he writes: "I, poor chap, naturally have to work like a plow horse." He complains that beyond his newspaper editorship, he faces a lecture tour dealing with Germany that will include thirty whistle stops and a deadline for an article to appear in the *Atlantic Monthly* (see Schurz, *Intimate Letters*, 371).

²⁹ See "Brachvogel, Udo," in Wilhelm Kosch, *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, 3d ed. (Berne and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1968), 1:845.

³⁰ Brachvogel, MS, p. 2.

³¹ See Sister Mary Karl George, *Zachariah Chandler: A Political Biography* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1969), 148.

³² Untitled editorial, *Detroit Post*, 27 November 1867, p. 4, col. 3.

³³ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 3:256.

³⁴ See Catlin, "Adventures in Journalism," 306f.: "Mr. Chandler was a political boss of decided opinions and domineering disposition. . . . The party bosses now and then demanded the support of the newspaper for hand-picked candidates and for policies, which the editors and proprietors of the newspaper could not approve."

³⁵ Letter of 14 July 1876 to Rutherford B. Hayes: in Frederic Bancroft, 3:260-61.

³⁶ Anon., "Politische Rundschau, Vereinigte Staaten," *Familien-Blätter* 3,6 (14 September 1867), 184.

³⁷ The date of Schurz's lecture (4 November 1871) is indicated in *The Chronicle* (i.e., the student newspaper of the University of Michigan) 3 (4 November 1871): 1. The topic and an extensive recapitulation appear in "Various Topics," *The Chronicle* 3 (18 November 1871): 55. "During the last fortnight Ann Arbor people have been favored with two excellent lectures, one delivered before the lecture association by Carl Schurz on 'Civil Service Reform.'" The article continues: "The picture presented by Carl Schurz of the evils of the civil service was certainly a dark one. The fact that the lecturer possessed exceptional advantages for knowing whereof he spoke only made the prospect more discouraging. So widespread are evils of the system that it would seem almost impossible to avert from our republic the ruin that certainly awaits it, unless a reform be effected. It is to such men as Senator Schurz, possessing views broader than those of mere partisanship, and courage to apply correction where needed, even at the expense of party, that the country looks for aid. His propositions for reform were such as must commend themselves to every honest man. He argues that the appointing power be taken from the Executive and that appointments be made on the basis

of merit, as determined by competitive examinations; also that no civil officer should be subjected to removal on account of political opinions, but should hold office for a certain term of years, or during good behavior."

³⁸ I am indebted to Ms. Anne Frantilla, Assistant Reference Archivist of the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, for locating this material.

³⁹ See Henry Kissinger, "On the One-Hundred-Fiftieth Anniversary of Carl Schurz," in Rüdiger Wersich, ed., *Carl Schurz, Revolutionär und Staatsmann: Sein Leben in Selbstzeugnissen, Bildern und Dokumenten* (Munich: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1979), 1-4, here 2.

