

*John P. Jenkins*

## **German America, Transnationalism, and the Murder of Albert Molitor**

### **Introduction**

When Lake Huron froze over in the winter of 1874, Presque Isle County, Michigan, once again fell under the near-unmitigated control of Albert Molitor. Molitor, described posthumously in newspapers as a lecherous and wrathful Prussian-style aristocrat, has been imagined by illustrations of his upturned chin and strutting stallion. In Presque Isle, however, he was immortalized by the shroud of his death at the hands of a coalition of townspeople. On the last day of July 1891, Wilhelm Repke, a farmer in the township of Moltke, Michigan,<sup>1</sup> confessed that he and at least a dozen other local men had been responsible for the fatal shooting of Albert Molitor and his assistant, Edward Sullivan, on August 23, 1875.<sup>2</sup> Shortly thereafter, Friedrich Sorgenfrei, Gottlob Mende, and Carl Wieseardt, all German settlers in the area, confessed their own guilt and provided testimony to the prosecutor<sup>3</sup> that corroborated Repke's original claim. Several other suspects: Heinrich Jacobs, August Grossmann, and Andrew E. Banks were named. The intrigue of Repke's confession intensified the mystery of Molitor's death and brought long-awaited condemnation of the murder.

Repke's testimony in court alleged that he and twelve other men<sup>4</sup> gathered on the night of August 23rd to kill Molitor, going together in secrecy, on the pain of death, to Molitor's residence in Rogers City to carry out their plan.<sup>5</sup> Andrew Banks, Repke said, told him days prior that if Molitor continued getting his way, they'd have to abandon their prospects there.<sup>6</sup> Repke's broader defense, that he was leveraged into joining Banks' posse on the evening of the crime, did not hold up in court. He, Vögler, Jacobs, and Grossmann were

convicted of murder, subsequently receiving life sentences at the state prison in Jackson. In 1897, however, a board tasked with advising the Governor on the merits of potential legal pardons wrote the following of Albert Molitor:

...[Governor Pingree] should be advised as to the social and business conditions in Presque Isle county at the time of the commission of this crime, and the influences that brought it about...[Molitor] brought with him certain people of his own nationality but of more lowly birth...as he needed...or his interests demanded... induced others of the same class... to settle in [his] near vicinity. He thus built up a community of which he became the veritable lord and master. To his equals he was courteous and companionable, but to those whom he deemed his inferiors he was a despot.... He played well the role of lord and master and seemed to regard these people as slaves; and he became known as the "King of Presque Isle" and "The Royal Bastard," it being claimed that he was the illegitimate son of the King of Wurtemberg [sic]. He seemed to control the officials of the county and dictated the levying of taxes... used public money in his private business.<sup>7</sup>

The recommendation, heeded by Governor Pingree, is remarkable because rather than revisiting the merits of Repke's defense, it reframes the affair around Molitor's behavior. Molitor's death was the last of many controversies associated with his name. Andrew E. Banks, a lawyer, and Hermann Höft, a merchant, were blamed by Repke for allegedly pursuing Molitor's removal for selfish reasons, while the rest were made to play along. Given what was concluded in 1897 on the conditions leading up to the crime, it is unlikely that the case was so simple. The Presque Isle County community was isolated, but its people belonged to a broader German American community that had grown considerably during times of German upheaval. After 1830, Germans arrived in numbers exceeding 10,000 a year, every year for much of the 19th century.<sup>8</sup> As is implicitly recognized by the advisory board's assessment, it is fruitful to reexamine these events within this context. Grounding this story in the environment of German America and its history, it would be more apt to describe Molitor's project as nearing German feudalism and thus to understand the crime as a political response related to contemporary German political violence.

