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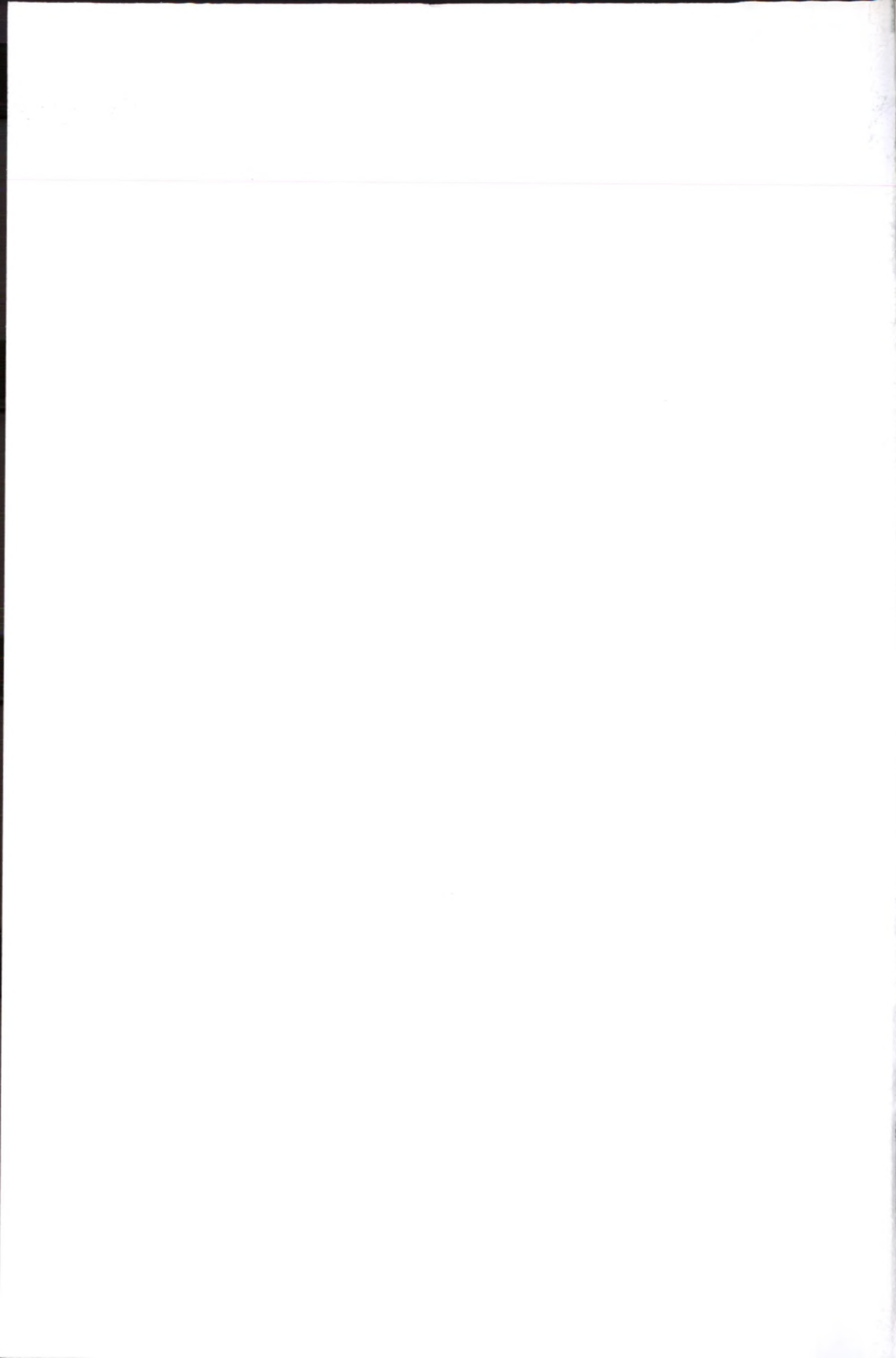
**Abraham Lincoln and the
German Immigrants:
Turners and Forty-Eighters**

By Frank Baron

2012

The Society for German-American Studies





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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. The Radical Turners of New York	11
Chapter 3. The Campaign against Slavery in Kansas	21
Chapter 4. The Movement against Immigrants	65
Chapter 5. Lincoln's Gamble for the German Immigrant Vote	77
Chapter 6. A Thwarted Movement and Lincoln's Nomination	109
Chapter 7. Lincoln's Election	141
Chapter 8. Conclusions	159
Appendices	
A. Felix Reifschneider, The New York Turner Society	165
B. Engelhardt and Feigel, An Appeal to the Germans	178
C. [Heinrich Metzner], Sigismund Kaufmann	180
D. [Wilhelm Pfänder], Correspondence from Kansas	186
E. [Hugo Tafel], The Turner Society of Leavenworth, Kansas	192
F. Hugo Tafel, The Turner Society of Leavenworth, Kansas	196
G. The Canisius Correspondence	200
H. Excerpt from Wilhelm Rapp's Letter to His Father,	206
June 30, 1861	

I. [Wilhelm Rapp], The Edward Bates Candidacy, April 10, 1860	208
J. An Appeal to the Turner Societies of the United States	212
K. An Appeal to German Republicans	215
L. The Republican Convention in Chicago, May 24, 1860	218
M. The Republican Convention in Chicago, May 31, 1860	220
N. The German Republican Newspapers of the United States	222
O. [Henry Villard], Report on the Election	225
Bibliography	227
Index of Names	241

Chapter 1. Introduction

Reporting from Springfield, Illinois, on December 9, 1860, only a matter of days after the election, Henry Villard, correspondent for the *New York Herald*, made a remarkable assertion about Lincoln's election to the presidency:

In Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Wisconsin, native Republicans now openly acknowledge that their victory was, if not wholly, at least to a great extent, due to the large accessions they received in the most hotly contested sections from the German ranks.

That an immigrant population should be the decisive element in a national election was unprecedented. Despite a cautious reservation ("if not wholly, at least to a great extent"), Villard offered a controversial assessment. He was saying, in effect, that Lincoln owed his success to German-Americans.¹ Historians since Villard have noted, on occasion, the formidable German vote for Lincoln, but assertions about its significance have been challenged. It is not surprising that the claims have been criticized or not taken at all seriously. Historians have ignored Villard's perspective.² Statistics available for the 1860 election do not provide the evidence required to corroborate Villard's position. Are there other options? Is there a convincing test for Villard's assertion about the German factor? Can it survive close scrutiny?

On the one hand, Villard had extraordinary access to the key political figures of the events he observed. The door was open for interviews with Lincoln. Villard had personal access to Illinois Senators Stephen Douglas and Lyman Trumbull. He could call on former Lieutenant-Governor Gustave Koerner, a German-American, any time. Lincoln introduced Villard to his secretary, John G. Nicolay, who was also a native German. Murat Halstead, Villard's editor at the *Cincinnati Commercial*, commented on the reporter's work, which "had the merits of terse statement, evident sincerity, and reliability. The style was not ambitious and the meaning not obscure. He had a keen eye for the essential points of a complex state of facts."³ Villard had

established his credentials as a journalist by covering the Lincoln-Douglas Debates for the conservative *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*. Although he remained silent about it in his memoirs, he gave speeches for Douglas in Illinois cities.⁴ Later, he reported during the Civil War for several other papers, including the *New York Tribune*. He demonstrated skill in major business ventures with German investors and gained international fame through the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad.⁵

On the other hand, despite his French name, which Villard adopted when he immigrated just seven years earlier, his name was originally Hilgard; he was actually a native German. Unlike many other immigrants, he had not participated in Germany's recent failed revolution, but he developed sympathies for the revolution at an early age. Villard was part of the story that he deemed a remarkable success. He was only a schoolboy, thirteen years old, when he persuaded his parents to travel for hours from his home in Zweibrücken to Frankfurt to engage in sightseeing, but he used the occasion to observe the heated political debates of the revolutionary parliament. When he returned home, he showed his sympathies with the revolution to his schoolmates by wearing a Hecker hat with a red feather. In the United States, he sought ways to express his opposition to the reactionary politics represented by his fatherland. In Wisconsin, he edited the *Volksblatt* of Racine, with which he tried to win over the German population from the Democrats to the newly formed Republican Party. He approached Senators Douglas and Trumbull to support a settlement of a German colony in Kansas. Only twenty-five years old, the young journalist had an obvious interest in highlighting a success in which his countrymen contributed. His observation of German voting strength deserves consideration, nevertheless, if only to determine the degree to which a German role can be documented. Villard raises important questions, even if he fell short by not providing evidence to answer them. That will be the goal of this book.

The perceived potential of the German role in the elections of the 1850s was the result of an unprecedented influx of immigrants. From 1840 to 1849 the number of German immigrants reached 385,434. In the years from 1850 to 1854 there was a significant increase; 654,291 Germans arrived. The highpoint was 1854, with 215,009 immigrants.⁶ Prominent among the arrivals were the refugees of the failed 1848–49 revolutions, the so-called Forty-Eighters, many of whom had been members of Turner societies. In Germany they had fought to establish a unified, democratic society, but they had failed. Persecution followed. The most articulate advocates of change became objects of harsh reprisals and had to flee. Because the German arrivals were outspoken, many Americans viewed this immigration wave as a threat. There were efforts to exclude German-Americans from political power by

restricting voting rights. The recent arrivals possessed political experience and organizational skills, and in the United States they were not prepared to be silenced. A meticulous investigation of their engagement in American social and political life brings to light the fact that many, like the young Villard, could revive the spirit of the failed struggle for liberty in a new cause. They discovered this cause in the fight against slavery, and they generally turned to the Republican Party. They took control of the German newspapers, founded many new ones, and redirected public opinion within the German-American communities.

A quiet alliance between the German-Americans and Abraham Lincoln was a product of coincidences and favorable political conditions. For Lincoln it was important not to alienate the conservative population, and yet at an early stage he recognized the power of the German vote and its potential for deciding elections in Illinois. He risked alienating those conservative voters by opposing restrictions on the voting rights of naturalized citizens. It was Lincoln's personal and precise message to the German-Americans, who were vocal in reacting to the anti-immigrant movement: He was on their side. In 1859, he reiterated the same message in a German newspaper that he himself financed secretly. Theodore Canisius, the publisher of that paper, was probably instrumental in relaying the German-American and Turner support for Lincoln at an early stage.

At a time when Lincoln experienced financial difficulties, the secret investment in a costly printing press suggests that he was beginning to think seriously about running for the presidency. That consideration puts a new light on the events before his nomination in Chicago. It means that in his private calculations the German factor ranked as a priority.

The nomination of Lincoln for the presidency became a realistic possibility when Senator Seward of New York, the German favorite, failed to win on the first ballot at the Chicago convention. German recognition and appreciation of Lincoln's early initiative on voting rights manifested itself in the series of unexpected events that helped him overcome Seward's initial advantage. The German *Turn-Zeitung* was the first national periodical to propose Lincoln as an alternative to Seward. Lincoln was able to overcome his initial disadvantages to win the nomination, but the role of German politicians and journalists in this surprising turn of events deserves a close examination. There is evidence that Lincoln was keenly aware of the strength of the German influence, and he was able to benefit from it.

Resilience from past defeats was a common denominator for the German Republicans and Lincoln. This study will reconstruct the convergence of their common interests. A gradual and uneven process is the background to Villard's provocative assertion about the preeminence of the German factor. That

process reflected the crisis provoked by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the power of immigration to influence events on the national stage.

The German immigrants brought with them the enduring concept of the *Turnverein*. The primary activity of the Turners was physical exercise, including gymnastics, but from the beginning it was much more than that. To understand its impact, it is necessary to review its dramatic evolution before it was transplanted to the United States. Records are not always available to determine who was a member and who was not. Most Forty-Eighters were members, but even those who declined membership participated in the events of the society occasionally. In general, Germans were part of this social network, which became ubiquitous in America in the 1850s. Every major city acquired its *Turnverein*. In September 1859, at the Chicago meeting of the national union of the Turners, fifty-two societies were represented. To appreciate the potential of the Turner Society as an instrument of American politics it is necessary to review its history.

The father of the Turner movement was Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, popularly known as *Turnvater* Jahn. Born in Lenz in Brandenburg, he studied theology and philology in Halle, Göttingen, and Greifswald but did not complete his studies. He earned his livelihood by giving private lessons. He was primarily responsible for two important publications: *Deutsches Volkstum* (1810) and, with Ernst Bernhard Eiselen, *Die deutsche Turnkunst* (1816). The first work treated the topic of national identity. Jahn aggressively promoted the need for a national consciousness, and he did that with greater attention to detail than did his predecessors. He expected the German people to be active in shaping their future. The organization of a unified national state was a fundamental requirement. Jahn was also concerned about the condition of peasants, and when he argued for the elimination of all forms of involuntary servitude (*Knechtschaft*), he prepared the future Turner opposition to slavery. Although he did not ask for a revolution, he demanded concrete reforms. Jahn's social and political philosophy intertwined with his innovative ideas about physical exercise. The Latin saying *mens sana in corpore sano* (a healthy mind in a healthy body), quoted originally from Juvenal's *Satires*, was at the core of the movement he inspired. Jahn began to train schoolboys in gymnastics at a Berlin open area called Hasenheide in 1811.⁷

The remarkable success of Jahn's Turner movement became the reason for the first of a series of governmental efforts to suppress it. The Wartburg festival of 1817 was an event organized by students and their fraternities, but the Turners played an active part. The occasion was the 300-year anniversary of the posting of Luther's theses, and nationalistic speeches pleading for honor, freedom, and fatherland caused alarm in Prussian and Austrian government circles. Suspecting revolutionary motives in the *Turnverein* organizations,

edicts demanded the closure of the spaces for Turner exercising, such as Berlin's Hasenheide. The Prussian king ordered the dissolution of all Turner societies.⁸

It took decades to recover. Restrictions became less insistent only in the 1840s, and new Turner societies were founded: in Königsberg (1842), Stuttgart (1843), Cologne (1843), Dresden (1844), and Kiel (1844). A communication network evolved through newsletters, and Turner "passports" enabled traveling members exchange of information. Records indicate a dramatic revival of about 300 Turner societies with 80,000 members by the end of 1847. In that year the popular Turner festivals emerged again in Heidelberg and Frankfurt. After the outbreak of the revolution there were efforts to establish a common political agenda for the diverse Turner organizations, but dissension about their fundamental purpose developed. At the conference of Hanau in April of 1848 many conservatives insisted that the focus should be on physical fitness; radicals demanded political action. In a vote to make the struggle for a republic and democracy the primary aim of the Turners, the conservative members prevailed 91 to 81.⁹ The ambition to create a national union of Turners failed.

How did the revolutionary movement, in which the Turners actively participated, become a noteworthy force in the American political scene? It will become evident that in the public discourse of the 1850s the Forty-Eighters and Turners repeatedly drew on their experiences and the ideals that had inspired them. The example of the New York Turners is characteristic of a phenomenon that can be observed throughout the United States. Prominent members of the New York Turner Society, for example, Sigismund Kaufmann, Germain Metternich (not related to Prince Clemens Metternich), Eduard Müller, and Franz Sigel, had been revolutionary leaders in Germany. Metternich stands out as the oldest fighter—he had been imprisoned for his activism from 1832 to 1835.¹⁰ Even before the March revolution began, his speech at the Turners' meeting in Frankfurt articulated the goals of a necessary uprising, the struggle for "a free German republic and its union." Metternich proposed a resolution that would state the political task of the Turners unmistakably: "Our goal is to free the fatherland from its servitude. We are strong enough to make Germany free."¹¹ Although most Turners were not prepared for his brand of radicalism, such powerful sentiments soon became widespread. When the revolution broke out weeks later, Metternich, holding the revolutionary black-red-gold flag, led a troop of Turners through the streets of Frankfurt.¹² But the revolution failed, and with the reaction there were warrants for arresting Metternich, Kaufmann, Müller, and Sigel, who were forced to flee for their lives. In New York they faced entirely new challenges, but just like as others in the rest of the country, they discovered

that the foremost causes in America were not immune to an infusion of revolutionary spirit. This becomes most evident in the campaign to keep slavery out of Kansas.

When, how, and why did the German immigrant vote become crucial in Abraham Lincoln's political calculations? In Illinois, Lincoln became acquainted with a number of German revolutionaries. He knew and valued Friedrich Hecker as a political ally. He recognized in the Illinois *Staats-Zeitung*, published by George Schneider, a paper that could advance the Republican cause. Gustave Koerner, who had taken part in revolutionary activities in the 1830s, became a trusted adviser, and Koerner recalled that in Belleville, as well as in other places where he had spoken, Lincoln had found the Germans more enthusiastic than all other nationalities in the cause of freedom. The Belleville newspaper reported on that occasion that when Lincoln referred to the "great heart of Germany in America," his audience responded with "a thrill of sympathy and pleasure."¹³ There is a need to reconstruct the ways in which German enthusiasm in the cause of freedom made a difference in Lincoln's political decisions.

The most dramatic evidence of Lincoln's realization that the German votes were essential to the future of the Republican Party comes to light in his relationship with Dr. Theodore Canisius. A dedicated Turner, Canisius had come to Illinois with experience as a German revolutionary. Previously ignored correspondence shows that he had worked feverishly as a journalist to win Germans for the Republican Party. Lincoln recognized the importance of his efforts and made a secret agreement with him: If Canisius agreed to publish for the Republican Party in the 1860 campaigns, Lincoln would finance a German press for Canisius in Springfield. That press functioned to communicate Lincoln's support for German concerns not only in Illinois but also throughout the country.

The view that "Lincoln would not have been elected if he had not had the wholehearted support of leaders among the Forty-Eighters" Lawrence S. Thompson and Frank X. Brown have called a legend. If that is true, the "legend" could have received a strong initial impetus from Villard's article and then found elaboration in articles by Julius Goebel and William E. Dodd. Before Goebel and Dodd there was John Peter Altgeld, the first immigrant to be elected governor of Illinois and a politician on the national stage; he also overstated the case for German influence in the 1860 election.¹⁴ In general, the literature about Lincoln has not taken this "legend" seriously. The debate about the significance of the German factor has taken place in journals and books by scholars for German-American readers. It has not entered into the mainstream of Lincoln scholarship.

Joseph Schafer was one of the first to attack the foundations of this

"legend." He pointed out that the German-Americans did not vote as a block; he found evidence that in Wisconsin many tended to remain loyal to the Democratic Party. Thomas W. Kremm examined the voting records in Cleveland and found that many Germans there were Catholics, and they remained loyal to the Democratic Party.¹⁵ Articles by Walter Kamphoefner (1991), Lesley Ann Kawaguchi (1994), Richard H. Steckel (1998) have added further evidence that the German-Americans divided votes in a number of ways, according to their place of birth in Germany, religion, and subsequent residence in relation to the southern border.¹⁶ These investigations, supported by statistical evidence, question the possibility of generalizations beyond any particular areas within individual states.

Even if the "legend" is not credible, it may still be instructive to examine the immigration history that contributed to it. The devil is in the details. Those details are geographical or chronological points, previously unaware of each other. They must be connected to be meaningful.

The relatively limited focus of this book is on the movement of the Turners and the Forty-Eighters; New York, Kansas, Iowa, Maryland, Indiana, and Illinois receive special attention. This focus allows the reader to follow a crucial line of development. The influence of German-Americans on the events of 1860 evolved in stages. This limitation may shed light on the most prominent leaders and their contributions to the political discourse. Admittedly, other narratives may highlight the strength of different factors, states, and political figures. This study can show, however, that the Turner movement benefited from a solid tradition and recent revolutionary experiences. The Turners had learned from Jahn the importance of personal and social commitment. The movement combined originality in organization with effective modes of communication. The Turners and the Forty-Eighters were prepared to contribute. A series of unpredictable and favorable circumstances in America provided the opportunity.

Numerous sources, especially those in the German language, have previously been overlooked in the narratives about Lincoln's nomination and election. The neglected details (translated from German in the accompanying Appendices) open alternate ways to interpret nineteenth-century immigration history, including the importance of the Turners and the Forty-Eighters.

Members of the New York Turner Society introduced me to their valuable archives, which document the wide-ranging connections between the revolutions of 1848 and 1849 in Germany and the momentous political changes in the pre-Civil War era in America. Contacts and discussions with those members, Ernest Menze, Ferdinand Beinert, Peter Rohlf, Robert Rohlf, Hans Sammer, and Frank Wedl, laid the foundations for the present project and led to the search for additional resources to complement the picture

nationally. Fortunately, the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts had previously unnoticed issues of relevant newspapers, in particular, the key issues of the *Turn-Zeitung*, which first announced the Turner support for Abraham Lincoln. Visits to Widener Library at Harvard University, the Newberry Library in Chicago, the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, and the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library of Springfield proved fruitful. The unique online newspaper collection of the Kansas City Kansas Community College and of Territorial Kansas Online provided valuable access to German political events in Kansas. I owe a debt to scholars James Bergquist, Michael Burlingame, James Cornelius, George Jones, Walter Kamphoefner, Nora Probst, David Smith, and Wayne Temple for valuable advice. I relied on critical input from friends, especially William Keel and Charles Reitz. Judith Arnold translated essential texts from German to English. A special note of gratitude is due to my wife, Betty Baron, who supported the project through its various stages with tolerance, patience, and invaluable advice.

Notes

¹ Occasional references to Germans, instead of German-Americans, reflect general practice of the 1850s.

² Frederick C. Luebke, *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971).

³ Alexandra Villard de Borchgrave and John Cullen, *Villard: The Life and Times of an American Titan* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 108.

⁴ James M. Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes of the German Immigrant in Illinois, 1848–1860" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1965), 259.

⁵ Thomas C. Fuchs, "Henry Villard: A Citizen of Two Worlds" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1991); Henry Villard, *Lincoln on the Eve of '61* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941).

⁶ Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner: Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit 1848 bis 1918* (Munich: Moos, 1978), 40.

⁷ By 1818 there were one hundred Turner societies with 6,000 members in Prussia alone. According to Jahn's estimate, the number of Turner societies in Germany was 150, with 12,000 members. Dieter Düding, *Organisierter gesellschaftlicher Nationalismus in Deutschland (1808–1847): Bedeutung und Funktion der Turner- und Sängervereine für die deutsche Nationalbewegung* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1984), 67. An earlier gymnastic exercise location in Schnepfenthal near Gotha could have anticipated Jahn's. Cf. Guts Muths, "Der Begründer des deutschen Turnwesens, und die Feier seines 100jährigen Geburtstags," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, no. 844 (September 3, 1859), 149–51.

⁸ Düding, *Organisierter gesellschaftlicher Nationalismus*, 36 and 120–35.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 220–49.

¹⁰ Richard Falck, *Germain Metternich: Ein Deutscher Freiheitskämpfer* (Mainz: Max Krause, 1954), 28–50.

¹¹ Düding, *Organisierter gesellschaftlicher Nationalismus*, 292–95 (July 31–August 2, 1847).

¹² Falck, *Germain Metternich*, 56–59.

¹³ Thomas J. McCormack, ed. *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner (1809–1896)* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1909), 2:33. *Belleville Weekly Advocate*, October 22, 1856, quoted in Roy P. Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 2:379–80.

¹⁴ Lawrence S. Thompson and Frank X. Brown, "The Forty-Eighters in Politics," in A. E. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 137–8. John Peter Altgeld, "The Immigrant's Answer," in Henry M. Christman, ed. *The Mind and Spirit of John Peter Altgeld* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960), 25–37. Altgeld's article first appeared in *Forum* 7 (1890): 681–96.

¹⁵ Joseph Schafer, "Who Elected Lincoln?" In Luebke, ed. *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln*, 46–61. Thomas W. Kremm, "Cleveland and the First Lincoln Election: The Ethnic Response to Nativism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8 (1977): 69–86.

¹⁶ Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German-Americans and Civil War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis," *Civil War History* 37 (1991): 232–43; Lesley Ann Kawaguchi, "Diverging Political Affiliations and Ethnic Perspectives: Philadelphia Germans and Antebellum Politics," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13 (1994): 3–29; Richard H. Steckel, "Migration and Political Conflict: Precincts in the Midwest on the Eve of the Civil War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28 (1998): 583–603.

Chapter 2. The Radical Turners of New York

[Sigismund Kaufmann's] name is indelibly linked with the history of the Turner Union and the Turner movement as one of the founders of the *New York Turnverein*. He was first chairman for many years. He was also one of the founders of the [national] Turner Union, whose chairman he became at that time.

[Heinrich Metzner], "Sigismund Kaufmann," August 24, 1889

The founding fathers of the New York Turner Society were radicals. Many had risked their lives in the European uprisings of 1848 and 1849, and when they failed and the reaction set in, they were forced to flee for their lives. In the United States they were welcomed as freedom fighters. Their passionate political commitment was not entirely foreign to New York German-Americans, and many sympathized with the aim of overturning the repressive monarchies. A close look at the 1850s reveals unexpected twists. The first Turners, refugees of revolution, were intent on making an impact and saw in their organization an instrument for social and political goals. Physical exercise was a major part of the activities, but it did not diminish the zeal and involvement in the public sphere. The Turner Society (*Turnverein*) of New York was not simply a local organization; it proved to be most effective in establishing the viable basis for a national network. It acted as a catalyst. The history of the decade reflects a significant development, which included the formation of a national union of Turners.

Even before the outbreak of the revolutions in Europe, a German-American labor leader, Erhard Richter, owner of a brewery and saloon, took the extraordinary step of addressing all Germans in a call for revolution. In his hand-written message, copied and which was distributed in lithographic form in Germany, Richter called upon citizens to revolt against the German rulers, and, taking the United States as a model, to replace the monarchy with a republic. In the United States, Richter asserted, there was freedom of movement, and a country of united people from every part of the world.

Richter called for action to eliminate the rule of princes, religious leaders, bureaucrats, and mercenaries. He did not hesitate to call for the death of all these pillars of the repressive order. Germany should look to the United States to see the flowering of a republic and think realistically, break loose from chains, and look upon the United States, where people hate aristocracy and philistine attitudes. Richter saw in the United States a strong desire to join the Germans with the victorious flag of the republic in the struggle for freedom. His admonitions were dated August 12, 1847, but in the following year, during the revolution, they also appeared in printed form.¹ The expressed radicalism continued to be a driving force behind Richter's work for the labor movement and for his support of the Turner Society.

When the revolution broke out in March 1848, Karl Heinzen, a prominent journalist, was in New York, where he was preparing to return to Europe to take part in the struggle. The large group of Germans who applauded him and expressed their strong support of the revolution included Erhard Richter. Heinzen reported on a meeting in Mechanics Hall on March 23, 1848. The speeches supported the revolution and sent a message to that effect with Heinzen to Europe. Present were Jakob Uhl (chairman of the meeting), A. Krüer, Louis Försch, and Richter.² Another member of this group was Eugen Livre, who also became a key supporter of the New York Turner movement.

In Germany many people looked to the Turners to provide an organization to support political ends. Not all members approved of the transformation of their societies into political tools. The spirit of the revolutionary movement infected many Turners, however.

The first wave of refugees of revolution did not waste time in promoting the establishment of Turner organizations. In November 1848, the founding of the New York *Turngemeinde* (Turner Society) was among the first ones. According to Felix Reifschneider, one of the founders, the first organizational meeting took place in late June or early July 1848.³ Erhard Richter's saloon on Forsythe Street became its headquarters. The members were soon embroiled in a controversy. A struggle raged between those young people who, according to Reifschneider's account, just wanted to come together to drink, and those who were serious about gymnastics and politics. In June 1850, the acrimonious debates split the society into two irreconcilable groups and led the activists to form an entirely new group, the Socialist Turner Society (*Sozialistischer Turnverein*). The newly formed society was aggressive and prevailed not only in New York; it served also as a catalyst for the formation of a national network. Reifschneider summarized his own role in the divisions and the founding of a new society.

After some of the original older Turners discussed this and realized that there was nothing else they could do against the formidable young additions on the other side, Reifschneider and Engelhardt suggested resigning during the next meeting and starting something new with renewed enthusiasm. And that is how it happened. . . . Reifschneider jumped onto a chair and called (to the amazement of the men) for the Turners who had resigned to go to Beekman Street to deliberate about the new socialistic Turnverein. Sig[ismund] Kaufmann and Ger[main] Metternich joined us immediately. We marched arm in arm from 22 City Hall Place to Stubenbord on Beekman Street. No one who is still alive will forget that evening when we decided to put out a call to action once again, in fact it was on the next Sunday morning, June 6th, 1850. We went our separate ways late in the evening. It was a grand, truly Turner-like, brotherly act in the truest sense. That is how the current, strong-standing New York *Turnverein* came into existence.⁴

Reifschneider's story of the New York society's beginnings names the Turners who became the most active leaders in the subsequent years. Kaufmann had taken part in the Frankfurt Turner organization during the revolution, but he had to flee because there was a warrant out for his arrest.⁵ One of the most aggressive Turner leaders was Germain Metternich, who had come to the attention of authorities as early as 1833. Spending three years in prison did not eliminate his revolutionary zeal. A police report of September 1847 listed him, along with Gustav Struve, one the most famous German revolutionaries, as a suspect in plotting to set up a national organization of Turners. The goal of union would be, among other democratic initiatives, the freedom of the press and the right to bear arms. The police recognized the political threat behind. The failure of the revolution prevented the implementation of an overarching Turner Society in Germany.⁶ For Metternich and many others, the defeat in Germany was not a final chapter. Within only about three years, both experienced a second chance in New York.

The founding of the Socialistic Turner Society took place when New York Germans experienced a flurry of wide-ranging political activities. Societies representing a diverse range of interests sought to arrive at a consensus. Up to this time Kaufmann, who became chairman of the New York Turners, had been part of a group that called itself a Society of Resolute Progress (*Verein des entschiedenen Fortschritts*), which conducted meetings with other organizations such as the Social Reform Society (*Social-Reform Verein*) and the Free Society (*Freier Verein*). Members of these diverse groups joined forces to appoint Metternich and Richter as chairman and deputy chairman,

respectively.⁷

The efforts to find a common direction that united a broad spectrum of views pointed in the direction of the newly founded Turners. They appeared to show the determination and organization that seemed appropriate. Although the newly established society suffered a reduction from about 150 members to 36, its ability to draw energy from many sectors of the German community, including that of leaders of the active labor movement, generated a powerful impetus. The new waves of German immigrants coincided with the disturbances and conflicts caused by a strike of tailors in the city; the drastic measures of the police against the strikers, many of whom were Germans, fostered insecurity and, at the same time, the desire for unity.⁸ Eduard Müller became the society's gymnastic teacher. He had come from Mainz, where he published a Turner newspaper, the *Mainzer Turn-Zeitung*, in 1846. In New York, he published a manual for gymnastics, the title of which indicated that it was for all members of the Socialistic Turner Union and all friends of physical education.⁹ The spirit guiding the newly formed society was a revolutionary spirit, and energy it inspired quickly brought about the emergence of a national union of Turners.

The minutes of the first meetings of the New York Turner Society indicate that Kaufmann and Metternich, as the most active leaders, collaborated in all aspects of the society's organization. They were instrumental in assuring a rapid expansion. For them establishing a strong national union was a priority. Soon after that, the national *Turn-Zeitung* appeared, under Kaufmann's editorship.¹⁰

Ludwig Engelhardt belonged to the party of radicals that had split from the original Turner Society, and even before the formation of the Socialistic Turner Society, he had called for a union of all Turner societies in America. His joint proclamation with the Newark Turners, published in the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* on April 10, 1850, stressed the duty of Germans to introduce the Turner concept as a unique and creative contribution of the German spirit. He stated what was well known to be the old motto of the Turners in German: that only in a healthy and strong body could there be a healthy political disposition and fortitude. That had been exhibited by the Turners in the first rows of the fight for freedom in Dresden, Frankfurt, Hanau, and Baden. The Turners foresaw a network of societies that would provide an asylum against persecution by tyrants. A few weeks later, after April 10, the New York Socialist Turner Society and the Turners of Brooklyn took up the challenge by drawing up the constitution of such a union.¹¹ On October 5, the circle of delegates met in Philadelphia, where representatives from New York, Boston, and Baltimore were also present, and agreed on a provisional organization. For all practical purposes, the National Union

of Turners (*Turnerbund*) became a reality, and it flourished in the following two years under the leadership of Sigismund Kaufmann, who was also the chairman (*Vorsitzer*) of the New York society. Engelhardt later became the society's trusted secretary.

The *New York Daily Tribune* and its outspoken editor, Horace Greeley, were evidently pleased with these developments. When the paper reported on the Philadelphia meeting ("The German Gymnastics Society of North America"), it featured the Turners' resolution that stressed as its first principle "the furtherance of socialism." The Turners resolved "that with the bodily cultivation of men, [each member] must unite and realize socialism, that is, the greatest possible independence, and join himself to the great struggle of humanity for the emancipation of the human race." At the same time, the paper was impressed by the "great movement among all the German trade and scientific associations."¹² Another example of this movement was the impending congress of "Working Associations" called by German labor leader Wilhelm Weitling. The goal of the meeting was the unification of all labor organizations in the United States. Weitling's congress met from October 22 to 28, also in Philadelphia, with delegates from ten cities.¹³

The feverish activities of labor leader Wilhelm Weitling were short-lived. Weitling was responsible for the publication of the *Republic of Workers* (*Republik der Arbeiter*), which appeared from January 1850 until July 1855. Although the first two years of the decade appeared promising, as the frequent reports of the *New York Daily Tribune* testify, Weitling's failures and the death of his paper reflected the gradual decline of the labor movement in New York. Horace Greeley opposed strikes, and after the tailors' strikes, and the violence connected with them, his *Tribune* reported less and less about the labor movement. A parallel trajectory can be observed in the strong assertion of socialistic initiatives among the Turners. The intertwining of common membership and mutual support explains the period of impressive successes in the labor and Turner movements. The names of men such as Erhard Richter, Eugen Lievre, Sigismund Kaufmann, and Germain Metternich—to mention only a select few—appear prominently in the reports about the meetings of these organizations. Eugen Lievre's Shakespeare Hotel on William and Duane Streets became a favorite meeting place of labor leaders and the Turners. For the *Turnerverein*, Lievre provided spaces for a library and exercise.¹⁴

In October 1851 the national organization formally adopted the name *Socialistischer Turnerbund*, which indicated that radicals like Kaufmann had prevailed against conservative members such as Aaron Frank of the original New York Turner Community and the Boston Turners.¹⁵ The political activists of New York also won a victory in having the union declare itself officially as supporting the platform of the Free Soil Party. This victory did

not put the controversy to rest. When Kaufmann resigned from his position as leader of the national organization in October 1853, he appeared to be frustrated by the opposition to political activism. Nevertheless, he could be proud of a successful national organization of nearly sixty individual societies, representing thousands of members.¹⁶

The newspaper of the national Turner Union (*Turn-Zeitung des Turnerbundes*) appeared for the first time on November 15, 1851 in New York. During its first years the thrust of this publication was to disseminate ideas of socialism. In the first issue, socialist Gustav Struve reviewed the defeat of Turner ideals at the hands of the German authorities and cautioned that in the United States the danger for the Turners was a relaxation of the determination to be free. Struve did not present a program. Perhaps he sensed that the political activism he advocated did not have a bright future in the United States. In subsequent issues, along with Friedrich Engels, Joseph Weydemeyer and Abraham Jacobi, both with links to Karl Marx, wrote articles. A number of essays elaborated the relevance of socialism to the tasks of the Turner Society. Although attention to news about Turner activities throughout the country was consistently available, in the first years, political issues took prominence.

The radical leftist politics of the Turners went hand in hand with their willingness to fight aggressively for what they considered to be their rights. Even the issue of the right to sing in the streets, generally forbidden by the strict Sunday laws of those days, could become a serious matter. The New York City Turners tested the limits of this issue during celebrations with the Brooklyn Turners that took place together in June of 1850, soon after the founding of the organization. After celebrations, speeches, and beer, the Turners were singing as they approached the ferry on their way home. The police perceived a violation of the Sunday laws. The Turners were not willing to be arrested without a fight. According to Turner reports, the police, aided by the "rowdies," who were armed with knives and stones, attacked the celebrants. Several men were wounded. The police arrested twenty-two Turners, each punished with a one dollar fine. To the German-American community this was injustice.¹⁷

In the eyes of many immigrants, a similar injustice occurred the following year, during Hoboken May Day celebrations. According to one German report, 15,000 Germans attended the event. A fight broke out between the Turners and the Americans, variously referred to as "rowdies," "short boys," and "loafers." This time, several on both sides were wounded, one house was damaged and one man was killed by the Turners. The police arrested fifty-one Turners. The *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* reported that after these confrontations, several thousand Germans came together at the

Shakespeare Hotel to hear news of the events and to support the Turners' conduct in the fighting. Richter, Metternich, Kaufmann, and Lievre were prominent among those delegated to defend them.¹⁸ These confrontations with the authorities did not damage the reputation of the Turner Society among German-Americans. On the contrary, membership continued to grow. In 1854 Franz Sigel, respected as a military commander because of his leadership role in the revolution, received the responsibility for the technical and military organization of the Turner Union.¹⁹ In 1856, the memory of the Hoboken incident was still fresh, and extra care was taken to confront any conceivable actions by the "Short Boys." There were several military companies commanded by Franz Sigel. The Turners, about 500 in number, "were dressed in their usual uniform—brown linen coats and pants and Kossuth hats."²⁰

In the early 1850s, as the labor movement gradually declined, the Free Soil movement, after the dramatic impact of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, was replaced by the antislavery movement. This transition was reflected in a joint meeting of the German Social Reform Society and the Socialistic Turners. A meeting attended by Kaufmann, Richter, and Lievre called for the establishment of a "Radical Free Soil Party." The resolutions passed also included opposition to slavery "in whatsoever shape."²¹

Excitement about the Kansas-Nebraska Act began even before Congress passed the bill. The first of many meetings consisted of a noisy and chaotic assembly of some 900 to 1,000 people, with shouting on both sides. Neither the supporters nor the opponents could get a hearing during the first hour. The reporter of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, representing the administration's and Senator Douglas's Democratic position in support of the bill, and a journalist of the *New York Daily Tribune* referring to the iniquity of the Douglas bill, gave widely different views of the events. According to the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, an organized group of young people came into the meeting and started a fight, after which the meeting concluded. The *Tribune* reporter evidently went beyond this "conclusion." He described the organized young people as members of the Turners, who appeared suddenly with the sound of a horn and with broken table legs attacked the "rowdies" and "short boys" and drove them out. The *Tribune* reporter wrote: "Many hats and caps were lost, and one policeman received a black eye." With the hecklers ejected and order restored, Erhard Richter, elected chair by the majority, was now able to address the crowd. The assembly, reduced now by one-third, voted overwhelmingly for Richter's resolution that declared the bill "a rascality and iniquity."²² The Turners demonstrated once again that they were willing to fight aggressively when they believed a cause just. At this time they were clearly siding against the idea of extending slavery into the newly opening

territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The radical Turners had discovered a new cause.

The slavery issue dominated the meetings of the Turner national convention in Buffalo in September of 1855. There were heated discussions of Wilhelm Pfänder's project to create a settlement of Turners in the western territories. The project received only conditional approval. Then the issue of slavery dominated discussions, in which William Rapp and Franz Sigel were influential speakers. The resolution adopted declared that the Turners opposed slavery and its extension.²³

Much has been written about the German participation in the Civil War. Many New York Turners took part and contributed substantially. Franz Sigel's name is conspicuous in the annals. It is less known that in the years leading up to the outbreak of hostilities between the North and the South numerous German "Forty-Eighters" and Turners throughout the United States lent their energies to the newly formed Republican Party. Turners fought with arms in Kansas against the extension of slavery. At the 1860 meetings at the *Deutsches Haus* Chicago, which preceded the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for the presidency, attendance consisted primarily of this segment of the German-American population. Initiatives for influencing the nominating process came from the German Republicans in New York. Friedrich Kapp, Sigismund Kaufmann, Germain Metternich, and Andreas Willmann were actively involved in these efforts. The evolving and transformed spirit of the early 1850s was in evidence. During his successful presidential campaign and later during the trials that faced him as president, Lincoln owed much to this spirit.

The career of Sigismund Kaufmann (1825–89), who was born in Schotten near Frankfurt am Main, was at the center of all these developments.²⁴ His education and training in printing and publishing took him to Paris and Strasbourg. At the outbreak of the revolution, he joined the Turners of Frankfurt, and the police began to search for him with a warrant for his arrest. He escaped and emigrated to the United States. Soon after arriving in New York, he began to study law, and by 1852 he had received permission to practice. His name was eminent as a leader in all meetings of the labor movement and Turner affairs. For a time, like his fellow revolutionaries Metternich and Struve, he promoted socialism in America. His political involvement against the Kansas-Nebraska Act led him to become a cofounder of the New York Republican Party. He was a leading member of the New York German Society, which helped the immigrants arriving in New York. He cofounded a German savings bank in 1859. In 1860, he was chosen as a presidential elector, and, after serving in the Union army, he returned to New York political life. In 1870, he became the Republican candidate for the office

of lieutenant-governor of New York.²⁵

Kaufmann's distinguished career highlights important aspects of early Turner history in New York. His idealism mirrors not only the spirit of many other Forty-Eighters and Turners in New York but also throughout the country. The failure of the 1848–49 revolutions did not break that spirit; the revolutionary spirit acquired a second life. The experience and involvement in radical change in Europe brought new energy to the Free Soil and labor movements. Although that success was short-lived, the revival of the Turner gymnastic program in the United States was most successful, bringing with it political potential in the framework of a national organization. The initiative quickly spread Turner organizations throughout the country. By 1857, the New York Turners dropped "socialistic" from the name of the society. Fighting against the extension of slavery became a priority. When Henry Villard, reporting for the *New York Herald*, reviewed the names of the German-Americans to whom Lincoln owed his election, he named Sigismund Kaufmann as one of a small group of nine from the entire country.²⁶ Villard recognized him for being a leading part of a movement that began with the revolutions in Europe and was given a strong impetus in New York. The organizational skill that Kaufmann demonstrated infected others. It was also characteristic of many Forty-Eighters and Turners who participated in the process that led to Lincoln's nomination and election.

Notes

¹ Veit Valentin, *Frankfurt am Main und die Revolution von 1849/49* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1908), 157–59.

² Karl Heinzen, *Erlebtes* (Boston: Heinzen, 1874), 200.

³ Heinrich Metzner dates the actual founding of this society as October 22, 1848. *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei* 1 (1892): 24.

⁴ See article by Reifschneider in Appendix A.

⁵ See Appendix C.

⁶ Hannes Neumann, *Die deutsche Turnbewegung in der Revolution 1848/49 und in der amerikanischen Emigration* (Stuttgart: Hofmann, 1968), 13; see also Falck, *Germain Metternich*.

⁷ *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, June 1, 1850.

⁸ *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, August 17 and 30, 1850; *New York Daily Tribune*, July 19, 25, and 29, 1850.

⁹ *Die Turnerei: Ein Leitfaden für die Mitglieder des sozialistischen Turnerbundes und alle Freunde der Leibesübung* (New York: John Weber, 1853). The City Library of Mainz retains Müller's *Turn-Zeitung* for 1846.

¹⁰ The archives of the New York Turnverein are located now at the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies of the University of Kansas. A detailed description of their contents is found in Nora Probst's catalogue, which is available at the center's Web site: <http://www2.ku.edu/~maxkade/>

¹¹ See Engelhardt's proclamation in Appendix B.

¹² *New York Daily Tribune*, October 15, 1850.

¹³ Hermann Schlüter, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (Stuttgart: Dietz, 1909, repr. 1984), 82–85.

¹⁴ Other prominent names of radical German leaders at this time are: Franz Arnold, J. A. Foersch, and Gottlieb Kellner. Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 115.

¹⁵ Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des Turner-Bundes* (Indianapolis: Zukunft, 1874), 6.

¹⁶ *Turn-Zeitung*, October 15, 1853, 294–95.

¹⁷ *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, June 27, 1850. Cf. Appendix A.