### **“The King of Presque Isle County”: Albert Molitor**

Albert was born on February 2, 1842, in Stuttgart. His mother Franziske Amalie Schmid (1808–77),<sup>9</sup> it was alleged, was attached to the staff of Queen Pauline von Württemberg,<sup>10</sup> and it was at this time, it is erroneously claimed, that Albert was conceived by Schmid and King Wilhelm I of Württemberg.<sup>11</sup> He was baptized Albert Joseph von Molitor at the Leonhardskirche in Stuttgart on April 25, the day of his mother’s marriage to Joseph Cleander von Molitor (1794–1862),<sup>12</sup> a knight, chancery officer of Württemberg’s Royal Treasury<sup>13</sup> and *Oberleutnant* in its army. The rumor of his high birth was unsubstantiated but largely accepted in America and an important part of his public persona, defining how he was seen by members of his community and standing as a striking poetic parallel to his position in local politics and economy. Young Albert grew up in the minor nobility and had two younger siblings, Caroline (1843–1930)<sup>14</sup> and Eduard (1847–1928).<sup>15</sup>

In 1861, Molitor, an *Oberguide* and cadet member of Württemberg’s general staff, was court-martialed and jailed for 14 days for unauthorized entry into a government office and the improper, though determinately benign, use of 1:25,000 and 1:50,000 scale plans of the confederal fortress at Ulm.<sup>16</sup> This episode seems to have prompted Molitor’s flight to North America. During the Civil War, Molitor was a lieutenant in the 13th Independent Battery of the New York Light Artillery in the XI Corps under the command of Franz Sigel, a revolutionary from Baden. In September 1862, Molitor was accused of insubordination and bad behavior by Captain Julius Dieckmann and summoned to be court-martialed.<sup>17</sup> Molitor was not seriously punished. His military credentials led to his assignment to the U.S. Lake Survey<sup>18</sup> as an assistant engineer, charged first with surveying the Lake Erie shoreline around Sandusky, Ohio in 1864.<sup>19</sup> Despite a favorable outcome, Molitor’s two military reprimands are the earliest instances of his controversial behavior.

It is through the Lake Survey that Molitor would eventually meet William Evans Rogers (1846–1913)<sup>20</sup> and, with his backing, founded the Molitor–Rogers Company, which was responsible for establishing and populating Rogers City.<sup>21</sup> With the absence of functional rail infrastructure connecting the furthest northerly towns with the rest of Lower Michigan, the company controlled the traffic of commodities and services (including food),<sup>22</sup> making Presque Isle into what was essentially Molitor’s county. Molitor’s personal grip on life in Rogers City and outlying areas was especially tight during the harsh winters, when the natural port at Rogers City freezes, rendering the region, then unconnected by land, totally cut off from maritime commerce and at the complete mercy of Molitor, who was rich enough to hoard ample

supplies for the winter. Molitor also influenced local government, stunting the already small probability of independent oversight of his actions.

In 1871, Molitor claimed the title of Township Supervisor, despite a legal dispute of its results from Leonard C. Crawford,<sup>23</sup> of Crawford's Quarry, the rival seat of political power to Rogers City.<sup>24</sup> In 1873, the Alpena Circuit Court ruled that Molitor and allied public officials did not have to repay Alpena County for a regimen of exorbitant, pre-paid public salaries, which angered taxpayers.<sup>25</sup> In 1874, Molitor and his brother-in-law, Henry Clothier, were accused of kidnapping Hortensia Karle and her infant daughter, Walpurga,<sup>26</sup> in an attempt to prevent her from suing Molitor for breaching the terms of an unspecified arrangement.<sup>27</sup> Molitor originally sent for Karle from Württemberg, allegedly promising to marry the woman, with whom, she said, he'd been previously involved.<sup>28</sup> The case was dismissed after Molitor's death,<sup>29</sup> and so the charges were never proven. Another incident, leading up to the shooting of Molitor, describes a situation where he, then treasurer, refused to produce the township ledgers, and was surrounded at his residence by a mob of between two and three hundred people who presented him with gallows and threatened to execute him.<sup>30</sup> The mob, most likely made up of Germans, serves as a demystifying prelude to what would eventually transpire in September 1875. In addition to owning several lumbering patents and controlling local industries,<sup>31</sup> Molitor's image signaled to notions of power resonant with German political tradition. Combining this with his navigation of local law, closeness with elites like Rogers, and the deliberate effort to coalesce a community of prospective German homesteaders beneath him, Molitor sought to constitute a political project that built a miniature German fiefdom in the Northern Michigan frontier for himself to control.