¹⁸ *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, May 31, 1851; *Republik der Arbeiter*, May 31, 1850. Cf. Appendix A.

¹⁹ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 1:212.

²⁰ *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York), May 24, 1856.

²¹ *New York Daily Tribune*, August 26, 1851.

²² *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, February 24, 1854; *New York Daily Tribune*, March 6, 1854. Cf. Levine, 162–65.

²³ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 1:264–69.

²⁴ See Appendix C.

²⁵ The Democrats prevailed in that election.

²⁶ See Villard's list in Appendix O.

Chapter 3. The Kansas Campaign

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[From:] Cincinnati Walnut Street

Corner of Mercer Street

(German Republik) Sept. 23, 54.

Sir,

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

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

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

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

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

Respectfully,

A. Oestreicher⁸

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Who were the earliest German emigrants to come to Kansas?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

from Pfänder's report.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

but it was also an emphatic political statement.⁵⁸

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

fact and admit Kansas as a free state.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ Bergquist, “The Political Attitudes,” 143.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁵ *Annals of Kansas*, 315.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³³ Metzner, 1:261–63.

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

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

³⁶ Metzner, 3:49–51.

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

³⁸ Cordley, 99–105.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶¹ Kansas Historical Society, Coll. Hyatt, 978.

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

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

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

⁶⁵ *Kansas Zeitung*, February 3, 1858.

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

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

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

⁶⁹ *Kansas Zeitung*, September 2, 1857.

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

⁷¹ Spurgeon, 118.

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

⁷³ *Leavenworth Zeitung*, November 20, 1858.

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

⁷⁵ *Kansas Zeitung*, December 30, 1857.

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

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

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

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

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

⁸¹ Metzner 1:88.

⁸² See Appendix E.

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

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

⁸⁵ *Kansas Zeitung*, December 30, 1857.

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

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

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

⁸⁹ Cf. Mildfelt, 25–76.

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

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

⁹² Metzner 2:283–85. See Appendix F.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁸ Gaeddert, 19.

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

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

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

Chapter 4. The Movement against Immigrants

... the American [Know-Nothing] movement proposes to correct these evils and abuses by wise and humane legislation; to protect ourselves from the organized system in the Old World, which subjects us to the support of foreign paupers and the depredations of alien criminals; to thoroughly revise the naturalization laws. . . .

Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts,
The Campaign Bee, October 1855

In the 1850s the American Party, more commonly referred to as the Know-Nothing Party, acquired power in several northeastern legislatures and governments with a broad political agenda that included imposing strict limits on the voting rights of immigrants. Its crowning achievement was an amendment to the Massachusetts constitution to prevent naturalized citizens from voting until two years after obtaining citizenship. What this movement accomplished is actually the reverse of what its proponents had intended. Instead of reducing the political power of immigrants, the movement had the net effect of making immigrants more powerful. Although it appears debatable to what extent the nationwide countermovement, led primarily by German journalists, veterans of the revolutions of 1848, the Forty-Eighters, and members of the Turner societies, was decisive in facilitating the nomination and election of Abraham Lincoln, the details in the course of events show that these German-Americans as a whole played a role as a significant catalyst. Thus, a powerful movement to diminish the influence of immigrants failed and, ironically, the desperate struggle against it became a rallying point and a factor influencing national politics.

When a nation confronts a massive influx of foreigners, widespread hostility to immigrants is predictable. Between 1845 and 1855, close to three million arrivals from foreign lands represented 14.5 percent of the total population and created resentments that politicians exploited, perhaps most notably in Massachusetts. There conditions seemed ripe for the formation of a party that would take up the cause of resisting foreign influence in political life. As early as 1843, the American Party came into being in New York, a party

of nativism, and it demanded restrictions on the voting rights of naturalized citizens. Ten years later, the power of this party became magnified by the network of a secret society, the Know-Nothings, the name of which implied that members were not to divulge the society's secrets.¹ If asked about them, a member was instructed to say that he knew nothing. In 1853, the earliest lodges formed and quickly spread throughout the country. Massachusetts became the showcase for their most stunning successes.

The Know-Nothing ideology had a number of components, the most prominent of which was hidden in the membership requirements. Members were required to be native-born citizens, Protestants, and opponents of the Catholic Church, the so-called Papists. Many lodges also favored temperance laws and opposed the extension of slavery.² Above all, however, the common denominator was that immigration represented a danger. There was a widespread belief that the foreigners, mostly the Irish and Germans, were criminal elements. Abraham Lincoln expressed his opposition to the Know-Nothings as early as 1855: "I am not a Know-Nothing. That is certain. How could I be? How can anyone who abhors the oppression of Negroes be in favor of degrading white people?"³

Not everyone saw the lines drawn so clearly. Henry Wilson, a prominent Massachusetts politician and a radical opponent of the extension of slavery, became a member of a Know-Nothing lodge, and he was willing to make concessions to its extreme position on immigration. He justified his political alliance with the "American movement" by evidence of the evils and abuses that resulted from immigration; the immigrants brought with them social, religious, and political institutions alien to those of the U.S.

. . . the American movement proposes to correct these evils and abuses by wise and humane legislation; to protect ourselves from the organized system in the Old World, which subjects us to the support of foreign paupers and the depredations of alien criminals; to thoroughly revise the naturalization laws. . . .⁴

It is evident from his assertive formulation that he was eager to get this organization's support. Yet he was treading a thin line between political expediency and principles. After gaining the endorsement of the Know-Nothings for a seat in the United States Senate, Wilson proceeded to oppose the extremism of that party.

The Know-Nothings cast a wide net of political interests, and in 1854, with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, they were able to capitalize on an issue that drew many voters who may have had reservations on other sensitive topics into their camp. Nationwide, they claimed to have ten

thousand lodges and about a million members. The elections of late 1854 and early 1855 showed them to be successful in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. In Massachusetts, they could celebrate a stunning victory; the election put Know-Nothing candidates in all offices of the state. The drive to restrict the voting rights of immigrants could begin in earnest.

This effort went through several phases. Initially, the Know-Nothing legislators forged ahead to implement a most extreme form of legislation, intending to bar all immigrants from voting or holding office. For the newly elected Senator Henry Wilson, who had praised the Know-Nothings, this went too far. He asserted that he was "doing all to kill" the measure because "its adoption will be disgraceful to the party and the state."⁵ Such efforts were made even more difficult, when, in wake of the provocation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Republican Party emerged as the leading antislavery movement. Many Know-Nothing members flocked to the new party.

The overwhelming victory of the Know-Nothings in Massachusetts and the birth of the Republican Party resulted in an awkward situation for the German-Americans of the state. Adolf Douai, a prominent leader of German-Americans in Boston and a Forty-Eighter, reflected on this and what he tried to do about it. The Republican Party, as he perceived it, was an unlikely combination of politicians

. . . consisting primarily of old abolitionists, Free Soil Democrats, the remnants of the rapidly weakening Know-Nothing Party. The fact that so many Know-Nothings joined it, greatly undermined German initiatives. Many Germans, like all immigrants, saw their rights as citizens threatened by the Know-Nothings, most of all in New England, where legislatures at that time considered limiting the rights of citizenship for the period of twenty-one years, or at least seven.

Douai was referring to measures that were eventually reduced in severity. In the version presented to the citizens of Massachusetts, the restriction of voting rights applied only for the two years after naturalization. Douai and Dr. Kob appeared at a meeting of a joint committee of the Massachusetts House and Senate to speak in opposition to the proposed amendment.

We showed that this proposal would be of no use to the opponents of slavery in New England because the foreigners were a decreasing minority. Germans were all against slavery and almost all Irish had become Democrats by means of fraud. In fact, the proposition would greatly damage the cause of defeating slavery in the West.

There in four or five states the votes of the Germans were decisive. They were opponents of slavery, but they were unwilling to support an anti-slavery party that threatened their own rights as citizens in a knowledgeable, model state such as Massachusetts.

Douai was making an incisive and farsighted analysis of the potential nationwide impact of the German vote. As early as 1856 he could see that in the western states the German vote could be decisive. He found it necessary, however, to distance the Germans from the Irish. For the Know-Nothing legislators that distinction had no significance. To them the limitation on immigrant voting rights had to be clear and comprehensive. The only consideration seemed to be the number of years after naturalization the immigrant voting rights had to be restricted.⁶

For many German-Americans it was not evident that Republicans, many of whom were Know-Nothings, represented their crucial interests. Nevertheless, in the election of 1856, they engaged in an energetic campaign to elect John Frémont, a fervent opponent of slavery, as president. Even during this campaign, a shift became evident, away from the Know-Nothings and their immigration politics to a focus on the Republican movement against the extension of slavery. This shift was also evident in the actions of Senator Henry Wilson, who was now keenly aware of the significance of German-American voting rights.

Wilson's participation in the second annual festival of the *Turnverein* at Florence Grove outside Boston reflected the shift that was taking place. The Germania Serenade Band greeted the Turner clubs, the Frémont clubs of Boston and vicinity, and an audience of two thousand. The *Boston Atlas* reported on September 9 that Wilson addressed the crowd for "half an hour, during which he alluded to the sufferings of the free settlers in Kansas, of which a large number are Germans, and concluded by urging them to seek redress for the outrages thus inflicted upon their fellow countrymen, by casting their votes for John C. Fremont." Another speaker was the prominent revolutionary Gustave Struve. He discouraged his listeners from voting for the Democratic Party by asserting that such a vote "disgraced his fatherland." Other speakers included Adolf Douai and Karl Friedrich Kob. The assembly passed resolutions in support of Frémont and against the extension of slavery, considered "a crime against free labor, free speech, humanity, and men's rights and as high treason, endangering the existence of the Union, the Republic, and its development."⁷

Elsewhere, prominent Forty-Eighters joined in support of Frémont and the Republican Party. On October 8, German Republicans of New York met and welcomed Friedrich Hecker, who argued that the influence of the Know-

Nothings was bound to dissipate through Frémont's triumph.⁸ Forty-Eighter Reinhold Solger spoke in Philadelphia. The Boston *Atlas* quoted him:

Never, indeed, was a more glorious privilege conferred upon any number of men than that to the exercise of which the German citizens of the United States are being called at this great moment; holding, as they do, in their hands the scales of the world's history for all time to come. [Applause] And having to decide by the weight of their votes for all mankind the question whether or not the theory of free government is a delusion.

Solger concluded with a call for the Republican candidate.

And this will be an everlasting honor to our name: that, deaf to the voice of demagogues and undisturbed by the alarm of Know-Nothing persecution, we have been content to answer the flatteries or furies of the former, and the mistaken hostility of the latter, by simply pledging our lives to the welfare of this country, our hearts to the cause of its free institutions, and our votes to Frémont! [Dr. Solger took his seat under a storm of applause.]⁹

Friedrich Kapp, who acted as the chairman of the meeting, estimated that ten thousand persons attended. He sensed the spirit of the unsuccessful revolutions alive again in totally different conditions and locations.¹⁰

For Douai, who had campaigned with speeches in many places (Boston, Hartford, New Haven, New York, Hoboken, Newark, Philadelphia, Reading, Allentown, Bethlehem, and Easton) the defeat of Frémont was a painful disappointment, but he was proud of what he and the other Forty-Eighters had accomplished in support of the Republicans. He believed that the relative success of the very first Republican campaign "could be considered a revolution. Almost without money a voluntary, enthusiastic, and dedicated conversion work was successfully undertaken by Anglo-American Free Soilers and the German Forty-Eighters."¹¹ Despite Douai's belief that such efforts almost led to victory (if Pennsylvania had not been lost), many German-Americans were still reluctant to abandon their former association with the Democratic Party.

Aware that, despite the failed effort, the German role was significant, Douai and Kob believed that it was not too early to plan for a movement to prevail in the next election. Wasting no time, within three weeks after the election, Douai and Kob embarked on a plan to organize German-Americans on a national basis to resist the tyranny of the proslavery administration. On

the basis of recent events, they asserted confidently that German-Americans could be united into a solid block of voters, and on November 30 they published their proposals in the *Pionier*, a socialist journal edited by Karl Heinzen. Acting on a proposal made by the Frémont Club no. 5 of Boston on September 24, the authors proposed specific steps to establish a national committee, a structure that had links to local organizations, along with a news organ in German and English to represent views to the general public, and a convention to discuss details of organization and implementation. The provisional home of the central committee was to be New York.¹²

In Massachusetts German-Americans had to contend with the continued pressure from the advocates of Know-Nothing initiatives. The anti-immigrant agitation achieved a remarkable success with the ratification of the Two-Year Amendment in Massachusetts. The amendment, which prevented naturalized citizens from voting for a period of two years after obtaining citizenship, became law on May 9, 1859. The law undermined the participation of many German-Americans in the 1860s election. But the success of the Know-Nothings eventually proved to be a decisive turning point. It galvanized the German-American communities to condemn the amendment and to cause a shift among German voters from Democrats to Republicans. The focus on this single issue made the German vote more influential. The 1856 platform of the Republican Party in Philadelphia had guaranteed "equality of rights among citizens," but this general assertion did not prevent the Massachusetts legislature, with a significant number of Republicans voting with the Know-Nothings, to undermine those rights.

Even before the amendment passed, the Republican Club of New Jersey and the German Central Committee of New York met in February 1859 and expressed serious objections to the Massachusetts proposal. Adolph Douai even proposed secession from the Republican Party and the establishment of an independent party to represent German interests. Such an extreme measure could not be taken seriously, and it was not. The most realistic and productive initiatives to take issue with the amendment evolved at the same time in Iowa. *Der Demokrat* of Davenport, February 15, published an editorial by Theodore Olshausen (1802–69), a Turner and a prominent veteran of the revolution in Kiel and a widely respected newspaper publisher in Iowa. He wrote on "Nativism in Massachusetts," asking the German-Americans of Massachusetts to reject the "injurious and obnoxious measure."¹³

The *Daily Illinois State Journal* of Springfield, which probably closely represented the views of Abraham Lincoln, angrily denounced the proposed change: "It must be killed, or Republicanism in all the northwestern and not a few of the eastern states is needlessly and imminently imperiled." The paper proceeded to report other newspapers sharing its concerns, in Wisconsin,

Ohio, and Indiana. Such protestations reflected the practical experience in Springfield, where the same paper observed that recent successes of the Republicans in a city election were due in no small part to the participation of the German-Americans.¹⁴



Based on the 1870 census, this population map shows concentrations of German immigrants in the key states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Courtesy of the Library of Virginia. Lincoln was keenly aware of the power of German-American voting.

On April 18, Carl Schurz spoke in Boston against the amendment, and, according to the report of the *New York Daily Tribune*, the speech was "a noble

vindication of that truly American liberality which invites the oppressed and the exiled of all nations not only to make our country their home, but to share with us the duty and the responsibility of directing its public policy and shaping its destinies.”¹⁵ Olshausen and Schurz were preparing the basis for serious reflection within the Republican Party. The experience of the Republicans in their first national election undoubtedly played a role in the events that unfolded in subsequent weeks. Because the presidential candidate Frémont had been unable to win key western states, the Democratic Party prevailed. Frémont lost in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. In these states there were substantial numbers of German-American voters. Looking ahead, Republican leaders could not afford to ignore them.

A deluge of warnings emanated from Iowa. On April 11, a lengthy letter whose author identified himself as “An Iowa Farmer and True Republican” appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune*. Without the vote of the foreign-born citizens, he insisted, the Republicans could not prevail. He saw thousands of German-Americans continually joining the ranks of the Republicans “so that today, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, New York and perhaps Pennsylvania, can be counted Republican through the strength of the German Republican vote.” The author, as it later became evident, was Nicholas J. Rusch (1822–64), a native of Kiel, who had studied at the University of Kiel and was forced to emigrate because of illegal activities before the outbreak of the revolution. He was a resident of Scott County near Davenport, where he established himself and became prosperous as a farmer. In 1857, successful in a campaign for the office of senator in the Iowa state legislature, he became one of the foremost German-American leaders in the movement against the Two-Year Amendment.¹⁶

German-Americans received key support from John A. Kasson (1822–1910), a native of Vermont who practiced law in St. Louis, where he undoubtedly met recent immigrants from Germany. The spirit of the recent revolutions was not foreign to him. Before coming to Iowa in 1857 he had been selected to deliver the speech welcoming the Hungarian revolutionary Louis Kossuth, and he expressed his empathy with the plight of those who escaped from reactionary repression. Iowa Republicans were quick to recognize his potential for the party; they chose him to become chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. He immediately realized the significance of the German discontent. Under his influence and direction, the State Central Committee, of which Nicholas Rusch was also a member, formulated resolutions to urge Massachusetts to reject the amendment by which “naturalized citizens are deprived of their rights as guaranteed by the constitution and existing laws.” In a letter accompanying the resolutions, Kasson stated that the amendment could “seriously retard the progress of

the essential principles of the Republican Party throughout the country." The resolutions and the letter were dated April 18 and received wide circulation in Iowa.¹⁷

At the same time, United States Senator James W. Grimes (1816–72) confided to his fellow Senator James Harlan (1865–66): "We can do nothing in Iowa without the Republican Germans."¹⁸ To place more emphasis on the seriousness of their concerns, German leaders directed questions to leading Iowa politicians.

1. Are you in favor of the naturalization laws as they now stand and particularly against all and every extension of the probation time?
2. Do you regard it a duty of the Republican Party as the party of equal rights, to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between the native born and adopted citizens, as to the right of suffrage?
3. Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts legislature, attempting to exclude the adopted citizens for two years from the ballot box, as unwise, unjust, and uncalled for?

The authors of the questions were: G. Hillgaertner, Henry Richter, John Bittmann, Theodore Olshausen, Theodore Guelich, and J. B. Webber, almost without exception veterans of the 1848 revolution and active members of the Turners.¹⁹ Their common experience is reflected in their focus and determination to pursue a goal that they considered just. The challenge posed by these questions brought about unambiguous statements by Iowa senators Harlan and Grimes. Harlan declared that "the German Republicans have been and must continue to be an effective element in its organization."²⁰

This widespread recognition of German voting power went hand in hand with the recognition by German-Americans that the new Republican Party could represent their interests in a number of ways. This party, originating in response to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, was opposed to the extension of slavery and thereby supported the cause of free labor in the new territories. Although the issue of slavery dominated, it did not exclude others that supported a movement toward the Republicans. For the German-Americans, the issues raised first by the Free Soil Party and carried forward by the Republicans, were of great interest. Immigrants were eager to claim land in the West. German-Americans were not alone. Southerners perceived the opening of vast lands for settlement in the Homestead Act with great suspicion. President Buchanan vetoed the Homestead Act and thus gave the Republicans a strong cause to fight for. A broad base of interests combined under the Republican banner.²¹

The most prominent German leader among the Republicans was Nicholas Rusch; his unprecedented success in Iowa politics reflected the growing strength of the German community. On June 22, 1859, Rusch officially became the party's nominee as lieutenant governor and thus helped assure a Republican victory. The developments in Iowa were not unique. The Massachusetts initiative provoked similar reactions in Illinois and set the stage for events of national significance.

Notes

¹ Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism & Slavery: The Northern Know-Nothings & the Politics of the 1850s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3 and 11.

² *Ibid.*, 24 and 104–6.

³ Letter to Joshua Speed, August 24, 1855.

⁴ *The Campaign Bee*, October 1855. Cf. Ernest McKay, *Henry Wilson: Practical Radical: A Portrait of a Politician* (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1971), 92–93.

⁵ Anbinder, 127 and 140–41.

⁶ "... the Progressive Society (*Fortschrittsverein*), of which I am a member, and the Turner Society (*Turnverein*), which became united into a single society, collected 900 signatures for an appeal to the legislature, which I delivered and, contacting several members of the House and Senate, stressed that this appeal contained the reasons against the measure. We came several days too late. The House had hurried the bill in three readings, so much that we could only present our appeal to the Senate. It was in vain. . . . When the voting took place about the constitutional amendment, very few people took part, and the majority voted for the amendment" (Adolf Douai, "*Lebensbeschreibung*," manuscript deposited with the Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, 179). Unless otherwise indicated, the translations are mine. FB.

⁷ *Boston Atlas*, September 12, 1856. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* reported on August 15, 1855 about the first of the *Turnverein* festivals at Florence Grove. At this event Dr. Huth, the president of the Boston Turner Society, was the speaker.

⁸ *New York Daily Tribune*, October 8, 1856. The *Tribune* estimated the size of the crowd at 5,000.

⁹ Reporting on the speech delivered on October 11: *Boston Atlas*, October 18, 1856.

¹⁰ Kapp wrote to Feuerbach on October 12, 1856. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Friedrich Kapp: Vom radikalen Frühsozialisten des Vormärz zum liberalen Parteipolitiker des Bismarckreichs. Briefe 1843–1884* (Frankfurt a. M.: Insel, 1969), 73. Wolfgang Hinners, *Exil und Rückkehr: Friedrich Kapp in Amerika und Deutschland, 1824–1884* (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag, 1987), 109. Edith Lenel, *Friedrich Kapp: 1824–1884: Ein Lebensbild aus den deutschen und den nordamerikanischen Einheitskämpfen* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1938).

¹¹ "Lebensbeschreibung," 179.

¹² The following persons signed the proclamation: "Dr. Kob, Dr. Finois, C. Schmidt, Dr. Douai, and A. Babo." *Der Pionier*, September 24, 1856.

¹³ F. I. Herriott documented the history of the German reactions to the Two-Year Amendment, first in Iowa, then in Springfield, Illinois, and, finally, in Chicago, during the crucial Nominating Convention of the Republican Party in 1860. "The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two-Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* 13 (1913): 213–15; Herriott, "The Premises and Significance of Abra-

ham Lincoln's Letter to Theodor Canisius," *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* (1915): 181–254; and Herriott, "The Conference in the *Deutsches Haus* Chicago," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1928): 100–91.

¹⁴ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, March 25, April 2, 5, and 6, 1859. On Lincoln's relationship to this paper, see further discussion below.

¹⁵ Herriott, "The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two-Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," 235.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 222. "The Conference in the *Deutsches Haus* Chicago," 178. On Rusch see also Joachim Reppmann, *Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle! Schleswig-Holsteinische "Achtundvierziger" in den USA 1847–1860* (Wyk auf Föhr: Kuegler, 1994), 48.

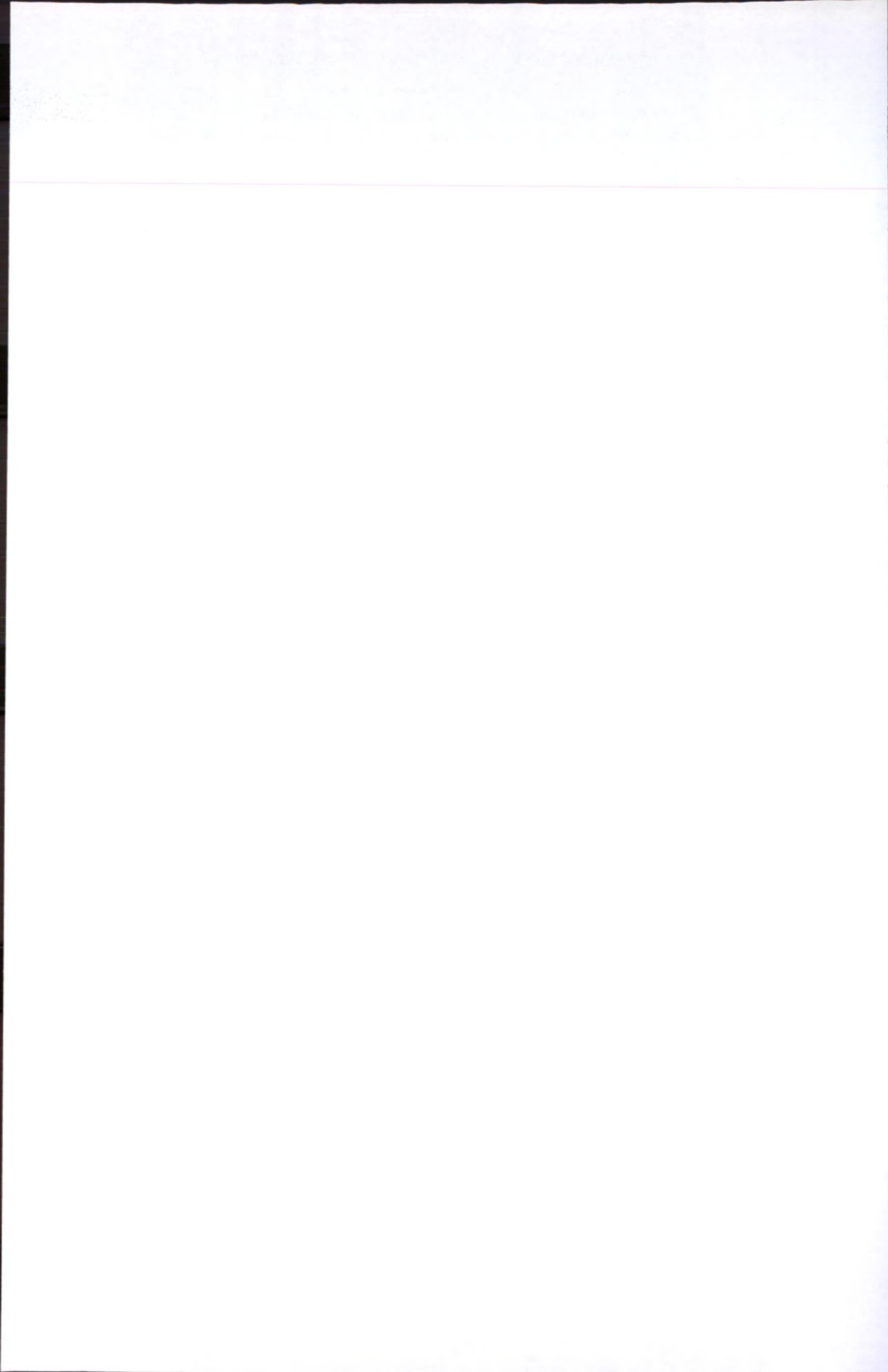
¹⁷ Herriott, "The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two-Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," 226–31. Kasson was a delegate to the Chicago convention and played a key role for the formulation of the so-called "Dutch Plank" on the platform committee. He was elected to the House of Representatives six times. Cf. Edward Younger, *John A. Kasson: Politics and Diplomacy from Lincoln to McKinley* (Iowa City: State historical Society of Iowa, 1955). Cf. Norma Lois Peterson, *Freedom and Franchise: the Political Career of B. Gratz Brown* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965).

¹⁸ Herriott, "The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two-Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," 229–37 and 281. Herriott refers to the same statement by Grimes in two passages, but assigns two different dates, April 14 and April 16.

¹⁹ On Hillgaertner, Bittman, Olshausen, and Guelich, see the biographical appendix in Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 237–44.

²¹ Reinhard H. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1944), 177.



Chapter 5. Lincoln's Gamble for the German Immigrant Vote

In 1854, the wheel of history turned. A train of events that mobilized the antislavery North resulted in the formation of the Republican Party and ultimately provided Lincoln's generation with a challenge equal to or surpassing that of the founding fathers.

Doris Kearns Goodwin,
Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln

After having been condemned to death by the Prussian authorities, George Schneider (1823–1905), a German journalist and veteran of the 1848 revolution, escaped from Germany. He took over Chicago's German paper, the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, and became a staunch opponent of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its author, Senator Douglas.¹ In reaction to the introduction of that bill in Congress, on January 28, 1854, Schneider organized a protest against it, probably the very first in the entire country. On February 8 and 14, and March 16, 1854, Germans-Americans demonstrated again, but more vociferously. A Chicago paper noted: "The Germans in this city are nearly unanimous in their opposition to the measure. During the visit of the Legislature to Chicago last week, a committee of our German citizens waited upon Lieut. Gov. Koerner and placed in his charge a petition signed by several hundred against the repeal of the Missouri compromise, which he was requested to lay before the Legislature."²

For the German-Americans the issue was not only slavery. There was also an odious amendment to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which reflected prejudice against immigrants. Voting privileges and holding office in the new territories was to be restricted to citizens, who also had to swear to support the constitution and "the provisions of this act."³ The *Weekly Chicago Democrat* declared: "The slave power and free foreign labor are antagonistic elements in the politics of the country. If the one prevails the other is overshadowed—they cannot flourish together."⁴

At a meeting on March 16 in South Market Hall, Alderman Francis A. Hofmann (later the Republican nominee for lieutenant governor), who had

been a Lutheran preacher in Germany, "electrified" his audience with his attack on Douglas. At first he spoke about the curse of slavery:

If the party is to rule us with an iron rod—if the party is to dictate measures, at which humanity shudders and against which justice cries out; then gentlemen, we had better break the chains which fetter us to that party, and tear asunder the ties which connect us with its leaders. We cannot, we will not sacrifice liberty to party interests, we cannot, we will not consent without a murmur, that the curse of slavery should blight one inch of that territory which is forever sacred to and set aside for liberty.

Then Hoffmann addressed the feature of the bill that discriminated against foreigners:

Foreigners are deprived of the privilege of voting. That Amendment, gentlemen, is the Devil's cloven foot sticking out without covering. . . . What is the object of this amendment! To advance slavery, to prevent foreigners from settling in that country, and casting their vote in favor of free labor, and in opposition to that terrible system of making capital out of the blood of their fellow men.

The resolutions that followed this speech declared that the Germans had lost confidence in the Democratic Party and considered Douglas "an ambitious and dangerous demagogue" and "a blemish upon the honor the state of Illinois."⁵ The excited crowd that had participated in this meeting then formed a procession and moved on Michigan Avenue, proceeding via Clark to Randolph, and finally arriving at the Court House square. Reaching their destination, the demonstrators hanged and burned an effigy of the senator, "amidst hisses, groans, and hurrahs of the largest number of people ever before assembled in the city on any public occasion."⁶ This act of political defiance became controversial and resonated as such in the entire land. In New York, it was reported that "the great unanimity manifested by the German press and our fellow German fellow-citizens throughout the country, in opposition to the Nebraska scheme so inimical to their Democratic principles, to their cherished hopes and to the renown of their adopted country."⁷ The intense outburst against Douglas signaled the beginnings of a portentous shift away from the Democratic Party.

It was also the time, according to Doris Kearns Goodwin, when the "wheel of history turned." The Kansas-Nebraska Act "mobilized the

antislavery North,” with the resulting formation of the Republican Party, “providing Lincoln’s generation with a challenge equal to or surpassing that of the founding fathers.”⁸ Isaac N. Arnold (1815–84), a prominent lawyer and politician of Illinois and Lincoln’s friend, observed:

In 1854, events occurred, which brought into public action all the power and energy of Mr. Lincoln. The [struggle for the] repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the outrages in Kansas brought him again prominently before the people of Illinois, and from this time, he devoted himself to the conflict between freedom and slavery, until he was elevated to the presidency.⁹

When Lincoln visited Chicago on October 27, he came with recent experience in speaking out passionately against the Kansas-Nebraska Act. On September 12, he was in Bloomington, Illinois, where he had spoken to a German Anti-Nebraska meeting and could observe firsthand that German-Americans were in the forefront of the movement against the Douglas bill. The *Bloomington Pantagraph* reported that his speech was “clear and unanswerable, for it was a plain statement of facts, and of sound, strong argument. . . . he spoke the deep convictions of truth from a heart warmed with the love of his country and the love of freedom.”¹⁰ Lincoln won supporters in the German community on this occasion. When he returned during the Douglas debates, the procession to the speaker’s stand was “headed by an imposing array of German Republicans with an appropriate banner,” probably that of the Bloomington Turners.¹¹ Bloomington provided early evidence of a productive alliance between Lincoln and the German-American voters.

In Springfield, in October, Lincoln delivered, in the presence of Douglas, his “first great speech.” In it he conducted a vigorous attack on the move to extend slavery.

I hate it because [slavery] deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world—enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites—causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty—critici[z]ing the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.¹²

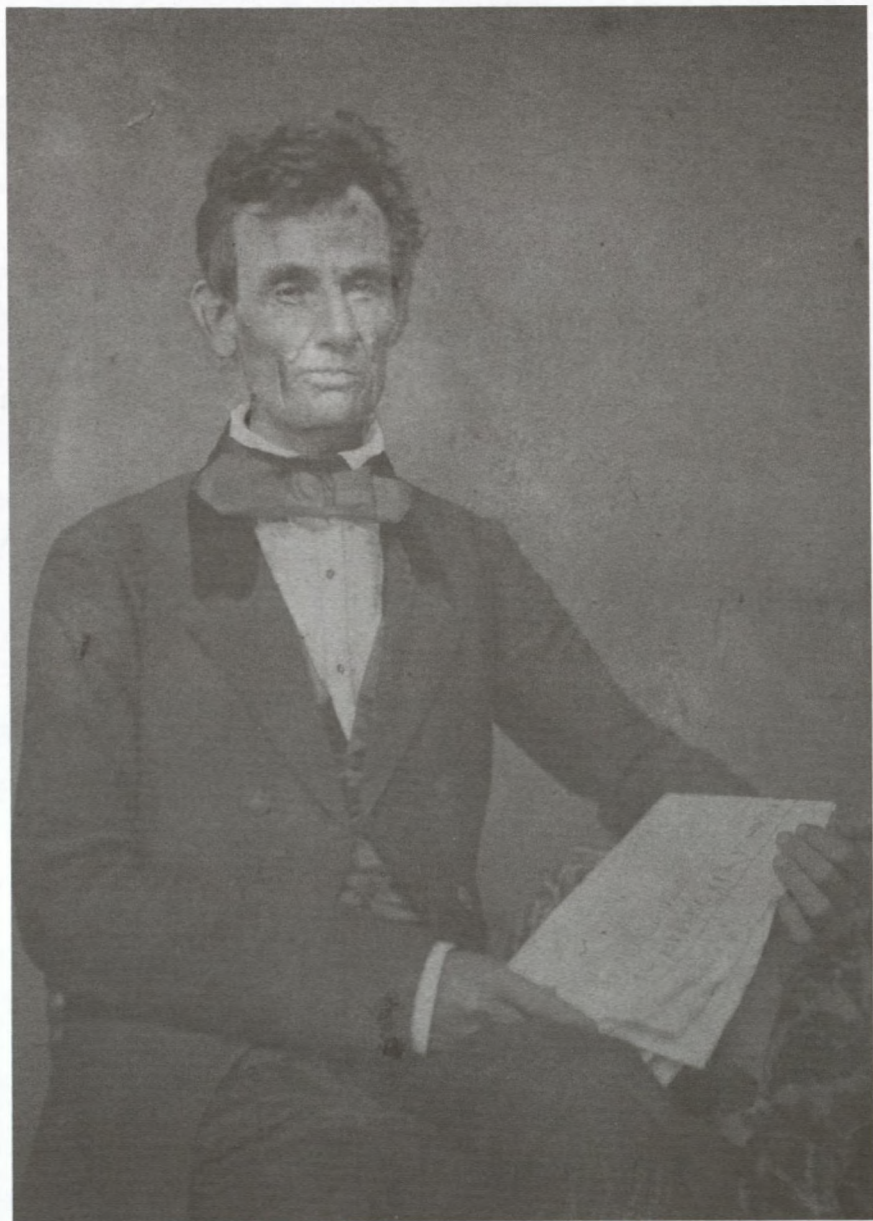
After hearing Lincoln’s speech, William Herndon, Lincoln’s law partner, thought that it was “the profoundest . . . [speech] . . . that he had made in his

whole life.”¹³ Horace White commented in the *Chicago Journal* that it was “one of the world’s masterpieces of argumentative power and moral grandeur, which left Douglas’s edifice of ‘Popular Sovereignty’ a heap of ruins.” Lincoln then continued his passionately energized political campaign against the “Nebraska iniquity” in Peoria and, finally, in Chicago. Horace White had been instrumental in having his paper invite him to speak in that city, where he would help to sway potential voters for his bid in the Senate race and could expect “a crowd of from eight to ten or fifteen thousand.”¹⁴ On October 27, the *Journal* announced: “COME ONE, COME ALL! Hon. Abraham Lincoln, one of the greatest orators and debaters in the country, will address the people of Chicago on the subject of the Nebraska Bill this evening at North Market Hall.”¹⁵

Lincoln presumably repeated arguments of his Springfield speech.¹⁶ A photograph, originally taken on the occasion of this visit, came to public light for the first time in *McClure’s Magazine* in 1896, with an explanation of its connection to George Schneider.

Illustration: LINCOLN IN 1854--HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED. From a photograph owned by Mr. George Schneider of Chicago, Illinois, former editor of the “Staats Zeitung,” the most influential anti-slavery German newspaper of the West. Mr. Schneider first met Mr. Lincoln in 1853, in Springfield. “He was already a man necessary to know,” says Mr. Schneider. In 1854 Mr. Lincoln was in Chicago, and Mr. Isaac N. Arnold invited Mr. Schneider to dine with Mr. Lincoln. After dinner, as the gentlemen were going down town, they stopped at an itinerant photograph gallery, and Mr. Lincoln had the above picture taken for Mr. Schneider.¹⁷

The author of this short text was probably Ida M. Tarbell, who was publishing her successful biography of Lincoln in *McClure’s Magazine* in a serialized form, starting in 1895. Schneider, who was seventy-three years old at this time, lent the picture for use by the *Magazine* and furnished the necessary information. The resulting text was probably based on an interview that Tarbell conducted with Schneider. Isaac N. Arnold, a witness of the photo session, member of the Free Soil Party and an opponent of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, was no longer alive to provide further details.¹⁸ This record of Schneider’s recollections is incomplete, and the published image has been the catalyst for speculations, contradictory assertions, and mystery.¹⁹ Because Lincoln’s encounter with Schneider and the subsequent photographing session occurred at a crucial point in the formation of the Republican Party, an effort to reconcile the various assertions and inferences has merit. The challenge is to disentangle the residues and missteps of fragile recollections.



George Schneider's photograph of Lincoln, originally taken in 1854 by Polycarp von Schneidau. Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum. Both Schneider and von Schneidau recognized in Lincoln as an ally in the fight against the provocative Kansas-Nebraska Act.

It has been generally assumed that the original daguerreotype had been the work of Polycarp von Schneidau (1812–59), who had a studio at 142 Lake

Street and a residence on 55 N. Wells Street. Schneider, with his press office at 49 N. Wells and residence at 52 N. Wells, was certainly an acquaintance who shared with von Schneidau political interests. An immigrant from Sweden, who had served the Swedish king as an officer in his country's navy, von Schneidau was appointed Swedish-Norwegian vice-consul in Chicago in 1852.²⁰ He had been active in political affairs and participated in a Tremont House meeting against the Kansas-Nebraska Act on July 5, 1854. At this meeting he heard prominent Kentucky politician Cassius M. Clay speak. A Col. E. R. Lewis, participant in this meeting (at Lake and Dearborn streets), the aim of which was the establishment of an anti-Kansas-Nebraska coalition, mentioned Consul von Schneidau as one of the participants.²¹ Thus, the photographer shared with Schneider and Arnold an interest in Lincoln as a leader of the movement against Douglas.

When von Schneidau abandoned his photographic career, his studio was purchased by Samuel G. Alschuler, also a photographer in Chicago. The original daguerreotype of Lincoln became Alschuler's possession, but instead of preserving it, the new owner manipulated and transformed it into a new image. Alschuler was able to create an ambrotype and positioned the newspaper in Lincoln's hands in such a way that it now showed the *Press and Tribune* on its masthead. Since this paper came into existence only on July 1, 1858, it could not have been the same paper that Lincoln had in his hands in 1854. When Schneider made his copy of the photograph available for an anniversary publication of his *Staats-Zeitung*, he referred to it as a work of the photographer Alschuler. Perhaps because the title of the newspaper is hardly visible, Schneider made no effort to explain why Lincoln would be holding the *Press and Tribune*.²²

Alschuler's motivation for making the change is not difficult to surmise. He could support the cause of the new publication by connecting it to Lincoln, whom Joseph Medill (1823–99) and Charles H. Ray (1821–70), the publishers and editors of that paper, fervently promoted. Schneider would not have objected. But a mystery still remains: Which newspaper did Lincoln hold in the lost daguerreotype and why?

It would be reasonable to assume that Schneider, for whom the picture was reportedly made, would ask Lincoln to promote his own paper, the *Staats-Zeitung*. This assumption has appeared in several scholarly papers. Recently, however, Matthew Pinsker concluded that this assumption was probably false. He pointed to Schneider's recollections of May 29, 1900.²³ The Anti-Kansas-Nebraska veterans were celebrating then the anniversary of the Illinois Republican Party's origins, which had taken place at Bloomington. Ezra M. Prince reported

A treasured relic brought from Chicago by Mr. Geo[rge] Schneider was the picture of Lincoln taken in a Chicago restaurant in 1854. He was taking dinner with Mr. Schneider and while he was reading a copy of the *Chicago Democrat*, a photographer stepped in and asked permission to take Lincoln's picture and he consented. A copy of the photo was retained by Mr. Schneider and was viewed with deepest interest today.²⁴

Schneider's comments confirm that surviving photograph had an adventurous past, surviving a manipulation of the newspaper in Lincoln's hands. Although his narrative contradicts earlier information in some respects, it confirms that Schneider's meeting and a photographic session with Lincoln took place in 1854. The new piece of information, that the photographer stopped in at the restaurant, is not in the earlier sources, but still within the realm of the possible. It is very unlikely, however, that a daguerreotype could have been set up in those early days of the technological development at a restaurant. A lunch meeting and then a joint visit to the photographer's nearby studio, as reported in the earlier narrative of 1896, is more plausible, and the ideal time for available light would have been the early afternoon. A memory lapse of the elderly Schneider or a mistake in reporting his words by Ezra Prince might explain the apparent contradiction.

On this occasion Schneider remembered and explained the matter of the newspaper in Lincoln's hands. In the text it appears that Lincoln had been reading the paper, and it was a matter of convenience to take it for the photograph. Because Schneider was willing to forgo the possibility of promoting his own paper, his recollection may be accepted as accurate. It is also unlikely that Lincoln would pretend to read a German paper.

The *Weekly Chicago Democrat* and the *Chicago Daily Democrat* were newspapers published by John ("Long John") Wentworth, who represented his city's second district in Congress. Although at this time he still maintained ties to the Democratic Party, Wentworth, strongly urged by the German-Americans of his district, voted against the Kansas-Nebraska Act. When Senator Douglas first proposed this bill in Congress, Schneider quickly responded by convening a meeting in opposition. The resolutions of this gathering of January 29, 1854, were telegraphed to Wentworth in Washington. It is reported that Wentworth responded to the urgings of his constituents: "I see the boys are against the Nebraska Bill; I go with the boys!"²⁵ For Lincoln, who was in Chicago in a campaign against that law, Wentworth was a potential ally in this fight, and it made eminent sense to join forces with him. The photograph with Wentworth's *Democrat* was a strong political statement that both Lincoln and Schneider could stand behind.

The attempted reconstruction of the circumstances of the original daguerreotype cannot be entirely satisfactory, but a review of the various recollections presents a persuasive case for the record of *McClure's Magazine*, presumably supplied by Tarbell (1857–1944) a journalist and competent historian. Because of her program of interviewing those who had known Lincoln, she was, according to one scholar, a “pioneer scientific investigator” of Lincoln’s life.²⁶ She or her editor interviewed Schneider, and their text represents the fragile link to the original photograph. It suggests that Lincoln agreed to have the photograph taken for Schneider’s sake, and because of Lincoln’s friendly gesture toward Schneider, both Schneider and his daughter remembered it as a special treasure in the family’s possession.

Yet most revealing is Schneider’s own recollection that the newspaper in Lincoln’s hands was the *Chicago Democrat*, and not *the Press and Tribune* or the *Staats-Zeitung*. The strategic framing with this paper reflects a political statement. It was an early signal of Lincoln’s vigorous campaign to build a coalition against the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Schneider, von Schneidau, Arnold, and “Long John” Wentworth were to be partners in this new enterprise. Subsequent events confirm the gradual formation of a broad coalition under the umbrella of the Republican Party.

At this time Lincoln was still reluctant to join the call for a new party. He feared that such a party would be too closely linked to the abolitionists, who, in his view, would undermine the prospects of any election victory. For Lincoln the new movement required a careful balancing act. How could he win the conservative voters of his own Whig Party, who viewed foreigners as a threat and, at the same time, entice the foreign voters who felt threatened by those same conservatives? Arnold explained the challenge that Lincoln faced:

Perhaps the greatest difficulty was that of harmonizing the American Whigs with the foreign-born voters. Lincoln had the sagacity to make a simple and single issue, that of hostility to the extension of slavery, and prohibition in all the territories, and to fight the battle on that issue. Triumph upon this issue would be the triumph over slavery, and all else would follow.²⁷

Arnold wrote these reflections a long time after the quickly moving events that he and Schneider experienced firsthand in 1854. Schneider suggested to Arnold that he write about the *History of the Republican Party*, and Arnold considered it seriously. “It is an interesting subject & should cover its origin, record (what it has done), its leaders & its future. You and I were present at its birth, have personally known its leaders & to some extent aided in making its worth in history.”²⁸

In March 1856, a mob attacked Schneider's office because of his position opposing slavery. The mob, apparently intent on taking revenge on the insult to the Douglas effigy, burned Schneider in effigy. The attackers shouted that the "abolitionist" should be driven out of town. The mob was about to attack the newspaper man's office, when the local *Turnverein* rallied in Schneider's defense. The Chicago Turners quickly dispersed the attackers.²⁹

Only a few days earlier, on February 22, a meeting of Illinois newspaper editors took place in Decatur to discuss a united front against the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Schneider had just joined the Republican Party. He and Dr. Charles H. Ray constituted a delegation from Chicago. Schneider wrote: "I entered the Decatur convention with a resolution in opposition to [the Know Nothing] movement, and I had resolved to fight with all my might and win or go down, and with me, perhaps, the new party." Schneider and Ray participated in the six-man committee on resolutions, Ray as chairman. Schneider proposed a resolution against the Know-Nothing limitations on the rights of naturalized citizens, but his proposal encountered a "storm of opposition." In "utter despair" Schneider proposed submitting it to Lincoln, who came to the conference as an observer. Schneider knew Lincoln well enough to assert confidently that his decision would be acceptable.

Lincoln appeared at the meeting and took a forceful stand: "Gentlemen, the resolution introduced by Mr. Schneider is nothing new. It is already contained in the Declaration of Independence, and you cannot form a new party on proscriptive principles."³⁰ The convention of editors proceeded to adopt the resolution

. . . that in regard to office we hold merit, not birthplace to be the test, deeming the rule of Tho[ma]s Jefferson—is he honest? Is he capable?—the only true rule; that we shall maintain the naturalization laws as they are, believing as we do, that we should welcome the exiles and emigrants from the Old World, to homes of enterprise and of freedom in the new.³¹

On this occasion Lincoln is reported to have also said that "we must state our position honestly and openly, and only through an unqualified proclamation can we count on support. The citizens who have adopted this country as their own have a right to demand this from us."³² As far as Schneider was concerned, Lincoln's declaration in 1856 at Decatur helped to establish the new Republican Party "on the most liberal democratic basis." Charles H. Ray of the *Chicago Tribune* saw the results in terms of a practical political victory. The Republicans could gain, he believed, 30,000 antislavery Germans in Illinois by resolving "that the party does not contemplate any

change of the naturalization laws.”³³ Because the Illinois political leaders, who met in Bloomington a few days later, adopted the Decatur platform for the “Anti-Nebraska Party” (soon to be called the Republican Party), Schneider was able to assert with confidence: “The new light which appeared at Decatur and Bloomington spread its rays over the whole of the United States . . . [and] marks one of the great epochs in the history of the country. . . .”³⁴

At this early stage in the history of the Republican Party, Lincoln’s appreciation of the interests of German-Americans is evident. On the other hand, Lincoln made an effort to placate the Know-Nothings in the Republican Party by opposing public funding for Catholic schools.³⁵

Before his participation in the Decatur convention, Lincoln had been essentially a man without a party. He had gradually abandoned the Whig Party, but for a time he had been reluctant to join the Abolitionist Republicans who had organized in Illinois earlier. That had changed by the time of that convention. The primary catalyst was the provocation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but the unjust treatment of immigrants became an additional political concern. Lincoln’s support for Schneider’s resolution signaled a clear pattern to combine his opposition to the extension of slavery with an opposition to the restriction of voting rights of naturalized citizens. The process of becoming a committed Republican went hand in hand with the realization that German-American votes were an essential component in electing John Frémont as the first Republican president.

On the heels of the Decatur conference, the prominent Illinois opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska Act followed with a conference at Bloomington on May 28. Schneider and Lincoln were again active participants in protecting the rights of German-Americans. Joseph Medill, reporting at the time for the *Chicago Tribune*, was able to record only parts of what was later called Lincoln’s lost speech. “I did make a few paragraphs of what Lincoln said in his the first eight or ten minutes, but I became so absorbed in his magnetic oratory that I forgot myself and ceased to take notes; and joined with the convention in cheering and stamping, and clapping to the end of his speech.”³⁶ On this occasion the Republican Party of Illinois was born. Both George Schneider and Friedrich Hecker were nominated as delegates-at-large to the first national convention of the Republican Party in Philadelphia and as presidential electors.³⁷

On September 8, 1856, Lincoln addressed a request to Charles Ray in Chicago for fifty copies of Schneider’s *Staats-Zeitung*, a paper favorable to Frémont. He was evidently prepared to have all these papers distributed to the German-American communities of Illinois. What was so special about these issues of the Chicago paper? No copies have survived, but it is safe to assume that they reported on the Decatur convention and Lincoln’s support

for the voting rights of naturalized citizens.

In his letter of September 8, Lincoln also expressed concern to Ray about the misfortune that befell Friedrich Hecker's property. On August 12, a fire had destroyed Hecker's residence near Belleville. Hecker suspected that he was a victim of politically motivated arson. Because of his fame as a revolutionary leader and as a presidential elector, his services were needed to win over the German-American community for Frémont. To make certain that, despite his misfortune, Hecker would be active in the campaign, Lincoln sought financial aid from Ray and his friends. This letter, which came to light only recently, deserves to be quoted in full.

[September 8, 1856]

[To: Charles Ray]

My Dear Sir:

Have fifty copies, of the [G]erman Fremont paper sent regularly, in one bundle, to Jabez Capps, Mount Pulaski, Logan Co. Ills. Herewith is his letter to me.

Another matter. Owing to Mr. Hecker's house having been burned, we can not get him out to address our [G]erman friends. This is a bad draw-back. It would be no more than just for us to raise him a thousand dollars in this emergency. Can we not do it? See our friends about it. I can find one hundred dollars towards it. Such a sum no doubt would greatly relieve him, and enable him to take the field again. We can not spare his services.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln³⁸

Both "matters," the requests for copies of the German newspaper and for supporting Hecker for the sake of the revolutionary hero's vital services, anticipated the much more concerted drive about three years later to win the votes of Lincoln's "German friends."

In a subsequent letter to Ray, dated only five days later, September 13, 1856, Lincoln expressed the need to act urgently about the fifty copies of the Frémont paper [i.e., *Staats-Zeitung*]. At the same time, he referred to a previous request for an additional 100 copies of the paper to be sent to a different address, to William H. Hanna in Bloomington. Even at this early stage in the emergence of the Republican Party, Lincoln was convinced that the German vote could make a crucial difference. He was willing to invest in the purchase of newspapers, to have them distributed, and to promote the speaking tours for a German revolutionary. The distribution of Schneider's *Staats-Zeitung* appears to have been a rehearsal for Lincoln's more efficient

engagement of Dr. Theodore Canisius to reach and influence voters in a campaign of national significance.

In this second letter to Ray, Lincoln also expressed worries about the German vote: "Last evening I was scared a little by being told that the enemy [is] getting the [G]erman[s] away from us at Chicago. Is there any truth in that?" Lincoln was undoubtedly aware that Douglas owned a Chicago German newspaper, the *National Demokrat*.³⁹ The political fight between the two rival candidates for the German-American votes had become a war of newspapers. The prize for victory in that war reached beyond Illinois. The *Detroit Free Press* observed: "Nothing has been more evident for a long time than the fact that the main dependence of the Black Republicans in all the states where they have an existence is on the German vote."⁴⁰

Lincoln had concluded a Chicago speech against Douglas with an argument based on the Declaration of Independence. Douglas undermined its fundamental concept, equality. Lincoln said: "That is the electric cord in that Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together ..." Lincoln continued by arguing that Douglas refused to recognize the Germans as a people connected with that spirit. What arguments did Douglas employ? The kind of arguments that kings used to enslave. Lincoln demanded to know where the exceptions to the Declaration of Independence would stop. "If one man says it does not mean a [N]egro, why not another say it does not mean some other man?" In saying this, Lincoln was repeating almost word for word the convictions he had expressed to his friend Joshua Speed three years earlier: "As a nation, we began by declaring that '*all men are created equal*.'" He added: "When Know-Nothings get control, it will read '*all men are created equal, except negroes, and foreigners, and [C]atholics*.'"⁴¹

Chicago was an important battleground. During the Lincoln-Douglas debates Lincoln became seriously concerned, once again, about the voting patterns favoring Democrats in southern Illinois. His concerns this time focused on Madison County, an area near St. Louis with a large concentration of German-Americans. Joseph Gillespie had warned Lincoln that in Madison County he could not depend on the Germans, except in the city of Highland. Lincoln hoped to prevent the defection of "Americans," but, at the same time, he did not want to alienate the German-Americans. Believing that Koerner could do something, on July 25, 1858, Lincoln addressed a letter to him about the critical situation: "I write this mostly because I learn we are in great danger in Madison [County]. It is said that half the Americans are going for Douglas; and that slam will ruin us if not counteracted. . . . Can not you, Canisius, and some other influential Germans set a plan on foot that shall gain us accession from the Germans, and see that, at the election, none are cheated in their ballots?"⁴²

Lincoln was referring to Dr. Theodore Canisius (1826–85), publisher of the *Freie Presse* in Alton, Madison County, as a potential helper. The geographic position of Madison County made Lincoln's request urgent. On August 6, Lincoln wrote to Koerner again, reporting to him about a pamphlet being prepared with his Springfield speech of July 17, to be complemented with its translation into German. He envisioned seven thousand copies. At the same time, he expressed concern about voters turning out for Douglas there: "Every place seems to be coming quite up to my expectation, except Madison."⁴³

Lincoln's request apparently failed to achieve an adequate response. Lincoln lost the Senate race, in no small way due to the strength of the Democrats in southern Illinois, referred to commonly as "Egypt." Because of his failure in the Senate race, he became convinced that he must correct past errors or lapses. He was determined to return to Canisius to help win the German-American vote. He realized that a German press in the hands of an intensely dedicated Republican could be an instrument of political success, in Illinois, if not nationally.

The famous debates and contest against Senator Douglas ended in defeat for Lincoln. On January 5, 1859, the Illinois State Assembly convened to vote on the next senator to represent the state. Although the Republicans prevailed in the popular vote, 125,430 for the Republicans to 121,609 for the Democrats, the decisive vote took place in the state assembly, and there the vote was reversed. The Democrats retained control of the legislature and could elect Douglas, 54 to 46.⁴⁴ The bitter defeat turned out to be a prelude to a dramatic comeback in which the dispute about the voting rights of naturalized citizens played a crucial role.

Gustave Koerner (1809–96), who had served his state as lieutenant governor of Illinois in 1853–54, could not help but take notice of the political turmoil in the neighboring state of Iowa. He had to consider its causes and consequences. Koerner belonged to the refugees of an earlier era, having escaped from the German police in 1833 and establishing himself as a successful lawyer and state Supreme Court judge in Illinois.⁴⁵ In 1857 he believed that Lincoln "was still too much on the old conservative order, an excellent man, but no match to such impudent Jesuits & sophists as Douglas."⁴⁶ The debates changed his mind. It was he who brought the issue of the Massachusetts voting restrictions to Lincoln's attention. Koerner wanted the Republican State Central Committee in Illinois to take a strong stance against the amendment. He stated that the German papers were threatening to give up on the Republicans. He saw the loss of the German-American vote as the possible consequence.⁴⁷

With an uproar in Iowa and elsewhere about the restriction of voting rights

of naturalized citizens, an entirely new situation arose. German-Americans were threatening to leave the Republican Party. Numerous ominous articles about the Massachusetts Amendment appeared. Lincoln and the Republicans of Illinois could no longer afford to ignore their implications. What was a missed opportunity in the presidential race of 1856 and the Senate race of 1858 became a necessity in 1859. It was also an opportunity. Koerner urged the Republican State Central Committee to pass a "strong resolution disavowing" the Massachusetts restriction of voting rights. Lincoln wrote to Koerner on April 11 that he had discussed that proposal with the committee, but it needed further discussion.

Reaching home last night, I found your letter of [April] 4th [1859]. The meeting of the Central Committee was at Bloomington, and not here. I was there attending court, and, in common with several other outsiders, one of whom was Judge [Lyman] Trumbull, was in conference with the committee, to some extent. [Norman] Judd privately mentioned the subject, of which you write, to me, and requested me to prepare a resolution, which I did. When I brought in the resolution and read it to the committee, and others present, in an informal way, Judge Trumbull suggested that it would be better to select some act of our adversaries, rather of our own friends, upon which to base a protest against any distinction between native and naturalized citizens, as to the right of suffrage.⁴⁸

Lyman Trumbull (1813–96), United States senator for the years 1855–73, played a central role in these discussions. From Lincoln's report to Koerner it is clear that Trumbull had strong reservations about a Republican resolution. He was reluctant to force Republicans to defend themselves on this issue; the Republicans of Massachusetts, after all, were chiefly responsible for the unfortunate amendment.

Further discussions were needed, and Lincoln left it to Trumbull and Koerner (Trumbull would be in Belleville) to develop an effective strategy for the protest "against any distinction between native and naturalized citizens, as to the right of suffrage." Trumbull was well informed to outline a solution to Koerner.

Trumbull knew Canisius well. Although discussions were secret and did not leave a trail of public documentation, the results are clear. Koerner and Trumbull undoubtedly agreed on a proposal to use Canisius as the primary resource to establish a reliable German-American paper for the Republican Party. Both Trumbull and Canisius resided in Alton. Because Senator Trumbull was in Washington for lengthy periods, he and Canisius

maintained a correspondence about their common political interests, which was to draw the German-Americans away from the Democrats and vote for the Republican Party.⁴⁹

Born in Allendorf, a small town in Westphalia, Theodore Canisius studied medicine and was active in the revolution of 1848–49. After his arrival in St. Louis in 1850, he applied for citizenship, which he acquired five years later.⁵⁰ He completed his medical studies at Dr. Hope's Medical College in St. Louis.⁵¹ He moved to Madison County in Illinois but abandoned medicine in favor of journalism and politics. His career as a newspaper publisher and editor began in earnest in 1857.

In a letter of December 8, 1857, Canisius proudly announced to Senator Trumbull that the first issue of the *Alton Freie Presse* would appear in two weeks. Canisius declared that this paper was to counteract the influence of Alton's other German paper, the *Beobachter*, which had a close Democratic Party affiliation. He proceeded to criticize the Democrats as dull and, in contrast, the Republicans as people animated by a "high sprit of self-confidence and hope of success." For Canisius a lot depended on his own role in influencing German voters in Illinois, especially in Madison County, through his paper.⁵²

Canisius's absolute dedication to the Republican political success reflected the spirit of his revolutionary past. He saw "wonderful progress" toward victories for the Republican Party, and he described the efforts as a war: "anti-Lecompton and anti-Dred Scott." He repeated the German desire to have Congress pass a "Homestead Bill," which, as Canisius reported, a meeting of about 400 Germans had demanded. But he warned that there should be no compromise with the Douglas camp. The Republican organization had to remain "pure." Only without compromises was it possible to assure victory. Canisius saw evidence of progress in recent elections that favored Republican candidates.⁵³

An active member of the Turners, Canisius reported to Trumbull that he gave a lecture in Alton's Turner Hall on the "Origin of Slavery and Progress of the Same in the United States."⁵⁴ In 1858 he represented the *Turnverein* of Alton at the national conference of the organization in Indianapolis. There he probably made contact with another Turner named Theodor Hielscher, an Indianapolis resident who played a significant role in subsequent political events.⁵⁵

In January 1858, Canisius had extended the reach of his paper, initially published only for Alton, to Springfield, for which he expected to add local news; he claimed that this was a good way to overcome the influence of a German Democratic paper in that city and asked Trumbull to help him with contacts there. A few weeks later he reported that he was editing both papers—in February, issues of the *Freie Presse* appeared in Alton and Springfield—

but complained bitterly about costs.⁵⁶ Although it appears that Trumbull supported Canisius with encouragement, contacts, and even finances, whatever financial support Trumbull might have given is not known. At any rate, it was not enough. In May Canisius appeared to be very close to giving up. He had to support his family, even as he saw the "retreat" unfortunate to contemplate. He described his financial situation. The circulation of his paper stood at 700, but he could rely only on 600 paid subscriptions. Advertising was worth nothing. He showed the expenses of production at \$2,500, and that left him with a deficit of \$1,000. Canisius hoped that Trumbull could help to save the paper, and, at the same time, he insisted that the paper was making a difference.

In February 1859, Canisius moved from Alton to Springfield. According to information Trumbull received from Alton, "circumstances of a rather delicate nature" caused Canisius to make this move.⁵⁷ In Springfield, he resided with his family, his wife Emma and his children Eugene and Edes.⁵⁸ He became active in the Republican politics of the city and Sangamon County. A group of over fifty citizens published a newspaper ad to recommend him for the post of city clerk.⁵⁹ For the city election of March 1859 he defined the position of German-Americans. He argued that if the Democratic Party wished to conduct its battle on the platform of national politics, the Republicans were prepared to respond. The love of liberty and their "hatred of doctrines and acts tending to subdue and crush the spirit of universal freedom," and the "opposition to the barbarous institution of slavery" represented the legacy of the Germans. Canisius then referred to the Massachusetts encroachment on "the rights of a portion of citizens guaranteed to them by the Constitution." His article prepared the stage for the issues that concerned Lincoln and his friends.

The conclusion of his article also reflected tensions between the two political parties in terms of religion and nationality. Canisius stressed in his final words that the Democratic ticket had too much of the Irish spirit ("infused with an excess of Hibernianism"). Although Lincoln did not approve of limiting the rights of any category of citizens, he is reported to have had reservations about Catholic positions in politics. William H. Herndon, his law partner, declared: "He had no prejudices against any class, preferring the Germans to any of the foreign element, yet tolerating—as I never could—even the Irish."⁶⁰ Even if Lincoln was reluctant to express it, his party tended to side with the Protestant Germans against the Catholic Irish.

Koerner, Trumbull, and Lincoln probably held discussions about how to react to the Massachusetts Amendment and, at the same time, how to support Canisius in an effort to win the German-Americans to the Republican cause.

As in Iowa, Illinois Republican leaders had to communicate to the German-American community that they condemned any restrictions of their voting rights. Closely connected to this plan had to be the financial arrangements necessary to save the German press to serve the same cause. On May 12, the *Daily Illinois State Journal* reported that Massachusetts had voted to adopt the "odious" amendment. As early as March 25, when the amendment was first proposed, the paper had declared: "It must be killed, or Republicanism in all the northwestern and not a few eastern states is needlessly and imminently imperiled." After the adoption of the amendment, the Republicans of Springfield met to discuss a resolution to protest "against any such law, at all times and everywhere; and that we now and here send out to the world these great principles: namely, Liberty and Equality to all American citizens, whether foreign-born or native; and Freedom and Justice to the races or races of mankind." Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, supported the resolution forcefully: "This law," he said, "is wrong and unjust—once an American citizen always so. . . . I go the full length of justice to all men—equality among all American *citizens*, and freedom to the race of man."⁶¹

Lincoln used this occasion to take an unambiguous stand. He did so through Canisius. Edward D. Baker, editor of the *Daily Illinois State Journal* and related to Lincoln since 1855 by marriage to his niece, Julia Edwards, had a strong personal interest in promoting Lincoln's views. Baker published Lincoln's letter to Canisius. Introducing the letter, Canisius explained that Lincoln's views corresponded precisely to the beliefs of the German-Americans:

I have received today [Springfield, May 17] a letter from Hon. Abraham Lincoln in regard to the "Massachusetts Amendment" and the proposed "fusion" of the Republican Party with other opposition elements in 1860. This letter of one of the gallant champions of our state is in accordance with the views of the whole German population, supporting the Republican Party, and also with the views of the entire German Republican press. It therefore would afford me pleasure if you would give it publicity through your widely circulated journal.

Lincoln's letter to Canisius followed:

Dear Sir: Your note asking, in behalf of yourself and other German citizens, whether I am for or against the constitutional provision in regard to naturalized citizens, lately adopted by Massachusetts; and whether I am for or against a fusion of the Republicans, and other opposition elements, for the canvass of 1860, is received.

Springfield, May 17, 1858
 Dr. Theodore Canisius
 Dear Sir,
 You are asking, in behalf of
 yourself and other German citizens, whether I
 am for ^{the} constitutional provision in regard to
 naturalized citizens, lately adopted by Massachu-
 setts, and whether I am for or against a fusion
 of the republican and other opposition elements,
 for the canon of 1860 is necessary.
 Massachusetts is a sovereign and independent
 state, and it is no privilege of mine to decide
 for what she does. Still, if from what
 she has done, an inference is sought to be
 drawn as to what I would do, I may, without
 impropriety, speak out. I say then, that as I un-
 derstand the Massachusetts provision, I am against
 its adoption in Illinois, or in any other place,
 where I have a right to oppose the Union. Con-
 sidering the spirit of our constitution to aim at the ex-
clusion of men, I am opposed to whatever tends
 to degrade them. I have some little anxiety

for communicating the offensive contents of the paper;
 and I should be strangely inconsistent if I could for-
 get my project for curtailing the printing rights of
white men, even though born in different lands
 and speaking different languages from myself.
 As to the matter of fusion, I am for it, if it
 can be had on republican grounds; and I am not
 for it on any other terms. A fusion on any other
 terms, would be as foolish as unprincipled.
 It would bow the whole North, while the
 common enemy would still carry the whole
 South. The question of men is a different one.
 There are good patriotic men, and able statesmen
 in the South whom I would cheerfully support,
 if they would now place themselves on republican
 grounds. But I am again letting down their
public standards a hair's breadth.
 I have written this hastily, but I believe it will
 answer your questions satisfactorily.
 Yours truly,
 Abraham Lincoln

Lincoln's widely publicized letter to Canisius. Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum. Following only days after his purchase of a German printing press for Canisius, Lincoln spoke out against a potential infringement affecting voting rights of German-Americans.

Massachusetts is a sovereign and independent state; and it is no privilege of mine to scold her for what she does. Still, if from what she has done, an inference is sought to be drawn as to what I would do, I may, without impropriety, speak out. I say then, that, as I understood the Massachusetts provision, I am against its adoption in Illinois, or in any other place, where I have a right to oppose it. Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the *elevation* of men, I am opposed to whatever tends to *degrade* them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the Negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I could favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of white men, even though born in different lands, and speaking different languages from myself.

Lincoln also responded to a question about expanding the base of the Republican Party.

As to the matter of fusion, I am for it, if it can be had on Republican grounds; and I am not for it on any other terms. A fusion on any other terms, would be as foolish as unprincipled. It would lose the whole North, while the common enemy would still carry the whole South. The question of men is a different one. There are good patriotic men, and able statesmen, in the South whom I would cheerfully support, if they would now place themselves on Republican ground. But I am against letting down the Republican standard a hair's breadth. I have written this hastily, but I believe it answers your questions substantially.⁶²

Contrary to his disclaimer, Lincoln's letter was part of a carefully crafted political strategy to regain the confidence of German-Americans in the Republican Party. Baker commented on the letter: "We are glad Mr. Lincoln has written this letter. It is plain, straightforward and directly to the point. It contains not one word too much, neither does it omit anything of importance."⁶³ The publication of Lincoln's letter in Springfield was followed by a second publication. The *Chicago Press and Daily Tribune* printed the text on May 21 and gave credit to the Springfield paper. It established a pattern of relying on Baker's paper, and that pattern strengthened Lincoln's political position, especially during the events leading to the Chicago convention in 1860. Lincoln believed that the initiative against the amendment was necessary because it endangered the future of the Republican Party. In a letter to Indiana Congressman Schuyler Colfax, he wrote: "Massachusetts Republicans should have looked beyond their noses; and then they could not

have failed to see that tilting against foreigners would ruin us in the whole North-West."⁶⁴

The Springfield's *Daily Illinois State Journal* also published Lyman Trumbull's letter addressed to "Theodore Canisius, Charles Hermann, and Others." Like Lincoln's, Trumbull's strong position makes his involvement in supporting Canisius understandable. He wrote:

I have, therefore, no hesitation in answering your inquiries in regard to the recent amendment of the Massachusetts constitution, excluding persons hereafter naturalized, for two years thereafter, from the right of suffrage. Such a provision creates an unjust discrimination between citizens, violates the great principle of equal rights, and is in the very teeth of the Republican Creed.⁶⁵

During the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Canisius had declared that "Mr. Lincoln is pretty sure to win," but he added that Madison County had to go Republican.⁶⁶ A constant theme in these letters was the crucial role of *Freie Presse* in promoting the Republican Party. Canisius claimed to have gained a good reputation throughout the state; his articles were reprinted not only in Illinois but also elsewhere in the country. In 1859, perhaps encouraged by Trumbull and Koerner, Canisius moved to Springfield. Lincoln reacted to Canisius's plea for help. Based on the bitter experience of the failed Senate race, Lincoln clearly recognized the advantages of supporting Canisius and a renewed effort to win German votes in Madison County and elsewhere. He decided to invest, and the aid allowed Canisius to revive his paper with a new identity, as the Illinois *Staats-Anzeiger* (State Advertiser). Lincoln agreed to purchase the available printing press with German type, which he then sold secretly to Canisius. Lincoln purchased the press from John M. Burkhardt, an early German settler in Springfield. The legal document stated: "Canisius will publish the newspaper for the Republican Party until the presidential election of 1860," when the press will become his property. The agreement of May 30, 1859, stipulated only that the press would support the Republican cause.⁶⁷ The address of Canisius's print shop was the "east side of Fifth Street, between Jefferson Street and the Public Square."⁶⁸ Lincoln's office was only a few feet away at 6th and Adams, bordering the public square. With an obliging printing press at his disposal, Lincoln was now in an ideal position to reach and win over the German-American voters.

Lincoln's efforts to raise money for the project involved addressing the State Republican Committee, whose chairman was Norman Judd. He had asked Judd for financial aid to support Canisius. Judd refused to help and advised Lincoln, moreover, not to continue his efforts to help Canisius, which

would involve "a large amount of money." Judd confided:

I cannot get money for that purpose and especially so large an amount—I cannot presume to act in that matter of the newspaper without direction of the [State Republican] Committee—I am watched more than in other times and must be guarded about taking responsibility as this world is awful[ly] jealous and given to slander and detraction—I can say to you in confidence what you [should already] know[,] that Canisius is a leech. He sucked more blood from you at Springfield and from the Comm[ittee] than the whole establishment was worth.—You can get no guarantee that if you make the first expenditure there will not be afterwards continued calls. . . .⁶⁹

Canisius needed a lot of money, and Judd knew that he had gotten some from Lincoln previously, but he needed still more. Judd was unwilling to participate in what he saw as a hopeless cause. Lincoln was prepared to overlook the apparent weaknesses in Canisius's character and his lack of skills in handling his finances. For him the potential results made the risk worth taking. Lincoln's political aims in making this substantial investment becomes clear when seen in the context of the letter to Canisius and its subsequent dissemination. Following the Douglas debates, Lincoln himself was in serious financial trouble. He confided to Norman Judd that he was "absolutely without money now for even household purposes."⁷⁰ The financial sacrifice was ostensibly for the sake of the Republican Party. The contract about the press required that the paper should "not depart from the Philadelphia and Illinois Republican platforms." If Canisius served the interests of the Republican Party until the presidential election of 1860, he could eventually become the sole owner of the press. It was a generous offer that coincided perfectly with Canisius's business interests and his political beliefs.⁷¹ Canisius was certainly not a participant for financial gain. He was a committed Republican, who gave up a medical practice to be totally engaged in politics. He joined the Turners undoubtedly for political reasons. Lincoln later rewarded Canisius with a consular position in Vienna. Canisius's biography of Lincoln reflects an author genuinely convinced of the greatness of his subject. For him Lincoln was the ideal leader of the Republicans and thereby best for all German-Americans.⁷²

How could Lincoln manage to help Canisius? The state committee of the Republican Party refused to accommodate. Initially, Canisius needed at the very least \$400.⁷³ Inadvertently, Carl Sandburg provided the explanation for the expensive project at a time when Lincoln lacked personal resources.

According to Sandburg, Lincoln was asked by a caller to use his influence in a certain legal quarter; for this he was offered \$500. According to Sandburg's biography of Lincoln, William Herndon recalls a situation in which Lincoln acquired a significant sum of money for the purpose of supporting a German printing press.

I heard him refuse the \$500.00 over and over again. I went out and left them together. I suppose Lincoln got tired of refusing, for he finally took the money; but he never offered any of it to me; and it was noticeable that whenever he took money in this way, he never seemed to consider it his own or mine. In this case he gave the money to the Germans in the town, who wanted to buy themselves a press. A few days after, he said to me in the coolest way, "Herndon, I gave the Germans \$250 of yours the other day." "I am glad you did, Mr. Lincoln," I answered. Of course I could not say I was glad he took it.⁷⁴

Because Sandburg did not provide a date or a specific source for this text, it might be vulnerable as a reliable report. The text is absent from Herndon's famous biography of Lincoln.⁷⁵ The authenticity of this narrative can be confirmed, however, by an interview that C[aroline] H. Dall conducted in Springfield with Herndon.⁷⁶ The *Atlantic Monthly* provides the evidence that Sandburg recreated the record of 1867 faithfully. Only the introductory question to Herndon and the beginning of his response are missing in Sandburg's text. Dall had asked Herndon: "Did Mr. Lincoln *never* do an unfair thing?"⁷⁷ "I cannot say he *never* did," Herndon responded, "for I remember one or two rare instances. One morning a gentleman came here and asked him to use his legal influence in a certain quarter, where Lincoln again and again assured him he had no power." Then Sandburg reproduced the rest of the Herndon interview with Dall word for word.

Although Sandburg did not connect this anecdote to the 1859 purchase and contract of the printing press, it is difficult to avoid this evident connection. The offer of \$500 enabled Lincoln to help Canisius acquire a printing press.

On April 4, 1859, accounting records show that Lincoln received \$497.50 from Ketchum, Howe and Company. Morris Ketchum was an executive of the Illinois Central Railroad, for which Lincoln performed legal services. Lincoln deposited this amount and withdrew it on the same day.⁷⁸ In that same month, probably in the latter part of April, according to Herriott, Lincoln was a special guest of the Illinois Central Railroad for a journey to Iowa, and he traveled in an exclusive train compartment. He attended

court hearings in Galena for the company, which was engaged in establishing railroad connections to Dubuque and other points in eastern Iowa. It is reported that Lincoln resided in the "swank" Julien House in Dubuque.⁷⁹ The generous offer of \$500 to Lincoln may have been part of the Illinois Central's efforts to expand its reach to the West.

If Lincoln lacked funds when he acquired a printing press for Canisius, an offer of money from the Illinois Central might appear like a practical way to deal with a delicate political problem. Lincoln had generously awarded a press to the Germans in Springfield. It is reasonable to expect a time before he signed the secret contract with Canisius at the end of May 1859.⁸⁰

Connecting the Herndon interview of 1867 with the Canisius contract for a German printing press raises questions. Herndon thought that he took the money against his own better judgment. Did Herndon consider the money offered a bribe? He stated that Lincoln's resistance to taking the offered money was based on his inability to do what was expected of him, to exert influence in a quarter where "he had no power." Herndon's assertion that he was *not* glad that Lincoln took the money implies that the law partner had definite reservations about Lincoln's accepting the \$500.

Could Herndon also blame Lincoln for disposing of Herndon's share without consultation? In this case the answer is very clear: The lack of consultation definitely violated a principle that Herndon elsewhere reported in Lincoln's own words: "I make it a practice never to use any man's money without his consent first obtained."⁸¹

Herndon's anecdote was a response to Caroline H. Dall's question whether Lincoln had "ever done an unfair thing." His remarks imply at least two issues of concern: first, that Lincoln accepted money when it was not entirely proper to do so, and second, that he rushed to use it hastily without consultation. Both uncharacteristic actions show that acquiring the money and giving it to the Germans were matters of personal importance to Lincoln. The contract with Canisius referred to a service for the Republican Party, but Lincoln's personal stake made it expedient to keep the entire transaction secret.

To make public a business deal that made Canisius simply a promotional agent, essentially for profit, would have been counterproductive. Any news about this financial arrangement or its funding source could have undermined the entire initiative. There was, in addition, the consideration that Lincoln could communicate his support to the German-American community without estranging the conservative wing of his party, the remnants of the Know-Nothings. The new arrangement responded to Trumbull's concern that the Republicans should not have to defend a stand that might estrange certain Republican factions.⁸² Part of such calculations was the need to keep

Lincoln's political ambitions out of the public view. According to Herndon, "Lincoln was one of the most secretive men that ever lived. . . . Lincoln never told mortal man his purposes and plans—never."⁸³

The publication of Lincoln's letter to Canisius and Lincoln's financial support for a German newspaper must be seen as part of a single strategic decision. Lincoln was determined to articulate his position on the Massachusetts issue and thereby influence the German vote. He believed that in Illinois the winning of the German-American vote was the key to success. At the same time, he gradually elevated their voting rights concerns to a nationwide level. No copy of the Illinois *Staats-Anzeiger* from the 1850s is known to have survived. On the other hand, there is much evidence of correspondence addressed to that newspaper on the amendment question. Lincoln himself attempted to spread the word about the *Staats-Anzeiger*. He sent a copy to a German acquaintance, Frederick C. W. Koehnle: "By this mail I send you a specimen copy of the new [G]erman paper started here. I think you could not do a more efficient service than to get it a few subscribers, if possible. I have sent a copy to Capps at Pulaski."⁸⁴ Lincoln probably made sure that many politicians in the state legislature would subscribe to this paper, which they could receive free of charge, at the expense of the state. The records of the Illinois State Archives show that Canisius received a payment of \$404 for 552 copies distributed to state senators and representatives.⁸⁵ These papers presumably found their way into the hands of the German-Americans who lived in the communities of the state representatives.

Had Lincoln been thinking early on about his own potential as a presidential candidate? Harry E. Pratt, the scholar who explored Lincoln's finances most exhaustively, noted that Lincoln was willing to "gamble on his chances of being nominated for the presidency as early as the spring of 1859." He attributed the portentous "gamble" on nothing less than to the purchase of the German language newspaper.⁸⁶ To understand fully how Lincoln integrated that purchase into a series of political steps, it is necessary to see it intimately linked to the letter he addressed to Canisius about the Massachusetts Amendment. Informing German-Americans of his support and, at the same time, engaging in secret and morally vulnerable maneuvers to win German friends suggest that Lincoln's actions were deeply motivated and not just the ordinary deeds of a loyal party member. Such risk-laden actions reflect more than simply a commitment to the Republican Party. To reveal his personal ambitions to the general public was, at this stage, out of the question, but to make cautious moves to win the political allegiance of German-American voters appears, in retrospect, as the calculation of a realistic politician.

After the failed senatorial election Lincoln confided his thoughts about

his defeat to Herndon. George Alfred Townsend, who recorded his interview with Herndon, called it "the most remarkable episode" in his conversation. Lincoln reportedly said: "This defeat will make me president."⁸⁷ Again, in response to his defeat, Lincoln commented: "Douglas has taken this trick, but the game is not played out."⁸⁸ Even if the offhand remarks cannot be taken as a serious plan, they should not be discounted entirely. Lincoln's strong interest in the presidency appears most evident in reports on a meeting of Republican leaders about the same time. Discussion at that meeting turned to the imminent election of 1860. In response to the question about the person to consider for the presidency, Lincoln surprised his colleagues with the suggestion of making him the candidate: "Why don't you run me?" he said. "I can be nominated, I can be elected, and I can run the government." Such remarks could have been made so freely only to good friends who knew that they had to be kept secret.⁸⁹ On the other hand, there is overwhelming evidence of Lincoln's protestations in public against the idea of the presidency. The difference between private ambitions and public protestations need not be thought of as a contradiction. It made perfect sense for an astute politician in the role of a dark horse to remain silent until the last possible moment. If it is true that Lincoln expressed private thoughts about his candidacy as early as January 1859, it should not be surprising to discover more specific considerations and actions just a few months later.

Michael Burlingame observed that after his defeat in January 1859 Lincoln began acting like a presidential candidate, despite his claims to the contrary.⁹⁰ The acquisition of the German printing press to create a solid alliance with the German-American voters reflected his belief that those voters could make a difference and that to win their votes it was important to act aggressively. Investment in the press was not an isolated incident; it took place in carefully planned coordination with the public letter to Canisius, in which Lincoln vigorously defended the voting rights of German-Americans.

F. I. Herriott, who conducted extensive research on the impact of that letter to Canisius, has shown that it generated a virtual storm of editorials and articles in German papers nationwide. If Herriott had known that this letter was part of a secret strategy that included the purchase of a German press and Lincoln's eye on the presidency, he might have elaborated on the importance of Lincoln's initiative. After the focus on the Republican presidential candidates narrowed in 1860, the German position in the national debates emerged in greater clarity and significance. Canisius made sure that Lincoln's letter continued to be printed and reprinted in German papers throughout the country.⁹¹

Notes

¹ Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, 339–40; Paul Selby, “George Schneider,” *Illinois State Historical Society, Papers in Illinois History and Transactions* (1906): 329–31. Jacob E. Mueller, *Chicago und sein Deutschtum* (Cleveland: German-American Biographical Publ. Co., 1901–02), 109–12.

² Quoting the *Chicago Democratic Press* of February 20, Paul Selby, “Lincoln and German Patriotism,” *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 13 (1913): 514.

³ F. I. Herriott, “The Germans of Chicago and Stephen A. Douglas in 1854,” *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 12 (1912): 390–7. The Chicago Congressman John Wentworth opposed the restriction of foreigner rights, and he was successful in getting this amendment eliminated from the final bill. Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Chicago Giant: A Biography of “Long John” Wentworth* (Madison, Wisconsin: The American Research Center, 1957), 129.

⁴ June 14, 1856.

⁵ Herriott, “The Germans of Chicago and Stephen A. Douglas in 1854,” 394–79.

⁶ Bergquist, “The Political Attitudes,” 144, quoting the *Chicago Tribune*, March 18, 1854.

⁷ Reported about a meeting of the “American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.” Selby, “Lincoln and German Patriotism,” 510–35, 515. Cf. Herriott, “The Germans of Chicago and Stephen A. Douglas in 1854,” 381–404, 399.

⁸ Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 160.

⁹ Isaac N. Arnold, *The History of Abraham Lincoln and the Overthrow of Slavery* (Chicago: Clarke & Co., 1866), 89.

¹⁰ Paul M. Angle, ed., *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 134.

¹¹ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, September 7, 1858. The Turner Society of Bloomington was founded in April 1855. William Adams, *The Turners in Bloomington* (Normal, Illinois: William H. Adams, 1998), 3.

¹² Michael Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), I, 379–87. Lincoln is said to have delivered the same speech in Peoria. Cf. Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:255.

¹³ Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life*, 1:387.

¹⁴ David C. Mearns, *The Lincoln Papers* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1848), 1:189–90.

¹⁵ *Daily Journal*, October 27, 1854, 3.

¹⁶ Chicago’s *Daily Journal* reproduced only short fragments from his speech. Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:283–84.

¹⁷ The daguerreotype with the same text was also published in Ida M. Tarbell, *The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: McClure, 1896), 12.

¹⁸ A strong supporter of Lincoln, Arnold later served in Congress and was given credit for a crucial role in the legislation for emancipation. James A. Rawley, “Isaac Newton Arnold, Lincoln’s Friend and Biographer,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 19 (1998): 39–56.

¹⁹ The original photograph was made by Johan Carl Frederic Polycarpus von Schneidau, but Samuel Alschuler, who had purchased Schneidau’s studio, manipulated the original daguerreotype. The resulting ambrotype now shows the *Chicago Press and Tribune* in Lincoln’s hands. Cf. Lloyd Ostendorf, *Lincoln in Photographs: A Complete Album* (Dayton, Ohio: Rockywood, 1998), 18–19.

²⁰ New York Times, June 9, 1852. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F20A17FE3B55177493CBA9178DD85F468584F9> Von Schneidau’s naval career effectively ended with his marriage to a Jewish woman, and he emigrated to the United States in 1842. Ernst W. Olson, *History of the Swedes of Illinois* (Chicago: Engberg-Holmberg, 1908), 193–96.

²¹ Von Schneidau's name appears as Consul Schreidau. Other participants were: Cassius Clay, Dr. Egan, J. Young Scammon, Attorney McIlroy, P. M. Scripps, Iver Lawson, Andrew Nelson, J. H. Kedzie, R. K. Swift, P. Almini, N. Peterson, P. Hussander, Charles J. Sundell, and Dr. Gibbs. "Birth of the G.O.P." *Chicago Tribune*, September 30, 1894. Nils William Olsson, "Abraham Lincoln's Photographer," <http://www.kb.se/dokument/Aktuellt/audiovisuellt/N%C3%A5gra%20hyll%20nings%20centimeter/217-222OlssonAbrahamLincoln.pdf>. I am grateful to George Jones for precise information about von Schneidau.

²² "... aus jenen Tagen [1854] stammt das beifolgende treffliche Bild Abraham Lincolns, das der deutsche Photograph Allschüler [*sic*] aufgenommen hat und das uns von Herrn Schneider für die Jubiläumsnummer freundlich zur Verfügung gestellt worden ist." ("... the fine picture shown here, made by the photographer Allschüler [*sic*], which Mr. Schneider has made available to us, originated in those days [of 1854]." FB) *Jubiläumsausgabe zum 50-jährigen Bestehen der Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, April 21, 1898, section 2.

²³ Pinsker also suggests the possibility that Lincoln had visited Chicago earlier. Clara Schneider Berger, George Schneider's daughter, who presented Schneider's photograph to the Chicago Historical Society in January 1825, remembered that the photograph "was taken in the presence of my father August 9th, 1854. Lincoln and he had dined together, walking down Lake St. a photographer recognized them and invited both of them to have their pictures taken and this one was the first copy." As long as no independent confirmation for a Lincoln stay in Chicago for August 9, 1854, exists, this date must remain speculative. Cf. Matthew Pinsker, "Not Always Such a Whig: Abraham Lincoln's Partisan Realignment in the 1850s," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 29 (2009): 27–46. Pinsker's article displays the copy that the Lincoln Presidential Library in Springfield acquired in 2006. The image in this case is reversed. For another copy in a private collection see R. Bruce Duncan, "The Day Lincoln Lied" [about Polycarp von Schneidau], *The Daguerreian Annual* (2005): 85–90. Charles Hamilton and Lloyd Ostendorf, *Lincoln in Photographs* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside, 1985), 18–19.

²⁴ Ezra M. Prince, ed., "Commemorative of the Convention of May 29, 1856," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society* 3 (1900): 12.

²⁵ A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago: Andreas, 1884), 390; *Jubiläumsausgabe zum 50-jährigen Bestehen der Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, April 21, 1898, 7; Wilhelm Rapp Papers at the Newberry Library in Chicago.

²⁶ Judith A. Rice, "Ida M. Tarbell: A Progressive Look at Lincoln," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 19 (1998): 57–72; Benjamin P. Thomas, *Portrait for Posterity: Lincoln and His Biographers* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1947), 201. References to Schneider in Tarbell's book on Lincoln suggest that she might have received information directly from Schneider. Ida M. Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Doubleday, 1909), 1:290 and 340.