### **Feudalistic Conditions among the Presque Isle German Settlers**

Molitor's political project was predicated upon his image and the Old World power it represented. The language of the recommendation for Repke's pardon places this at the center of the anti-Molitor movement, explaining that Repke's circumstances were the circumstances of an entire community. Repke gave the names of twelve other men: August Grossmann, August Fuhrmann, Heinrich Jacobs, August Barabas, Carl Vögler, Carl Wiesegardt, Gottlob Mende, Friedrich Tuljetzki, Stephan Rieger, Friedrich and Ferdinand Bruder, and Friedrich Sorgenfrei. The defense rested upon the narrative that the accused were merely caught between Molitor and Höft and his lieutenant, Banks, who manipulated them. The court, however, ruled that the accused had not been coerced into acting.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, the group shared more in common than living beneath Albert Molitor. Most conspirators were common-

ers from rural Prussia. Mende and Fuhrmann<sup>33</sup> were from Prussian Saxony. Wiesegardt,<sup>34</sup> Barabas,<sup>35</sup> Rieger,<sup>36</sup> Tuljetzki,<sup>37</sup> Grossmann,<sup>38</sup> and Repke<sup>39</sup> were all Prussians from the rural east. Vögler<sup>40</sup> and brothers Friedrich and Ferdinand Bruder were from Nearer Pomerania.<sup>41</sup> Sorgenfrei was from Holstein,<sup>42</sup> Heinrich Jacobs came from Mecklenburg-Schwerin,<sup>43</sup> and Andrew Banks was Bavarian. Hermann Höft, though never named as a suspect, was from West Prussia.<sup>44</sup>

The settlers had been driven to the Presque Isle area by the involvement of Detroit's German community in procuring homesteads to settle and work up north. In 1870, immigrants from the German states made up around 48%<sup>45</sup> of what was then Rogers Township. Of that number, 83.8% were from Prussian provinces (including Schleswig-Holstein, recorded separately in the census.) A smaller 7.6% were from Württemberg, and the remaining ~8.6% were from Hesse-Darmstadt, Royal and Ernestine Saxony, Bavaria, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Baden. More German immigrants would arrive through the 1870s and into the 1880s as more of the county became organized. Land procurement directly from survey through the General Land Office made theoretically for the equitable distribution of arable land. Many of the settlers had been peasant laborers on estates originating in the widespread feudalism of the previous century. Though proprietary rights were granted to the Prussian peasantry by the 1807–8 Stein-Hardenberg Reforms,<sup>46</sup> in practice, most peasants would never own a hectare. Serfdom was abolished, but the petty noble classes in Prussia were still represented disproportionately in the land-transfer economy, even absent of true feudal estates.<sup>47</sup> Concessions to land-owning aristocrats at the expense of land reform particularly impacted those in rural areas more vulnerable to exclusion by agricultural modernization.<sup>48</sup> Accordingly, settlers like Repke, a weaver by trade,<sup>49</sup> and Fuhrmann, who was a small farmer,<sup>50</sup> would have been familiar with Molitor's overbearing style.

The relationship between land and peasant in Württemberg, whence came the second largest section of Presque Isle's German population in 1870, was much different. Peasants there had more considerable freedom of movement and were subjects of the crown, rather than the feudal landlords, before the abolition of serfdom.<sup>51</sup> Thus, the exploitative dynamic between peasants and landlords that, with the purview of Prussian conservatism, maintained the systemic disposition of the rural peasantry well past emancipation, was not so in Württemberg. Bavaria, Saxony, and the Central German principalities all similarly dissolved old systems of feudal lordship, though without large success. Eastern Prussia remained underdeveloped until the late 19th century.<sup>52</sup> Given Molitor's origin in the petty elite of Württemberg, where royal power outsized local lords, it is apt that expressions of Molitor's power evoked notions of royalty. It is further expected that Molitor's image was given power by rumored royal heritage, rather than his provable noble roots. The Northern

Michigan frontier, where thousands of acres of newly surveyed land created codependent booms in timber and agriculture, grew with the expectation of a reward for the risk of preliminary settlement. Molitor was no exception, and neither were Detroit's Germans. His scheme, recognized by the 1897 pardon and enshrined in his legacy, took advantage of the gap between his and other settlers' expectations. By design, Molitor deigned himself to live as one of the colonists and thus ensured the formation of a clique against him.

At least one German-language account demonstrates sensitivity to the notion of an anti-Molitor political movement in a German political context. Published not in the wake of Repke's bombshell confession, but rather mere days after Molitor was attacked, the St. Louis-based *Anzeiger des Westens*, edited by Carl Dänzer, speculated that Molitor's killing was motivated by the anger of a clique of Pomeranian farmers who felt cheated by his monopolistic business practices.<sup>53</sup> The *Anzeiger* characterized the row as part of a broader pattern of unrest throughout the United States, citing high tensions following the sudden removal of Molitor from the community's affairs as part of a larger pattern of instability.<sup>54</sup> Dänzer's newspaper thus seemed to acknowledge the huge role played by Molitor and the potential of his behavior to create enemies, while also taking into consideration the group dynamics of the settlement in German terms. Noting that most of the conspirators, and indeed, many of the community members, were from the poorer, more remote, and more heavily exploited parts of Prussia, the *Anzeiger's* early account stands out as an address of the affair of Molitor's death as a political phenomenon. Dänzer, a vocal German polemic in his own right, likely would've sympathized with the anti-Molitor clique and a polemical interpretation of the crime.

The consideration of the German American press attests, as noted by Moritz Wagner and Carl Scherzer in 1854,<sup>55</sup> to the political syncretism created by the massive migration of Germans to North America during the 19th century. As Molitor's compatriots left the Old World at least partly behind, Molitor brought much of it with him. The symbol of Molitor, a child out of royal wedlock, banished into the lower aristocracy and removed from his homeland, connected Molitor's controversial reputation, disputes with rivals, and finally, the drama of his death, to a history of power in Germany that was less noticeable to English Americans. For example, a writer for the English-language *Detroit Free Press* gave his role in the settler community a utilitarian slant, writing that Molitor "furnished [the settlers] with outfits for farming, gave them supplies.... carried them along from year to year on credit, taking pay for advances in labor, logs, cedar posts, farm produce, or whatever else the newly arrived colonists could pay in"<sup>56</sup> while also taking upon himself "the management of political affairs in the county"<sup>57</sup> supposedly due to the unfamiliarity of the fresh colonists with American law.<sup>58</sup>

As the supervisor of Rogers Township, Molitor sought the unequal taxation by the county of Belknap and Moltke Townships<sup>59</sup> in order to pay for the improvement of what was essentially his estate.<sup>60</sup> The account, which places Molitor's death at the junction of the necessary burden of responsibility and the workaday disagreements entailed by managing his enterprise, literally describes the system of proprietary paternalism lived by the settlers themselves before coming to the United States. This may have been lost on most of Michigan's reading public (and probably was on the writing and editorial staff of the *Detroit Free Press*) because they did not experience serfdom nor its consequences as Germans did. It was, however, palpable in the minds of those caught up in Molitor's venture, and recognition of this was clear in Governor Pingree's pardon as it sought facts about what was simultaneously very sensational and very secretive.

### **Relevant Political Forces in German America**

The Molitor plot may very well have rubbed up against radical ideas in German political culture, and indirect parallels exist. Karl Peter Heinzen's essay *Der Mord*, published as a pamphlet in 1848, was wrought with brazen calls to violence against lords in the German Confederation. To Heinzen, who was known in German America, the conditions in Germany were inherently violent and provocative.<sup>61</sup> Heinzen himself is sometimes regarded as a progenitor of modern political violence,<sup>62</sup> having written that human history was the history of killing and its rationale.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, Heinzen's flippant and violent rhetoric echoed through several members of the conspiracy. A son of Tuljetzki claimed that Repke praised his and Tuljetzki's decision to participate in the gruesome deed as good and courageous.<sup>64</sup> Banks, Repke said on the stand, told him that their posse of twelve constituted a jury<sup>65</sup> which, while taken literally for Repke's defense, probably should've been interpreted symbolically. Furthermore, popular heroes of German America like Friedrich Hecker, Carl Schurz, and Franz Sigel had their origins as agitators in Germany's nationalist revolution. Other German issues, such as Germany's national conversation about the role and shape of monarchy remained relevant to the Germans of North America, even in rural communities, and saw public contribution from the likes of Heinzen.<sup>66</sup> One cannot say that the Presque Isle men were dyed-in-the-wool radicals, or even overtly engaged in radical politics. It must be noted, however, that Andrew Banks, a lawyer who served in several official capacities after Molitor's death was almost certainly educated and could have been touched by radical politics in Germany.<sup>67</sup>