²⁷ Isaac N. Arnold, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago: Jansen, McClung & Co., 1885), 125. The danger of losing the votes of the Know-Nothings was real. Cf. David Levine, "The Vital Element of the Republican Party: Antislavery, Nativism, and Abraham Lincoln," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 1 (2011): 481–503, especially note 63.

²⁸ Arnold hoped to receive \$1,000 for the publication of a book of 100 to 200 pages. There is no record of completion. Arnold's letter of November 28, 1879. Chicago Historical Society, Schneider file, 323 XD.

²⁹ *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, March 15, 1856. Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes," 196.

³⁰ George Schneider, "Address [on Lincoln at the 1856 Illinois State Republican Convention]," in Ezra M. Prince, "Convention of May 29, 1856," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society* 3 (1900): 87–91. Selby, "Lincoln and German Patriotism," 517. Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes," 200.

Cf. James M. Bergquist, "The Forty-Eighters: Catalysts of German-American Politics," in Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore, eds., *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Co-*

operation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 28; A. E. Zucker, 338–9. Schneider insisted that the editors agree on a “moderate anti-Know-Nothing plank.” Otto R. Kyle, *Abraham Lincoln in Decatur* (New York: Vantage, 1957), 72.

³¹ Kyle, *Abraham Lincoln in Decatur*, 141.

³² Theodor Canisius, *Abraham Lincoln: Historisches Charakterbild* (Vienna: Reisser, 1867), 214–15. The English quotation of Lincoln’s statement is a translation from the German text of Canisius.

³³ Bergquist, “The Political Attitudes,” 206. Quoting from the same source, Burlingame reads 20,000 in Ray’s letter to Trumbull, March 21, 1856. Cf. Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life*, I, 412. A reliable biography of Charles H. Ray is still lacking. A biography of Ray by Jay Monaghan, *The Man Who Elected Lincoln* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956), fails to treat this important topic in depth.

³⁴ Selby, “Lincoln and German Patriotism,” 518.

³⁵ Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life*, 1:413.

³⁶ Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 295.

³⁷ Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life*, 1:413–17. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, 389–91. Prince, “Convention of May 29, 1856,” 58–59.

³⁸ Wayne C. Temple, “The Linguistic Lincolns: A New Lincoln Letter,” *Lincoln Herald* 94 (1994): 108–14. Sabine Freitag, *Friedrich Hecker: Two Lives for Liberty* (St. Louis: Mercantile Library, 2006), 174–77.

³⁹ Roy P. Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. Supplement* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1953), 27–28. The Douglas paper is known to have appeared in 1855 and 1856. Whether it survived to 1858 is not known. Bergquist, “The Political Attitudes,” 190–91.

⁴⁰ April 17, 1859. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters*, 129, cf. 135.

⁴¹ July 10, 1859. Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:499–500. Cf. Basler, II, 323.

⁴² Lincoln’s letters of July 25, 1858. Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2: 523–24.

⁴³ Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln: Second Supplement 1848–1865* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 15–16. Harry E. Pratt, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield: Abraham Lincoln Assoc., 1943), 104–5.

⁴⁴ Harris, *Lincoln’s Rise to the Presidency*, 147.

⁴⁵ Evarts B. Green, “Gustave Koerner,” in Don Heinrich Tolzmann, ed. *Illinois’ German Heritage* (Milford, Ohio: Little Miami, 2005), 93–105.

⁴⁶ Koerner’s letter to Lyman Trumbull, dated Belleville, July 4, 1857, in the papers of Lyman Trumbull at the Library of Congress.

⁴⁷ Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:376–77.

⁴⁸ April 11, 1859. Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:376–77.

⁴⁹ On Trumbull and the Germans of Illinois see Bergquist, “Political Attitudes,” 160–61. Cf. Appendix G.

⁵⁰ Records of Canisius’s applying for citizenship in St. Louis and receiving it in Madison County are available in the Illinois Regional Archives Depository at Morris Library of Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.

⁵¹ Although a street is named after Canisius in Allendorf, documentary evidence about his revolutionary activities in Allendorf and Arnsberg is lacking. Friedrich Schütte, *Westfalen in Amerika* (Münster: Landwirtschaftsverlag, 2009), 170–73; A. E. Zucker, “Dr. Theodore Canisius, Friend of Lincoln,” *American-German Review* (1950):13–15 and 38; Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 283–84. Canisius’s birth reported on a Web site for Allendorf, as August 2, 1826, but his naturalization application of December 5, 1850, at the district court in St.

Louis shows 1828 as his date of birth. In response to "malignant personal attacks," six physicians of Springfield published a statement confirming that Canisius was in the possession of a legitimate medical diploma. *Daily Illinois State Journal*, April 12, 1859.

⁵² Canisius's letters of December 8, 1857 and January 15, 1858 to Trumbull. Papers of Lyman Trumbull at the Library of Congress. Appendix G.

⁵³ Canisius's letter of April 12, 1858 to Trumbull. Appendix G.

⁵⁴ Canisius's letter of January 15, 1858 to Trumbull. Appendix G.

⁵⁵ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 2:166, 264–65 and 3:39.

⁵⁶ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, February 2 and 5, 1858.

⁵⁷ Bergquist's source for this information is a letter of February 18, 1858 by Dr. Leopold de Leuw to Trumbull. Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes," 290–91.

⁵⁸ Census records of Sangamon County, July 19, 1860.

⁵⁹ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, March 16, 1860.

⁶⁰ Reinhard H. Luthin, *The Real Abraham Lincoln* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1960), 121. Cf. *New York Daily Tribune*, February 15, 1867. Also in George Alfred Townsend, *The Real Life: Abraham Lincoln. A Talk with Mr. Herndon* (New York: Bible House, 1867).

⁶¹ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, May 12, 13, and 17, 1859.

⁶² Canisius eventually published this letter in his *Illinois Staats-Anzeiger* (from which it was reprinted in other German papers). Canisius wrote that the document was being "circulated by the press throughout the land," and had become important "for the coming campaign, as showing to the nation the opinions held by Mr. Lincoln." See Herriott, "The Premises," 218 ff.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ July 6, 1859. Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:390–91.

⁶⁵ Herriott, "The Premises," 220–21.

⁶⁶ Letter of July 18, 1858 to Trumbull.

⁶⁷ Paul M. Angle, ed. *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 204–7; Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:380–84. Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *Die deutschsprachige Press der Amerikas* (Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976), 1:105–8.

⁶⁸ Wayne C. Temple, "The Linguistic Lincolns: A New Lincoln Letter," *Lincoln Herald* 94 (1994): 111.

⁶⁹ Judd to Lincoln, Friday, May 13, 1859. The Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress, transcribed and annotated by the Lincoln Studies Center, Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/malquery.html> It is not known when Lincoln wrote to Judd, but it must have been before he solved the problem of acquiring the needed funds. It is conceivable that Canisius made several requests for funds, first to acquire the press and then to cover previous debts or future expenses.

⁷⁰ To pay his debts Lincoln had to focus on his law practice. In an effort to explain why he was declining invitations to speak, he was pleading poverty. Michael Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 1:559–65. Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), 4:335. Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, III, 337.

⁷¹ After 1861 Canisius served as consul in Vienna. He held other consular posts in Bristol and the Samoan Islands, but died in poverty in Chicago. A. E. Zucker, "Dr. Theodore Canisius, Friend of Lincoln," *American-German Review* (1950): 13–15 and 38.

⁷² Canisius represented Alton and Jerseyville in New Jersey at the national Turner meeting of August 30 to September 2, 1858. Metzner, 2:264; Theodore Canisius, *Abraham Lincoln* (Vienna: Reitzer, 1867).

⁷³ Pratt provides the figure of \$400. He states that Lincoln made the purchase of the press through his friend Jacob Bunn, but he does not state that Bunn provided the money, as

the more recent illustrated 1970 Reader's Digest edition of Sandburg's *Prairie Years and War Years* mistakenly asserts. Cf. 115. Pratt, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln*, 112. An additional \$100 may have been for other publishing expenses that Canisius asked for. Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, 205.

⁷⁴ Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1926), 2:35–36. The anecdote appears in the context of a discussion of Lincoln's finances. Sandburg does not note the obvious connection of this anecdote with the secret agreement Lincoln made with Canisius. Sandburg describes that arrangement, on p. 184.

⁷⁵ Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis eds., *Herndon's Lincoln* (William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik) [Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2006]. Cf. Emanuel Hertz, *The Hidden Lincoln from the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon* (New York: Viking, 1938).

⁷⁶ C. H. Dall, "Pioneering," *Atlantic Monthly* 19 (1867): 403–16, especially 413. David Donald describes Dall's visit at Herndon's house in Springfield. *Lincoln's Herndon* (New York: Knopf, 1948), 221–23 and 234–35.

⁷⁷ Dall explains why she asked this question: ". . . for I heard stories in Illinois that made me think it was possible that even *he* had not been immaculate,—some rumor of an ex-governor guilty of enormous frauds upon the revenue, whose retainer he had accepted." Dall, "Pioneering," 413.

⁷⁸ Pratt, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln*, 168 and 179.

⁷⁹ F. I. Herriott, "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," *Annals of Iowa*, 3rd Series, 9 (1911): 220.

⁸⁰ At the end of Lincoln's contract with Canisius there is a note: "May 30. 1859. Jacob Bunn bought the press, types &c. of John Burkhardt, for me, and with my money A. LINCOLN." Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:383.

⁸¹ Hertz, *The Hidden Lincoln*, 212.

⁸² After the Republican nominating convention resolved to protect the rights of naturalized citizens, Trumbull regretted that the plank adopted might drive away the "Americans." Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes," 307.

⁸³ Hertz, *The Hidden Lincoln from the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon*, 256.

⁸⁴ See letter of July 11, 1859, to Koehnle, assistant in the circuit clerk's office in Lincoln, Illinois. Basler, ed. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:391.

⁸⁵ A number of members of the 1861 Illinois General Assembly subscribed to the *Staats-Anzeiger* at state expense, as legislators were allowed. On February 23, 1861, the state auditor issued warrant #9297 (for \$312) to Theodore Canisius for 312 copies of *Staats-Anzeiger* for members of the state Senate; #9309 (for \$92) to Theodore Canisius for 240 copies of the *Staats-Anzeiger* for the House." According to James Cornelius of the Lincoln Library in Springfield, the basis of this information is in the Illinois State Archives, in the State Auditor files, warrants. Copies of the receipts signed by Canisius have been published in Sunderine (Wilson) Temple and Wayne C. Temple, *Abraham Lincoln and Illinois' Fifth Capitol* (Mahomet, Illinois: Mahaven, 2006), 278.

⁸⁶ Pratt, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln*, 112.

⁸⁷ Townsend, *The Real Life: Abraham Lincoln*, 10. Also in *New York Daily Tribune*, February 15, 1867. Cf. Reinhard H. Luthin, "Lincoln Appeals to German American Voters," *The German-American Review* 25 (1959): 4–6 and 15.

⁸⁸ Charles S. Zane, "Lincoln as I Knew Him," *Sunset Magazine* 29 (Oct. 1912): 430–38. Quoted by Michael Burlingame, *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 247 and 263.

⁸⁹ The strategy session with David Davis, Henry Whitney, John M. Palmer, Leonard Swett, Jesse Fell, and Ozzias M. Hatch took place, according to Ecelbarger, in the Springfield capital building on January 6, 1859. Gary Ecelbarger, *The Great Comeback: How Abraham Lincoln Beat the Odds to Win the 1860 Republican Nomination* (New York: St. Martin's Press,

2008), 15 and 246. Baringer relies on reminiscences given by Davis to Ferdinand C. Iglerhart in a newspaper article called "With Lincoln." Lincoln Collection at Brown University. Burlingame, *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*, 249–50. Cf. Emanuel Hertz, ed. *Lincoln Talks: A Biography in Anecdote* (New York: Viking Press, 1939), 164–5.

⁹⁰ Burlingame, *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*, 249. Cf. Eric Foner, who believes that Lincoln began to think about himself as a contender only in the fall of 1859. Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: Norton, 2010), 136.

⁹¹ Herriott, "The Premises," 218 ff. The suggestion that Lincoln's motives for the purchase of a German press were motivated as a response to a Bates candidacy is clearly false. The Bates movement did not begin until late 1859. Marvin R. Cain, "Edward Bates and the Decision of 1860," *Mid-America: An Historical Quarterly* 44 (1962): 111 and 116.

Chapter 6. A Thwarted Movement and Lincoln's Nomination

The thing [Lincoln's nomination] was well planned and boldly executed.

Edward Bates, *Diary*, May 19, 1860

The purchase of the German press at a great cost at a time of financial distress suggests that Lincoln believed that the Germans held the potential of a swing vote, at least in Illinois and perhaps even nationally. Publicly he denied that he was contemplating the presidency. In April 1859, Republican editors of Illinois suggested that Lincoln should become a candidate. Lincoln responded, however, that although he was flattered, he did not think himself fit for the presidency and that it was "best for our cause that no concerted effort . . . should be made."¹ Not making such considerations known publicly appears to have been a realistic way to proceed. According to Doris Kearns Goodwin, Lincoln was a master of timing. It was important not to reveal his intentions too early, so as to minimize the possibility of opponents mobilizing against him.² The Republican National Committee met in New York on December 21, 1859, to consider where to hold the convention. If the committee had been aware of Lincoln as a serious contender, the argument for Chicago would have been weakened and the argument for that city as a neutral location undermined. Norman Judd, representing Illinois as the Republican State Chairman, argued for Chicago, which was chosen over St. Louis by only a single vote!³

The St. Louis location would have given Edward Bates (1793–69), who was being put forward as a presidential candidate from Missouri, a strong impetus, but now Chicago put Lincoln in a clear advantage. Judd, who favored a quiet approach, continued to play a major role in the process that led to Lincoln's nomination. In a letter of April 2, 1860, to Trumbull, he outlined the cautious strategy to be followed.

Cannot a quiet combination between the delegates from New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois be brought about—including Pennsylvania[?]

United action by those delegates will probably control the convention. The movement for Lincoln has neutralized to some extent the Bates movement in our state. It will not do to make a fight for delegates distinctly Lincoln. But state pride will carry a resolution of instruction through our state convention. This suggestion has been made to Mr. L[incoln].⁴

Judd's plans depended on efforts without public fanfare. A meeting of the Republican State Central Committee had taken place in Bloomington on April 7, 1859. Joseph Medill recalled that the Republican State Central Committee met at the offices of the *Chicago Tribune* in the summer of 1859 and agreed on a strategy of having the papers in southern Illinois begin the Lincoln presidency movement, which was to be carried forward subsequently by the *Tribune*.⁵ Although Koerner was not present, he was well informed and reported: "Upon consultation with some of the members of the Republican State Central Committee and other leading Republicans, it was agreed that the best policy for the party in our state was to keep Lincoln in the background for the present, or at least not to push his claim to any extent." It was thought to be better to have other potential candidates compete with each other.⁶ The decisive delegations would have to be approached quietly and drawn away from Seward and Bates. The "quiet" alliance with the German-Americans was part of this broader, low-key strategy.

In February 1860, Lincoln was asked if he would support Bates for the presidency. Without simply refusing, Lincoln pointed out the difficulties that Bates would confront in his run for the nomination. One of them was that, because of his Know-Nothing background, he would probably not win the needed votes of German-Americans.⁷

In the critical days leading up to the convention, Judd did not ignore the concerns of German-Americans of Chicago. along with Charles H. Ray, he requested the establishment of a consulate in that city, "deeming it very important for the interests of our large German population." They asked Trumbull to get in touch with the Prussian ambassador, Baron von Gerolt, to consider appointing Otto V. Schrader, a Chicago banker, for the post of consul.⁸ This initiative, only a few days before the beginning of the convention, was part of an intense effort on many fronts to win Lincoln's nomination. Schrader undoubtedly commanded needed financial resources and political power.

The Illinois campaign to nominate Lincoln began in earnest on January 18, 1860, when Baker's *State Journal* announced favoring Lincoln as president. Baker's announcement certainly did not occur without previous consultation with Lincoln. As if by previous agreement, Joseph Medill and

Charles Ray, editors of Chicago's *Press and Tribune*, followed Baker's cue on February 16 and also endorsed Lincoln for the presidency.⁹ On May 10, the Illinois Republicans assembled in Decatur and instructed delegates to vote for Lincoln. Thus, Lincoln could represent Illinois as the state's favorite son. Lincoln spoke, and after stormy applause, George Schneider, who, according to Ida Tarbell, was an ardent "Seward man," turned to his neighbor and reluctantly conceded: "Seward has lost the Illinois delegation."¹⁰ At this point the proclamations for Lincoln might have been seen strictly as a local phenomenon, not of great significance beyond Illinois. For most German-Americans a Lincoln candidacy was not of great interest or excitement. Their favorite candidate was still Senator William H. Seward of New York.

Seward's perceived radicalism became a serious problem. Horace Greeley, the editor of the powerful *New York Daily Tribune*, refused to endorse the favorite of German Republicans. Though sympathetic to the German-Americans in labor issues and opposed to the Massachusetts Amendment, Greeley believed that Seward was too liberal to win the needed votes in the West, much less in the South. He began an aggressive campaign to nominate a conservative politician, such as Edward Bates of Missouri, who would be able to win votes in the West, and even possibly in the South. After Seward, Judge Bates became the most seriously considered candidate. This initiative could be seen as a kind of "fusion" that Lincoln in his letter to Canisius had cautioned about: It could be "letting down the Republican standard." But because the *Tribune* was the most powerful newspaper in the United States, Greeley's recommendation, appearing in February and subsequently, could not be taken lightly.¹¹ By raising questions about Seward and proposing Bates, Greeley provoked a national debate in which the German-American press and the Turners eventually participated.

The initiative for Bates, who had been associated with the Know-Nothings, shocked German-Americans all over the country out of their reserve. In his *Freie Presse von Indiana*, Theodor Hielscher (1822–1907), an ardent Turner and journalist, had proclaimed the evils of slavery and the just cause of the new Republican Party as early as 1856. In January 1860, he began an intensive campaign for German participation in all political activities leading to the nomination of the Republican presidential candidate. He took part in the convention of Center County (Indianapolis) and was selected to be a delegate to the state convention. He called on German-Americans to attend a mass meeting in the Turner Hall of Indianapolis. The Republican state convention took place on February 22. Hielscher attacked the newly emerging Bates movement. He was willing to admit the possibility that Bates was a good man, but the crisis required a man of "indomitable courage." On February 21, he contributed an article to the *Indianapolis Daily Journal* on

"Candidates for the Presidency." Because of the impact of his opposition to Bates on the events leading to the nomination in Chicago, Hielscher's article deserves to be quoted in full:

It has been reported (by what authority I do not know) that not a few Republican congressmen are urging the nomination of Mr. Bates of Missouri and Mr. Cameron of Pennsylvania. Now it strikes me if this rumor be true that our Congressmen had in the first place better mind their own business for which they are elected and not attempt to perform what the people can do themselves. And, further, it seems that there are a number of men in our party whom even the Lecompton swindle could not cure of their "conservatism." In 1848, during the revolution in Germany, there were also such men. Though others could see that the kings, dukes, and princes had formed a secret league in order to overthrow the popular will, those gentlemen boldly asserted that they were "unable" to see the signs of the gathering storm. Their confidence was boundless. And yet I remember having met one of these men, who could not see the "reaction," as it was called in 1848, fleeing before the bayonets of the soldiers in 1849, and all he had to say when I asked him whether he was now able to see the "reaction" was "Who would have thought it possible!"

So it is also in this country. Here we also have men who cannot see the signs of approaching storm. They are the same persons who, as soon as the storm comes, lose all their presence of mind, and with all their loud clamor and wailing, their inactivity and awkwardness are constantly blocking up the way for those that have courage enough to brave the tempest.

"A Conservative man!" "A Conservative Ticket." This is the continual cry of our do-nothing politicians. If the people would leave it entirely to them, I am confident they would nominate a ticket and make a platform for which even the slaveholders of Georgia could vote, and on which even they could stand.—Like the false prophets of old, they constantly will cry "Peace, peace," when there is war.—Though we actually are already engaged in the "irrepressible conflict," though southern papers (*Richmond Enquirer*) are already discussing the possibility of making the French emperor the protector (or master) of a southern confederacy, though southern assemblies are taking steps for disunion, though Mr. Buchanan sends to these disunions ARMS, which they are themselves unable to manufacture—though the infamous Lecompton swindle, by which

a free state is expected to have, and by which, moreover, that free state, though possessing the requisite number, is still kept out of the Union "until a census be taken (which means, in other words, "until the presidential election of 1860 is over" —though all these facts are before the land and the people, yet our "conservatives" are unable to see or to remember them. Their talk of nominating Mr. Bates or Mr. Cameron is proof of this.

Mr. Bates may be, personally, a very good man, and in his private life without taint or reproach. Mr. Cameron may be a very good man for the iron manufacturers of Pennsylvania. They both might, in ordinary times, do quite well; yet these are not ordinary times. When the slaveholders are talking of disunion in case a Republican president would be elected, it is not the time to look for "conservative" gentlemen to fill the presidential chair, or do our "conservative" friends believe they are able to carry a single southern state with the names of Bates or Cameron? I do not think even them to be sanguine in their hopes. The southern aristocracy cannot be won by concessions. The conflict between the two systems of labor must be carried out, and it is no man's power to allay it.

The *Richmond Enquirer* knows exceedingly well why it advises its readers to call for a foreign tyrant to uphold their peculiar system of labor, by which the capitalist owns the laborer himself, his wife and child, and is enabled by law to cheat him out of his wages. At the same time that paper silently concedes that the slave states cannot take care of themselves and that it is the North that prevents the Negroes from rising up against their masters, and, further, it becomes evident where the "Republican form of government," as carried out in the slave states, is tending to. It tends to aristocracy first, then to oligarchy, and then to monarchy. As they have neglected to transform slavery into servitude, which the United States constitution demanded of them, when that instrument declared Negroes to be "persons;" as they have refused to abolish the interstate slave trade, they are punished by seeing themselves compelled to abolish their "bill of rights." Free speech, liberty of the press, the right to assemble peacefully—all these must be abolished. ABC books and slates become formidable weapons in the hands of slaves; slaves are permitted to pray, but must not learn to read or write; the southern Bible teaches only "obedience to the master," but the words "the laborer is worthy of his hire," and "golden rule," are out of order down South.

And yet our friends talk of conservatism.—In this emergency, where the southern aristocracy, rather than submit to a president,

however constitutionally elected, but in favor of ceding the territories to free laborers from the North and the South, and not to the "drones of society," who would convert the virgin soil into "sedge patches that outshine the sun," in the emergency where he would be nobility of the southern states, instead of following the example of the North and submitting to the man whom the majority of the nation had chosen, threaten to call foreign soldiers against their countrymen in the free states, in this emergency there are still "conservatives!"

And will the nation follow the advice of these false prophets? I think not. We need not a conservative man, but we need one, like old Jackson, that would not be afraid of saying, "By the Eternal! I will put down treason wherever it shows its head!" and did put it down. We need a man ready for the emergency: a man of indomitable courage, one who has been tried and found true; a man against whom even our enemies cannot say anything derogatory to his character. Have we such a man? I should think so. Cassius M. Clay is such a man and Charles Sumner, whom they struck down in the National Capital, is another. Let us have Cassius M. Clay and Charles Sumner and trust to the Republican spirit in our ranks. We must have a ticket which is worth going into the contest for. We must have names to inspire us. Let us have such and the spirit will do what mere calculations never will reach.¹²

Hielscher's powerful polemic against the Bates candidacy appeared just one day before Indiana's Republican convention. At a time when Bates was reported to be Indiana's favorite, Hielscher spoke to the convention delegates to exclude him from consideration.¹³ Hielscher proposed a resolution to deny support to any candidate who "was not a good Republican in 1856." Although his resolution was tabled, he and the German-Americans he represented received credit for undermining the Bates candidacy. The Indiana delegates had no instructions to vote for Bates. "Majority sentiment among the Hoosiers was for Bates, but the Germans obstructed the selection of a unanimous delegation."¹⁴ The door was open for a significant alternative.

Hielscher's obstructionism caught the attention of Horace Greeley, and the editor of the *Tribune* was not happy. He did not refer to Hielscher properly by name; Hielscher was for him simply a Dutchman who, in Greeley's view, would make a "first-rate Know-Nothing."¹⁵ That designation hardly fit Hielscher's political stand, and the New York *Abendzeitung* considered it an insult that could cost a Republican candidate "some thousands of votes."¹⁶

Hielscher's position on Bates could get wide circulation among Indiana's German-American population by means of his *Freie Presse von Indiana*, but

his views also received sympathetic attention in the *Indiana Daily Journal*. At a meeting of Republicans on March 4, Hielscher asserted that almost 40,000 German votes were at stake.¹⁷ The courage that Hielscher expected from a future president was the spirit of the 1848 revolution. A native of Breslau, Hielscher had studied in Berlin and experienced the revolution in that city. When victims of the uprising were being mourned in the presence of Frederick William IV, King of Prussia, Hielscher boldly demanded that the king remove his hat "before these dead." It is reported that the king did just that. His experience in the revolution became a driving force in his American politics. In 1860, the national Turner Society awarded him a prize for his essay on the question "Whether the Union Was in Danger and What Consequence Its Dissolution Would Have in Political and Economic Terms?" The *Turn-Zeitung* published it.¹⁸

The urgency of the German-Americans to defeat Bates was not restricted to any one state. A meeting of German Republicans in Iowa also decisively rejected Bates as one who did not have the proper credentials for a Republican. He had not supported Frémont, but rather Fillmore and represented the hostile American Party's position on naturalization. The German-Americans proceeded to accuse Bates of proslavery positions and siding with Know-Nothings in 1856. Because the nomination of Bates would "imply a desertion from Republican principles," German-Americans would under no circumstances vote for him.¹⁹ The *Cincinnati Republikaner*, edited by August Willich, reprinted an article of the St. Louis *Westliche Post*, which summed up a consensus among German-Americans: If Bates were nominated, masses of German-Americans would abandon the Republican Party.²⁰ The issue of the Two-Year Amendment had acquired a demonic face; it was that of Bates, and it helped to unify the German Forty-Eighters and Turners in a single cause.

The German Republicans of New York wasted no time. On March 13, they met to assert basic principles that had been articulated at the Philadelphia national convention in 1856. The principles were clear in their opposition to the extension of slavery and in defense of the rights of immigrants. German-Americans could go hand in hand with the Republican Party only if the party nominated reliable representatives of those principles. Cincinnati Germans followed suit; August Becker, Frederick Hassaurek, George Lindeman, John B. Stallo, Gustav Tafel, and August Willich met in the Cincinnati Turner Hall and approved the Davenport resolutions on March 7. The assembly of these citizens demonstrated that German-Americans of varied backgrounds and persuasions could join forces on the issue at hand. Willich, for example, previously associated with Karl Marx, a socialist and abolitionist, criticized by Carl Schurz as an unrealistic radical, joined forces with Hassaurek, who later sided with conservative western delegates at the Chicago convention.

In Cincinnati, German protests against the Kansas-Nebraska Act began aggressively in 1854. Participants at that time included Stallo, who, along with Willich, has received scholarly attention as being among the first Hegelians in the United States.²¹ On April 9, the New York group met again and called for the formation of a German convention in advance of the Republican convention in Chicago. Among the prominent members of this central committee of German Republicans, Forty-Eighters and Turners were well represented; they included Friedrich Kapp, Sigismund Kaufmann, and Andreas Willmann.²² Their resolution asked each German Republican organization in the Union to select three delegates for the meeting to take place in Chicago for the purpose of submitting a draft for a platform to the national convention.²³

The call for a convention on a national basis at the last minute appeared to validate failed efforts by Douai and Kob for a national organization almost four years earlier. On the other hand, the call for an organized meeting stirred up controversy. Aware of the general fear caused by the formation of a German-American party, the Pittsburgh Turners asked to have the nature of the meeting moderated to an informal discussion by those who might attend the Chicago convention anyway. The editors of the *Turn-Zeitung* concurred with this cautious approach.²⁴ They feared the perception of a German voting block, and this is precisely what Horace Greeley took to task. He suspected an organized movement to promote German national interests. Probably mindful of the German opposition to Bates, he wrote, "He who votes in our election as an Irishman or German has no moral right to vote at all."²⁵

Many German-Americans were prepared to vote for Senator Seward of New York, clearly the front-runner in advance of the convention. Opposition to Seward intensified, however, in key states. After Seward's unsuccessful effort to gain the nomination, Thurlow Weed, Seward's political advisor, in a confidential letter, explained the reason for that failure. Delegates of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Connecticut let it be known that Seward could not win in their states.²⁶ Horace Greeley visited one convention delegation after another and repeated the same message: Seward "cannot carry New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, or Iowa . . ."²⁷ Seward's weakness, above all in states like Pennsylvania and Indiana, opened the door to others.

Bates was too conservative for German Republicans; Seward, the favorite of German-Americans, was too radical for most American voters in states like Indiana. Hielscher saw this predicament as a unique opportunity. He realized that Indiana played a pivotal role. His recommendations of alternate solutions reflected his search for an ideal candidate. In his article of February 10 he proposed for consideration Clay and Sumner. On March 15, his paper published a list of ten Republicans as potential nominees. In a

commentary concerning this list Hielscher noted that Chase, Clay, Frémont, Seward, and Lincoln were being given serious consideration, but as late as March he still maintained that the Germans of Indiana stood firmly behind Seward.²⁸ A need to consider alternatives to Seward became imperative toward the end of that month, however.

Lincoln's friends devised a strategy to make Lincoln a potential second choice with the delegates to the Republican Convention.²⁹ At the same time, Lincoln made a series of successful speeches in New York, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut.³⁰ Did Canisius or Schneider alert Hielscher and the *Turn-Zeitung* about the initiatives in Illinois? Having received substantial financial support from Lincoln to promote the Republican cause, Hielscher was obliged to promote him. Even before Lincoln could be considered as a serious contender, Hielscher wrote in *Die Freie Presse* that, because the Republicans had a significant number of good candidates for the presidency, there would be no need to turn to Bates or Douglas. Cassius Clay of Kentucky, for example, still appeared to be an attractive option. But now, on April 5, Hielscher reduced the field of candidates in a declaration as the front page, English-language editorial on "Success Is a Duty."

Let us have a ticket, we say, that can INSPIRE the masses. The spirit performs wonders. Let us have either Cassius Clay and Lincoln, or Lincoln and Fessenden, or Wade and Fessenden, or Seward and Cassius Clay, or Fremont and Chase. Let us have a Republican President, for success is a duty.³¹

Beside Clay, an equally remote prospect, Lincoln did not seem a likely candidate. Lincoln's name, seen in two combinations at the outset of the declaration, appeared as a nominee here, nevertheless, prominently outside Illinois.

Hielscher's tentative declaration for Lincoln may not have received national attention, but it did have resonance in the Turner community, of which Hielscher was an active member. "Up to the opening of the [Decatur] convention in May there was, in fact, no remarkable mention of Lincoln by the Eastern press."³² It was the beginning of a process that gradually acquired momentum. It took less than a week for the national paper of the Turners to follow Hielscher's lead. On April 10, 1860, the *Turn-Zeitung*, now published in Baltimore, narrowed the focus of realistic Republican candidates to Seward and Lincoln. The author, Wilhelm Rapp (1828–1907), took up the recent discussions among Republicans, specifically the idea that the Republicans could win only with a conservative candidate. Considering the position Bates had taken on the question of slavery, he argued that this was foolish and even

criminal. That position could not be reconciled with the Republican platform. If Douglas was nominated, Bates would be defeated. Rapp's editorial then calculated that in the event that Seward could not be nominated, Lincoln, not Bates, would be the most viable candidate.

Like Hielscher, Wilhelm Rapp came from a revolutionary background. Rapp had been a student at the University of Tübingen. As early as 1846, his poems reflect his spirit of rebellion and struggle for greater freedom. Having taken part in the Baden uprising, he was forced to flee to Switzerland. When he returned secretly to Germany, he was arrested and imprisoned. After his release, he came to the United States, joined the Turners, and soon became chairman of the national Turner Union. He took over the editorship of the *Turn-Zeitung*. His speeches and editorials displayed an intensive interest in "social, political, and religious reform." During his chairmanship, this intense focus on reform reached a climax in the Turner Union's conference in Buffalo on September 24–27, 1855, when the Turners made the opposition to the extension of slavery a primary goal of their program.³³ It was the first of a series of Turner actions moving closer to the newly established Republican Party.

Rapp took up his residence in Baltimore and also edited the *Baltimore Wecker*.³⁴ Unlike Hielscher, he had to contend with the extremely hostile environment of a southern state. In a letter to his father he described these conditions.

Despite these problems, I continued to remain in Baltimore because I enjoyed the challenge, and rightly so, to serve as an outpost of the Freedom Party [Republican] in Maryland, that "lost post in the struggle for freedom." It is true that initially the slaveholders party, the so-called Democratic Party allowed me to do as I wished for it was tightly controlled by the Know-Nothing Party which was then superior in strength and numbers in Baltimore. However, along with the greater political campaigns came persecutions, and my life was in grave danger several times, particularly during the great presidential election campaign of last autumn. . . . Better times arrived for me last year on November 6th as Lincoln emerged victorious from the election campaign and, despite the shameless terrorism of the slaveholders and their puppets, received an enormous number of votes that surpassed all expectations.³⁵

For Rapp, Seward was still the ideal candidate. Hielscher had probably given up on Seward, who was thought too liberal by many Indiana Republicans. Rapp's and Hielscher's attention turned to Lincoln, and one might suspect Canisius, an Illinois Turner, to have been active in promoting

Lincoln. The similarity of their views suggests that occasionally they discussed and shared them. In an editorial of April 10, Rapp proceeded to attack Bates, but he also wrote about Lincoln.

If they want to take Seward out of the running, then Lincoln is the logical choice. He has already survived a life-and-death battle with the "Little Giant" and emerged victorious from that heroic struggle, garnering more votes for his party in Illinois than Douglas did. Douglas owed his reelection to the Senate only to the inequitable division of the electoral districts. With a standard-bearer such as Seward or Lincoln the possibility of victory for the Republican Party remains, even against Douglas.³⁶

After only a minimal delay, Rapp's favorable view of Lincoln's potential served as a catalyst. It received attention in Springfield and Chicago. The *Daily Illinois State Journal* of April 30 published this news with the title "The *Turn-Zeitung* out for Abraham Lincoln." A couple of days later, on May 2, the *Chicago Press & Tribune* published the same article under the title "Mr. Lincoln and the Germans." The titles, the identical introductory statement, and same translation of the article deviated from the guarded formulation of the German article.

The Baltimore *Turn-Zeitung*. The central organ of the German Turner Bund of the United States, which society consists of more than 20,000 members, came out last week in a long and emphatic editorial in favor of Abraham Lincoln for the presidency, believing him to be the strongest candidate the Republican Party could bring forward. The *Turn-Zeitung* predicates its preference for Mr. Lincoln on the ground that he is the safest and most available man in the Republican Party and that with him we can whip the Democrats, even if S[tephen] A. Douglas should be the Charleston nominee. We translate the following from the article:

Will Douglas be nominated by the Democrats, it is then the imperative duty, not only on the ground of honor, but also of availability, for the Republicans to assemble around a man for whom the better part of the people can be excited to enthusiasm. Will we, on the score of expediency pass Seward by, then will Mr. Lincoln be *the* man, as a matter of course. He has already fought a battle for life and death with the "little Giant" and came out of the Titan fight as victor because he conquered for his party in Illinois more

votes than Douglas for his; and Douglas has only to thank the unjust apportionment of the state for his re-election to the Senate of the United States. *Under a standard-bearer like him the Republican Party would be certain of victory*, even against Mr. Douglas, and at all events, it would be shielded against the reproach of dishonest defeat. In the worst event, our party could but retreat with flying colors from the battlefield, and obtain, after a lapse of four years, in accordance with the sentence of 1860 which will lay the destinies of this Union into the hands of the great Northwest, a certain victory.³⁷

Because the Springfield and Chicago papers exaggerated by reporting an emphatic position in favor of Abraham Lincoln, this news item is especially significant. It shows that the German opposition to Bates was not just negation; it could also function in a constructive way. Lincoln's friends were encouraged to see that their favorite had serious support outside Illinois. The short excerpt from the *Turn-Zeitung* became a rhetorical tool to promote Lincoln's nomination. Although the original German text was perhaps only a single editor's opinion, that of Rapp's, the celebration of Lincoln was assumed to have influenced some twenty thousand Turners. This was an exaggeration. At the July 30–August 2, 1860, meeting of the Turner Union in Rochester, New York, the number of active members in the 73 clubs was only 7,080.³⁸

Baker, who had proposed Lincoln for the presidency in January, insisted that the "people of Illinois [were] justified in their determination to place the name of their distinguished citizen" for the highest office. Baker was well prepared, at the same time, to see the importance of a German contribution. On April 4, his paper reported a sweeping success of the Republicans in the city's election, due in no small part to the German-Americans, who deserved "a full share of the glory." On the following day Baker elaborated.

[The German-Americans] are embarking with the Republicans, not for the time being, but *for the war*. They are putting an end to the corrupt dynasty at Washington, which would place slavery on an equal footing with liberty all over the country . . . we are glad to learn that they are almost to a man, in favor of "Old Abe Lincoln" as the Republican candidate for the presidency. In him they find not only an embodiment of the great free labor idea of the day, but a very pioneer of the cause.³⁹

To contend that the German-Americans "to a man" were for Lincoln was certainly an exaggeration. News of Lincoln's candidacy had not even reached most of them. Canisius, nevertheless, could have been the source of such

confident assurances. These words appeared to echo thoughts that Canisius had expressed to Trumbull about a war against Lecompton and Dred Scott. Baker and Canisius evidently worked together closely. Although no copies of the *Staats-Anzeiger* have survived to confirm this, they probably carried parallel sentiments. Since Baker's article was the first to appear, before the report in the *Tribune*, it is safe to assume that he solicited the translation from the original. The most obvious source for the acquisition of the *Turn-Zeitung* article in an English translation was Canisius (the style of the translation makes it evident that it was prepared by a native German). Canisius emerged as a major player in the Turner network, which included Hielscher in Indiana and Rapp in Maryland. It appears that Lincoln's engagement of Canisius had set a series of events into motion.

Canisius continued to make use of his good contact to Baker's *Journal* to emphasize his role in making its impact felt. He wrote during the election campaign:

The letter which Mr. Lincoln, the present standard-bearer of the Republican Party, addressed to me a year ago (on the 17th day of May, 1859) in regard to the Massachusetts Amendment and the fusion of all the opposition elements, is now circulated by the press throughout the land and has become quite an important document for the coming campaign as showing to the nation the opinions held by Mr. Lincoln in regard to these measures. I find the letter now circulating the papers not to be a true copy of the original, originally published in the *State Journal*, on May 18th, 1859. It is, I presume, a re-translation from a German translation, which I published on the day before Mr. Lincoln's nomination at Chicago. As I would like to see the letter published in the exact language of the writer, you will oblige me by re-publishing the enclosed true copy.⁴⁰

Canisius was keenly aware of the role he needed to play in supporting Lincoln. He was Lincoln's agent for the German vote, and he could count on Baker to use his paper in that effort. Canisius advertised his paper in Baker's *Journal*. The ad announced that the *Staats-Anzeiger* "is published at the home [*sic*] of Abraham Lincoln and is devoted to the advancement of the Republican Party and its standard-bearer, Abraham Lincoln. The paper is published at Springfield, every Saturday morning." Single copies could be obtained for \$ 0.75.⁴¹ Baker's *Journal*, on the other hand, appreciated the contributions of Canisius's paper when, on the occasion of Lincoln's election, it thanked for the German contributions in the Springfield area: "The Republicans of Sangamon [County] are greatly indebted for their victory to the gallantry

of the service of the [*Staats-*]Anzeiger, the German Republican organ of this city."⁴²

On the basis of an exhaustive study, Herriott concluded that Lincoln's letter to Canisius became a "primary fact, and perhaps the major fact, in the production of that favorable state of mind among the liberty-loving, progressive Germans" to join the Republican ranks and "instantly to applaud" Lincoln's nomination.⁴³ Burlingame reports that Canisius was one of the members of the team under the leadership of David Davis at the convention in Chicago. Davis rented the entire third floor of Chicago's elegant Tremont Hotel, where he and his aides could entertain doubtful delegates lavishly with cigars, whiskey, wine, and brandy, as the accounts show.⁴⁴ Frank Blair, Horace Greeley, and John Defrees, representing the Bates movement, also established headquarters in the Tremont Hotel.⁴⁵ Major players assembled and prepared to fight for the highest possible stakes.

Canisius was proud of the role he had played. For four years, he wrote to Lincoln in 1861, "I have labored continually for your interest, as innumerable articles in my paper, and the correspondences, which I have written for the leading German papers, will show. No German has succeeded better to make you a favorite with our countrymen than I have."⁴⁶ After 1861 Canisius served as consul in Vienna, but, because of a diplomatic indiscretion, Secretary of State Seward relieved him of his position. Lincoln, however, reinstated him. The president was clearly aware of his debt to Canisius.⁴⁷

Gustave Koerner, who played a key role in Lincoln's nomination, probably knew better than anyone else about the nature of the battle. He was aware of the challenges that Seward and Bates posed and had a chance to observe firsthand how Canisius worked for the same cause. His letter to President Lincoln resulted in the appointment of Canisius as consul in Vienna.

It really strikes me that something should be done for those who have been honestly and honorably at work for your success, which they considered the success of our principles. The Schurz[es], Hassaure[k]s, Blows, [and] Bernays have received high and distinguished offices, the very men whom Doctor Canisius had to fight to the very death at Chicago, when they used every effort to defeat you. I am not aware that a single one of the many Germans, who have been recognized by your administration, was in your favor at Chicago. Now this does seem strange, and it ought to be remedied to a very small extent at least. May I not hope that Dr. Canisius will succeed?⁴⁸

With this letter Koerner confirms that Canisius was part of the Davis

team at the Tremont Hotel. He had "fought to the very death at Chicago." Koerner was recalling the intense scramble to win delegates, in which he and the entire Davis team were engaged.

In an editorial Joseph Medill, who had declared for Lincoln only a few weeks before, stressed that Lincoln would be most capable of winning in the swing states, such as Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Baker published Medill's article in his Springfield paper.⁴⁹ These papers and the *Turn-Zeitung's* lengthy editorial of April 10 prepared the gradual shift away from Bates and Seward to Lincoln, the dark horse.

The shift from Bates became especially evident in the *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, which printed Hielscher's editorials. On April 19, the paper announced its support for Judge John McLean of Ohio for president. Next to McLean it added, however, the name of Abraham Lincoln, and asserted that next to Judge McLean Lincoln presented "the best combination of qualities as candidate and officer." In reaction, an anonymous letter from Springfield (from Canisius?) to the *Daily Journal* expressed approval of this shift from Bates to McLean. "Of course, Lincoln is decidedly the first choice of Illinois. Next to him is Judge McLean. Bates would be acceptable but for the well known fact that he would receive reluctant support from Germans, now an important element in Republicanism."⁵⁰ The *Indianapolis Daily Journal* received and published a similar opinion from a reader in Rushville, Indiana: "Candidates are numerous. Two or three only are much talked of this part of the state. C. M. Clay and Abe Lincoln are undoubtedly uppermost in the thoughts of Republicans . . . The impression that Bates is obnoxious to the German Republicans is an incubus upon him here."⁵¹

At the same time, following the lead of the German Republicans of New York, the *Turn-Zeitung* published its own appeal to the Turners to select their delegates, three from each state, for a meeting in Chicago. The authors believed that the election of 1860 represented a turning point. Delegates to the conference would defend the principles of the Declaration of Independence, take a stand against slavery, value the equality of all citizens, and take a position against privilege. The platform and the presidential nominee had to conform to these principles. The document addressed the central issues confronting the German-Americans and their responsibilities in dealing with them. Adolf Douai's hand is clearly evident in the urgency of the appeal. Douai had campaigned in 1856, and he did not want to relive the disappointment of a near victory; he had learned lessons from that defeat. The text confronts the need for a disciplined political organization, a legacy of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, the founding father of the Turners. The text deals with the problem of "blind adherence to a party," an obvious reference to German-Americans who were still inclined to trust the old Democratic Party.

That had to change. The journals that still promoted the Democratic cause had to be brought into the Republican fold. These were practical steps that looked beyond the convention to the crucial election (see Appendix J).

As it turned out, the "Appeal" represented clearly the more radical, eastern position, and the desire to organize and become an active German force was not necessarily shared by other German-Americans in western states, not even among all Turners. German-Americans in the eastern states expressed frustration because they lacked access to the American political centers of power. In the western states, American politicians were quick to recognize the voting potential of the relatively more numerous citizens with German backgrounds. This difference was reflected in political attitudes. A split became obvious in Chicago.

The eastern appeal resulted in a series of meetings of German-Americans at the *Deutsches Haus* in Chicago. The meetings began one day before the official start of the Republican convention. There have been conflicting interpretations of its significance. Reliable, objective firsthand accounts are lacking. The St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens* reported extensively, but its point of view reflects a one-sided bias and hostility to the eastern organizers of the German convention. James Bergquist has challenged Herriott's detailed presentation about the German meetings in Chicago, above all because Herriott probably overstated the influence of the meeting, understated the conflicts within it, and lacked evidence for the participation of individual German-Americans. There is justification for these criticisms, but the wealth of information Herriott provided about scattered reports, events, and participants should not be discounted entirely. The conflicting interpretations diverge fundamentally with the question of whether German initiatives really influenced the outcome of the Chicago convention.⁵²

At first the German meetings, which started on Monday, May 14, at the *Deutsches Haus*, did not appear to have exerted a direct influence on the convention; newspaper reports were reserved about the proceedings. Only a few persons (one report noted thirty-two) appeared at the initial meeting on Monday afternoon.⁵³ Karl Bernays, a delegate of the Republican Party in Missouri and an editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens* in St. Louis, was glad that no American journalists were present at the stormy meetings, which he considered scandalous. "All hell broke loose," he reported, as the delegates fought over procedural issues.⁵⁴ The heated debates split the delegates into two camps: the radical eastern camp with Douai, Kapp, Stengel, and the representatives of the journals *Pionier* and *New Yorker Demokrat*. On the western, conservative side were Bernays, Butz, Hammer, Hassaurek, Hatterscheidt, Kreismann, Münch, Schneider, and Vogel, who saw the radicalism of the East the dangerous element, and they did not consider a German convention a good

idea at all. The East demanded the explicit rejection of the Massachusetts Amendment and expected to justify that on the basis of the Declaration of Independence. It regretted that the heroic John Brown was being lumped together with the Kansas Border Ruffians.⁵⁵ Any reference to John Brown as a hero would have frightened and alienated delegates in Chicago. The West was only prepared to tolerate only a moderate statement concerning the equality of rights among all citizens. The mutual hostility between East and West was not new to many German-American participants; most of them, as Turner members, had experienced it in the split that occurred earlier between the corresponding geographical divisions within the Turner Union.⁵⁶

The party of the East lacked official representation at the Republican Convention. The state of New York had no German-American delegate at all; Sigismund Kaufmann had the honor of being selected as an alternate, but he probably did not take part in the Chicago meetings. The West operated with the advantage that it had won numerous privileged positions in the state delegations. The *Anzeiger* proudly declared that there were eight German-American delegates from Missouri. This was a distinct advantage in favor of moderation.⁵⁷

At the conclusion of the first day of the German convention, following chaotic shouting and insults, representatives of the two opposing sides were asked to draft a set of compromise resolutions. Caspar Butz of Chicago, also a refugee of the revolution and an active Turner, was chosen to represent the West. Adolf Douai looked after the interests of the East. Their negotiations had to focus on the most pressing issue, a common German position on the "odious" Massachusetts Amendment. It appears that a New York journalist was reporting on this gathering, after all, but he was willing to put the most positive face on it, calling it an informal meeting at which the "best feeling prevailed." According to this report, the meeting showed a consensus on the position against the Massachusetts Amendment and the consideration of the major candidates except Bates.⁵⁸

Apart from the meeting at the *Deutsches Haus*, an assembly of thirteen German delegates to the Republican convention met in the May Hotel on Tuesday morning. Koerner served as chair, Bernays, as secretary. In addition, the participating members of the meeting included Carl Schurz (Wisconsin), George Schneider (Illinois), Friedrich Münch (Missouri), B. Bruns (Missouri), Arnold Krekel (Missouri), Friedrich Hassaurek (Ohio), Conrad Broadbeck (Ohio), A. H. Wagerner (Minnesota), J. G. Peterson (Michigan), and Michael Plessner (Michigan). In stark contrast to the confrontational conditions at the *Deutsches Haus* on the previous day, this smaller circle conducted peaceful and productive deliberations. This group consisted of participants who had access to the American delegates of the convention. Writing for the *Anzeiger*

des Westens, Friedrich Münch, reported on the results:

The most important thing that took place for Germans in Chicago and the source of all the successes was the assembly of all German delegates in the May Hotel on the morning of the first day of the convention. A more unanimous gathering of Germans never has taken place before and probably never shall again. It was everyone's opinion that we should apply all of our influence to achieve as liberal a statement on immigrants in the platform as possible. A proposal was drafted, discussed and adopted.⁵⁹

The resulting proposal was moderate. It avoided a reference to Massachusetts, and it declared opposition to a lengthening of the naturalization period and change in the voting rights in federal or state law. On the basis of this preliminary consensus, attention turned to participation in the platform committee. The members of the meeting expressed confidence that they would be selected to serve on that body: Karl Bernays (Missouri), John P. Hatterscheidt (Kansas), Gustave Koerner (Illinois), and Carl Schurz (Wisconsin).⁶⁰ Their confidence was fully justified. A strong German-American representation made a difference. Carl Schurz later recalled that he had played a substantial role in formulating the plank on immigration.⁶¹ Others on the committee, as, for example, John A. Kasson of Iowa, could be counted on to support the German position. Horace Greeley, a member of the platform committee, recalled that Kasson's role was effective in reconciling differences and securing the "largest liberty of sentiment consistent with the fidelity to Republican principles."⁶²

Kasson, who had a record of alliance with the German-Americans in Iowa, proposed the formation of a subcommittee to draft the platform text. The subcommittee then took shape with Kasson himself, Horace Greeley, Carl Schurz, Austin Blair, William T. Otto, and William Jessup. Otto, an Indiana delegate, related to the German physician of the American Revolution, Dr. Bodo Otto, presumably also supported the plank sought by the German-Americans.⁶³ The committee worked late into the night. Kasson was left alone to finish a draft, which he presented at nine in the morning. The platform committee approved Kasson's text by a unanimous vote.⁶⁴ The segment of greatest interest to the German-Americans gave no occasion for disappointment.

. . . the Republican Party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any state legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded by emigrants from foreign lands shall

be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.⁶⁵

This passage and another one regarding the homestead law subsequently became known as the "Dutch Planks," which Know-Nothing adherents opposed.⁶⁶ When Bernays reported on this success, he was certain of having participated in a historic event. "The German members of the platform committee celebrated a proud triumph today," he wrote. "With this act, the Republican Party has thoroughly purged itself of all accusations of nativism."⁶⁷

At the same time, German-Americans continued their debates at the *Deutsches Haus* on the afternoon of May 15 and then again on May 16. These discussions finally produced a set of resolutions. Perhaps the most hotly debated issue concerned Bates, whom the Missouri representatives had been instructed to nominate. Although the German members of that delegation, Friedrich Münch, Karl Bernays, and Adam Hammer, might have had reservations about their nominee, they had obvious reasons to resist the efforts of the *Deutsches Haus* caucus to eliminate him from serious consideration. Münch attributed the final resolution of the conflicting views to negotiations between the western and eastern factions. He wrote that "the whole thing went its way tolerably and did not degenerate into a riot [was due to] Mr. Butz of Chicago, who made an agreement with Mr. Douai."⁶⁸ Although the radical faction did not realize all of its demands, Wilhelm Kopp gave credit to his eastern adversaries for agreement on fundamental goals, such as the support only for the presidential candidates who qualified as a loyal Republican and the rejection of all Know-Nothing aspirations. The German convention concluded with the formulation of five resolutions. The last one presented the majority view on the Bates controversy:

We pledge ourselves to support any aspirant for the presidency and vice-presidency who stands on this platform and has never opposed the Republican platform of 1856, nor has ever been identified with the spirit of the Massachusetts Amendment.⁶⁹

Instructions were given to print and distribute the resolutions among the delegates.⁷⁰ The New York papers, probably based on Henry Villard's correspondence, reported on this concluding action and effort to influence the Republican Convention:

In the German Republican Convention today, resolutions were almost unanimously adopted to support only true Republican

candidates, and to leave the party if any compromise man or Know-Nothing should be nominated. The Missouri delegates tried to defend their position as supporters of Mr. BATES, but met with no encouragement whatever. Among the most earnest opponents of Mr. BATES are Dr. A. DOUAI, of Boston, and Mr. CARL SCHURZ, of Wisconsin.⁷¹

Although neither side in the East-West confrontations could claim a clear victory, German participants, in general, could be satisfied with the results. They prevailed in the matter of voting rights, and the emphatic position to prevent the nomination of Bates could have contributed to the dramatic developments within the Indiana and Pennsylvania delegations. Most reports on what had been accomplished reflect approval.⁷² To say that the German caucus was instrumental in shaping any outcome in the Republican convention is highly debatable, but the pressure the German assembly could exert by means of its resolutions, reported by the major papers in New York, and common political demands cannot be discounted. Bernays came away with a sense of victory for German-Americans as a whole, eastern and western. The joint participation of Butz and Douai and the subsequent resolution eliminating Bates set the stage for leaders like Schurz and Koerner to be forceful in representing the views of German-Americans. Despite the divisions within the German-American ranks, Bernays could be positive in his assessment: "In this convention the Germans have won a position, have achieved a weight, have attracted attention to their views, which no foreign element has ever won in any country in the world."⁷³ When the formal voting on resolutions began on the second day of the national convention, on May 17, German-Americans had clearly articulated their political positions.

On the floor of the convention, Schurz successfully defended the so-called "Dutch Planks" and prevailed in his debate with Pennsylvania delegate David Wilmot, who attempted to relegate the issue to individual states.⁷⁴ In his speech to the convention Schurz stressed the ability of the German-Americans to deliver the needed votes. He declared 300,000 German votes secure, but estimated the potential voting power of the Germans to reach 600,000.⁷⁵

Although the German-American efforts to prevail on the issue of voting rights appeared to be successful on the convention floor, it was not a foregone conclusion that the fierce opposition to Bates could prevent the Missouri lawyer from becoming a serious contender for the presidency. The crucial testing ground in Chicago took place in the deliberations of the Indiana and Pennsylvania delegations, which represented the pivotal states. The experience of the 1856 election impressed on Republicans that to win

states such as Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois, which the Democrats had won, was absolutely necessary. The front runner, Senator Seward, was not popular in these particular states, and the Republicans in Chicago faced the uncomfortable prospect of defeat for Seward in the general election.

Was it possible, at this late stage, to launch a challenge? Even Horace Greeley, who had proposed Bates and hoped for Seward's defeat, admitted his uncertainty about whether Seward could be stopped. The reports he sent to his *New York Daily Tribune* from Chicago complained about a lack of any coordinated opposition.⁷⁶ The three key states presented a chaotic picture. Illinois was safe for Lincoln, but Pennsylvania was firmly committed to Senator Simon Cameron. Although Indiana did not come to Chicago with specific instructions, it appeared at first to favor Edward Bates. During the subsequent days, the most dramatic and decisive decisions of the convention took place behind closed doors in secret meetings of the Indiana and Pennsylvania delegations.

Lincoln's friends and managers faced two urgent tasks at the outset of the convention: stopping Bates and loosening Simon Cameron's hold on Pennsylvania. Acutely aware of Indiana's importance, Lincoln began courting the delegation early, before the Chicago Convention. On May 1, he wrote to a friend in Ohio, "It is represented to me that Indiana might not be difficult to get." Then he wrote about one of the Indiana delegates, "I believe you personally know C. M. Allen of Vincennes, Indiana. He is a delegate and has notified me that the entire Indiana delegation will be in Chicago the same day you come, Saturday, the 12th." Lincoln wrote to Allen, "Our friend Dubois and Judge David Davis of Bloomington, one or both will meet you at Chicago, on the 12th." Lincoln also contacted an acquaintance on the Ohio delegation and explained that there were efforts under way to gain the support of the Indiana delegation. Aware that other states had their own candidates, Lincoln was satisfied that, even if he was not the first choice, there appeared to be no objections to him as a candidate.⁷⁷ To win over the Indiana delegation was clearly the most pressing task of Lincoln's friends in Chicago.

The effort to win Indiana might have involved promises. According to William H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, Judge Davis assured Congressman Caleb B. Smith of a cabinet position. Was there a "bargain" for Smith's aid in winning over Indiana to Lincoln? Although the evidence points to concrete commitments for Smith, he himself denied that "promises from anyone authorized to speak for Mr. Lincoln" were made. According to William T. Otto, one of the Indiana delegates, there was really no effort to promote Smith because, after the delegates considered the available options, "all were for Lincoln." Lincoln, at any rate, was grateful for the role that Smith had performed. He wrote: "I am indeed, much indebted to Indiana; and, as many

friends tell me, much to you personally." Smith's appointment as secretary of the interior, is further confirmation of indebtedness on Lincoln's part.⁷⁸ When the *Indiana Daily Journal* learned about a potential cabinet post for Smith, it welcomed the news with a cheer reminiscent of the wild applause when Smith seconded Lincoln's nomination, while recalling his role in striking "down the hopes of Mr. Bates in that convention."⁷⁹

Subsequent events suggest, nevertheless, that other factors were in play in Indiana's shift to Lincoln. On Monday, May 14, an informal vote of the Indiana delegation showed that Seward and Chase had received one vote each, Judge John McLean of Ohio received four or five, and the rest were divided between Bates and Lincoln, ten each.⁸⁰ On Tuesday, two long sessions followed, and an informal ballot taken at the end indicated that Lincoln had a majority, but conflicting reports showed that delegates were still undecided between Lincoln and Bates. The correspondent of the *Indianapolis Daily Journal* reported:

There is a decided effort for Mr. Bates, and I think it is stronger than anybody at home could have suspected. This afternoon a circular was issued, signed by a committee of Bates's friends, setting arguments for his nomination, and signed by F. P. Blair, Jr., Horace Greeley, James B. Eads, John Defrees, Ja[me]s H. Van Allen, and one or two others. It certainly collects a very strong set of arguments for him, but it cannot alter one indispensable fact, that the foreign vote is indisposed to accept him.⁸¹

The *Journal* recognized that the opposition to Bates was significant and came from the "foreign vote" (that is, the German vote). Hielscher had made that abundantly clear. On Wednesday, the 16th, Lincoln still appeared to be in the majority. On Thursday, a report by Gustave Koerner provides a vivid picture of developments on the day before the first ballots were to be cast.

I immediately dispatched to counteract the [Bates] movement. I heard the last part of Blair's speech. He was followed by Fred [Friedrich] Muench, who promised the vote of Missouri for Bates, and Judge [Arnold] Krekel closed in a rather able speech for Bates.

I now asked leave to speak for Lincoln. The courthouse was crowded with many other delegates [and] with citizens of Chicago. The moment I named Lincoln the cheers almost shook the courthouse. I [disproved] the idea that Bates could carry Missouri, [and I] said that, outside of St. Louis and a few German settlements represented by Krekel and Muench, no Republican presidential candidate could

get a vote; that the state was for Douglas, and that these same gentlemen, led by my friend Blair, had made Missouri a Douglas state two years before, and had opposed Lincoln in his race for the Senate; that I was astonished that my German friends from Missouri talked of supporting Bates, who in 1856 had presided over a Whig national convention at Baltimore, which nominated Fillmore and Donelson, after they had been nominated by the Know-Nothings; that Bates in the municipal elections of St. Louis had several times supported the Know-Nothing ticket; that I would tell this meeting in all candor that if Bates was nominated, the German Republicans in the other states would never vote for him; I for one would not, and I would advise my countrymen to the same effect.

Blair replied, but with much less vigor than he had thrown into his first speech. Browning spoke from a Whig standpoint: that Lincoln had been a Whig, which ought to satisfy the Pennsylvanians and those Indianans who held still to some of the Whig principles. On the other hand, Lincoln had always opposed Native Americanism. This would secure him the foreign Republican vote all over the country. He wound up with a most beautiful and eloquent eulogy on Lincoln, which electrified the meeting. The delegates then held a secret session, and we soon learned that Indiana would go for Lincoln at the start, and that a large majority of the Pennsylvanians had agreed to vote for him for their second choice.⁸²

What Koerner told the Indiana delegation was persuasive, but it could not have appeared entirely new. If he claimed that the Germans would not vote Republican with Bates as a candidate, he could rely on the firmness of the resolutions from the *Deutsches Haus*. His words also echoed much that Hielscher's speeches and articles had repeatedly emphasized. Within the Indiana delegation there was a strong contingent of German-Americans: Theodor Hielscher (Indianapolis), Dr. Conradin Homburg (Indianapolis), John Mansfield (Madison), P. A. Hackelmann (Rushville), Louis Bollmann (Bloomington), and Albert Lange (Terre Haute). William T. Otto (New Albany), a Lincoln supporter of German ancestry, may be considered to have been part of this group. Mansfield, Koerner's former teacher and friend, certainly had numerous reasons to support the movement for Lincoln.⁸³ This group of German-Americans could have been effective in defeating Bates and winning the day for Lincoln. Bates himself confirmed the success of this combined effort. In his diary, he reflected about this turn of events. He felt that the decision against him occurred to "please the Germans unreasonably." He wrote, "The thing was well planned and boldly executed. A few Germans—

Schu[r]z of Wi[sconsin] and Koerner of Ill[inoi]s with their truculent boldness, scared the timid men of Ind[iana] into submission. Koerner went before the Ind[iana] delegation and assured them that if Bates were nominated the *Germans* would bolt!"⁸⁴ This admission by Bates, the person most affected by the turn of events, described the outcome most succinctly. John D. Defrees, the editor of the *Daily Evening Atlas* of Indianapolis and chair of the Indiana State Republican Committee, confirmed the defeat of the Bates movement: "We Bates men of Indiana concluded that the only way to beat Seward was to go for Lincoln as a unit."⁸⁵

There is no doubt that John D. Defrees (1810–82) could speak with authority. He was, after all, one of the leading "Bates men." Although Greeley is generally thought to have been the main force behind the Bates movement, at an early stage Defrees founded a newspaper in Indiana with the clear intention of promoting the candidacy of Edward Bates. The declared goal of the *Daily Evening Atlas*, established on August 22, 1859, was to support a united front to oppose and defeat the Democratic Party, but its second issue carried an earlier interview with Bates and the suggestion that he should be considered for the presidency. From the beginning until its dissolution on March 12, 1860, the paper promoted Bates at every opportunity. The Bates diary for July 1859 reveals that Defrees was part of a design by Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, and Charles A. Dana of the *New York Daily Tribune* to propose Bates as a presidential candidate to challenge Seward.

[Samuel] Bowles, I believe, is in full concert with Tribune of N[ew] York, and Colfax, Defre[es] and other party leaders in the North West to bring me out as a candidate of the Republicans. They are all afraid of Seward—they have personal objections doubtless, but their main ground is their full conviction that with Mr. S[eward] for their candidate defeat is inevitable.⁸⁶

Defrees knew that his mission had a national significance. He wrote: "It may be possible to elect a Republican president without the vote of this state [Indiana], but with it, that result is rendered certain. This at once shows the importance of the elections of next year."⁸⁷ In Indianapolis he had to contend with Hielscher's and the German-Americans' opposition to Bates. The limited appeal of his paper caused its failure weeks before the Republican convention. Defrees carried his fight to Chicago, where he had a formidable obstacle in the person of Koerner, and within the Indiana delegation, he had to contend with Hielscher.

Defrees was forced to abandon Bates, and his conservative political philosophy guided him to turn not to Seward, but with a total commitment

to Lincoln. This was a decisive shift in the nomination process. After gaining the unified vote of the Indiana delegation, he and Henry S. Lane, Indiana's candidate for governor, visited the Pennsylvania delegation and argued for Lincoln. A. K. McClure, a Pennsylvania delegate, described the Indiana leaders' effort to influence his state's vote.

With Lane was John D. Defrees, chairman of his state committee, who had been called to that position because he was regarded as best fitted to lead in the desperate contest before him. . . . Lane and Defrees were positive in the assertion that the nomination of Seward would lose the governorship in Indiana. Curtin [the nominee for governor in Pennsylvania] and I were equally positive in declaring that the nomination of Seward would defeat Curtin in Pennsylvania.⁸⁸

The movement for Lincoln, which began in earnest with the pivotal state of Indiana, made itself felt in the Pennsylvania delegation and eventually clinched its crucial votes. Lincoln rewarded Defrees for his support with a position as head of the government printing office. As in the case of Bates and Seward, Lincoln was prepared to include former rivals in his administration.

With the votes of Illinois and Indiana secure, and those of Pennsylvania likely, the Illinois team for Lincoln could argue from a position of strength, while reaching out to show that its candidate could win states in which Seward might fail. Charles Zimmermann asserted, "The firmness of the Indiana delegation was acknowledged on all sides at Chicago to have been the primary cause of the nomination of Lincoln."⁸⁹ Don E. Fehrenbacher agreed, "Perhaps the turning point of the whole convention was the decision of the Indiana delegation, which had no candidate of its own, to vote for Lincoln on the first ballot." He added, "This commitment, a magnificent gain in itself, also influenced the Pennsylvania delegates. . . ."⁹⁰

Indiana's abandonment of Bates began to turn the tide for Lincoln. Horace Greeley, who had been a driving force behind the Bates movement, confirmed the accuracy of this assessment:

There is no doubt but that the unanimity of the Indiana delegation for Lincoln was the cause of his nomination. If Indiana had divided or given her strength to any other candidate, it is absolutely certain that no concentration could have been made on Lincoln, for it was only the united efforts of the Indiana and Illinois men that secured the cooperation of Pennsylvania and some New England states at the last hour. The firmness and unanimity of Indiana, which had no candidate to interfere with a disinterested choice, nothing to induce

her to adhere to any man from personal motives, and no purpose but to produce a result which would command the widest approval, was acknowledged on all hands at Chicago to be the primary and potential cause of Lincoln's nomination.⁹¹

As important as Indiana was, it is easy to overlook the influence of other states. Lincoln supporters had courted Virginia as early as May 15. On the next day, Judge David Davis followed. After Indiana's decisive vote, Henry S. Lane of Indiana pleaded with the Virginia delegation to support Lincoln. The first ballot also yielded fourteen votes from Virginia.⁹²

The cooperation of the Pennsylvania delegation was essential. Its deliberations during the eventful Thursday were part of the process that enabled Lincoln to challenge Seward. The instructions for that state had been to vote for Cameron as a unit, but on Wednesday debates had raged about a second and third choice for the eventuality of a second and third ballot. Judge McLean became a second choice, and in a contest between Bates and Lincoln for third place, Lincoln prevailed. Even on the evening of Koerner's speech, Pennsylvania delegates were unable to agree on a unified vote beyond Cameron. Deliberations continued late into the night and into the following morning. Koerner thought that Pennsylvania had acted immediately after his speech, but he was mistaken.

Only after the first balloting took place on the following day, Friday, May 18, with Illinois and Indiana casting ballots for Lincoln—when the Cameron initiative had failed to get support from other states—only then, during the second ballot, did the Pennsylvania delegation decide to give its fifty-two votes as a unit to Lincoln.⁹³ Although confirmation is impossible, Davis and Ray probably suggested that Cameron would get a cabinet post, and that might have made the difference. But that late action brought Pennsylvania in line with the neighboring states and persuaded Ohio to provide the needed decisive votes in the third ballot.⁹⁴

Numerous contingent factors were in play in the process that led to Lincoln's nomination. At crucial points in the beginning of that process the aggressive German-American movement to defeat the Bates nomination opened the path for the initiatives of Lincoln's managers to win key states such as Pennsylvania and Ohio in a series of "well planned and boldly executed" maneuvers.⁹⁵ These remarkable, unforeseen, and last-minute successes brought about Seward's surprising defeat and Lincoln's unexpected nomination for the presidency.

Notes

¹ Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln*, 1:558 and 874.

² Goodwin, *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*, 212.

³ *Ibid.*, 228–29.

⁴ Judd's letter of April 2, 1860, to Trumbull is in the papers of Lyman Trumbull at the Library of Congress. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 79. Reinhard H. Luthin, "Indiana and Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency," *Indiana Magazine of History* 36 (1942): 387.

⁵ H. I. Cleveland, "Booming the Republican President: A Talk with Abraham Lincoln's Friend Joseph Medill," *Saturday Evening Post*, 172 (August 5, 1899): 84–85. Cf. Jeffrey Justin Anderson, "Joseph Medill: How One Man Influenced the Republican Presidential Nomination of 1860" (Master's thesis, Roosevelt University, 2011), 47.

⁶ Ecelbarger, *The Great Comeback*, 38–39; Koerner, *Memoirs*, 2:80.

⁷ Harris, *Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency*, 159–60.

⁸ Letter of May 11, 1860 from Judd and Ray to Trumbull in the papers of Lyman Trumbull at the Library of Congress. The recommendation probably did not produce results. It appears that consular duties continued to be handled by Gustavus Adolphus Claussenius, who was a representative of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Chicago. Enno Eimers, *Preußen und die USA: 1850 bis 1867* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2004), 36. The *Illinois State Business Directory* for 1860 lists Schrader as a banker in Cook County.

⁹ "Throughout January Medill kept Lincoln's name before his readers." Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 76–77. As early as November 9, 1859, The *Daily Illinois State Journal* reported that the Illinois' *Olney Times* had announced support for Lincoln.

¹⁰ Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 340.

¹¹ Ralph Ray Fahrney, *Horace Greeley and the Tribune in the Civil War* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1936), 33. Cf. *New York Daily Tribune*, February 20, 1860. Jeter Allen Isely, *Horace Greeley and the Republican Party: A Study of the New York Tribune* (Princeton: University Press, 1947), 269. Herriott, "The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two-Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," 241.

¹² The full text of Hielscher's article appeared on the front page of the *Indianapolis Daily Journal*. Parts are also quoted in "The Conference in the *Deutsches Haus* Chicago," 117–18. See the biographical dictionary in Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters*, 304. Cassius M. Clay (1810–1903), a former member of the Kentucky state assembly and journalist and an outspoken opponent of slavery in a slave state. Charles Sumner (1811–74), senator from Massachusetts, spoke on "The Crime against Kansas" when he was struck down with a cane in the Senate chamber.

¹³ Charles Zimmermann, "The Origins and Rise of the Republican Party in Indiana from 1854 to 1860," *Indiana Magazine of History* 13 (1917): 256–69 and 349–412, especially 390.

¹⁴ Luthin cites the *Fort Wayne Sentinel* of February 25, 1860, and a letter of A. H. Davidson to Thompson of February 24, 1860, in the Thompson Papers as his sources. *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 64. Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 246. George Theodore Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis (1840–1918)* (Indianapolis: German-American Center, 1989), 45. See also Hielscher's report on the Indiana Republican convention in *Die Freie Presse von Indiana*, February 23 and March 2, 1860.

¹⁵ *New York Daily Tribune*, February 27, 1860.

¹⁶ *New York Daily Tribune*, February 29, 1860. A reader of the *Indianapolis Daily Journal* also joined in. He criticized Greeley in an article on "Greeley's Algebra and Theology."

¹⁷ Zimmermann, 363.

¹⁸ "Ist die Union in Gefahr und welche Folge hätte die Auflösung der Union in politischer und ökonomischer Hinsicht?" Metzner, 2:39, published in the *Turn-Zeitung*, July 31, 1860.

¹⁹ *Der Demokrat* of Davenport, March 6, 1860, quoted by Herriott, "The Conference in the *Deutsches Haus* Chicago," May 14–15, 1860, 139–45. The *Turn-Zeitung* of April 24 came out with a vigorous attack on Bates ("Herr Bates als Republikaner"). *Die Freie Presse von Indiana* reported the on the resolutions of the German Republicans of Davenport against the candidacy of Edward Bates on March 22, 1860. Randall wrote about the significance of the German opposition to Bates: "If, therefore, Seward failed of nomination, it would be unwise for the Republican convention to hazard German-American resentment by naming Bates. On the other hand, because of Lincoln's liberal and well known record toward the foreign born, his selection would not only be acceptable but would add real strength. In narrowing the list of available men this was a most significant factor." James Garfield Randall, *Lincoln the President* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1945), 2:165.

²⁰ *Cincinnati Republikaner*, March 8, 1860.

²¹ Herriott, "The Conference in the *Deutsches Haus* Chicago," 145. Bergquist, "The Forty-Eighters," 148. There is much literature on Willich, who is given credit for founding the Milwaukee Turnverein in 1853. Chester Verne Easum, *The Americanization of Carl Schurz* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), 66–67; Loyd D. Easton, *Hegel's First American Followers: The Ohio Hegelians: John B. Stallo, Peter Kaufmann, Moncure Conway, and August Willich, with Key Writings* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1966); Christine Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees: German Socialism in Britain, 1840–1860* (London: Routledge, 2006); Mischa Honeck, *We Are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants & American Abolitionists after 1848* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 71–103; Bruce Levine, "Community Divided: German Immigrants, Social Class, and Political Conflict in Antebellum Cincinnati," in Henry D. Shapiro and Jonathan D. Sarna, eds., *Ethnic Diversity and Civic Identity: Patterns of Conflict and Cohesion in Cincinnati since 1820* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 77.

²² Although Andreas Willmann, a veteran Forty-Eighter, is the only person who signed the initial appeal from New York, it can be assumed that Sigismund Kaufmann and Friedrich Kapp participated to make it possible. They were both later rewarded for their efforts in the Republican campaign by selection as electors. Cf. Hinners, 134–35, 146, etc. The second appeal by the New York German Republicans was also signed by the president, Andreas Willmann, but the names of three members of a special committee were added: G. Metternich, Tzschirnerr, and Wm. M. Wermerskirch. Metternich was one of the most prominent revolutionaries and a member of the New York Turners. *Die Freie Presse von Indiana* published the appeal in its April 26, 1860, issue. Wermerskirch served under Carl Schurz in the Civil War, and, as a police captain in Washington, arrested one of the conspirators involved in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

²³ The delegates listed by Herriott for the Chicago convention from New York state were Wm. Kopp, Ph. H. Bender, I. C. Deumplemen (Diemlepleman), H. Bursch, Jacob Webber, Dr. A. Maier (Majer). The attendants were Dr. A. Mayer, Professors Rudolph Dulon, Johannes Gambs, C. Peissner, Frederick Kapp, H. Vortriede, and A. Wiesner. Herriott, "The Conference in the *Deutsches Haus* Chicago," 144–45 and 160–61. See the *Turn-Zeitung* report of March 20, 1860.

²⁴ *Ibid.* *Turn-Zeitung*, March 27. The editors of the *Turn-Zeitung* were fearful of a scandal. They expected attacks from the western Turners (specifically from St. Louis) against the East and hoped that the Turners in the West would send Hillgaertner as delegate instead of Bernays.

²⁵ Herriott, "The Conference in the *Deutsches Haus* Chicago," 149.

²⁶ Glyndon G. Van Deusen, "Thurlow Weed's Analysis of William H. Seward's Defeat in the Republican Convention of 1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 34, No. 1 (June 1947): 101–4.

²⁷ Goodwin, 241–42

²⁸ *Die Freie Presse von Indiana*, March 22, 1860.

²⁹ Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York: Scribner, 1951), 240. Reinhard H.

Luthin, "Indiana and Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency," *Indiana Magazine of History* 36 (1942): 387.

³⁰ Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 21 and 78–83.

³¹ *Die Freie Presse von Indiana*, April 5, 1860. William Pitt Fessenden (1806–69), Maine senator, and Benjamin F. Wade (1800–78), Ohio senator, were prominent in the anti-slavery movement. Annemarie Springer quotes the following statement by Hielscher from the March 1 issue of the same paper. "Wir brauchen einen Charakter, einen Mann von Kern und Schrott, der den Stall von Korruption ausräumen wird und der den südlichen Aristokraten einen unbeugsamen Nacken zu zeigen versteht. Deshalb hoffen wir, die besten Resultate von Lincoln zu gewinnen. Was Sklaverei betrifft, repräsentiert er ohne Zweifel die Stellung welche die Republikanische Partei in der Philadelphia Parteiplattform adoptiert hat." "Indiana German-American Newspapers of the 1850s: Debating Slavery and the Future of the Union," 19–20 (unpublished article at the Indiana University German-American collection in Indianapolis). This statement for Lincoln would be a significant early support, but close examination of the *Die Freie Presse von Indiana* failed to locate the quotation in the issue indicated.

³² Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 341.

³³ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 202–6. Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des Turner-Bundes* (Indianapolis: Zukunft, 1874), 28.

³⁴ Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters*, 328–29. Cf. Eitel Wolf Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958), 171.

³⁵ Excerpt from Rapp's letter dated June 30, 1861, to his father. Translated by Judith Arnold. Newberry Library, Midwest MS, Rapp, Box 1, Folder 16. See Appendix H. Rapp's early poems are to be found in Box 2, Folder 27. Rapp's letter goes on to describe the dramatic days following the secession. A mob threatened to hang him, and he barely escaped in a priest's garb as his printing office was being destroyed.

³⁶ See the entire original German editorial and its translation in Appendix I.

³⁷ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, April 30, 1860. Cf. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 84. The May 7 article of the *Peoria Transcript*, quoted by Herriott, was simply a copy of the *Chicago Press & Tribune* of May 2. The *Peoria* paper exaggerated the numbers even more by increasing the reported number of Turner members from 20,000 to 50,000. Herriott, who did not have access to the *Turn-Zeitung*, attributed considerable significance to its pronouncements in favor of Lincoln and estimated its origins at the beginning May. In his view, the article refuted the common assumption that Lincoln was unknown. See the original German text of Rapp's article in the *Turn-Zeitung* under the title "Der zudringliche Bates-Humbug" in Appendix I. Cf. William Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937), 190. Like Herriott, Baringer did not have access to the *Turn-Zeitung*.

³⁸ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 2:264–65.

³⁹ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, April 4 and 5, 1860.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1860. The German translation of Lincoln's letter also appeared in Hielscher's *Freie Presse* on May 31, 1860.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, June 21, 1860. On June 29, Canisius supplied the *Journal* with the list of German papers and indicated the party affiliation.

⁴² *Daily Illinois State Journal*, November 10, 1860.

⁴³ Herriott, "The Premises," 184.

⁴⁴ Burlingame, 1:602. On Davis see Willard L. King, *Lincoln's Manager: David Davis* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960), 127–42. Pratt, 109–10.

⁴⁵ Reinhard Luthin, "Organizing the Republican Party in the "Border-Slave" Regions: Edward Bates's Presidential Candidacy in 1860," *Missouri Historical Review* (1944): 138–61, especially 157–58.

⁴⁶ Arndt and Olson, 108.

⁴⁷ Zucker, "Dr. Theodore Canisius, Friend of Lincoln," 13–15 and 38. Carman and Lu-

thin overlooked Zucker's article. Cf. Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1964), 103 and 127.

⁴⁸ Koerner to Lincoln, June 13, 1861. The Abraham Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress. Transcribed and annotated by the Lincoln Studies Center, Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. Hassaurek became minister to Ecuador. Henry T. Blow, a St. Louis businessman and politician, was appointed minister to Venezuela in 1861. Bernays became consul in Zürich. The text of Koerner's letter is available at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/malquerry.html>

⁴⁹ *Chicago Press and Tribune*, February 16, 1860; *Daily Illinois State Journal*, February 21, 1860.

⁵⁰ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, April 19 and May 11, 1860.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, May 9, 1860.

⁵² Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes," 300. James M. Bergquist, "The Forty-Eighters and the Republican Convention of 1860," in Charlotte L. Brancaforte, ed. *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 147.

⁵³ Bergquist, "The Forty-Eighters," 147. Cf. the report of May 15, 6:00 p.m. by Karl Ludwig Bernays in the *Anzeiger des Westens*. Steven Rowan, ed. *Germans for a Free Missouri* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1983), 108.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ See Appendix K.

⁵⁶ Annette R. Hofmann, *The American Turner Movement: A History from Its Beginnings to 2000* (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center and Indiana German Heritage Society, 2001), 84.

⁵⁷ *Anzeiger des Westens*, April 26, 1860. The St. Louis paper pointed out that out of the entire number of New York delegates only a single German-American, Kaufmann, was chosen and that the East argued impudently to cover up its impotence.

⁵⁸ Bergquist, "The Forty-Eighters," 147–8 and 186. The *New York Daily Tribune* and the *New York Herald*, both of May 15, reported on the "Meeting of Germans at Chicago" of the previous day, providing the same text, ignoring all signs of the dissension: "An informal gathering, without any organization whatever, of the German Republicans from different states took place today, to consult about the manner and how it was best to secure the largest support on the part of foreign-born citizens for the nominee of the Chicago Convention. – The resolution arrived at was to endeavor to obtain from the Republican National Convention a plank in their platform recognizing perfect equality and protection to all citizens at home and abroad, and declaring against any extension of the present term of naturalization, and against any discrimination between native and adopted citizens, as to their qualifications as voters. There was no convention, and the idea of holding one during the sitting of the National Convention seemed to meet with no favor. – Chase, Seward, Lincoln, and Wade were the presidential preferences of the gentlemen present. – The best feeling prevailed, and all present appeared animated with the desire to do everything to secure a Republican victory in November." The reporter, whose text was made available to the New York papers, may have been Henry Villard.

⁵⁹ Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 117.

⁶⁰ Bergquist, "The Forty-Eighters," 149.

⁶¹ Carl Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1907), 2:137.

⁶² *New York Daily Tribune*, May 25, 1860. Cf. Herriott, "The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two-Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," 226–31.

⁶³ Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 142 and 148.

⁶⁴ Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Century History, 1903), iv.

⁶⁵ *Chicago Press and Tribune*, May 18, 1860. Or, see also http://www.cpr.org/Museum/Ephemera/Republican_Platform_1860.html

⁶⁶ Friedrich Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika: Thatsachen und Erlebnisse* (Berlin: Springer, 1876), 320.

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

⁶⁷ Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 111.

⁶⁸ Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 117. Douai boasted in his autobiography that he had "insisted on carrying through a unanimously approved platform by the thirty or more Forty-Eighters and presented it to the national convention as the condition under which the Germans would support the ticket. Carl Schurz—even against his will—would support the ticket and fight for these conditions in the convention, and he was smart enough to keep his promise." Justine Davis Randers-Pherson, *Adolf Douai (1819–1888): The Turbulent Life of a German Forty-Eighter in the Homeland and in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 241.

⁶⁹ Herriott, "The Conference in the *Deutsches Haus* Chicago," 189.

⁷⁰ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 17, 1860.

⁷¹ *New York Times*, May 16, 1860. The same report, again probably originating with Villard, also appeared in the *New York Herald* on May 17, 1860. It is possible that Villard was supplying news to the Associated Press of New York at this time.

⁷² See Appendix M and Bergquist, "The Forty-Eighters," 155.

⁷³ Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 111–2. Cf. Appendix M.

⁷⁴ See the note to Appendix L.

⁷⁵ *Chicago Press and Tribune*, May 18, 1860. Cf. Hans L. Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998), 85.

⁷⁶ *New York Daily Tribune*, May 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. As late as May 18, Greeley telegraphed that "the opposition will not be able to concentrate upon any other candidate and that Mr. Seward will probably be nominated."

⁷⁷ Charles Roll, "Indiana's Part in the Nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860," *Indiana Magazine of History* 25 (1929): 5–6. Reinhard H. Luthin, "Indiana and Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency," *Indiana Magazine of History* 38 (1942): 391–93.

⁷⁸ Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 142. Luthin, "Indiana and Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency," 391–93, 396. Lincoln appointed Smith secretary of the interior in 1861.

⁷⁹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, November 21, 1860.

⁸⁰ Roll, "Indiana's Part in the Nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860," 6–7.

⁸¹ The Indiana correspondent signed his article with S. *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 16, 1860.

⁸² Thomas J. McCormack, ed. *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809–1896* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1909), 2:88–9. Doris Kearns Goodwin, 242.

⁸³ William A. Fritsch, "Die Deutschen Indianas im Kriege für die Union," *Indiana Magazine of History* 9 (1911): 68. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 142 and 148. On Mansfield see notes nos. 12 and 14 on page 154.

⁸⁴ Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes," 305–6 and 308. Howard K. Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates 1859–1866* (New York: De Capo, 1971), 129–31.

⁸⁵ Roll, 8–11. "[The Bates movement] failed primarily because Bates was too tainted with Know-Nothingism to suit the Germans, too conservative to be acceptable to the radical Republicans, and too closely linked to Frank Blair's Free Democracy to please the Old Line Whigs." Luthin, "The Republican Party in the 'Border-Slave' Regions," 161.

⁸⁶ Beale, ed. *The Diary of Edward Bates*, 37. Francis P. Blair was one of the first to promote Bates for president, as indicated in the Bates diary for April 1860. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 55.

⁸⁷ *Daily Evening Atlas* of Indianapolis, November 25, 1860.

⁸⁸ A. K. McClure, *Abraham Lincoln & Men of War-Times* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 33.

⁸⁹ Zimmermann, 394. Cf. *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 25, 1860. According to Zimmermann, the Republicans realized that Indiana could not be won without the German

vote. Ibid., 394. Indiana committed twenty-six votes to Lincoln on the first ballot. The New England states New Hampshire and Maine combined with Indiana and Illinois to challenge Seward at the very outset of the balloting.

⁹⁰ Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 157.

⁹¹ Quoted from the *New York Daily Tribune* by the *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 25, 1860. In a report of the *New York Daily Tribune* Greeley also wrote on May 22: "Mr. Bates lost the nomination primarily because of the Indiana delegation, which was friendly to him when chosen, went over early in the canvas at Chicago, to Lincoln, and Pennsylvania, by a vote of 60 for Lincoln to 45 for Bates, soon after indicated the former as her ultimate choice."

⁹² Richard Lowe, "The Republican Party in Ante-Bellum Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 81 (1973): 275-77.

⁹³ Frank B. Carpenter, "How Lincoln Was Nominated?" [Focus on Pennsylvania] *Century Magazine* 24 (1882): 853-59. Cf. Appendix L and M. Cf. Ecelbarger, *The Great Comeback*, 213-14. Michael S. Green, *Lincoln and the Election of 1860* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2011), 57-58. Sandburg, *The Prairie Years*, 2:342. Pennsylvania acted in consultation with New Jersey. Thomas Dudley, "The Inside Facts of Lincoln's Nomination," *Century Magazine* 40 (July 1890): 477-79. Monaghan, *The Man Who Elected Lincoln* [Charles Ray], 168.

⁹⁴ At this critical moment, Medill is said to have told David Carter, the chair of the Ohio delegation: "If you can take Ohio to Lincoln, Chase can have anything he wants." Carter responded, according to Medill, by making the desired announcement: "I rise, Mr. Chairman, to announce the change of four votes to Ohio from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln." H. I. Cleveland, "Booming the First Republican President," *Saturday Evening Post* 172 (August 5, 1899): 84-86. Ecelbarger and others have questioned whether such an exchange could have taken place. Ecelbarger, *The Great Comeback*, 123 and 265, note 22.

⁹⁵ Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates*, 129-31.

Chapter 7. Lincoln's Election

... in the late contest it may be well said that the voters of German extraction held the balance of power in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. In each of these states they numbered tens of thousands, and on whatever side they were to throw the whole weight of their vote was sure to be the winning one.