Forty-eighters became central figures of German America,<sup>68</sup> which itself was comprised of extensive institutions. A comprehensive German press, a



host of beneficiary societies and fraternal organizations, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church, all at their strongest in the mid-19th century,<sup>69</sup> would've served to connect the Presque Isle settlers with a rich community extending far beyond their neighborhood chapel or the local German clubs of Detroit. The absence of any involvement by non-Germans, who were subjected to similar conditions and made up over half of the population of the area in 1870, warrants considering that the response on the part of the Germans was informed by a broader perspective which was not shared with their English- and French-speaking neighbors. Nevertheless, German America exhibited tendencies towards certain stances based on its syncretic political experience. For instance, Zachary Stuart Garrison asserts that German Americans tended to liken chattel slavery and the preeminence of a planter aristocracy in the South to European feudalism<sup>70</sup> and were often opposed to slavery based on European, rather than North American political sensibilities.<sup>71</sup> Germans differed on support for abolition, but certainly had views that fused their lived experiences on each continent: Joseph Dünnebacke, a Westphalian Catholic from Dallas, Michigan, for instance, wrote in 1862 that the Civil War was destroying everything and expressed intense frustration both around his view that abolitionists, forty-eighters among them, caused the fighting, and that political incompetence had prevented Southern defeat.<sup>72</sup> Additionally, German American organizations during the 19th century, including Detroit's German workers' clubs held and participated in Thomas Paine anniversary celebrations, as influential German Americans saw their politics in his writings.<sup>73</sup> German America was transnational: German Americans were shaped by their closeness to Germany, a fact that must be strongly considered when thinking about the fate of Albert Molitor.

The many German American institutions that facilitated the maintenance of the German community in the United States were consequentially influenced by political overtures in Germany. The Evangelical Church is perhaps the largest of such institutions. What would become the German state church, the Prussian Union of Churches, was created in 1817 by the King of Prussia and sought to mend organizational and theological rifts between Lutheran and Calvinist sects within the body of Prussia's Evangelical majority. Its early supporters were mostly statists and conservatives. Naturally, dissenters to state oversight granted by the tenets of the Prussian Union, like Friedrich Schleiermacher, became symbols of liberal resistance to the encroachment of Friedrich Wilhelm III's conservative rule, particularly in the early 1800s.<sup>74</sup> Some opponents of rationalism and statist church doctrines, or pietists, were anti-authoritarian<sup>75</sup> and were often moralists. The political break between rational traditionalists in state institutions and pietists, and then within pietism between church unionists and non-unionists, and further still between pro- and anti-absolutist articulations of the anti-union opposition,



was important in German church politics. Such debates would have led many German American churches into one position or the other. Opponents of the Union, like Ferdinand Walther,<sup>76</sup> were influential in the Missouri Synod, to which many of the local and Detroit churches associated with the Presque Isle Germans, belonged. In their positions of influence in German communities like that of Presque Isle (which had several professionally trained German clergymen),<sup>77</sup> the politics of the church would have been felt in the communities themselves: five of the conspirators, including Banks, were founding trustees of the Immanuel Church, a Missourian church, in Moltke.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, the politics of German Lutheranism, despite rejecting forty-eighter radicalism, played a role in constructing and disseminating German political discourse throughout German-speaking communities in the United States.<sup>79</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The saga of Albert Molitor was a tragedy. Molitor's unceremonious and mysterious death was a matter of the utmost secrecy and, once its nature was uncovered, intense speculation and sensationalism. Similarly, Molitor's killers, according to the pardon advisory board, suffered immensely under Molitor's conduct. While the murderers had their personal grievances, the collective anti-Molitor conspiracy is aptly placed in the transnational space between Germany and the United States. The conspirators came to the United States to live in American society but were thrust back into the throes of their old lives by Molitor, whose greatest capacity to control could only be understood through the lens of German America as a community. While we may never know exactly what happened on August 23, 1875, it is an interesting story about German America. It makes an undeniable case about the transnationalism of Germans living in the United States: a fact that played a clear role in the way Molitor cast himself and the way he was seen by his community. Above all, it tells us that transnationalism is not the seamless slide between cultures. Rather, cultures meld and conflict in various ways. In general, indicators of this are clear: the German appeal of Thomas Paine, the overlap of abolitionism and the forty-eighters, and the sundered views of German Americans on both German and American political discourse, show points of congruence—and tension—between the dual worlds of German America. Symbols of the Molitor murder, like Banks' "twelve-man jury" and the notion of Molitor both as a lumber baron and as a runaway aristocrat provide us an example of messy syncretism of German America.

*Eastern Michigan University  
Ypsilanti, Michigan*

## Notes

1. United States Census Bureau. Township of Moltke, Presque Isle County, Michigan in the 1880 United States Federal Census.
2. "Michigan News." *The Times Herald* (Port Huron, Michigan), 25 Aug 1875.
3. "Three Others Confess." *Livingston County Daily Press and Argus* (Howell, Michigan) 13 Aug 1891.
4. "Molitor's Murderers." *The Detroit Free Press*, 6 Dec 1892.
5. Ibid.
6. *People v. Repke*.
7. "Opinions of Advisory Board of Pardons." In *Joint Documents of the State of Michigan for the Year 1897, Vol. IV*. (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Co., 1898): 74–75.
8. H. Glenn Penny. *German History Unbound: From 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 2022): 64.
9. Francisca Amelia von Molitor, death entry, 31 October 1877, file no. 6, Michigan Department of Community Health.
10. "Royal Blood and Bad Blood." *St. Louis Republican*, 27 Jan 1875.
11. Ibid.
12. No. 179/1862, Joseph Kleander von Molitor, 17 Dec 1862. Todten-Register, Evangelische Kirche Cannstatt. Evangelische Landeskirche Württemberg, Stuttgart.
13. No. 11/1842, Joseph Cleander Christian Speusipp v. Molitor and Franziske Amalie Schmid, 25 Apr 1842. Ehebuch, Sankt Leonhardskirche Stuttgart. Evangelische Landeskirche Württemberg, Stuttgart.
14. No. 6122, Family of Joseph Cleander von Molitor. Alte Familienregister, Evangelische Kirche Ludwigsburg. Evangelische Landeskirche Württemberg, Stuttgart.
15. Ibid.
16. Report of the Investigation into Oberguiden Molitor and Natter for the improper use of state-owned plans, 22 September 1861. E 4 Bü 1716, 2. Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Stuttgart.
17. "New-York, 23. Sept. *Es wird fürchterlich Musterung gehalten!*" [It will be a dreadful examination!]. *Die Wochentliche Demokrat* (Davenport, Iowa), 2 October 1862.
18. Arthur M. Woodford. *Charting the Inland Seas: A History of the U.S. Lakes Survey*. (Detroit: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1991).
19. Letter to Lt. Col. Fred D. Palmer of the U.S. Lake Survey from Capt. W.F. Reynolds, aide-de-camp, clarifying the circumstances of the presence of Assistant Albert Molitor, engineer, in Sandusky, Ohio, 28 October 1864. *Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Individual Civilians, 1861–1867*, Roll 193 NAID: 2133728, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Group 109, NARA, Washington D.C.
20. University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center. "William Evans Rogers 1846-1913." In *Penn People*. <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-people/biography/william-evans-rogers/>
21. John Fedynsky. "Presque Isle County" in *Michigan's County Courthouses: An Encyclopedic Tour of Michigan Courthouses* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010): 157. [https://books.google.com/books?id=Akc\\_DwAAQBAJ](https://books.google.com/books?id=Akc_DwAAQBAJ)
22. Ibid., 157-158.
23. *People ex. rel. Crawford v. Molitor*. 23 Mich. 341 (S.C. Mich., 1871.) <https://cite.case.law/mich/23/341/>
24. Fedynsky, 158.