Henry Villard, *New York Herald*, December 9, 1860

The role of German-Americans, crucial in clearing a path for Lincoln's dramatic nomination, became *one* of the factors in assuring his election. Whether their role was as crucial in the case of the election is debatable. Reporting immediately after Lincoln's victory, Henry Villard observed that the German-Americans held the balance of power in key states and that their votes made the difference. His assessment was based on interviews and reports, not on a study of voting patterns and voting figures in the crucial states. Today, there are more resources available for an objective evaluation of that fateful election.

Koerner and Schurz were instrumental in the conduct of a successful campaign. Gustave Koerner, one of the most successful German politicians of the pre-1848 generation, campaigned actively to gain the German vote for Lincoln. Schurz campaigned vigorously in Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. But there were many others. Like Schurz, Friedrich Hassaurek of Ohio spoke at the Chicago nomination and asserted that "the entire German element would receive Mr. Lincoln's nomination as the harbinger of a certain victory."¹ There was a concerted effort to reach German-Americans in communities outside the bigger cities.² In July 1860, Hassaurek spoke at Carlinville, Jacksonville, Arenzville, Petersburg, Springfield, and Decatur, Illinois. John P. Hatterscheidt and James H. Lane went from Kansas to Indiana to give speeches.³ Reinhold Solger campaigned in fourteen Indiana locations. He also made an impact in Ohio and New York, with much success, as John A. Andrew, governor of Massachusetts, attested:

It is enough to say that, through public addresses to large assemblages of Germans and Americans, in several states, and especially in the principal towns in the interior of New York in the fall of 1860, he may be considered as having done as much to secure the support of the Eastern Germans to the administration, as his friend and fellow patriot General Carl Schurz did for the western.⁴

Friedrich Kapp and Sigismund Kaufmann formulated a persuasive text to recommend Solger for a position in the Lincoln administration: "Dr. Solger," they wrote, "is recognized by Germans as well as Americans as the standard-bearer of that intellectual agitation that has so completely changed the spirit of the German population in this country."⁵ Kapp and Kaufmann worked closely to promote the cause of the Republican Party in New York. The *New York Times* reported that eight to nine hundred attended a gathering at which Kapp and Kaufmann addressed the topics of slavery, the Homestead Bill, and tariffs.⁶

Meeting in Rochester, New York, the Turner delegates passed a resolution at their national meeting in which they urged everyone to vote for the candidates who did the most to fight against slavery and nativism. Douai was not content with the vagueness of this resolution. He proposed that any member voting for Douglas (and not for Lincoln) should be ejected from the Turner organization. According to Douai, such a vote would mean that the voting Turner acted against the constitution of the *Turnverein*. The proposal was defeated, 44 to 24.⁷ Whether Douai was serious about winning on his extreme proposal, his effort reflected how intent he was in pursuing his opposition to slavery and in the defense of German voting rights. The *Belleviller Zeitung* in Illinois took this issue seriously. When it learned of the vote, it seconded the view that any member of the Turner Union, aware of its principles, who still voted against the Republicans, was a disgrace and should be considered a traitor.⁸

Neither Douai nor Schurz represented all German-Americans ideologically. Douai was a radical. Schurz was also a Forty-Eighter, but he was not a radical, not an abolitionist, nor a socialist. The extremism of the Know-Nothings provided a fruitful provocation for both sides. The strength of the counter-movement lay in its ability to connect highly diverse elements among the German-American population. They were united in a cause, and they were successful in reducing the field of contenders in Lincoln's favor. The day before the election, Baker's *Illinois State Daily Journal* made a special appeal to the German-Americans. The editor stressed that the fathers of this country included men of German birth, such as Steuben, who had fought in

Abraham Lincoln and the German Immigrants: Turners and Forty-Eighters
the Revolution for the cause of liberty.

Many of you Germans participated in the struggle of '48. Though you failed in the effort, you did a noble work. You planted the seed that will grow and flourish and yet produce a plenteous harvest. . . The issue in this presidential campaign is simply this: SHALL FREEDOM OR SLAVERY PREVAIL IN OUR TERRITORIES? . . . It is for you and us to decide this issue. We must do it tomorrow.⁹

After Lincoln's election, Henry Villard (1835–1900), representing the New York Associated Press and the *New York Herald* in Springfield, provided a detailed analysis of the factors that contributed to Lincoln's success.¹⁰ According to Villard, the German-Americans of the Northwest were chiefly responsible. "Their ablest journals, their best speakers, their most prominent and popular men, reflected Republican views." Who among these German campaigners could reasonably expect to be rewarded for their services with positions in the new administration? Villard's report provided a list of individuals who made substantial contributions:

George Schneider, editor *State Gazette* [*Staats-Zeitung*], Chicago, Ill.
H. Boernstein, editor *Advertiser* [*Anzeiger des Westens*], St. Louis, Mo.
B. Domschke, editor *Atlas*, Milwaukee.
J. [L.] Mannfeld, Indiana Elector at Large.¹¹
F. Hassaurek, Ohio Elector at Large.
Gustavus Koerner, ex-Lieutenant Governor of Illinois.
[Nicholas J.] Rusch, ex-Lieutenant Governor of Iowa.
S. Kaufmann, [Editor of the first *Turn-Zeitung*] New York District Elector.
[C]arl Schurz [Wisconsin lawyer, journalist, campaigner].

Villard claimed to have received this list "from one of the most eminent German citizens" in the state of Illinois. He did not divulge the identity of his source, but because the list, surprisingly, included Mannfeld of Indiana, it can be deduced that it was actually Gustave Koerner. Villard, who had resided in Belleville in 1855 to 1856, had close ties to the Koerners; Sophie Koerner, Gustave Koerner's wife, was Henry Villard's cousin. Koerner became Villard's advisor during the first period of his stay in the United States. It is not difficult to imagine that Villard could receive information about Mansfield directly from the person who was best informed.

With one exception, all nine German-Americans on this list were prominent in efforts to nominate and elect Lincoln. Mannfeld, however, presents a mystery, at first. He was relatively unknown, even in German

circles. If it is a question of Indiana, one expects to see in Villard's list the name of Hielscher, who had done so much to win that state for Lincoln. It is not easy to discover who Mannfeld was. Villard made this task even more difficult by mistakenly using an original German name, a name that Mannfeld had abandoned for Mansfield about ten years earlier.¹²

Born in Brunswick (Braunschweig) in 1803, Mansfield received a classical education in Göttingen and Heidelberg in astronomy and mathematics (in the latter field examined by the famous Professor Karl Friedrich Gauss), pursued an academic career, and for many years taught at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky. Then, in 1850, he moved to Madison, in Jefferson County, Indiana, and became a legislator in the state assembly. When the Indiana Republican Convention nominated him to be its presidential elector at its convention, Mansfield declared this action to be proof that there was "no enmity between native and foreign born citizens" in the Republican Party.¹³ In 1860, during the days leading up to the election, he spoke in Indianapolis on the "Merits of the Dred Scott Decision." He demonstrated clearly that the Supreme Court had erred in its arguments that Negroes were to be considered property and not entitled to the same rights as white men. Taking on the roles of professional lawyer and historian, Mansfield constructed close-knit arguments based on the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the views of the founding fathers. He showed how the Republicans represented a rejection of the Supreme Court positions, with which the Democratic Party was clearly identified. The *Indianapolis Daily Journal* referred to his lecture as a "masterpiece."¹⁴ As an Indiana delegate to the Chicago convention, he probably worked closely with Koerner to turn his delegation from Bates to Lincoln. The southern counties of Indiana were of key importance in the 1860 election. Although it is impossible to say how effective Mansfield was in winning votes for Lincoln, he was rewarded in anticipation of his efforts by selection to the slate of electors from Indiana.¹⁵

In his *Memoirs*, Gustave Koerner reveals his close personal ties to Mansfield. The two had met when Koerner studied at Transylvania University. Koerner recalled that when Mansfield moved to Indiana, his home became the center of the "best society of Madison and the country round."¹⁶ Koerner admired Mansfield and had reason to give prominence to his role in the election. Thus, there can be hardly any doubt about Koerner as "one of the most eminent German citizens" in Illinois, who served Villard as the unidentified source of his list of deserving German-Americans. By having informed Villard about the crucial role of these men in Lincoln's nomination and election, Koerner evidently also paid homage to his mentor and influential friend.

In considering the prominence of German journalists in Villard's list, it is useful to recall an observation by the first name on the list. George Schneider,

whom Lincoln later appointed consul in Denmark, stressed that the

. . . revolution of 1848 and 1849 in Germany for the unification of the Fatherland and the failure of this great effort sent thousands of the best men of Germany—men of culture and strong will-power—to this country, who were placed at the head of the best newspapers printed in the German language. From New York to the Great West, their influence was felt at once, and a great revival began among them. The principal places of this new uprising in thought and action were New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis. All the principal papers in these cities opposed at once the extension of slavery in the new Territories, and, in fact, slavery itself. Our state was in advance of all of them and nearly every paper published in the German language in the state opposed the Nebraska bill.¹⁷

Schneider's role as editor in Chicago was crucial. Villard added:

The majority of the Germans of the Northwest, unlike that of their countrymen in the Atlantic cities, contributed to the success of the Republican Party. Nor is this stubborn fact to be wondered at. Their ablest journals, their best speakers, their most prominent and popular men reflected Republican views. They worked with the peculiar zeal, earnestness and indefatigableness with which the German mind is wont to make propaganda for its convictions; and hence the result—namely, an overwhelming majority among their compatriots for Lincoln and Hamlin.¹⁸

If the role of the German newspapers is thought to be significant, the *Herald* reporter's list appears to be arbitrary when considering how many prominent journalists were omitted, such as Canisius and Butz of Illinois, Olshausen of Iowa, Bernays and Münch of Missouri, Hielscher of Indiana, Kob of Kansas, Hassaurek and Mueller of Ohio, Kapp and Raster of New York, Rapp of Maryland, etc. The list is long. Even if Villard emphasized the German-Americans of the upper Midwest, it should be noted that men like Kapp of New York and Rapp of Maryland contributed substantially to the debates that set the stage for German participation in the events in Chicago. The political power that the Illinois Germans possessed was a product of a development from East to West. It is easy to overlook the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which led to an unprecedented national crisis. The results resonated in the elections of 1856 and 1860. Political leaders of the Northwest—American or German-American—could not ignore the rest of the nation. Their actions

were in one sense a product of the politics of East and West.

According to a count made by the German paper in Cleveland in the summer of 1860, thirty papers endorsed the Democratic candidate. Seventy-six were behind Lincoln.¹⁹ At about the same time, to demonstrate the strong support that Lincoln enjoyed among German-Americans, Canisius published the titles of sixty-eight German papers that supported Lincoln's election (see Appendix N). At a time when politicians lacked options to reach voters, newspapers played a prominent role. The shift to the relatively new Republican Party by the German papers was dramatic. Koerner recognized this in his memoirs: "And Medill and Ray of the *Chicago Tribune* and George Schneider of the Illinois *Staats-Zeitung*, the leading Republican papers of the Northwest, all recruited from the Democratic Party, contributed largely to the victory of the Republicans."²⁰

Lincoln undoubtedly took notice of Villard's article. As Villard expected, most persons he named received appointments in the new administration. Lincoln rewarded Hassaurek with the ambassadorship to Ecuador and appointed Koerner the ambassador to Spain. Koerner succeeded Schurz, who returned to the states for military service. Lincoln recommended Mansfield as consul in Le Havre, France.²¹ When Seward, his secretary of state, was filling ministerial posts with Americans, Lincoln asked, "... and what about our [G]erman friends?"²²

Villard's list gave indirect recognition to the role of the Turners by featuring Sigismund Kaufmann, the founder of the New York Turner Society and first leader of the national Turner Union. He was one of the cofounders of the Republican Party in New York.²³ During his brief stay in New York, enroute to Washington for the inauguration in 1861, Lincoln met Kaufmann at a reception hosted by the New York Electoral College and asserted his knowledge of German by claiming to "know that Kaufmann means merchant." According to an unconfirmed report, Lincoln then added that his knowledge of the language extended even to the meaning of the word *Schneider*, which he knew to be tailor (information he could have acquired from his Chicago friend George Schneider). Finally, Lincoln asked Kaufmann: "Am I not a good German scholar?"²⁴

How good a scholar of the German language was Lincoln? Perhaps the conversation with Kaufmann was an effort to retrieve at least a residue from a half-hearted attempt in the distant past. Lincoln's inclination to show off his German knowledge probably had its basis in German lessons in the winter of 1849–50, soon after the revolutions in Germany and Hungary. His Springfield dentist, Dr. Amos Willard French and Lincoln "joined a club of a dozen gentlemen of Springfield" to study German in his office. In an interview, Dr. French remembered these study sessions.

A professor of languages came along here from Philadelphia, and we got up a class for him. I don't remember anything we learned at that time. Lincoln told so many stories that we laughed at them instead of studying the lesson, I am afraid. No, I don't think he made a very apt scholar, though he probably learned as much as any of the rest of us.²⁵

Despite Dr. French's pessimistic view, it seems that Lincoln did not give up in his efforts to learn German. Luman Burr, a deputy clerk of McLean County in Bloomington observed Lincoln studying German at one of the Circuit Court offices. During this encounter, probably in 1857, Lincoln displayed his fascination with German words. He told Burr: "Here is a curious thing: the Germans have no word for thimble; they call it finger hat (*Fingerhut*). And they have no word for glove; they call it hand shoe (*Handschuh*)."²⁶ Although Lincoln's stature as a scholar of German was questionable, his efforts to become proficient may have been instructive, nevertheless, in a political sense. It was probably then that he first learned from his German teacher directly about the Forty-Eighter experience and its relevance to current events in the United States.

After becoming president, Lincoln offered Kaufmann the ambassadorship in Italy, but Kaufmann declined.²⁷ Kaufmann continued to be active in the Republican Party, in 1870 as a candidate for lieutenant governor of New York. He was the director of the German Savings Bank, police commissioner, president of the German Society of New York, member of the emigration commission, and director of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. He held Lincoln in especially high regard for the Emancipation Proclamation. He said:

The proclamation of Abraham Lincoln freeing the slaves was the greatest victory for the federal cause of the War. It shed no drop of blood; it cost no treasure. Where graves are the monuments of Grant's victories, millions of free men are the trophies Lincoln won.²⁸

In the same article Villard made his most provocative claim about the crucial role of the German-Americans: "In Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Wisconsin, native Republicans now openly acknowledge that their victory was, if not wholly, at least to a great extent, due to the large accessions they received in the most hotly contested sections from the German ranks."²⁹ Villard wrote with supreme confidence. To evaluate his bold assertion it is important to remember who the *Herald* reporter was. Despite the fact that the *Herald's* editor, James Gordon Bennett, opposed Lincoln, he tolerated

Villard's sympathetic reports of the president-elect. They were printed without censorship.³⁰

As noted in the introduction, Villard was not French, as one might one first suspect because of his name. His original name until emigration was Hilgard. He was born in Speyer, Germany, and, before coming to the United States in 1853, he studied briefly at the universities of Munich and Würzburg. Although he was very young during the revolution, his sympathies for its causes are reflected in his efforts to organize for German immigrants a Kansas settlement company, which was to become a "vanguard of liberty and to fight for free soil." His efforts to raise funds for this venture failed, however, and he realized, after consulting Friedrich Kapp, that his scheme was ill conceived. His effort to publish the Racine *Volksblatt* in Wisconsin as an instrument to win voters for the Republican cause also failed. He reported on the Lincoln-Douglas debates for the conservative New York *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*. In the meantime, he learned English. Within just seven years after his arrival in the United States he received assignments to report on events of national significance for the New York Associated Press and for the *New York Herald*.

Lincoln was impressed and granted Villard frequent interviews. The president-elect included him in the party that accompanied him on the historic journey from Springfield to Washington.³¹ He introduced Villard to his young secretary, John G. Nicolay, who shared with Villard a German background. Nicolay (originally Nicolai), was born in Essingen near Landau in the Palatinate, not far from Zweibrücken, Villard's home town. Nicolay had left Germany as a five-year-old child, but the common background probably enhanced Villard's access to the secretary and to Lincoln and thus lent his reports a greater degree of reliability.³² Villard was well informed. That national pride and identification with the German-Americans was certainly a factor in the prominence Villard accorded to the German Republicans cannot be overlooked. Does that disqualify him as an interpreter of the events leading to Lincoln's election? Motivated by his German background, did he exaggerate the influence of his countrymen? To answer such questions it may be instructive to consider how Villard's evaluation of the election compares to Lincoln's pre-election calculations. After the election Villard observed:

. . . in the late contest it may be well said that the voters of German extraction held the balance of power in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. In each of these states they numbered tens of thousands, and on whatever side they were to throw the whole weight of their vote was sure to be the winning one.³³

What Villard claimed was not essentially different from what Lincoln calculated before the election, when he observed that Massachusetts politicians were incapable of looking past their noses. They did not understand that "tilting against foreigners" could ruin the Republican chances in the whole Northwest.³⁴

No statistical records exist for 1860 to demonstrate precisely how German-Americans voted. Lincoln needed 152 electoral votes to win the election. In his history of the German language press in America, Carl Wittke wrote that "controversy over how decisive the German vote was in determining the outcome probably will never be settled."³⁵ The above-mentioned northwestern states made up 43 electoral votes, and if Lincoln lacked victory in these, he would have had only 137, not enough to win. Donnal V. Smith calculated the approximate numbers of foreign voters in the crucial states. It turns out, however, that only in Illinois was that margin significant: the margin there was 11,956 and the estimated number of foreign voters 68,000. In his calculations Smith neglected to take into account that the foreign voters included Catholics and the Irish, who tended to vote for Democrats.³⁶

Joseph Schafer took to task the faulty calculations of the German voting patterns. He showed that in specific areas, most notably Wisconsin, the estimate of votes for Lincoln cast by German-Americans could be vastly distorted and greatly exaggerated. He showed that in many cases German-Americans did not vote for Lincoln but for Douglas. Schafer concluded that to assign overwhelming influence to the foreign-born was wrong. Lincoln, he believed, was elected through an "upsurge of moral enthusiasm and determination on the part of the distinctly American folk."³⁷

Jay Monaghan presented arguments that, at least in Illinois, the German vote was decisive. He showed that roughly 8 percent of the population was German-American and that Lincoln won the state by the margin of only 3 percent. Even if only half of the German-Americans voted for the Republican Party, they were definitely needed for victory.³⁸ James M. Bergquist presented the most exhaustive study of the German voting patterns in Illinois. Because of Lincoln's concern about winning over Germans in Madison County, the chapter on the patterns of voting in southern Illinois offers helpful statistics. Bergquist's figures show that in 1854, as a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Democrats suffered their most significant defeat. They won only about 15 percent of the vote, but the party rebounded in 1858 to slightly above 50 percent. In 1860, however, the Democrats fell back to about 48 percent. Bergquist suggested that the Democratic decline from 1858 to 1860 was probably due to the German voters. He concluded that the

. . . decisiveness of the Germans' voting power rests also in the historical fact that the politicians of 1860 perceived that the political tendencies of many Germans were still in doubt; realizing that the fluctuation of only a part of the immigrant vote might be critical, they framed specific appeals and a special campaign for the Germans' benefit. The "crucial" nature of the German vote, then, rests upon the calculations and the strategy of the politicians of the time, as well as upon the mere number of the German voters.³⁹

Bergquist pointed out that Lincoln had about 12,000 more votes than did Douglas (172,000 to 160,000); at the same time, he estimated the total German-American vote to be 23,000 for Lincoln and 15,000 for Douglas. Because the German vote could not be taken for granted, the Republicans had "mounted a special campaign to reach them, and adjusted the party platform in the immigrants' favor."⁴⁰ Thus, the German votes for Lincoln emerge as a significant factor, if not in every sense decisive.

Richard H. Steckel's study has shown that the Republican Party was most vulnerable along the border with the southern states. The party sent its most effective campaigners into the border precincts of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.⁴¹ Studies that examine patterns of German-American voting precinct by precinct would be needed.

In the previous election of 1856 the Democrats won in Pennsylvania. In 1860, Lincoln received 189,156 votes more than did the next candidate. This was a dramatic shift. The contention that the German-American influence made the difference has been challenged. It has been said, with justification, that the German-Americans did not vote as a block (the percentage of German Democratic journals to Republican ones was about forty). In Pennsylvania Lincoln's majority was too great to allow the German vote to be a decisive factor. Pennsylvania is clearly a special case. The Republican Party was on record to protect its industry with tariffs, but the Democratic position seemed weak. Lincoln's record of support for protection of Pennsylvania's industry appeared more persuasive to the voters. The role of the German vote was certainly not decisive in this state.⁴²

If it is not possible to prove the German-American role with statistics conclusively, it is perhaps most reasonable to suggest that a general trend became evident, and although this trend was most evident in German-American communities, the shift in favor of Republicans transcended the distinctions between Americans and German-Americans. Schafer's perception of an "upsurge" for Lincoln may be the ground for general agreement. There is then no reason to see the German factor and the upsurge as being mutually exclusive. The German-Americans were effective participants in the upsurge.

A comparison between the surprising near-victory of the infant Republican Party with John Frémont in 1856 and Lincoln's success in 1860 shows that in the latter election the Republicans were able to turn defeats in key states into victories, in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois.

How did this occur? Without ignoring other states, Lincoln and his German-American friends paid particular attention to campaigning in those states and consciously sought the help of German-Americans to gain momentum. It is well known that Schurz and Hassaurek campaigned intensively. In Indiana, Republicans appealed to the national headquarters for funds. David Davis, Lincoln's political manager, asked Thurlow Weed and the Republican National Committee for funds to support German speakers. "The first order of German speakers are needed in Indiana." When this money was exhausted, Defrees wrote in desperation to Weed: "The amount sent by the National Committee (\$2,000) has been exhausted in the payment of Carl Schurz and other speakers and on a few German Republican papers. Could you not influence the Committee to send a few thousand more?" It was thought that victory depended on the German vote.⁴³ Lincoln put special emphasis on winning in Indiana. He wrote on September 20 to Edwin D. Morgan, the chairman of the Republican National Committee: "If I might advise, I would say, bend all your energies upon Indiana now."⁴⁴

Kansas also participated; John P. Hatterscheidt, the German Turner and legislator from Leavenworth, was recruited to campaign in southern Indiana. In September, he lectured in Indianapolis; in November, in the days preceding the election, he and Hielscher spoke to a crowd in German.⁴⁵ M. W. Delahay wrote to Lincoln on February 22, 1861, that Hatterscheidt contributed "important services upon the stump in southern Indiana." The chairman of the Republican Central Committee of Indiana wrote that he "rendered most able and efficient service to the party in Indiana. He visited some of the strongest Democratic districts in the state, and at great personal sacrifice labored for several weeks with great success among our German friends."⁴⁶ Mansfield, who represented an older generation of German immigrants, presumably campaigned effectively in southern Indiana, where he lived.⁴⁷ The concerted effort to win over German-Americans in the remote areas outside the major cities such as the southern parts of Indiana and Illinois was an essential part of a successful strategy.

The German Forty-Eighters and Turners helped to create the "upsurge of moral enthusiasm and determination" for a distinctively American cause. Their revolutionary zeal contributed to a powerful shift in the northwestern states. For example, the city records of five German wards in Cincinnati reflect this trend.

In 1855, there was a Democratic majority of 3,074 votes in five wards.

In 1860, the Republicans in those same wards showed a majority of 1,730.⁴⁸

The basis for such a trend in Cincinnati was the network of German Forty-Eighters and Turners. A shift of the German population from Democrats to Republicans can also be observed in the comparison of lists of newspapers of 1856 and 1860. A list compiled in New York by Herman Raster of the *Abendzeitung* showed eleven identifying with the Democratic Party and nine with the Republican Party.⁴⁹ After the Forty-Eighters arrived, the number of German newspapers increased dramatically. Before 1850, the German papers favoring the Democrats were in the majority; in 1860, the relationship was reversed.⁵⁰

Friedrich Kapp observed that in 1856 only about half of the German Forty-Eighters voted for the Republican Party, but in 1860 two-thirds went to the polls for Lincoln.⁵¹ *Die Freie Presse* reported Germans in Indiana "Crossing Over to the Republican Camp."

From all sides there are news reports that the Germans in great numbers are crossing over to the Republican camp. We have prophesized this for some time, and we also know that our compatriots would not rush into this decision. We know of the German love for freedom as well as for the familiar. We also know that it would be very difficult for many a decent and honest German to leave a party with which he had been associated for many years and with which he had fought many battles.⁵²

A similar report described a "Stampede in Southern Indiana."

The old German daily newspaper, *Volksbote* of Evansville, Indiana, which has been Democratic in politics from its first issue, has hoisted the names of Lincoln and Hamlin, and is doing battle valiantly for the Republican cause. The *Volksbote* was Anti-Lecompton during the pendency of that issue and has now separated itself entirely from the unclean party which it has served so long. The result of its movement has been a tremendous stampede of German voters in Southern Indiana and the Wabash counties of Illinois to the Republican ranks.⁵³

Even if such articles contained exaggerations to influence the course of

events, the existence of a trend is supported by a variety of sources. When Carl Schurz visited Indiana in March, he noted that "the German vote is coming over to our side with increasing numbers, and I have little doubt that we will carry Indiana in the election."⁵⁴ It is important to consider the shift that took place in the key state of Indiana. The German newspapers of that state had supported the Democrats in the 1856 election. In 1860, all except the *Volksblatt* of Indianapolis, backed the Republicans.⁵⁵ Carl Schurz was one of the six members of the executive committee responsible for organizing the presidential campaign and for winning over the German-American vote. He was not reluctant to take credit for having done so. He wrote:

My primary task—my specialty—lay in addressing German-born voters in our common mother tongue. This mission took me to Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. I not only visited great cities, but small towns and villages, and occasionally remote farming areas. I often found my audience gathered in school houses, large barns, and occasionally outdoors.⁵⁶

To appreciate the German factor in Lincoln's nomination and election, it is important to distinguish stages. The radical German-Americans, inspired to be active in politics by the lessons of a failed revolution, had to contend at first with the Know-Nothing movement against immigrants. That movement had to compete with the crisis provoked by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. That crisis assigned a new potential for radical action among immigrants. The radicals, usually members of Turner societies, had the advantage of experience in organizing for political goals. The Forty-Eighters and Turners spoke out against slavery; they were thus natural allies of the newly born Republican Party, which was eager to win them as voting partners. The Republican Party had only to abandon its association with the Know-Nothings. The next challenge appeared in the form of the Bates movement. The emphatic rejection of an alliance with southern politicians, such as Bates, narrowed the field of candidates. Canisius then opened a path for Lincoln's nomination at an early stage by showing to German-Americans that the Illinois politician defended their rights. When Lincoln recognized the intrinsic unfairness of the Two-Year Amendment, he quickly grasped the opportunity to make his position known through the German press. The declaration in his letter to Canisius articulated fundamental principles. Outside Illinois, however, there were equally effective initiatives in Indiana newspapers by Hielscher and Rapp in the national *Turn-Zeitung*. Despite their status as recent immigrants, the German Forty-Eighters and Turners set into motion a powerful "upsurge of moral enthusiasm and determination" for Lincoln.

Notes

¹ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, May 21, 1860.

² *Daily Illinois State Journal*, July 17, 1860. Carl Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 2:148–49.

³ On Hatterscheidt see note 405 below. On Lane in Dearborn and Lawrenceburg, in southeastern Indiana, see the *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, September 17, 1860; Ian Michael Spurgeon, *Man of Douglas; Man of Lincoln: The Political Odyssey of James Henry Lane* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 171 and Albert Castel, *Civil War Kansas: Reaping the Whirlwind* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997³), 35. On Lane's presence in Indianapolis see *Die Freie Presse von Indiana*, September 13, 1860. Another German campaign speaker in Indiana was Albert Lange. Zimmermann, 405.

⁴ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, September 4, 1860. A. E. Zucker, "Reinhold Solger," *Report of the History of the German Society of Maryland* 24 (1939): 12. Evarts B. Greene, "Gustav Koerner, a Typical German American Leader," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 7 (1907): 76–83. Cf. Sabine Freitag, *Friedrich Hecker: Two Lives for Liberty*, translated by Steven Rowan (St. Louis: University of Missouri Press, 2006), 206–7.

⁵ Hinners, 156. As a result of this effort, Solger was appointed assistant registrar of the Treasury Department.

⁶ On October 12, 1860, the *New York Daily Tribune* reported on another meeting of the German Republicans at which Turner Aaron Frank presided. Speakers were Nicholas Rusch of Iowa, Adolph Douai, and Friedrich Kapp.

⁷ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 2:59–60. The *Turn-Zeitung* of August 7, 1860, reported on this effort by Douai during the national convention of the Turners in Rochester. The final decision was to recommend that Turners vote for the candidate who adhered to the *Turnverein* platform most closely.

⁸ *Belleviller Zeitung*, August 16. Cf. a follow-up article of August 3. The author of the article and editor, Franz Grimm, wrote that he was acquainted with the conservative positions of most Turners during the revolution. At that time he was president of the North-German Turner Union in Leipzig. On October 4, 1860, days before the election, he wrote in defense of the younger German immigrants, referred to disparagingly as "Red Republicans." "These 'Forty-Eighters' struggled to free their beloved fatherland from a bondage and tyranny worse than that which once oppressed the American colonists and drove them to rebellion and war. These 'Forty-Eighters' used their best efforts, by word and pen . . . to obtain for their country those very blessings of freedom, free speech, free press, universal suffrage, etc., which the heroes of the American Revolution and the American people were fortunate enough to attain for themselves."

⁹ *Illinois State Daily Journal*, November 5, 1860.

¹⁰ *New York Herald*, December 9, 1860. See Appendix O.

¹¹ To identify Mannfeld it is necessary to realize that Villard was using an original German name. In America, Johann Lutz Mannfeld changed his name to John L. Mansfield.

¹² Before he moved to Indiana, Mannfeld married and adopted his wife's name, Mansfield. Villard mistakenly wrote his middle initial as F instead of L, which stood for the name Lutz. McCormack, ed. *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, 1:364–65. Gustav[e] Koerner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818–1848* (Cincinnati: Wilde, 1880), 240–41.

¹³ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, February 23, 1860.

¹⁴ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, September 20 and October 12, 1860. Cf. September 18 in the *Journal* about his speaking for the Republicans in Warren township. John L. Mansfield, *A Speech by the Hon. John L. Mansfield* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Journal Company, 1860). Biographical sketches on Mansfield are found in the Internet under the titles *The Semi-Centennial*

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

Record of the University of Illinois and the Biographical Directory of the Indiana General Assembly. Lincoln recommended Mansfield for a consular position in Havre (which, however, he did not receive). Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4:312. Mansfield played a prominent role in the Civil War, rising to the rank of general. On his appointment as elector for Indiana see *Die Freie Presse von Indiana*, March 1, 1860. Mansfield participated in the Jefferson County Republican Convention. *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, February 8, 1860.

¹⁵ Jefferson County shows a slight increase in the votes for the Republican Party from 1856 to 1860. In 1856, the Democrats had 1,936 to the 2,314 of the Republicans. In 1860, the Democrat vote was 1,146 to 2,661 for the Republicans. Burnham, *Presidential Ballots*, 400.

¹⁶ McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, 1:364–65.

¹⁷ Selby, "Lincoln and German Patriotism," 516.

¹⁸ *New York Herald*, December 9, 1860.

¹⁹ Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 146. Selby writes in 1913 that "a careful estimate has placed the number of papers in this class in the country at eighty-eight—nearly, if not quite, all of which had been previously Democratic—but of which all but eight espoused the cause of the Republican Party." Selby, "Lincoln and German Patriotism," 516–17. Other lists of German newspapers support the evidence for a general trend away from the Democratic Party. James M. Bergquist, "The German-American Press," in Sally M. Miller, ed., *The Ethnic Press in the United States* (New York: Greenwood, 1987), 138–39.

²⁰ McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, 2:84.

²¹ Carl Wittke, "Friedrich Hassaurek, Cincinnati's Leading Forty-Eighter," *Ohio Historical Quarterly* 68 (1959): 10. Tolzmann, *Illinois' German Heritage*, 103. On Mansfield see Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4:312.

²² March 18, 1861. Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:292–93. Cf. Jay Monaghan, "Did Abraham Lincoln Receive the Illinois German Vote?" in Luebke, *Ethnic Voters*, 64.

²³ See Appendix C.

²⁴ Isaac Markens, *Abraham Lincoln and the Jews* (New York: Markens, 1909), 32–33. Available on the Internet. The *New York Tribune* report of February 20, 1861, refers only to the first segment of the exchange with Kaufmann. Markens does not give any other source for the rest of the conversation, which, nevertheless, has a degree of plausibility because of Lincoln's friendship with Schneider.

²⁵ Dr. French's interview with the *Chicago Sunday Times-Herald* took place on August 25, 1895. Wayne C. Temple, "A. W. French: Lincoln Family Dentist," *Lincoln Herald* 63 (1961): 151–54. Temple, "The Linguistic Lincoln: A New Lincoln Letter," 112 and 114.

²⁶ Walter B. Stevens, *A Reporter's Lincoln* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 91 and 263.

²⁷ Markens, 32.

²⁸ Cf. Appendix C. In 1870, Kaufmann was the candidate of the Republican Party for lieutenant governor of New York, when the *New York Sun* raised questions about his religion and nationality. The paper suggested that the intention behind his nomination was to get German votes and "the question has been raised whether he is a Teuton [member of a Germanic tribe] or a Hebrew?" The Republican Party, in the view of the *Sun* editor, "erred in nominating Kaufmann for the purpose of attracting the German vote." The questions raised about his Jewish religion probably undermined his campaign. He lost the election. Morris U. Schappes, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States (1654–1875)* (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), 539–42. I. B. Bailin, "Sigismund Kaufmann, Abolitionist: How a German '48er became a Brooklyn political leader," *Jewish Currents* 15 (1961): 20–22. "Mr. Sig. Kaufmann is a German by nationality and a Jew by religion." "The Word 'Jew.'" *The Israelite*, October 7, 1870. Jeffrey Gurock asked: "[C]an this leader of the determinedly anti-religious *Turnverein* still be counted as a Jew?" Interviewed by the periodical *The Israelite* on October 7, 1870,

during the campaign for lieutenant governor of New York, Kaufmann said: "If you ask me what religion I have, my answer would be 'I am a Jew.' Ask my nationality—my answer, 'I am a German.'" Jeffrey S. Gurock, ed., *Central European Jews in America, 1840–1880: Migration and Advancement* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 316. In the years 1873 and 1876–80 he was president of the German Society in New York. Klaus Wust, *Guardian on the Hudson: The German Society of the City of New York, 1784–1984* (New York: German Society, 1984), 38–9.

²⁹ *New York Herald*, December 9, 1860. On Villard see also Harold Holzer, *Lincoln President-Elect* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 80–81. Henry Villard, *Memoirs of Henry Villard* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1904), 140–41.

³⁰ James L. Crouthamel, *Bennett's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989), 119.

³¹ Villard gained considerable prominence as a journalist in the Civil War. He played a role, moreover, as a financier. An impressive monument is a reminder of his accomplishment in making the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad a reality. Albert Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (New York: Steuben Society, 1927), 2:373–74.

³² Michael Burlingame, ed., *With Lincoln in the White House: Letters, Memoranda, and Other Writings of John G. Nicolay, 1860–1865* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), xi–xvi. Helen Nicolay, *Lincoln's Secretary: A Biography of John G. Nicolay* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949), 3–60. Villard, *Memoirs*, 1:52–67 and 140–52.

³³ *New York Herald*, December 9, 1860.

³⁴ July 6, 1859. Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:391.

³⁵ Wittke, 146.

³⁶ Joseph Schafer, "Who Elected Lincoln?" in Luebke ed., *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln*, 46–61, especially 51.

³⁷ *Ibid.* The following important essays are also in Luebke's volume: Donnal V. Smith, "The Influence of the Foreign-Born of the Northwest in the Election of 1860," 1–15; Jay Monaghan, "Did Abraham Lincoln Receive the Illinois German Vote?" 62–67; James M. Bergquist, "People and Politics in Transition: The Illinois Germans," 196–226. Cf. Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 259.

³⁸ Monaghan, "Did Abraham Lincoln Receive the Illinois German Vote?" in Luebke, 62–67. This argument is reviewed and supported by John J. Gathman, "The German Immigrant Settler in Illinois 1845–1872" (master's thesis at Illinois State University, 1969).

³⁹ Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes," 406. Cf. Raymond Lohne, "Team of Friends: A New Lincoln Theory and Legacy," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 101 (2008): 285–314. In 1856 the Democrats had won in Madison County by 1,451 to 1,111 for the Republicans. In 1860, the Republicans had 3,161 votes to 3,100 for the Democrats. W. Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots (1836–1892)* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), 400.

⁴⁰ Bergquist, "People and Politics in Transition," 225–26.

⁴¹ Richard H. Steckel, "Migration and Political Conflict: Precincts in the Midwest on the Eve of the Civil War," 583–603.

⁴² Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 201–9. Cf. Lesley Ann Kawaguchi, "Diverging Political Affiliations and Ethnic Perspectives: Philadelphia Germans and Antebellum Politics," 3–29. Cf. Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German-Americans and Civil War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis," 232–43.

⁴³ Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era: 1850–1880* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1965), 93–95. Luthin, "Indiana and Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency," 398–400.

⁴⁴ Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4:171.

⁴⁵ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, September 20 and November 1, 1860.

⁴⁶ Hatterscheidt was seeking a position in Antwerp, said to be near his native home in

Germany. Lincoln recommended him for that post on April 1, 1861. Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4:312. See also the file in the National Archives and Records Administration entitled Hatterscheidt, John P. Applications and Recommendation for Public Office, 1797–1901; Administration of Lincoln-Johnson, 1861–1869; Entry A1 760; Box 30. Hatterscheidt served as consul in Moscow from 1861 to 1865. See the United States Consular Records for Moscow; Entry UD 592; vol. 3; records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Record Group 84. Nothing further after 1865 is known about Hatterscheidt's life. A son of the same name survived him in Cincinnati.

⁴⁷ Thornbrough, 94.

⁴⁸ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, November 23, 1860.

⁴⁹ *The New York Times*, February 26, 1856. Cf. Appendix N.

⁵⁰ Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 146.

⁵¹ Kapp, 319.

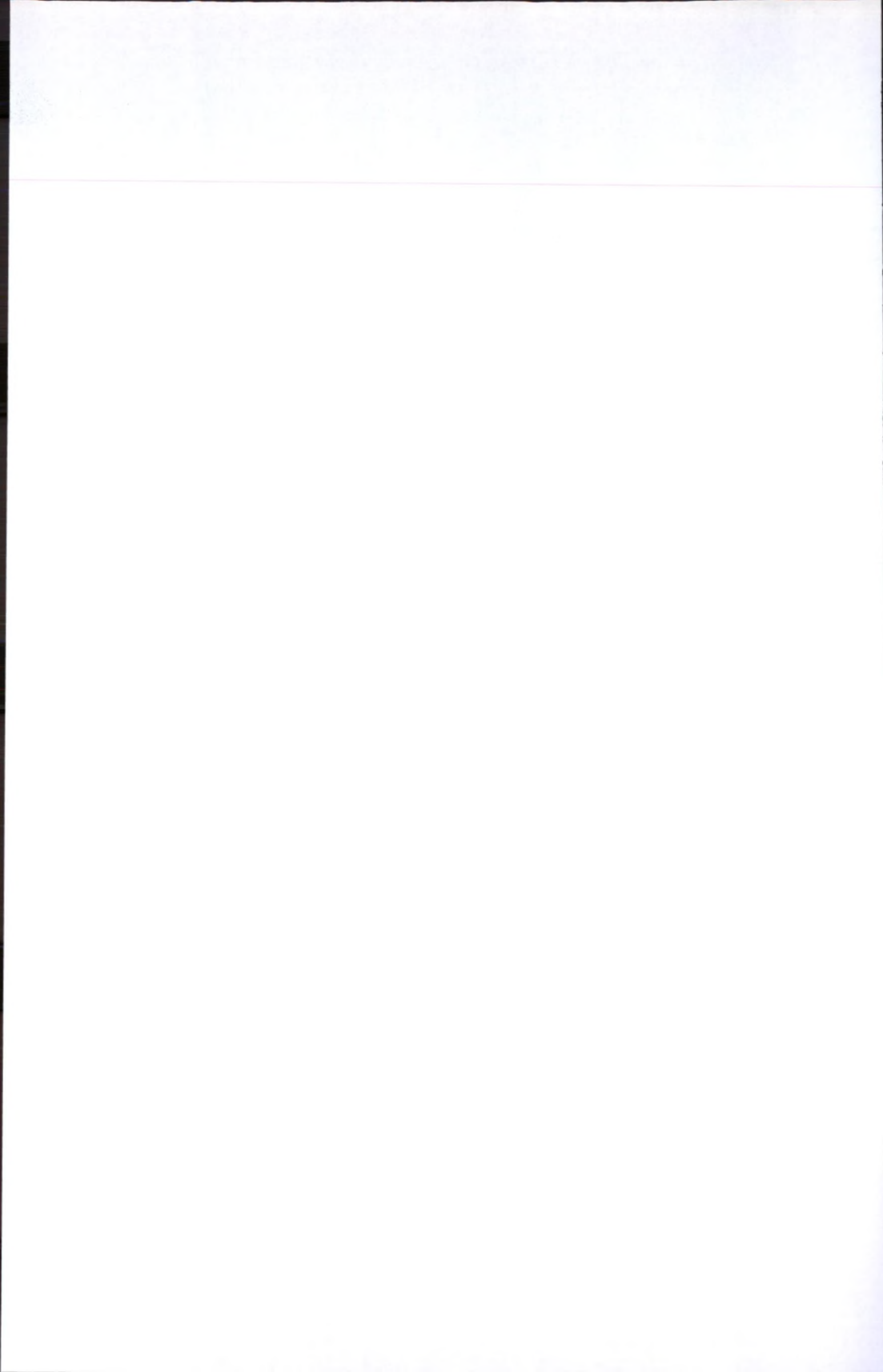
⁵² "Von allen Seiten her laufen Nachrichten ein, daß die Deutschen massenweise ins republikanische Lager herüberkommen. Wir haben dies schon lange vorausgesehen und wußten auch, daß es unseren Landsleuten schon lange Zeit nehmen wurde, zu diesem Entschluss zu kommen. Wir kennen die Liebe der Deutschen für die Freiheit als auch für das Herkommliche und wußten, daß es manchem ehrlichen und braven Deutschen deshalb schwer fallen würde, sich von einer Partei zu trennen mit der er manches Jahr verlebte und manche Schlacht geschlagen hatte." *Die Freie Presse von Indiana*, August 23, 1860. Cf. Annemarie Springer, "Indiana German-American Newspapers of the 1850s: Debating Slavery and the Future of the Union," (unpublished article at the Indiana University German-American collection in Indianapolis), 21.

⁵³ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, June 11, 1860. The *Journal* reported on July 15 that the *Staats-Zeitung* of Indianapolis, formerly a Democratic paper, also came out for Lincoln.

⁵⁴ Schurz wrote to his wife from South Bend on March 9, 1860. *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, ed. by Frederic Bancroft (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1913), 1:111. And again on July 29, he wrote from Belleville that "Germans are coming to our side by hundreds and thousands. If things go everywhere as they did in Egypt [i.e., southern Illinois], where there were scarcely any Republican votes cast in 1856, Lincoln's election is inevitable." 121.

⁵⁵ "Reports from the counties in which there was a considerable German population indicated a steady change to the Republicans." Zimmermann, 405. For the evidence of a subtle shift in Illinois see Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes," 320–4.

⁵⁶ Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 2:144, 148–49. Translation by Judith Arnold. After the nomination, Schurz worked hard to win those votes that he had predicted. In addition to the Indiana towns Schurz mentions in his memoirs, he campaigned in New York, Brooklyn, New Haven, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Evansville, and St. Louis; in Illinois: Quincy, Peoria, Beardstown, Pekin, Havana, Belleville, Springfield, Alton, and Marine. His last speeches were in Wisconsin. Trefousse, 88–91. Cf. *Illinois Daily State Journal*, July 17, 1860. In a formal letterhead of July 9, 1860, Schurz is a member of the executive committee. Schurz collection of the Library of Congress.