25. Attorney General ex. rel. Lockwood v. Molitor. 26 Mich. 444. (S.C. Mich., 1873.) <https://cite.case.law/mich/26/444/>
26. "Our Reporter on the Alert." *Alpena Argus*, 27 Jan 1875.
27. "For False Imprisonment." *Detroit Free Press*, 18 Mar 1875.
28. "Royal Blood and Bad Blood." *St. Louis Republican*.
29. "Clearing the Docket." *Detroit Free Press*, 22 Dec 1875.
30. Fedynsky, 158.
31. Molitor owned ~7 mi<sup>2</sup> in several counties. He was sole proprietor of much of it. With William Rogers, Molitor jointly owned much of Rogers City itself. He may have also owned timbering lands in Iron County, Wisconsin. (General Land Office. Numerous patents belonging to Albert Molitor. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management.)
32. People v. William Repke. 103 Mich. 459. (S.C., Mich., 1895.) <https://cite.case.law/mich/103/459/>
33. Mende and Fuhrmann arrived on the same ship, the S.S. Cimbria, one hailing from Ottmendorf and the other from Zahna. (Passengers no. 57 and 65, S.S. Cimbria, 9 Sep 1868. S.890, Band 22, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Hamburg.)
34. No. 110, Johanne Pauline Wiesegardt, 15 Jul 1863. Taufbuch, Evangelische Kirche Tuchel [Tuchola,] Evangelisches Zentralarchiv Berlin, Berlin.
35. Passenger no. 18, S.S. Allemannia, 7 Oct 1868. S.1023, Band 22, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII. StAHH.
36. No. 11/1868, Stephan Jacob Philipp Rieger and Caroline Schmoekel, 27 Sep 1868. Trauungsbuch, Evangelische Kirche Klein Katz [Mały Kack.] EZAB.
37. No. 6/1847, Friedrich Tuljetzki, 7 Feb 1847. Geburts und Taufregister, Evangelische Kirche Groß Tromnau [Trumieje.] EZAB.
38. No. 5/1867, August Grossmann and Albertine Bergmann. Index to marriages at Catholic Church in Roslasin [Rozłazino.] *Pomeranian Marriage Indexes*, ed. Dempc (Pomorskie Towarzystwo Genealogiczna.)
39. No. 7/1860, Friedrich Wilhelm Repke and Wilhelmine Friederike Schneider, 3 May 1860. Controllverzeichnis Getrauten, Getauften, und Confirmirten, Evangelische Kirche Buckowin. Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, Gdańsk.
40. Passenger no. 246, S.S. Silesia, 1 Nov 1871. Band 25, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII. StAHH.
41. Passenger no. 37, S.S. Doctor Barth, 2 Aug 1865. S.585, Band 19, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII. StAHH.
42. No. 62/1866, Anna Dorothea Stut, 22 Apr 1866. Taufbuch, Evangelische Kirche Sülfeld. Kirchenkreis Plön-Segeberg, Bad Segeberg.
43. Jacobs was from Mecklenburg-Schwerin according to records of his service in the 9<sup>th</sup> U.S. Infantry at various western posts from 1859 to 1872. (Heinrich/Henry Jacobs, Records Register of Enlistments in the U.S. Army, 1798-1914; Microfilm Publication M233; NAID: 575272, Group 94, NARA, Washington D.C.)
44. Passenger no. 252, S.S. Keppler, 15 Apr 1865. S.123, Band 19, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII. StAHH.
45. Calculations based on 1870 United States Federal Census.
46. Lujó Brentano. "Agrarian Reform in Prussia." *The Economic Journal* 7, no. 25 (1897): 6.
47. *Ibid.*, 7–8.
48. *Ibid.*, 11–12.
49. Controllverzeichnis, Evangelische Kirche Buckowin. AP Gdańsk.
50. S.890, Band 22, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII, StAHH.
51. Jerome Blum. "Reviews of Books: *Die Bauernbefreiung im Königreich Württemberg*." *The Journal of Economic History* 38, no. 2 (1978): 552–553. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2119878>