Chapter 8. Conclusions

Lincoln himself had been willing to gamble on his chances of being nominated for the presidency as early as the spring of 1859. On May 30, 1859, he purchased through his friend Jacob Bunn the type and other equipment of *The Illinois Staats-Anzeiger*, a German language newspaper recently established in Springfield.

Harry E. Pratt, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln*

Counteracting the waves of immigration in the 1840s and 1850s became crucial for nativist politicians, the Know-Nothings, and members of the American Party, but their movement to put strict limits on the voting power of naturalized citizens backfired. When the proponents of the Kansas-Nebraska Act expected the peaceful settlement of newly opened territories, they also failed. In both instances the German-Americans articulated effective opposition to policies that ran counter to their vital interests. The Turners and Forty-Eighters established newspapers nationally and specifically in “bleeding” Kansas. American politicians could not ignore them. Stringfellow, who led a militant campaign to win Kansas for the South, suddenly abandoned his inflammatory newspaper, the *Squatter Sovereign*, in 1858 and conceded that he had lost. His paper in Atchison was replaced by Kob’s German *Kansas Zeitung* with a powerful base of support from a German population in Leavenworth. Stringfellow explained his failure as the result of the immigration wave.

Numerous lines converged at the destinations of Lincoln’s nomination and election. These lines share a common denominator, however: an instinctive rejection of the initiative to extend the reach of slavery in 1854. An investigation into the background of the 1854 daguerreotype of Lincoln, taken in Chicago, shows the future president’s interest in creating an alliance with George Schneider and the German-Americans. For Lincoln, Schneider’s *Staats-Zeitung* became a practical instrument for winning over the German-American voters to the Republican Party in the 1856 election. To gain the nomination and the election, Lincoln took no chances. In Springfield, he acquired a German printing press for Canisius and secretly employed his

own public relations officer in the person of Dr. Theodore Canisius. In this sequence of events, the Turners and Forty-Eighters represent an uninterrupted thread.

Lincoln gambled on the immigrant vote. He engaged in the secret purchase of the printing press at a risk. To acquire the needed funds, he acted against the advice of his close political advisor, Norman Judd, and he violated his own principles in financial dealings. It appears, in retrospect, that his hasty action was prompted by his personal interest in the presidency. A key factor in this development, and the basis of his gamble, was Lincoln's perception that the votes of the German-Americans made a decisive difference. He realized that in Illinois he could argue persuasively that the Democratic Party did not serve the interests of the German-Americans. Don E. Fehrenbacher pointed out that "the Germans in particular virtually held the balance of power in the state."¹ The Turners and Forty-Eighters became their spokesmen and an influential force through their newspapers, not just in Illinois, but also nationally. Lincoln's acquisition of the German printing press for Canisius, provided him with an efficient instrument to reach voters even beyond Illinois.

Lincoln's public letter to Canisius about the "odious" Massachusetts Amendment stated in no uncertain terms that the fundamental rights of naturalized citizens must be protected. The secret agreement between the two came to light in the 1920s and 1930s, but its historical significance merits closer scrutiny than it has received. Although Lincoln's letter focused on a specific issue of pressing concern to German citizens, the purchase of the German press, at the same time, went beyond the ordinary politics of the day. It had to do with strategic calculations about the 1860 election.

The primary function of a German paper for Lincoln was not simply to promote Republican platforms, as stipulated in the secret contract, but rather to further Lincoln's chances of being nominated and elected president. When Canisius later claimed that no German had succeeded better than he in making Lincoln a favorite with his countrymen, he was obviously boasting and exaggerating; he was seeking a position in Lincoln's administration. A rapid sequence of publications to promote Lincoln's views and his campaign for the presidency have, nevertheless, the Canisius imprint.

Canisius probably alerted fellow Turners in Indiana about Lincoln's candidacy at an early stage. In turn, he could probably translate and then relay the national *Turn-Zeitung* editorial favorable to Lincoln to the Springfield *Daily Illinois State Journal* and from there to the *Chicago Press and Tribune*. Through Canisius, Lincoln succeeded in accessing an effective network of communication. Canisius, an active member of the Turner Society, inherited the organizational skills that the father of the Turners, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn,

had made so successful in the development of his organization. Because of Canisius, Lincoln was indebted indirectly to the Turner legacy, which drew its political resolve from the failed revolution of 1848–49.

During his senate campaign against Douglas, Lincoln turned to Canisius for help in reaching out to the dense population of Germans east of St. Louis. It was necessary to overcome the strong foothold of Democrats in southern Illinois. How much Canisius was able to accomplish is impossible to know. Lincoln lost the election. Or did he really? As the *Turn-Zeitung* saw it, he had “fought a battle for life and death with the ‘little Giant’ and came out of the fight as victor because he conquered for his party in Illinois more votes than Douglas for his; and Douglas has only to thank the unjust apportionment.”²

Like Canisius in Illinois, another active Turner and Forty-Eighter, Theodor Hielscher of Indiana, played a crucial role at the Republican Convention in Chicago by effectively opposing Bates as nominee for the presidency. That opposition helped to win the Indiana delegates and thereby turned the tide in Lincoln’s favor. Lincoln’s alliance with the German-Americans thus achieved its most impressive result.

In New York, Sigismund Kaufmann, president of the newly established socialist Turner Society and, at the same time, leader of the national Turner Union, took on a leadership role in the labor movement and subsequently, after the provocative Kansas-Nebraska Act, in the fight against slavery extension. Not all Turner societies were as radical as the society of the New York Turners. Yet the controversy about Kansas caused many Turners and Forty-Eighters (predominantly from Boston and Cincinnati) to emigrate there to help make that state free of slaves. John Brown recruited the German revolutionaries for his small army, and K. F. Kob established a German paper with the aim of creating a belt of freedom from Kansas to Texas. Barely emerging from the struggle against proslavery adversaries, Kansas recognized the contributions of the German-Americans and the Turners by sending John P. Hatterscheidt as a delegate to the Republican Convention. Writing for the *Turn-Zeitung*, Wilhelm Rapp became an eloquent voice for German-Americans in shaping public opinion about the Republican path to the presidency. The halls of the Turners throughout the country, especially in the highly contested states of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, hosted the lectures of prominent German-Americans like Schurz, Koerner, Hassaurek, Solger, and Hatterscheidt, among others.

In the election of 1860, the Republican Party faced the challenge of capturing the states of Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois, which it had failed to win four years before. The focus of Republican strategists was necessarily on these states; they considered the German-American population the key to victory. The perception of potential significance influenced the course of the

campaign. To emphasize that perception, German newspapers throughout the country conducted their own campaigns to promote an upsurge of interest and confidence: in Springfield (Canisius), Chicago (Schneider), Milwaukee (Domschke), St. Louis (Bernays and Münch), Davenport (Olshausen), Cincinnati (Hassaurek and Willich), Cleveland (Thieme), Baltimore (Rapp), Boston (Heinzen and Douai), and New York (Douai).

The *Turn-Zeitung* belonged to a category of its own. Representing a national network and transcending local political concerns, it took active part in the national debates about Seward and Bates and, at a very early stage, drew attention to Lincoln as a viable candidate. The editors of such papers, overwhelmingly the recent arrivals in America, Turners and Forty-Eighters, created a noteworthy presence in the national discourse. To assert that the German-American votes were indispensable for Lincoln's election cannot be sustained by the evidence available, but the political involvement and impact of this immigrant population was unprecedented.

When the refugees of the European revolution adjusted to the New World, they discovered political issues that reminded them of their bitter experiences as failed revolutionaries. Many reacted instinctively against the discrimination against naturalized citizens and the injustice of slavery. They participated in the emigration wave to Kansas and instinctively recognized a kindred spirit in the newly formed Republican Party. On the other hand, Lincoln might argue that he consistently saw in the Declaration of Independence protections for the rights of immigrants. As early as 1855 in his letter to Joshua Speed, he emphasized that the principle "All men are created equal" applied to the rights of naturalized citizens. In 1858, in the debate against Senator Douglas, Lincoln deplored the idea of making exceptions to the Declaration of Independence. He asked where that practice would stop. In other words, Lincoln based his reaching out to the immigrant population on a consistent principle and a matter of justice. In this respect Lincoln emerges as an energetic defender of immigrant rights.

In 1849, Lincoln participated in a meeting called to show sympathy with the cause of Hungarian freedom and supported a resolution about the "glorious struggle for liberty."³ When he spoke in Belleville in 1856, Koerner recalled that Lincoln, "almost with tears in his eyes," praised the same desire for liberty in his German-American audience.⁴ The revolutionary struggles of the German-Americans and the fight to prevent the extension of slavery were related on a fundamental level. The challenge was to raise this obvious convergence of interests to the national stage and transform them into political action. Although other, significant contingencies cannot be ignored, the quiet alliance between Lincoln and the German-Americans became one of the factors in the nomination and election of 1860.

Lincoln was not the only one to take notice of the voting potential of the German immigrants. Illinois voters had elected Koerner lieutenant governor. Koerner served from 1853 to 1857. Also in Illinois, another German-American, Francis A. Hofmann, served from 1861 to 1865. In Iowa, Nicholas J. Rusch served as lieutenant governor between 1860 and 1862. In 1857, Carl Schurz became the Republican candidate for the post of lieutenant governor of Wisconsin, though he did not prevail in the election. Jacob Mueller served in that capacity in Ohio in 1871. New York Republicans nominated Sigismund Kaufmann for the post of lieutenant governor, but he did not prevail in the election of 1870. Politicians in certain states established a predictable pattern to deal with the immigrant vote; they offered a position that lacked a guarantee of political power. By influencing the nomination and election of a president in 1860, the immigration factor, directly or indirectly, broke through established barriers of opposition and token representation. This time the stakes were higher, and the prize was not simply a deputy governorship, but in a time of unprecedented national crisis the office of the chief executive.

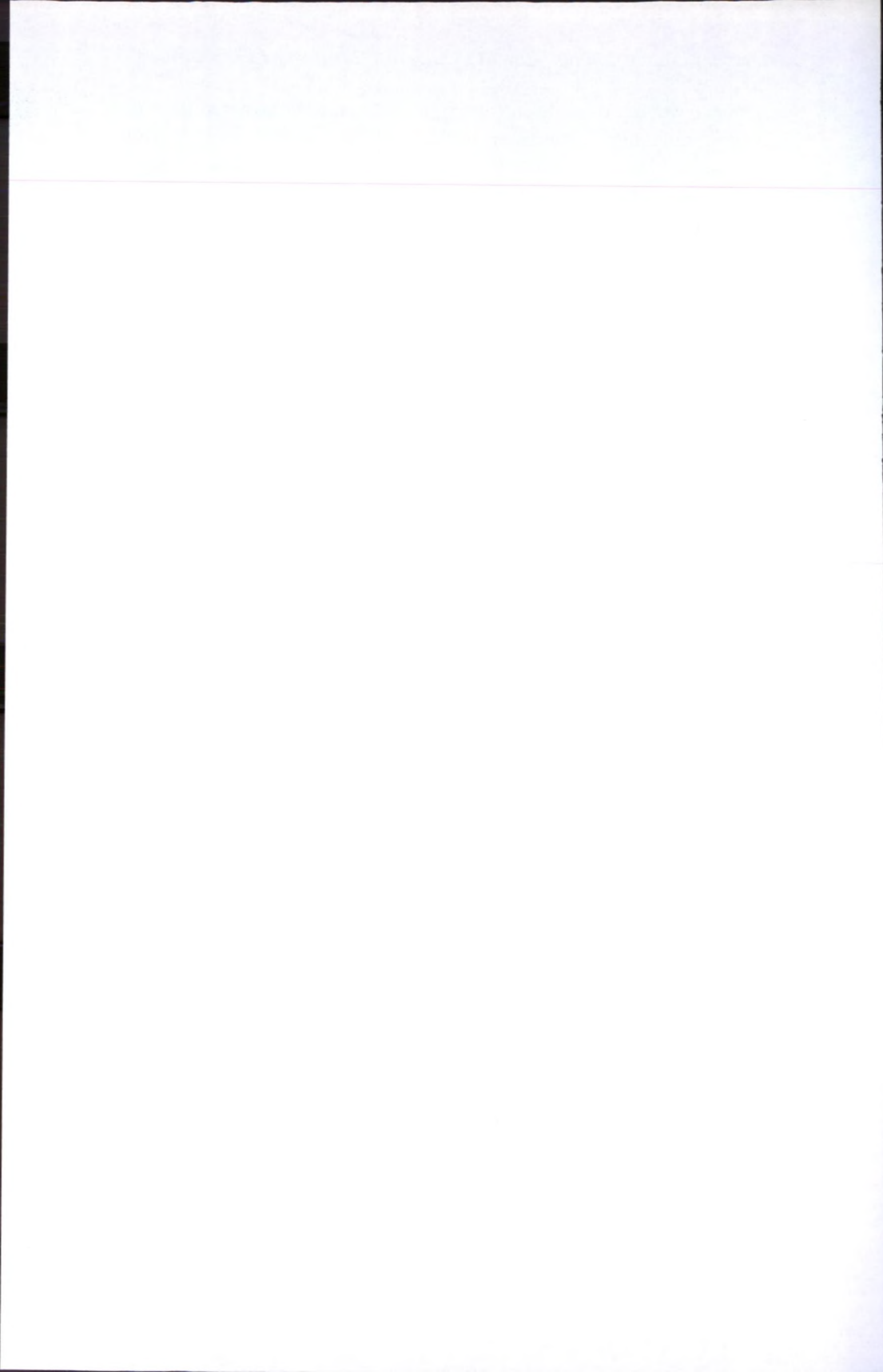
Notes

¹ Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850s*, 6.

² Appendix I.

³ Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:62.

⁴ McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, 2:33.



Appendices

A. Felix Reifschneider, "Zum sechzigjährigen Jubiläum des New York Turnvereins," *Bahn frei*, May 26 and June 9 and 23, 1910. Cf. *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 10 (1910): 228–33.

Bevor die deutsche Revolution ausbrach im Jahre 1848, verabredeten sich etwa zwölf junge Männer, bei Louis Be[c]ker in Hoboken zusammen zu kommen, um einen Turnverein in's Leben zu rufen.

Es waren meistens Turner von Deutschland, und wurde in dieser Zusammenkunft (es war Ende Juni oder Anfang Juli) beschlossen, einen Aufruf in der deutschen Zeitung ergehen zu lassen, um bei E. Richter, 57 Forsyth Str., einen (den ersten) Turnverein in Amerika zu gründen.

Es wurde in dieser Versammlung sofort zur Beamtenwahl geschritten und ein Comite ernannt, um die Statuten des Vereins auszuarbeiten. Das Comite bestand aus J. Weber, E. Giesler, Dr. L. Muld und Felix Reifschneider, und heute noch sind diese damals entworfenen Statuten die Grundlage des jetzigen Turnvereins New York.

Jacob Weber war nicht nur ein tüchtiger Turner, er besaß auch bei Abfassung von Gesetzen sehr viel Scharfsinn, kurz und bündig, so daß man es nicht mißverstehen, drehen oder deuteln konnte; schade, daß er in Australien im Kampf mit den Eingeborenen sein Leben verlor; er wurde durch den Kopf geschossen. Der Verein wuchs sehr rasch, besonders nachdem die Revolution in Deutschland ein so unglückliches Ende nahm, erreichte derselbe über 150 Mitglieder, so daß wir uns um ein größeres Lokal umsehen mußten. Wir verlegten es zu Hartung, 22 City Hall Place. Hier war es, wo durch den zu raschen Anwuchs sich Elemente einschlichen, welche mehr einen gemüthlichen Kneip-Verein als einen Turnverein wollten, und die damaligen Beamten (meistens Greenhorns) handelten, wie es ihnen beliebte. Ludwig Engelhardt und F. Reifschneider traten energisch gegen diese Herren auf; es war ein vierwöchentlicher Kampf, den German Metternich und Sig[ismund] Kaufmann (welche beide als Delegaten vom Verein des entschiedenen Fortschritts bei jeder Versammlung anwesend waren) mit Freude und Interesse

verfolgten. Nachdem einige der wirklichen älteren Turner sich besprochen und einsahen, daß gegen einen so ungeheuren jungen Anwuchs, welcher auf der anderen Seite stand, nichts zu thun sei, machten Reifschneider und Engelhardt den Vorschlag, in der nächsten Versammlung auszutreten, und mit unermüdlichem Eifer eine neue Saat zu säen. Und so geschah es; der oben erwähnte zeigte zuerst seinen Austritt mit lauter Stimme an, ihm folgte Engelhardt, dann Stadler, John Mehl, Hirschfeld, Kahn, Wohlgemuth, Gebrüder Melosch, Martin Mehl und Wedisweiler. Nachdem der letzte der treuen Garde seinen Namen genannt, sprang Reifschneider auf seinen Stuhl und forderte (zum Erstaunen der Herren) die ausgetretenen Turner auf, zu Stubenbord in Beekman Street zu gehen, um über den neuen sozialistischen Turnverein zu berathen. Sig[ismund] Kaufmann und Ger[main] Metternich schlossen sich uns augenblicklich an; wir marschi[er]ten Arm in Arm von 22 City Hall Place zu Stubenbord in Beekman Street, und keiner von den noch Lebenden wird jenen Abend vergessen, wo wir beschlossen, abermals einen Aufruf ergehen zu lassen, und zwar auf den nächsten Sonntag Morgen, 6. Juni 1850. Wir trennten uns spät des Abends; es war ein erhabener, echt turnerischer, im wahren Sinne brüderlicher Akt, und so entstand der jetzt so kräftig dastehende New York Turnverein.

Wir turnten in dem Hofe Stubenbords und hielten unsere Versammlung im oberen Lokale. Zu diesem Hofe war es, wo ich dem später so tüchtigen Turnwarte F. Denzler den ersten Unterricht ertheilte und auf die Reckstange hob.

Nachdem wir kaum vier Wochen bestanden (wir waren schon über 75 Mitglieder), machten wir eine Turnfahrt, auf die Einladung der Wallabout-Turner, nach der French Farm hinter Williamsburg [Brooklyn]. Es war dies ein echter deutscher Bauernhof, sozusagen im Walde, mit Tischen und Bänken. Es hatten sich ausser den Turnern noch mehrere deutsche Männer mit ihren Frauen eingefunden, wie immer, wo Turner waren. Wir tranken Bier, aßen Hand- und Schmierkäse, machten einige Freiübungen; und unser Sprecher Sig[ismund] Kaufmann, sowie der Sprecher Scheibel vom Wallabout Turnverein hielten vortreffliche Reden gegen das Muckerthum, sowie gegen Nativismus und Fanatismus. Gegen Abend brachen wir auf, um unsere Heimreise anzutreten; alle in vergnügter, heiterer Stimmung. Einige fingen an zu singen, besonders ein erst von Göttingen herübergekommener Student, dessen Namen mir entfallen, wollte auf mich, der ich die strengen Gesetze von Kings County kannte, gar nicht hören, sondern mit aller Gewalt die Sonntagsgesetze brechen. Das Resultat war, daß, als wir bereits in Williamsburg waren, und fortgesungen wurde, ein deutscher Polizist mit Namen Geimer den Turner Blehl arretiren wollte. Dieses gelang ihm jedoch nicht; verlor Blehl auch die Hälfte seines Rockes, so zog der Polizist mit

blutigen Kopfe davon. Trotzdem eine Verstimmung eingetreten war, so wurde dennoch der Einladung des Herrn Bierbrauer Schneider Folge geleistet, und wir marschi[er]ten in einem langen Zuge dahin. Ger[main] Metternich sagte mir, er sei von Leuten benachrichtigt, daß wir an der Ferry angefallen würden, ermahnte mich, bevor es zu dunkel würde, aufbrechen zu lassen und rieth, über South Brooklyn zu gehen, um einer Attacke auszuweichen; das erstere that ich, aber das letztere schien mir zu feig. Wir brachen auf, aber es war nicht möglich, die Turner in geschlossenem Zug zu bringen. In verschiedenen Trupps, von der Begebenheit diskutierend, erreichten wir die Ferry. Ich war bei dem ersten größten Trupp; alles war ruhig; schon dachte ich, daß mein Freund Metternich falsch belehrt worden sei, als die Turner von Wallabout, 14 an der Zahl, nachdem sie uns zum Abschied ein "Gut Heil!" zugerufen, den Ruf: "New Yorker Turner zu Hilfe!" ertönen ließen. Die Rowdies, nachdem sie das kleine Häuflein sahen, griffen an. Ich sprang, vom 2. Turnwart Melosch, Roßwoog und anderen gefolgt, vom Boot und zog die Turner von Wallabout herein, um mit uns nach New York zu fahren und von da nach Brooklyn, ihrer Heimath. Viermal mußte ich meine Fare bezahlen, und nachdem der letzte Turner auf der Brücke war, ging das Boot ab mit 70 oder 90 unserer Turner, und wir paar New Yorker mit 14 von Wallabout—22 in allem—standen auf der Brücke. Die Rowdies, dieses sehend, sprengten das große Thor und fielen über uns her. Nun gab es harte und schnelle Arbeit. Wir, Turnwart von Wallabout, Scheibel und Metternich, sowie alle, hieben brav auf die Hunde. Jede Minute hörte man einen markdurchdringenden Schmerzensschrei, wenn Nix (er war ein Metzger) einen Rowdy beim Genick und Hintern packte, ihn zweimal hin und her schwenkte und mit furchtbarer Gewalt mit dem Kopfe gegen den Zaun schleuderte. Leider wurde er schlimm verwundet; er bekam einen Messerstich durch den Backen. Es dauerte keine 15 Minuten und es war vollkommene Ruhe. Die, welche nicht untauglich geworden, waren durchgebrannt. Schon kam das Boot zurück, und ich wollte einen Sprung darauf machen, als das Thor wieder aufgerissen wurde von einem an 100 zählenden Haufen von Rowdies und Police mit dem Ausrufe: "Keep the boat back a minute!" Der Pilot ließ es sich nicht zweimal sagen; das Boot ging zurück. Metternich ersuchte mich, nicht mehr kämpfen zu lassen, um keine Menschenleben zu opfern, und so gab ich das Kommando, willig mitzugehen. Wir zogen ab, als ging es zu einem Feste, und wurden in vier Zellen eingesperrt. Wir waren alle frohen Muthes, mit Ausnahme von Eifler; derselbe war sehr niedergeschlagen, und Nix schien schmerzlich an seiner Wunde zu leiden, denn sein Kopf war sehr angeschwollen. Wir sangen Lied auf Lied, und in den Zwischenpausen hielt Scheibel Reden.

Um 12 Uhr nahmen die Polizisten 10 Turner heraus, fesselten denselben die Hände und brachten sie nach Raymond Street Station. Die Turner

glaubten, sie würden vor einen Richter gebracht; — ich wußte es besser, und erwiderte dem Polizisten, daß ich vorziehe zu bleiben. Wissend, daß wir nur des Singens wegen getrennt wurden, sangen wir übrigen 12 mit doppelt starker Stimme, so daß einige gegen Morgen heiser waren.

Als der Tag anbrach, bekamen wir schwarzen Kaffee und Beefsteak. Es muß 9 Uhr gewesen sein, als Bierbrauer Schneider mit einem Amerikaner, in welchem ich sogleich den Herrn erkannte, welchem ich den Hergang der Geschichte auf der Brücke erzählte, nachdem die Rowdies niedergeschlagen waren, und bevor dieselben mit Verstärkung wiederkamen. Herr Schneider, ein Polizist, der Herr (er war Foreman von der Jury, wie ich auf der Court sah) und ich, gingen, von hunderten von Leuten gefolgt, gleich Verbrechern zur Court. Der Amerikaner sagte nämlich, als er mit Herrn Schneider und dem Beschließer in alle vier Zellen sah, auf mich deutend: "Take only the captain out!" Der Richter frug, warum ich arretirt sei. Ich antwortete artig und kurz: "For the sake of making money!" — Barsch frug er mich, wie ich dieses meinte, und ich antwortete, daß ich hörte, als wir in den vier Zellen waren, wie ein Polizist zu dem andern sagte: "We made a very good business today, 22 men!" Ich erwähnte noch, daß, indem die Strafe \$5.00 sei, für Ruhestörung am Sonntag, wovon der Polizist \$1.75 bekäme, ich glaubte, daß wir deswegen arretirt seien. Es sei zwar eine Störung vorgefallen, ehe wir zu Herrn Schneider zogen, daß wir später aber ruhig und friedlich nach der Ferry gingen, um nach Hause zu gehen, als wir von einem Haufen Rowdies angefallen wurden, und daß ich glaubte, jeder Mensch hätte das Recht, sein Leben zu vertheidigen.

Die Jury besprach sich einige Minuten, ohne aufzustehen, und der Richter wandte sich an mich, sein Bedauern aussprechend über den Vorfall, und entließ mich ehrenvoll.

Nun ging es nach New York, die Turnkleider aus und mit Sig[ismund] Kaufmann und einem amerikanischen Lawyer wieder auf die Court nach Williamsburg. Es dauerte lange, bis die 10 Turner von Raymond Street Station ankamen, und der Lawyer kämpfte wacker und mit Erfolg für uns Turner.

Wahrscheinlich, um die Kosten für Frühstück und Transport zu decken, wurden die übrigen Turner zu je einem Dollar verdonnert, welchen der Verein bezahlte. Es war dieses ein harter Schlag; kaum aus dem Ei, die paar armseligen Apparate noch nicht bezahlt, und gleich diese Affaire.

Allein wir verloren nicht den Muth, im Gegentheil! Wir konnten nicht alle zusammen turnen, der Raum war zu klein, und so wurde ein Komitee ernannt, einen größeren Turnplatz aufzusuchen. Wir fanden einen solchen in einem leeren Bauplatz in Frankfort Street (No. 30), 50x100 Fuß. B. Wilson und ich wurden als die damals am besten Englischsprechenden

beauftragt, den Platz zu miethen, und so geschah es. Wir machten mit Herrn Watson einen Vertrag, Wilson und ich gaben Bürgschaft für die Miethe und unterzeichneten.

Geld war das wenigste, was wir besaßen, desto mehr Liebe zur Sache; wir waren alle Aktive. Wir gruben Löcher 4 bis 5 Fuß tief, morgens vor Aufgehen der Sonne, und setzten unsere Gerüste selbst. Gebr. Melosch verstanden dasselbe nicht nur aus dem ff., sondern unterzogen sich der schwersten Arbeit. Wir hielten nun unsere Versammlungen im Shakespeare Hotel, im Basement, woselbst wir auch schon anfangen, Sonntags Abendunterhaltungen abzuhalten.

Der Winter kam und das Turnen im Freien hatte aufgehört, jedoch war keine Unterbrechung. Eugen Lievre, welcher schon von Anfang seine Bibliothek dem Verein zur Verfügung stellte, gab uns seinen großen Speisesaal als Turnplatz. Es wurde fleißig geturnt, gefochten und außer den Sonntag-Abendunterhaltungen verschiedene Fragen diskutiert, nachdem die Geschäfte des Vereins erledigt waren. Vernunftprediger Koch, Dr. [Benjamin] Maas und Sig[ismund] Kaufmann, auch Ger[main] Metternich, machten die Diskussion sehr interessant. Die Bälle und Kränzchen im Shakespeare Hotel sind jedem, der dieselben mitgemacht, unvergeßlich.

Nun kam das Frühjahr und wir wollten auch wieder im Freien turnen. Im Frankfort Street-Platz wurden Häuser gebaut, und so fanden wir einen bei Fünf in Broome Str. Wir blieben deshalb doch bei Lievre. Hier war es, als wir kaum ein Jahr bestanden, wo uns abermals etwas Unangenehmes begegnete: Es war der Kampf in Hoboken im Anfang Juni 1851.

Der Verein war damals 140 Mann stark. Das deutsche Maifest, welches in der ersten Woche im Juni abgehalten wurde, ging von den verschiedenen Gesangsvereinen aus, und wurde von denselben der Turnverein eingeladen. Mit 58 Mann zog ich, zwei Tamboure voran, vom Shakespeare Hotel ab; — es war ein herrlicher, schöner Tag, und tausende von Deutschen wanderten nach Hoboken, um sich auf deutsche Art unter Deutschen in der freien Natur zu vergnügen. Alles ging gut, wir machten Freiübungen, bauten Pyramiden, es wurde gesungen. Gustav Struve, welcher eine Woche zuvor hier angekommen, hielt eine ziemlich lange Rede. Da geschah, was immer heute noch geschieht; einige Rowdies tranken Bier und aßen Würste, und wollten nichts dafür bezahlen. Einige der Turner nahmen sich des Wirthes an und verfolgten die Halunken bis zum Hotel in den Elysian Fields. Der Wirth nahm Partei für die Strolche und feuerte auf die Turner; er traf zwar keinen von unserem Verein, aber er traf Turner Gröschel; lange ging derselbe an Krücken und konnte die Knochensplitter aufzeigen, welche ihm aus den zerschossenen Hüftknochen genommen wurden. Man glaubte, die Sache sei vorbei, als auf einmal Dr. Ph. Mayer zu mir kam und sagte, daß die "Short Boys" zu hunderten in kleinen

Booten über den Fluß setzten, jeden Deutschen, sobald er der Ferry nahe kam, niederschlugen und den Frauen ihren Schmuck raubten. Er schätzte die Zahl auf sechs- bis siebenhundert. Dabei bemerkte er, persönlich gehört zu haben, daß sie sich an den Turnern rächen wollten. Ich blies in mein Horn, bis die Vorstände der Gesangvereine in einen Kreis traten, und ersuchte dieselben, mit den verschiedenen Musikkapellen den Weg nach New York anzutreten. Auf mein Ersuchen, um womöglich den Kampf zu vermeiden, ging der Social Reform Gesangverein mit einer Musikkapelle voran; diesem folgte ein anderer Verein, dann kamen wir Turner und hinter uns die anderen Vereine und Deutsche mit Frauen und Kindern. Die Musik spielte, und wir marschirten in festem Schritt. Alles ging gut, bis die Borhut Baumers Hotel erreichte; auf einmal hörte die Musik auf, einige Schüsse fielen, und indem ich an der Seite ging, konnte ich sehen, wie einige der Musiker mit ihren Instrumenten auf die Kerle hieben. Das Geschrei und das Auseinanderstieben des einige Hundert zählenden, aus Frauen und Kindern zusammengesetzten Zuges ist nicht zu beschreiben. Mit der größten Ruhe theilte ich die kleine Schar, ließ die Hälfte zwei bei zwei rechts und links vorbrechen, die andere die volle Breite der Straße in geschlossener Front nehmen. Koch rief ich einem Manne mit rothem Vollbart zu, ein kleines Kind von der Straße zu nehmen, dann gab ich das Kommando zum Sturmangriff. Mit einem Huraa-Ausruf, als sei es verabredet, stürmischen Angriff überrascht, waren sie verdutzt, ergriffen bis auf einige die Flucht und warfen in ihrer Angst ihre schönen Stöcke nach uns. Wir waren nur mit Latten bewaffnet, die wir von den Zäunen brachen und welche bei jedem Schlag in Stücke flogen. Einige der Schufte standen, bis sie fielen; der Anführer, welcher seinen Tod fand, wollte mir gerade über den Kopf schlagen, als Turner August Tesor den Schlag parierte und den Kerl niederstreckte; ein anderer, welcher einen Stein ins Taschentuch gebunden hatte, muß ihm mit einem Schlag auf die Stirn den Rest gegeben haben. Die Bahn war frei!!, die Kerle zersprengt, wir bildeten Spalier, um Frauen und Kinder nach dem Boot entkommen zu lassen, denn die Rowdies brachen, als sie die kleine Schar Turner sahen, von den Seitenstraßen, in welche sie geflüchtet waren, beständig auf uns ein. Jetzt begann eigentlich erst der Kampf. Frisch geordnet, mit dem Sheriff Francis hoch zu Pferd an der Spitze, drangen sie vor. "Knock them down, the damned Dutchmen," erscholl es aus seinem Munde, allein er kam "down." Kaum war das letzte Wort aus seinem Munde, so wurde er von Pferde gerissen. Es wäre unmöglich gewesen, daß die Handvoll Turner eine so große Uebermacht hätte bewältigen können, wenn sie nicht von vielen braven Deutschen unterstützt worden wären.

Besonders zu erwähnen sind sechs Schleswig-Holsteiner, welche noch in ihrer Uniform wacker kämpften, und kostete es mich viele Mühe, dieselben von der Demolierung des Hauses Cor. Hudson und Rewark Str. abzuhalten,

als Turner Koven von dem Dache des Hauses aus geschossen wurde. Bevor dieses geschah, bestreiten wir noch 22 oder 24 Deutsche in Garden Str. aus einem temporären Station House. Wir brachen die Thüre mit Gewalt auf, von einem amerikanischen Herrn geführt, welcher mir sagte, daß daselbst Deutsche eingeschlossen seien, und mußten die meisten derselben ihre Handschellen mit nach New York nehmen, um sie entfernen zu lassen. Turner Berge zeigte sich bei dieser Gelegenheit brav. Eugen Lievre sowie Sig[ismund] Kaufmann ebenfalls.

Wir schlugen uns von 6 bis 9 Uhr. Als die Nacht herein brach und wir die Trommeln der Miliz von Jersey City hörten, packten wir unsere Verwundete auf und zogen ab. Noch muß ich bemerken, daß die Gebrüder Melosch wacker an unsere Seite kämpften. Von den Turnern waren zwei verhaftet worden; der eine verließ den Festplatz sehr früh des Nachmittags seines Geschäftes halber und wurde, ehe er die Ferry erreichte, abgefaßt. Der andere, Candler, blieb, als wir mit unseren Verwundeten abzogen, zurück, und als die „Short Boys“ ihn allein auf der Brücke sahen, auf ein Boot wartend, schleppten sie ihn heraus und zerschlugen sie ihn dermaßen, daß er noch einige Wochen die Spuren im Gesicht zeigte. Der Prozeß dauerte einige Tage im Bergen Court House. Dr. Jonason [Louis Jonassohn] und Sig[ismund] Kaufmann vertheidigten die Turner sowohl wie die anderen Deutschen, welche abgeführt wurden. Ehe wir von dem Festplatze aufbrachen, hatte Sig[ismund] Kaufmann schon bei der Williamsburger Affäre dem Lawyer zur Seite gestanden; so that er es in dieser weit mehr, und ich glaube, daß diese Begebenheiten ihm den Weg seiner Laufbahn zeigten, welchen er mit so viel Glück verfolgte.

Der Verein wuchs nun riesenhaft; zu Dutzenden wurden sie vorgeschlagen. Jeder wollte Turner sein, weil die Haltung der Turner von allen Seiten belobt wurde. Ja selbst der „Herald“ sprach oder schrieb über die Tapferkeit der Turner—hatte den Turnwart mit dem Horn in der Hand dargestellt, sagte, wir seien meistens alle im ungarischen Krieg gewesen, einexerziert und hätten die Rowdies angefallen wie die Indianer und dergleichen Unsinn.

Der Verein wuchs so rasch, daß ich einigermassen um dessen Wohl besorgt wurde; denn bei einer so einfachen und leichten Aufnahme konnten sich Elemente einschleichen, welche der Turnerei mehr schaden als nützen konnten. Die Turnschwestern hatten schon vor der Hobokener Affäre Versammlungen abgehalten, um uns mit einer Fahne zu beschenken, und so wurde die Ueberreichung und Einweihung derselben auf Montag, den 18. August 1851, festgesetzt und vollzogen. Es ist die noch heute vorhandene blutrote einfache Fahne mit den vier F[arben]. Diese Fahne wurde durch Frl. Ulmer auf dem Sommerturnplatz in Broome Str. bei Funk überreicht und Abends war ein Ball im Shakespeare Hotel.

Translation by Judith Arnold. Felix Reifschneider, "On the Occasion of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the New York Turner Society," *Bahn frei*, May 26 and June 9 and 23, 1910. Cf. *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 10 (1910): 228–33.

Before the German revolution broke out in 1848, 12 young men arranged to meet at Louis Be[c]ker's in Hoboken to create a *Turnverein*.

They were mostly Turners from Germany. It was decided at this gathering (it was the end of June or the beginning of July) to place a call for action in the German newspaper to found a (the first) *Turnverein* in America at E. Richter's, 57 Forsyth St.

At this meeting, they moved quickly to elect officers and appoint a committee to draw up the statutes of the club. The committee was made up of J. Weber, E. Giesler, Dr. L. Muld and Felix Reifschneider. The statutes created then are still the basis of the current *Turnverein* in New York today.

Jacob Weber was not only an able Turner; he possessed a great deal of acumen, also when composing laws, succinct, so that no one could misunderstand, twist or distort them. It's a shame that he lost his life in a battle with the natives in Australia; he was shot through the head. The club grew very quickly, especially after the revolution in Germany had such an unfortunate end. It reached 150 members and we had to search for a larger tavern. We moved to Hartung, 22 City Hall Place. It was here that through such rapid expansion elements that were more fitting for a relaxed tavern club than a *Turnverein* slipped in. The officials at that time (mostly Greenhorns) did whatever they liked. Ludwig Engelhardt and F. Reifschneider opposed these men energetically. It was a four-week battle. Germain Metternich and Sig[ismund] Kaufmann (who, as delegates of the Club for Determined Progress, were both at every meeting) followed this with interest and enjoyment. After some of the original older Turners discussed this and realized that there was nothing else they could do against the formidable young additions on the other side, Reifschneider and Engelhardt suggested resigning during the next meeting and starting something new with renewed enthusiasm. And that is how it happened. The one named above first declared his withdrawal in a loud voice, Engelhardt followed him, then Stadler, John Mehl, Hirschfeld, Kahn, Wohlgemuth, the Melosch brothers, Martin Mehl and Wedisweiler. After the last of the loyal guard had made his declaration, Reifschneider jumped onto a chair and called (to the amazement of the men) for the Turners who had resigned to go to Beekman Street to deliberate about the new socialistic *Turnverein*. Sig[ismund] Kaufmann and Ger[main] Metternich joined us immediately. We marched arm in arm from 22 City Hall Place to Stubenbord on Beekman Street. No one who is still alive will forget that evening when

we decided to put out a call to action once again, in fact it was on the next Sunday morning, June 6, 1850. We went our separate ways late in the evening. It was a grand, truly Turner-like, brotherly act in the truest sense. That is how the current, strong-standing New York *Turnverein* came into existence.

We did gymnastics in the yard at Stubenbord's and held our meetings in the tavern above. It was in this yard where I gave the later very able *Turnwart* (gymnastic instructor) F. Denzler his first lesson and lifted him onto the bar.

After just having existed for about four weeks (we already had 75 members), we took our first *Turnfahrt* (Turner excursion) upon invitation from the Wallabout Turners to the French Farm behind Williamsburg [Brooklyn]. This was a real German farm, so to say, in the woods with tables and benches. Besides the Turners, there were many German men and women who found their way here, as it happens wherever the Turners are. We drank beer, ate hand cheese and cream cheese, did some exercises; our president, Sig[ismund] Kaufmann, as well as President Scheibel from the Wallabout *Turnverein* held excellent speeches against moral cowardice, as well as against nativism and fanaticism. Around evening, we prepared to leave for the journey home; everyone was in merry spirits. A few began to sing, especially a newly-arrived student from Göttingen, whose name escapes me. He did not want to listen to me at all, as I know all of the strict rules of Kings County, instead he broke the Sunday rules with great enthusiasm. The result of this was that as soon as we were in Williamsburg, and people continued to sing, a German policeman named Geimer wanted to arrest the Turner Bleht. He, however, was not successful; Bleht lost half of his jacket, but the policeman left with a bloody head. Although this was an annoyance, the invitation from the beer brewer Schneider was heeded and we marched there in a long line. Ger[main] Metternich told me that people had alerted him that we would be attacked at the ferry. He advised me to take our leave before it got too dark and cross through south Brooklyn in order to avoid the attack. I did the former, but the latter seemed too cowardly. We took our leave, but it wasn't possible to get the Turners into a unified platoon. We arrived at the ferry in separate groups, discussing the event. I was in the first big troop; everything was quiet. I was thinking already that my friend Metternich had been falsely informed, as the Turners from Wallabout, fourteen in all, after calling a Turner farewell, exclaimed "To the aid of the New York Turners!" After seeing our little group, the Rowdies attacked. I jumped from the boat, followed by the Second *Turnwart* Melosch, Roßwoog and others, and pulled in the Turners from Wallabout to go with us to New York and from there to Brooklyn, their home. I had to pay my fare four times, and after the last Turner was on the bridge, the boat left with 70 or 90 of our Turners, and we couple New Yorkers along with fourteen from Wallabout – 22 in all – stood

on the bridge. As the Rowdies saw this, they forced the gate open and fell upon us. Now there was some hard and quick work. Nix, *Turnwart* from Wallabout, Scheibel and Metternich, as well as the others fought bravely against the scoundrels. Every minute, one heard a piercing scream of pain, as Nix (he was a butcher) grabbed a Rowdy by the neck and the behind, swung him back and forth twice and with terrible force threw him head-first into the fence. Unfortunately, he was badly wounded; he was stabbed in the cheek. The whole thing took only fifteen minutes, and then it was completely quiet. Those who were able had run off. As soon as the boat came back, I wanted to jump onto it, but the gate was pulled open once again by a group of about 100 Rowdies and police shouting: "Keep the boat back a minute!" The pilot didn't need to hear it twice, the boat went back. Metternich entreated me, not to let them fight anymore, in order to not lose any lives. So I gave the command to go along willingly. We left, as if we were going to a celebration, but we were locked up in four cells. We were all in good spirits, except for Eifler. He was very disheartened, and Nix seemed to be suffering from his wound, his head was very swollen. We sang song after song, and in the breaks Scheibel held speeches. At 12:00, the policemen took 10 Turners out, cuffed their hands and brought them to the Raymond Street Station. The Turners believed they were being brought before a judge; - I knew better, and told the policemen that I would prefer to stay. Knowing that we were separated because of the singing, the twelve of us left started to sing twice as loud, so that around morning, some of us were hoarse.

As the day began, we were given coffee and beef steak. It must have been nine in the morning when the brewer Schneider came with an American who I immediately recognized as the man whom I had told about the course of events on the bridge, about the defeat of the Rowdies and their return with reinforcements. Mr. Schneider, a policeman, the man (he was the foreman of the jury, as I realized later in court) and I went like criminals to court, followed by hundreds of people. The American, with Mr. Schneider and the caretaker, looked in all four cells and pointing to me said: "Take only the captain out!" The judge asked why I was arrested. I answered politely and briefly: "For the sake of making money!" - He gruffly asked me what I meant by this, and I answered that as we were in the cells, I heard one policeman say to another: "We made a very good business today, twenty-two men!" I further mentioned that, as the punishment for disturbing the peace on Sunday is \$5.00 and the policeman gets \$1.75 of that, I believed that this was why we were arrested. There had been a disturbance before we continued to Mr. Schneider's, but later we were proceeding peacefully and quietly to the ferry to go home as we were attacked by a band of Rowdies. And I said that I believe that every person has the right to defend himself.

The jury conversed for a few minutes without standing up, and the judge turned to me, expressed his regret about the incident and honorably released me.

Then we went to New York, changed out of our Turner clothes and along with Sig[ismund] Kaufmann and an American lawyer we went to the court in Williamsburg. It took a while before the ten Turners arrived from Raymond Street Station, and the lawyer fought valiantly and with success for us Turners.

The rest of the Turners were charged a dollar each, which the club paid, presumably to cover the cost of breakfast and transport. This was a heavy blow for the society; just having come into existence, the few, shabby pieces of equipment not yet paid for, and then this affair.

We didn't lose our nerve, quite the opposite! We couldn't do gymnastics all together, the room was too small. A committee was named to find a bigger space. We found such a space in an empty construction site on Frankfort Street (No. 30), 50x100ft. As the best English speakers at that time, B. Wilson and I were asked to rent the space, and so it happened. We drew up a contract with Mr. Watson, Wilson and I gave him a guarantee for the rent and signed.