52. Elizabeth B. Jones. "The Rural 'Social Ladder': Internal Colonization, Germanization and Civilizing Missions in the German Empire." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 40, no. 4 (2014): 465–467. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24368716>
53. "Vermischtes. Anarchische Zustände herrschen nicht nur in der Kohlenregionen Pennsylvaniens..." [Miscellaneous. Anarchic conditions prevail not only in the coal regions of Pennsylvania...]. *Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis, Missouri), 11 Sep 1875.
54. Ibid.
55. Wagner and Scherzer cited social equality as perhaps the greatest factor pulling Germans to the United States. (Penny, 63–65.)
56. "Murder Will Out." *Detroit Free Press*, 1 Aug 1891.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Adolphus A. Ellis, Michigan Department of Attorney General. "Schedule B." In *Report of the Attorney General of the State of Michigan for the Year Ending June 30, A.D. 1893*. (Lansing: Robert Smith & Co., 1893): 31–32.
60. "Murder Will Out." *Detroit Free Press*.
61. Mischa Honeck. "'Freemen of All Nations, Bestir Yourselves': Felice Orsini's Transnational Afterlife and the Radicalization of America." *Journal of the Early Republic* 30, no. 4 (2010): 598. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40926066>
62. Daniel Bessner and Michael Stauch. "Karl Heinzen and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Terror." In *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22, no. 2 (2021): 143–176. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550903445209>
63. Karl Heinzen. *Mord und Freiheit*. (New York: Self-Published, 1853): <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015080468724>
64. "Boasted of the Shooting." *The Inter Ocean* (Chicago) 2 Dec 1892.
65. *People v. Repke*.
66. Stefan Manz. *Constructing a German Diaspora: The "Greater German Empire," 1871–1914*. New York: Routledge, 2014: 136.
67. Examples of even modestly educated German Americans espousing forty-eighter radicalism and maintaining hardline positions on politics in Germany through this lens exist. One such man, Carl Hermanns, a teacher from Hamberg, situated between Cologne and Elberfeld in the Rhineland, demonstrates such complex and transnational political leanings (See Carl Hermanns. Correspondence to sister in the Rhineland. In *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home*, ed. Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich, and Susan Carter Vogel. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006): 113–116.)
68. Many German dissidents and revolutionaries became distinguished during the Civil War. Friedrich Hecker, Carl Schurz, Franz Sigel, and Gustav Körner probably have the most renown of these figures having been political activists and soldiers, but many revolutionaries were also influential. Other soldiers like August Willich and Alexander Schimmelpfennig played roles in German and American politics and were well-known in German America. Writers and publishers like Carl Dänzer, Oswald Ottendorfer, and Hermann Raster played important social roles through the press.
69. James M. Bergquist. "German Communities in American Cities: An Interpretation of the Nineteenth-Century Experience." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 4, no. 1 (1989): 16. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27500350>
70. Zachary Stuart Garrison. *Im Abendlande: German American Liberalism and the Civil War in the Border West, 1830 – 1877*. (PhD dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 2015): 7, 30. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/i-im-abendlande-german-american-liberalism-civil/docview/1991532776/se-2>.

71. Ibid., 103.
72. Joseph Dünnebacke. Correspondences to family in Westphalia. In *Germans in the Civil War*, 118–120.
73. Mark O. Kistler. “German-American Liberalism and Thomas Paine.” *American Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1962): 87–90. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2710229>
74. Robert M. Bigler. *The Politics of German Protestantism: The Rise of the Protestant Church Elite in Prussia, 1815-1848*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972): 162.
75. Some Pietists, including the influential cohort of Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, gained traction among the Junker class of arch-conservative Prussian nobility, displacing the rationalists of the pre-Napoleonic era in Prussia’s major religious institutions (Ibid, 175.) Hengstenberg and his allies (namely H.A.C. Haevernick) were unpopular among both conciliatory pietist moderates (who were often political pragmatists) and liberal pietists. For the former, Hengstenberg and his Junkers were far too dogmatic, and for the latter, dogmatism meant nothing if the Church were to be chattered to the King and his bureaucracy.
76. Concordia Historical Institute. “Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther: First President of the Missouri Synod: 1847-1850 & 1864–1878.” (Concordia Historical Institute, 1997.) <https://concordiahistoricalinstitute.org/presidents/president-walther/>
77. There were several German church communities in Presque Isle: Sankt Jacobi (St. James) and Immanuel of Moltke Township (founded with Rev. J.D. Druckenmiller), Sankt Michael (St. Michael) of Belknap Township, Sankt Johannes (St. John) of Rogers City, Sankt Peter (St. Peter) of Metz Township (founded along with Sankt Jacobi with Rev. Christian Schwann of Neuendettelsau, Middle Franconia), and Sankt Paul of Posen Township (founded, along with Sankt Michael, with Joseph Antonius Bohn). The community was also associated with Rev. Johann Adam Hügli (originally of Hassloch, Palatinate), Rev. Carl Haaß (originally of Niederegggen, Baden), and Rev. Konrad Ludwig Moll (originally of Windsbach, Middle Franconia) of Detroit.
78. List of church trustees of the Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church in Moltke Township, Michigan, 1876–1883. Immanuel German Evangelical Lutheran Church records, 1876-1919. Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor.
79. Garrison, 79.

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