Money was the least of what we had, but all the more love for our labor. We were all active. We dug 4-5 feet deep holes in the morning before sunrise and set up our equipment ourselves. The Melosch brothers could not only do all of that to perfection, but they even took on the most difficult work. We now held our meetings in the basement of the Shakespeare Hotel, where we also began to hold our evening conversations on Sundays.

Winter came and outdoor gymnastics stopped, however it was not a break. Eugen Lievre, who had given the club access to his library from the beginning on, gave us his large dining hall as a gymnasium. We diligently did gymnastics, fenced, and outside of the Sunday evening discussions we discussed different questions after club business was taken care of. Koch, the preacher of reason, Dr. [Benjamin] Maas, Sig[ismund] Kaufmann and Ger[main] Metternich made the discussions interesting. The balls and wreaths in the Shakespeare Hotel are unforgettable to everyone who took part in this.

Then spring came and we wanted to do gymnastics outside again. Houses were built on the Frankfort Street location, and so we found a spot at Funf's place on Broome St. We therefore stuck with Lievre's. It was here, after having hardly existed for even a year, where we encountered something unpleasant once again. It was the fight in Hoboken at the beginning of June 1851.

At that time, the club was 140 men strong. The German May Festival, which was held in the first week of June, was organized by the different choral societies, who then invited the *Turnverein*. With two drummers in the front, I left the Shakespeare Hotel with 58 men. It was a beautiful day and thousands of Germans were hiking to Hoboken to enjoy themselves with other Germans in the German way in the great outdoors. Everything was

going well; we did calisthenics, made pyramids and sang. Gustav Struve, who had arrived here a week before, held a fairly long speech. What happened then still happens today: a few rowdies drank beer and ate sausage and didn't want to pay anything for it. A few of the Turners attended to the host and chased the scoundrels to the hotel in the Elysian Fields. The host there took the side of the hoodlums and fired at the Turners. He didn't hit anyone from our club, but he hit Turner Gröschel. He had to use crutches for a long time and could show the bone splinters, which were taken from his damaged hip bone. We thought the ordeal was over, when suddenly, Dr. Ph. Mayer came to me and said that the "Short Boys" had come over the river by the hundreds on small boats and as soon as any German got close to the ferry, he was struck down and the women were robbed of their jewelry. He estimated that there were 6 to 700 of them. He also added that he had personally heard that they wanted to get revenge on the Turners. I blew my horn until the presidents of the choral societies formed a circle and beseeched them to make their way to New York with their different bands. In response to my request, the Social Reform Choral Society left first with a band, in order to avoid a fight if possible. Another club followed them, and then we Turners, and behind us the other clubs and Germans with women and children. The music played, and we marched in constant step. Everything went well until the first group reached Baumer's Hotel. Suddenly, the music stopped and some shots were fired. As I moved to the side, I could see how some of the musicians were striking the lads with their instruments. I can't begin to describe the yelling and the fleeing of the group of hundreds of women and children. With the utmost calm, I divided the small troop and had half of them move on two by two right and left, the others I took in a closed front stretching across the entire breadth of the street. I shouted the name Koch to a man with a red full beard to take a small child off the street, and then I gave the command to attack. With a yell of hooray, as if it were planned, they were perplexed, surprised by a wild attack. Most of them fled and in their fear they threw their beautiful staves at us. We were armed only with laths that we had broken off of fences. They broke into pieces with every hit. Some of the scoundrels stood their ground until they fell. The leader, who found his death, was about to hit me over the head when Turner August Tesor countered the hit and laid the man out. Another who had bound a stone in his handkerchief must have finished him with a blow to the forehead. The way was clear!! The wretches dispersed, we formed a line to let the women and children escape to the boat. When they saw the small group of Turners, the Rowdies attacked us constantly from the side streets to which they had fled. Now was when the real fight began. Newly organized, with Sheriff Francis on horse in front, they moved forward. "Knock them down, the damned Dutch," sounded out of his

mouth, but he was the only one that went "down." The last word was barely out of his mouth when he was ripped from his horse. It would have been impossible, that just a handful of Turners could overcome such overwhelming odds, if they had not been supported by the many courageous Germans.

I would especially like to mention six men from Schleswig-Holstein, who fought bravely, still in uniform. It cost me lots of effort, to keep these same men from the demolition of the house of Cor. Hudson and Rewark St., as Turner Koevan was shot from the roof of the house. Before this happened, we freed twenty-two or twenty-four Germans from a temporary station house on Garden St. We forced the doors open, led by an American who told me that this was where Germans were locked up. We had to take most of them to New York to have their handcuffs removed. Turner Berge took this opportunity to prove his bravery. Eugen Lievre and Sig[ismund] Kaufmann, as well.

We fought from 6 to 9 p.m. As night came and we heard the drumming of the Jersey City militia, we packed up our wounded men and left. Yet, I must note that the Melosch brothers fought boldly on our side. Two of the Turners were taken hostage; one of them left the fairgrounds in the early afternoon because of his work and was captured before he reached the ferry. The other, Candler, stayed back when we left with our wounded and when the "Short Boys" saw him alone on the bridge waiting for the boat, they dragged him from it and beat him so badly that he still had the marks on his face weeks later. The court case lasted a couple days in the Bergen Court House. Dr. Jonason and Sig[ismund] Kaufmann defended the Turners, as well as the other Germans who were hauled off. Before we left the festival grounds, Sig[ismund] Kaufmann had already stood at the lawyer's side at the Williamsburg affair. In this affair, he was even more able to do so. I believe that these happenings laid a path out for him, which he then followed with much success.

Now, the club grew exponentially. They were coming by the dozen. Everyone wanted to be a Turner because our demeanor was praised by all sides. Yes, even the *Herald* spoke or wrote about the courage of the Turners—it portrayed the *Turnwart* with horn in hand, said that we had all been in the Hungarian War, exercised and had fallen upon the Rowdies like the Indians and such nonsense.

The club grew so quickly that I was a bit concerned about its well-being. With such an easy application process, elements that are more destructive than useful can creep into the club. The Turner Society sisters had already held meetings before the Hoboken Affair to bestow us with a flag. So the presentation and dedication ceremony was planned and completed on Monday, August 18, 1851. Today, we still use this simple blood-red flag with the four colors. This flag was presented to us by Miss Ulmer at the summer practice area on Broome Street near Funk, and in the evening there was a ball at the Shakespeare Hotel.

B. Engelhardt und Feigl, "Anruf an die Deutschen, namentlich an die deutschen Vereine der Union," *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, 20. April 1850.

Mit der Wahl einer neuen Heimat auf dem gastlichen Boden des amerikanischen Volkes, haben wie Deutsche ohne Zweifel die Pflicht übernommen, von unsern Mitbürgern die Vorzüge anzunehmen, welche die Frucht der alten Freiheit und der glücklichen Verhältnisse des Landes sind. Ebenso ist es aber auch unsere Pflicht als Bürger der Union, all' dem Eingang zu verschaffen, was wir in der alten Heimat als Frucht einer höheren klareren Weltanschauung, und einer älteren Zivilisation Gutes genossen. Eine solche Frucht, die wir als Deutsche dem nunmehrigen Vaterland bieten können, ist vor allem die Turnerei, da sie ein charakteristisches Zeugnis des deutschen Geistes ist, das allgemein Anerkennung und geschichtliche Bedeutung gewonnen hat. Besonders in den letzten Jahrzehnten ist das Turnwesen in Deutschland zu einer hohen Würde gelangt, denn man hat dort rasch den gewaltigen Einfluss der Turnvereine erfasst. Nur in einem gesunden Körper, heißt es, lebt ein gesunder Sinn, politische Bildung und männlicher Mut. In Dresden, Hanau, Frankfurt und Baden, wo auch immer das Volk gegen die Despoten zu den Waffen griff, standen die Turner unerschütterlich in den Reihen der Kämpfer. Schon die Anerkennung, die das Turnwesen in Deutschland fand, dass sich an geistiger Erkenntnis mit jedem Volke der Erde messen kann, und die Wirkung desselben während der Revolution würde genügen, seinen inneren Gehalt zu beweisen, und die Überzeugung zu geben, dass sein Einfluss weit über die Ausbildung des Körpers hinausreiche. Aber wenn man selbst diese Anerkennung für unbeweisend erachten will, so reicht ein kurzer Blick auf das Wesen der Sache hin, ihre Vorzüge zu erkennen.

Gesundheit des Körpers ist das Grundelement der Wohlfahrt des Menschen, denn ohne Gesundheit ist kein klarer Verstand, kein Unternehmungsgeist, keine Ausdauer in der Arbeit, ohne kräftige Gesundheit, keine Möglichkeit der Wechsel der Klimate, die Sonne des Südens wie den rauen Winter des Nordens zu ertragen, und das Glück dort, wo es lächelt, aussuchen und an sich ketten zu können. Diese Gesundheit durch Stärkung, Abhärtung und vor allem durch gleichmaessige Ausbildung des Körpers zu schaffen, ist der Hauptzweck der Turnvereine.

Neben diesem Hauptzwecke, verfolgen aber die Turnvereine die Nebenzwecke Geselligkeit und brüderliche Freundschaft, Bildung und Sitte unter den Mitgliedern zu verbreiten und einen lebendigen Sinn für alles Edle, Freiheit, Tugend, Wahrheit und Recht zu erwecken.

Deutsche der Union! wir wenden uns an Euch mit vollem Vertrauen.

Ihr seid es der Sache, um die es sich hier handelt dem deutschen Namen und der Ehre der Heimat, ihr seid es der Union, Eurem Vaterlande, schuldig, in unserem Streben dem Turnen Eingang zu verschaffen uns zu unterstützen. Tretet darum in allen Orten zur Bildung von Turnvereinen zusammen! Was zum Besten der Menschheit dient, gelangt in freien Ländern rasch zum Siege, und wenn ihr fest und tätig zusammen steht, wird sich bald über die Union ein Netz von Turnvereinen ausgebreitet haben, zum brüderlichen Willkommen für Alle, die von der alten Heimat kommen um in der Union ein Asyl gegen die Verfolgung der Tyrannen, oder ein besseres Geschick zu suchen. Auf Deutsche, zum muthigen Beginnen! Grosses Werk gedeiht nur durch Einigkeit.

Im Namen der Yorker Turngemeinde, Engelhardt, Schriftwart.

Im Namen der Newarker Turngemeinde, Feigel, Schriftwart.

Geschrieben den 12. April 1850.

Translation by Judith Arnold. Engelhardt and Feigel, "An Appeal to the Germans, in particular to the German Societies of the Union," *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, April 20, 1850.

With the choice of a new home in the welcoming land of the American people, we Germans no doubt have the duty of taking on the advantages of our fellow citizens, which are the fruits of freedom and the fortunate conditions of the country. In the same way, it is also our duty as citizens of the Union to provide the entrance for everything good that we enjoyed in our former homeland as fruits of a superior, more distinct philosophy of life and an older civilization. One such fruit that we as Germans can offer our current home country is, above all, that of being a Turner. It is a characteristic testimony to the German spirit that has gained general approval and historical significance. The Turner entity in Germany has attained such dignity, especially in the last few decades, because people quickly realized the powerful influence of the Turner groups. As they say: a healthy mind, an understanding for politics, and manly courage can only thrive in a healthy body. In Dresden, Hanau, Frankfurt and Baden, wherever the people decide to bear arms against the despots, the steadfast Turners are there, standing in the ranks with the fighters. The recognition that the German Turner entity has gained can be compared with the intellectual knowledge of every people on earth. The impact of the Turners during the revolution alone would be enough to prove the group's intrinsic worth and convince all that its influence reaches far beyond the training of the body. But if one were to consider the recognition an inadequate means of determining worth, a short glance at the essence of the group would be enough to recognize its merit.

A healthy body is the basic element in the welfare of the people. For

without health, there can be no lucidity, no enterprising spirit, or resilience in work. Without a robust health, the changes in climate, the sun of the south and the rough winter of the north, could not be survived, and there would be no luck of finding where it is best and creating a life there. The primary purpose of the Turner groups is to cultivate health by training for strength, resistance and, above all, by promoting total body strength.

Besides these primary concerns, the Turner groups also encourage the spread of companionship, brotherly friendship, education and custom among the members, and they strive to awaken a lively sense of everything noble, free, virtuous, truthful, and right.

Germans of the Union! We turn to you with the utmost trust. You are responsible for helping to prepare the way for the ambitions of the Turners, as a matter of the German name and the honor of the motherland; you owe this to the Union, your fatherland. Band together in all cities for the creation of Turner groups! What serves the people best will take hold quickly in free countries, and when you stand together, active and steadfast, a network of Turner groups will form across the Union, welcoming all of those who come to the Union from our former home to find asylum from the persecution of the tyrants or to seek a better fortune. To the Germans for a courageous beginning! Great work thrives only through unity.

In the name of the New York Turner Society, Engelhardt, Record Keeper.

In the name of the Newark Turner Society, Feigel, Record Keeper.

Written on April 12, 1850.

C. [Heinrich Metzner], "Sigismund Kaufmann," *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, I, 32–35. Cf. *Bahn frei*, August 24, 1889.

Unter den Pionieren der Turnerei, die hier auf amerikanischem Boden eben so energisch als selbstlos der Turnsache den Weg bahnten, nimmt Sig[ismund] Kaufmann unstreitig eine der hervorragendsten Stellen ein, und um so mehr dürfen wir ihn mit Stolz als einen der Unseren nennen, weil er, ungleich vielen Anderen, die gleichgiltig ihrem Jugendideale den Rücken kehrten, wenn sie sich eine gewisse Stelle in der Gesellschaft errungen hatten, bis an sein Ende der Sache treu blieb, wenn er auch in den letzten Jahren im Vereinsleben nicht mehr aktiv thätig war. Als einer der Gründer der New Yorker Turnvereins, dessen langjähriger erster Sprecher er war, als einer der Gründer der Turnerbundes, dessen Vorsitzender er ebenfalls für die Dauer der Vorortschaft in New York war, sowie als der erste Redakteur des Bundesorgans, ist sein Name unauslöschlich mit der Geschichte des Turnerbundes und der Entwicklung des Turnwesens verbunden. Der New Yorker Turnverein besonders verdankt ihm viel; in zahlreichen Fällen, wo

ein mannhaftes energisches Auftreten nach außen nothwendig war, war Kaufmann der rechte Mann am Platz. Daß der Verein seine Inkorporation von der Legislatur des Staates nach wiederholtem vergeblichen Bemühen trotz aller nativistischer und muckerischer Opposition durchsetzte, ist ganz besonders ihm zu verdanken.

Sigismund Kaufmann wurde am 8. September 1825 in Schotten, im Großherzogthum Hessen-Darmstadt, geboren. Er erhielt eine treffliche Erziehung, die er später in buchhändlerischen Geschäften in Paris, Straßburg und Frankfurt am Main erweiterte. Als im Jahr 1848 die Revolution in Deutschland ausbrach, schloß sich der damals kaum 22 Jahr alte Kaufmann, vom glühenden Freiheitsdrange beseelt, wie so viele seiner Altersgenossen, als Mitglied der Frankfurter Turnerschaft der Bewegung an, sah sich aber bald genöthigt, da die Polizei der freien Reichstadt Frankfurt auf ihn fahndete, die Flucht zu ergreifen und nach Amerika auszuwandern. Alles, was unter dieser Umständen der Polizei zu thun übrig blieb, war, ihn steckbrieflich—natürlich vergeblich—zu verfolgen.

Ohne Geld, ohne Freunde und ohne Arbeit, hatte der politische Flüchtling, wie so viele seiner Freunde, einen schweren Kampf um's Dasein zu führen, aber seiner Energie und seinem Eifer gelang es bald, in den Advokatenbureau von Livingston eine Anstellung zu finden, und nun warf er sich mit dem ihm eigenen eisernen Fleiße auf das Studium das amerikanischen Rechtswesens und wurde im Jahre 1852 zur advokatischen Praxis zugelassen. In einem anderen Artikel wurde bereits erwähnt, daß Aaron Frank, der Sprecher der alten Turngemeinde, in Geschäftsgemeinschaft mit ihm trat. Kaufmann, der damals nach Williamsburg zog, woselbst er vor fünf Jahren wohnten blieb, nahm nunmehr regen Antheil am öffentlichen Leben. Als der Bruch in der nördlichen Demokratie kam, schloß er sich noch während des Kampfes um die Aufnahme von Kansas in die Union, und während der damaligen heftigen Agitation der Sklavereifrage, den Republikanern an und kann als einer der Mitbegründer der republikanischen Partei, für welche er damals bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten zündende Reden hielt, gelten.

Im Jahre 1859 betheiligte er sich an der Gründung der deutschen Sparbank, war lange Jahre einer der Direktoren derselben und übernahm, als Friedrich Kapp nach Europa ging, dessen Stelle als Anwalt der Sparbank. Seine Thätigkeit im Interesse der republikanischen Partei wurde damit belohnt, daß er, als Lincoln im Jahre 1860 Präsidentschafts-Kandidat war, einer der Electoren wurde. Als der Bürgerkrieg ausbrach, ernannte ihn der damalige Gouverneur Morgan als einen der "Richter" für Williamsburg, welche die Angaben, die von einzelnen Bürgern betreffs ihrer Berechtigung, vom Kriegsdienst befreit zu sein, gemacht wurden, zu hören und endgültig darüber zu entscheiden hatten. Herr Kaufmann erfüllte die Pflichten dieses

Ehrenamtes in der unparteiischen Weise.

Als ein deutlicher Beweis für die große Popularität, deren sich Kaufmann in den verschiedensten Bürgerkreisen erfreute, kann die Thatsache angesehen werden, daß er, als er im Jahre 1870 von den Republikanern, mit Stewart [L.] Woodford an der Spitze des Staatstickets, zum Lieutenant-Gouverneur nominiert wurde, 368,158 Stimmen erhielt. Auch an der Niederbrechung des Tweed-Ringes nahm er hervorragenden Antheil, und im Jahre 1872 ging er für Greeley in's Zeug.

Was Kaufmann, der nur ein paar Monate während seines langen, thätigen Lebens ein öffentliches, salarirtes Amt bekleidete, von hochsalarierten öffentlichen Aemtern, die zu häufig als Sinecuren zu betrachten sind, hielt, geht am besten aus einem Schreiben hervor, welches er seiner Zeit an den Mayor F. R. Schroeder von Brooklyn richtete. Dieser hatte ihn nämlich zum Polizei-Commissär ernannt, und Kaufmann, welcher bald ermittelte, daß vier Polizei-Commissäre für die verhältnißmäßig geringe Arbeit zu viel seien, legte seine Stelle nach zwei Monaten nieder und motivirte seine Resignation damit, daß er sagte, er halte es eines Bürgers für unwürdig, eine Sinecure anzunehmen, und in dem vorliegenden Falle, könnten zwei Commissäre, wie er gefunden habe, recht gut die Arbeit verrichten.

Während der Jahre 1877 bis 1879 und auch später noch einmal bekleidete Kaufmann das Amt des Präsidenten der "Deutschen Gesellschaft der Stadt New York" und war als solcher unter den Staatsgesetzten Mitglied der Einwanderungs-Commission. In beiden Eigenschaften vertrat er mit allen ihm zu Gebote stehenden Mitteln die armen Einwanderer, schützte sie nach besten Kräften gegen Uebervortheilungen und Betrug und half ihnen gar häufig unter eigenen pecuniären Opfern aus der Noth. Als im Jahre 1880 Gouverneur Cornell den als Knownothing bekannten Edmund Stephenson zum Einwanderungs-Commissär ernannte, erhob sich unter den Deutschen ein Sturm der Entrüstung. Es wurden, leider vergeblich, Indignations-Versammlungen abgehalten, und in diesen nahm sich Kaufmann mit wahren Feuereifer der Einwanderer an.

Der Jahresbericht der Deutschen Gesellschaft für 1889 spricht sich über das Wirken Kaufmann's in jener Gesellschaft wie folgt aus:

"Sigismund Kaufmann wurde im Jahre 1854 als Mitglied aufgenommen und 1858 in den Verwaltungsrath gewählt, dessen Mitglied er bis zu seinem am 17. August 1889 erfolgten Tode blieb, zuerst als Sekretär, dann als Vice-Präsident und im Jahre 1873, sowie auch von 1876 bis 1879 als Präsident, als welcher er *ex-officio* Mitglied der Einwanderungs-Commission in Castle Garden war. Sein energisches Auftreten und sein unermüdliches Verfechten der schon zu jener Zeit stark angefeindeten Interessen der Emigranten mußten ihn bald in Conflict mit der Majorität seiner Kollegen bringen. Während

seiner Präsidentschaft fand die deutsche Massenversammlung in Cooper Institute statt, in welcher die deutsche Bevölkerung beschloß, "eierlichst gegen die Handlungen der Majorität der Einwanderungs-Commission zu protestieren und dieselben als engherzig, unwürdig und ungerecht entschieden zu mißbilligen." Da dieser Protest leider wirkungslos blieb, so legte Sigismund Kaufmann zwei Monate nach seiner Wiedererwählung sein Amt nieder, zu welchem er jedoch zwei Jahre später wieder gewählt wurde und welches er dann bis 1879 inne hatte. Seit jenem Jahre blieb er als Mitglied des Verwaltungsrathes thätig und nahm an den gemeinnützigen Bestrebungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft den regsten Antheil."

Ein Nierenleiden, welches sich schon zu Anfang der 80er Jahre einstellte, beeinträchtigte öfters seine öffentliche Thätigkeit; schließlich sah er sich genöthigt, im Mai 1888 Heilung in verschiedenen deutschen Bädern zu suchen, leider vergebens. Im Winter 1889 begab er sich nach Cannes in Frankreich, kehrte aber beim Beginn des Frühjahrs nach Deutschland zurück und hielt sich in letzter Zeit in Berlin auf, woselbst er, wie oben erwähnt, am 17. August aus seinem thatenreichen Leben abberufen wurde.

Kaufmann war Ehrenmitglied der N.Y. Turnvereins, Mitglied der Deutschen Gesellschaft, des deutschen Hospitalvereins, des Liederkranz, des gesellig-wissenschaftlichen Vereins, im welchem er im Frühjahr 1888 seinen letzten öffentlichen Vortrag über "Das neue Berlin" hielt, sowie einer größeren Anzahl von Wohlthätigkeits-Gesellschaften. -Seine Leiche wurde im Krematorium in Gotha verbrannt und die Asche hierher gebracht.

Sigismund Kaufmann war nicht nur ein treuer Anhänger und Förderer der Turnsache, er war auch ein Mann, der ebenso stolz auf sein amerikanisches Bürgertum als auf seine deutsche Abstammung war, und der seit seiner Ankunft in diesem Lande an allen öffentlichen Angelegenheiten den regsten Antheil nahm und stets in den vordersten Reihen stand, wann immer es galt, für den Fortschritt und für Aufklärung einzutreten und dazu beizutragen, seinen Landsleuten in ihren Adoptivvaterlande jene Stellung zu erwerben, zu der sie vermöge ihrer Anzahl und ihrer industriellen und commerciellen Thätigkeit berechtigt sind. Sein Tod rief deshalb in den weitesten Kreisen, und zwar nicht bloß unter den Deutsch-Amerikanern, tiefe Trauer und Betrübniß hervor.

Translation by Judith Arnold. [Heinrich Metzner], "Sigismund Kaufmann," *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, I, 32-35.

Among the pioneers of the Turner movement who vigorously and selflessly blazed the trail for Turner concerns here on American soil, Sigismund

Kaufmann indisputably occupies one of the most distinguished places. We may all the more proudly call him one of our own, for unlike many others who indifferently turned their backs on the ideals of their youth upon reaching a certain position in society, he remained faithful to our guiding principles until the end of his life, even though he was no longer active in *Verein* activities in recent years. His name is indelibly linked with the history of the Turner Union and the Turner movement as one of the founders of the *New York Turnverein*. He was chairman for many years. He was also one of the founders of the Turner Union, whose chairman he became at that time. He was also the first editor of its newsletter. The *New York Turnverein* owes him a great deal. In numerous instances when it was necessary to present a manly, energetic front to the outside world, Kaufmann was the right man for the job. It is wholly due to him that the society was able to put through its incorporation by the state legislature, after repeated vain attempts and despite all nativist and hypocritical opposition.

Sigismund Kaufmann was born on September 8, 1825, in Schotten in the Grand Duchy of Hessen-Darmstadt. He received a splendid education, which he later broadened through the book trade business in Paris, Straßburg and Frankfurt am Main. When revolution erupted in Germany in 1849, the then barely 22-year-old Kaufmann, imbued with an ardent desire for freedom like so many of his contemporaries, joined the movement as a member of the Frankfurt Turners. However, pursued by the police of the free Imperial City of Frankfurt, he soon found himself compelled to flee and emigrated to America. All that remained for the police to do under these circumstances was to issue a warrant for his arrest-- of course in vain.

Without money, without friends and without work, the political fugitive, like so many of his friends, waged a hard fight for his existence, but his vigor and zealotry soon enabled him to find a job in the law offices of Livingston. With his unique steely diligence he threw himself into the study of the American legal system and was admitted to the bar in 1852. It has already been mentioned in another article that Aaron Frank, the first speaker of the old Turner community had entered into business partnership with him. Kaufmann, who moved to Williamsburg where he resided until five years ago, from then on became actively involved in public life. As the break in the northern democracy came, he joined the Republicans during the battle for the admission of Kansas to the Union and the fierce disputes over the question of slavery. He can be considered one of the co-founders of the Republican Party, for which he gave stirring speeches on different occasions.

In 1859 he participated in the founding of the German Savings Bank. He was one of its directors for years and assumed Friedrich Kapp's position as the bank's attorney when the latter went to Europe. His activity on behalf of

the Republican Party was rewarded when he was made an elector as Lincoln was a presidential candidate in 1860. When the Civil War broke out, then Governor Morgan appointed him as one of the 'magistrates' for Williamsburg who heard and made the final decision on statements by individual citizens concerning their eligibility to be exempted from military service. Mr. Kaufmann fulfilled the duties of this honorary office in the most impartial manner.

In 1870, he was nominated by the Republicans for Lieutenant Governor, with Stewart [L.] Wood[ford] heading the state ticket. He received 368,158 votes. This can be regarded as clear evidence of the great popularity Kaufmann enjoyed in all parts of the population. He also played a preeminent role in breaking up the Tweed-Ring, and in 1872 put his shoulder to the wheel to work for Greeley.

What Kaufmann, who only held a paid public office for a couple of months during his long, active life, thought of highly paid public offices that can too often be regarded as sinecures, emerges best in a letter that he addressed at the time to Mayor F. R. Schroeder of Brooklyn. Mayor Schroeder, namely, had appointed him as Police Commissioner. Kaufmann, who quickly established that four police commissioners were too many for the relatively minimal work, resigned his position after two months. He gave as grounds for the resignation that he considered it unworthy of a citizen to accept a paid position requiring little to no work. As he had ascertained, in the present case two commissioners could quite well carry out the work.

Between 1877 and 1879 and once again at a later date, Kaufmann held the office of President of the "German Society of New York," and as such was a member of the Emigration Commission according to state law. In both capacities, he acted on behalf of impoverished immigrants using all means available to him. To the best of his abilities he protected them from cheating and fraud and even frequently helped them out of adversity at his own expense and sacrifice. In 1880 when Governor Cornell appointed Edmund Stephenson, known to be a Know-Nothing, as Emigration Commissioner, a storm of indignation arose among Germans. Meetings were held to express the outrage, unfortunately in vain; Kaufmann took part in these meetings with the burning enthusiasm of the immigrants.

The annual report of the German Society for 1889 speaks about Kaufmann's work in that organization as follows:

"Sigismund Kaufmann was admitted as a member in 1854 and elected to the board of directors in 1859. He remained a board member until his death, which took place on August 17, 1889, first as Secretary, then as Vice-President and in 1873 as well as from 1876 until 1879 as President. As President he was an *ex officio* member of the Emigration Commission in Castle Garden. His

energetic demeanor and tireless advocacy for the much-maligned interests of the immigrants brought him into conflict with the majority of his colleagues. During his presidency, the mass meeting at Cooper Union Institute took place, at which the German population decided "to solemnly protest the actions of the majority of the Immigration Commission and to resolutely disapprove of it as narrow-minded, unworthy and unjust." As this protest was unfortunately ineffective, Sigismund Kaufmann resigned his office two months after his reelection; he was however re-elected two years later and held the office until 1879. After that he remained active as a member of the board of directors and took a most active part in the charitable endeavors of the German Society."

A kidney ailment that had set in at the beginning of the 1880s frequently hindered his public work. He finally found himself compelled to seek a cure in different German baths, unfortunately to no avail. In the winter of 1889 he traveled to Cannes, France but returned to Germany at the beginning of spring, stopping in Berlin where, as mentioned above, he was summoned from his life, so full of great achievements.

Kaufmann was an honorary member of the New York *Turnverein*, a member of the German Society, the German Hospital Society and the Liederkranz. He was a member of the German Social and Scientific Society, where he gave his last public lecture in spring 1888 on "The New Berlin." He was also a member of a great number of other charitable organizations. His remains were cremated in Gotha and the ashes returned here.

Sigismund Kaufmann was not only a loyal supporter and sponsor of Turner issues, he was also a man as proud of his American citizenship as of his German origins. He was a man who took the most active part in all public affairs after his arrival in this country. Whenever it was needed, he was always at the forefront to stand up for progress and enlightenment and to assist his fellow countrymen achieve a place in their adopted fatherland, which their numbers, industrial and commercial activities warrant. His passing brings about deep mourning and sorrow in the widest circles, and not solely among German-Americans.

D. [Wilhelm Pfänder], "Correspondenz aus Kansas (von einem Mitgliede des Landescommission des Turner-Ansiedl.-Vereins)," *Turn-Zeitung*, May 27, 1856.

Man wurde in letzterer Zeit in den mittleren Staaten kaum gewahr, wie die Verhältnisse in dem Kansas Territorium sich gestalten. Nach den Nachrichten, die man bei meiner Abreise in Ohio hatte, glaubte man, daß jetzt

alles so ziemlich geordnet sei und nicht die mindeste politische Anstrengung hier herrsche. Obgleich ich sehr ungerne dazu schreite, diese beruhigenden Versicherungen durch Tatsachen zu widerlegen, kann ich doch nicht unterlassen, denjenigen, welche vielleicht bei einer zukünftigen Niederlassung Kansas im Auge haben, einige Notizen und Winke zu geben, die vielleicht manchem einen sicheren Anhaltspunkt bieten möchten, als die glänzenden Beschreibungen des Territoriums und die gewöhnlich oberflächlichen Zeitungsberichte.

Es ist wie ich glaube nicht allgemein bekannt, daß die besten, meistens leidlich, theilweise aber auch reichlich mit Waldungen versehenen Länderstrecken am Kansasflusse auf der südlichen Seite bis circa 40 Meilen von der Mündung desselben, auf der nördlichen noch weiter hinauf, im Besitze der Shawnee-, Wyandot- und Delaware-Indianer sind, und daß demnach den weißen Ansiedlern vorerst blo[ß] Ländereien offen stehen, denen es größtentheils am nöthigen Holze fehlt. Wo immer bis tief ins Innere des Territoriums etwas Holz zu finden ist, sind längst Claims gemacht, und die guten Gelegenheiten, eine passende Lokation zu finden, gehören de[s]halb schon zu den Seltenheiten. Für Viehzucht ist das Land allerdings sehr geeignet, da die ungeheuren Prairies im Stande sind, die größten Vieherden mit Futter zu versehen; allein auch zu einem solchen Betrieb ist ebenfalls Holz, mehr aber noch reichliches und gutes Wasser erforderlich, und daran fehlt es in manchen Theilen des Territoriums sehr. Dem Missouriflusse entlang steht der weißen Bevölkerung ebenfalls blo[ß] eine verhältnißmäßig kurze Strecke offen, da auch hier die Indianer wieder das schönste Land besitzen, und es ist deshalb eine große Frage, ob Kansas in landwirtschaftlicher und gewerblicher Beziehung je das werden kann, wozu man es schon im voraus gestempelt hat.

Die politischen Verhältnisse sind gegenwärtig so gespannt, daß ein offener Ausbruch jeden Tag erwartet werden kann und wenn nicht ganz unvorhergesehene Umstände eintreten, sicher nicht ausbleiben wird. Der Süden hat vor etwa 3 Wochen eine bedeutende, allem Anscheine nach regelmäßig organisierte Bande in das Territorium geworfen, welche in den Hauptplätzen vertheilt ist und nur zu laut für die "friedliche" Agitation des Südens spricht. In der Gegend von Kansas City und Westport Mo., an der Grenze von Kansas haben sie förmliche Lager errichtet, und der Fremde darf sicher sein, daß er wenigstens aufs schärfste von den liebenswürdigen Alabama Bops beobachtet, vielleicht auch einer gehörigen Examination unterworfen wird. In den Straßen von Westport ist ein buntes Durcheinander dieser Streitmacht, und man wähnt sich in ein förmliches Hauptquartier versetzt, was nun Westport eigentlich auch ist. Die meisten Glieder dieser Bande tragen Flanellblousen [*sic*] und haben Messer und Revolver offen in den Gürteln. Allem Anscheine nach war diese Nationalgarde noch nicht hinreichend gewaffnet, und die

Ver. Staaten Regierung (resp. Gouvernor Shannon) hat dem Mangel nun dadurch abgeholfen, daß sie eine Partie Ver. Staaten-Rifles unter sie vertheilt hat. Das Dampfboot, auf welchem ich diese Zeilen niederschreibe, nahm in Leavenworth City 20 Kisten dieser Büchsen an Bord, welche an Gouvernoeur Shannon unter Adress des Quartermeisters des Forts Leavenworth gesandt waren und unterwegs vertheilt wurden. Ich habe diese Fracht ziemlich scharf im Auge behalten und gesehen, daß in Kickapoo 6, in Atchison 4, in Doniphan 5 und an einem Punkte unterhalb der Sac und Fox Reserve in der Prairie 5 Kisten ausgeladen wurden. General Richardson, ein hervorragender Missouri Border-Ruffian, beaufsichtigte diese Vertheilungen und verließ mit der letzten Sendung selbst das Boot. An den obengenannten Orten kamen überall Trupps von 30–40 der südlichen Bande betrunken und lärmend in ihrem vollständigen Räuberornat angezogen und nahmen die Kisten jubelnd in Empfang.

Solche augenscheinliche Vorbereitungen für einen Kampf in Verbindung mit den Äußerungen und Drohungen, die man von den Prosklavereileuten hört, sind wahrlich nicht geeignet, einen angenehmen Eindruck auf den das Territorium besuchenden Bürger zu machen und werden auch sicher der Einwanderung dahin bald ein Ziel setzen.

In diesem Augenblick bereist ein Agent des General Buford (Commandant der südlichen Expedition) namens Leuth, die westlichen Counties von Missouri, um zu agitiren und es scheint fest zu stehen, daß die Bewohner dieser Counties sich schon fest organisiert haben, um im Falle eines Ausbruches sogleich bei der Hand zu sein. – Eine friedliche Beilegung der Streitigkeiten im Kansas wäre nur dann zu erwarten, wenn die wirklichen Bewohner des Territoriums für oder gegen Einführung der Sklaverei abstimmen und die Minorität fügen würde. Eine deartige Abstimmung im jetzigen Augenblicke wäre übrigens eine sehr gewagte Sache, denn die südlichen Rowdies, obwohl keine wirklichen Ansiedler, sind doch jedenfalls Bewohner des Territoriums und hätten also Stimmrecht; würden nun die Indianer noch als Bürger anerkannt, die größtenteils für Sklaverei sind, so wäre höchst wahrscheinlich das Resultat eine Majorität für die Einführung der Sklaverei. So sehr ich im Interesse unserer Republik auch wünschen würde, daß die Wirren friedlich geschlichtet werden, so kann ich mich doch nach dem, was ich gesehen gehört, der Überzeugung nicht erwehren, daß vielleicht schon die nächsten Tage uns den Schrecken eines Bürgerkrieges bringen.

In the same issue of the *Turn-Zeitung*, the following report:

In Kansas nimmt das Banditen-Regime den schönsten Fortgang; das unglückliche Territorium wimmelt von Bullies aus den Sklavenstaaten, die

von Gouverneur Shannon in die Miliz eingereiht und mit Ver. St. Musketen bewaffnet worden sind. Da die Ver. St. Truppen, nach einer Erklärung des Kriegsministeriums, nur 'zur Unterdrückung einer Insurrection,' nicht aber zur Vornahme von Verhaftungen, in Kansas stehen, so bedient sich der Ver. St. Marshall Donaldson jener Bullies, um seine Gewaltsakten vorzunehmen. Nach den neusten Nachrichten rückt er mit einer Bande von 1500 Mann gegen Lawrence, um eine Anzahl Freistaatsmänner daselbst zu arretieren. Letztere erklärten in einem Schreiben an Shannon, daß sie sich den Anordnungen des Ver. St. Gerichtes nicht widersetzen, sondern sogar selbst bei den gesetzlich angeordneten Verhaftungen behülflich sein wollten; nur erbäten sie sich den Schutz der Regierung gegen die den Marshall begleitende Horde. Shannon hat jedoch dieses Gesuch rundweg abgeschlagen und bleibt den Bürgern von Lawrence nichts übrig als Selbsthülfe. Sie sollen sich unter den Kommando des Obersten Topliff verschanzt haben; nach einem Gerüchte in *Missouri Republican* wäre die Stadt bereits von den Strolchen genommen und eingeschert. Da jedoch der Telegraph nach Missouri zerstört ist, so hat man darüber noch keine bestimmte Kunde.

Der Freistaatsgouverneur Robinson, der auf einer Geschäftsreise nach dem Osten begriffen war, wurde in Lexington (M[issouri]) von einem Mob verhaftet und soll auf eine Requisition Shannon's unter der Anklage des Hochverraths nach Kansas ausgeliefert werden. Reeder, der in Lawrence arretiert werden sollte, widersetzte sich auf Grund seiner Eigenschaft als Congreßmitglied und hat sich hernach geflüchtet. – Da die Untersuchungs-Committees des Congresses bereits den Rückweg nach Washington angetreten hat, so muß das Dunkel, das über den neuesten Vorgängen in Kansas schwebt, bald gelichtet werden.

*The report of the *Weekly Chicago Democrat* on June 14 picks up and translates one segment of this report: "Die meisten Glieder dieser Bande tragen Flanellblousen [*sic*] . . . und nahmen die Kisten jubelnd in Empfang" but it diverges subsequently and provides a different concluding text.

Translation by Judith Arnold. [Wilhelm Pfänder], "Correspondence from Kansas (by a member of the Land Commission of the Turner Settlement Society)," *Turn-Zeitung*, May 27, 1856.

Recently here in the central states we have scarcely noticed how conditions in Kansas Territory are developing. According to the reports available when I left Ohio, we thought everything was pretty much orderly and free of political tension. Although I am reluctant to contradict these comforting assurances with facts, I cannot neglect to offer some tips to anyone who might have an

eye on Kansas as a place to settle in the future. These hints would probably be a more reliable guide than the glossy descriptions of the Territory or the usual superficial newspaper reports.

I believe it is not generally known that the best stretches of land, some of them fairly and others richly forested, along the Kansas river belong to the Shawnee, Wyandot, and Delaware Indians. On the southern side these lands run to about 40 miles from the river's mouth, and even further upstream on the northern. Thus, only lands mostly without the necessary timber are actually available to white settlers. Wherever timber is found deep within the Territory, claims have long since been established and good opportunities to find a suitable location are already a rarity. The land is certainly well-suited for raising cattle because the immense prairies can provide food for the largest herds; but wood and abundant, good water are also necessary for such an enterprise, and these are greatly lacking in some parts of the Territory. Only a relatively short stretch along the Missouri river is open to the white population because the Indians own the most beautiful land here as well. It remains, therefore, a big question whether Kansas can ever become what it was expected to be, agriculturally or commercially.

The political conditions are presently so tense that an open outbreak (of hostilities) can be expected daily, and unless completely unexpected circumstances occur, they cannot fail to materialize. About three weeks ago, the South sent a considerable and to all appearances well-organized band into the Territory. It is divided between all the major locations and acts only too clearly for the South's "peaceful" agitation. In the area of Kansas City and Westport, M[issouri] on the Kansas border they have set up formal camps. As a minimum, the stranger can be certain of being scrutinized by the amiable Alabama Bops and may also be subjected to a proper test. This fighting force bustles with activity in the streets of Westport, and one imagines himself to be in an actual headquarters, which Westport really is. Most of the members of this band wear flannel shirts and carry bowie-knives and revolvers openly in their belts. For all appearances, however, this national guard was not sufficiently armed, and the United States government (Hon. Gov. Shannon) has supplied their lack by distributing among them a lot of United States rifles. The steamer on which I am present(ly) writing took on board at Leavenworth City twenty boxes of these weapons, which were sent to Gov. Shannon under the name of the Quartermaster of Leavenworth, and distributed on the way. I kept a tolerable sharp lookout for this freight, and noticed that six boxes were landed at Kickapoo, four at Atchison, five at Doniphan, and five at a point in the prairie, in the Sacs and Foxes Reserve. Gen. Richardson, a prominent Border Ruffian, superintended this distribution, and with the last installment, left the boat himself. In the above named places, squads of thirty or forty

from the southern companies came out drunken and noisy, and tricked out in full robber costume, and took the boxes in charge with exulting yells.*

Such obvious preparations for battle along with the comments and threats from the proslavery people are truly unsuited to make an agreeable impression on citizens visiting the Territory, and [the proslavery people] will surely also take a hostile stance to immigration.

At this point, an agent of General Buford (commander of the southern expedition) by the name of Leuth is traveling through the western counties of Missouri to agitate. It appears certain that the residents of these counties are fairly well organized to be immediately available in case of an outbreak. —A peaceful settlement of the disputes in Kansas would only be expected when the real residents of the Territory vote for or against the introduction of slavery, and the minority comply. A vote of this sort at the present moment would be a very risky business because the southern rowdies, although not real settlers, are in any case still residents of the Territory and would have the right to vote. If the Indians, most of whom favor slavery, were also recognized as citizens, the most likely result would be a majority vote for the introduction of slavery. As much as I wish in the interest of our Republic that the turmoil would be settled peacefully, after all that I saw and heard I cannot shake off the conviction that perhaps the coming days will bring us the horrors of a civil war.

In the same issue of the *Turn-Zeitung* the following report:

The rule of the bandit regime is progressing beautifully in Kansas. The unfortunate Territory swarms with bullies from the slave states who have taken their place in Gov. Shannon's militia and are armed with US muskets. Since the United States troops, according to a declaration by the War Ministry, are in Kansas City only for the 'suppression of a rebellion' but not to make arrests, US Marshal Donalson is using these bullies to carry out his acts of violence. According to the latest reports he is moving against Lawrence with a band of 1500 men to arrest a number of Free State men. The Free Staters declared in a letter to Shannon that they do not oppose an order of the United States court and even wanted to help with the legally ordered arrests, and were only requesting the government's protection from the mob accompanying the marshal. Shannon, however, flatly refused this request and for the citizens of Lawrence nothing remains but to help themselves. They are said to have hidden under the command of Colonel Topliff. According to rumors in the *Missouri Republican*, the rascals have already taken the city and reduced it to ashes. However, since the telegraph line to Missouri is destroyed, there is no

definite news.

The Free State governor Robinson, who was recognized while on a business trip to the East, was arrested by a mob in Lexington (M[issouri]). On Shannon's demand he is to be surrendered to Kansas on a charge of high treason. Reeder, who was supposed to be arrested in Lawrence, resisted on the grounds that he is a member of Congress and fled afterwards.—Since the congressional Investigation Committee has headed back to Washington, the darkness that hangs over these latest events in Kansas will soon be cleared up.

*The report of the *Weekly Chicago Democrat* on June 14 picks up and translates one segment of this report: "Most of the members of this band wear flannel shirts and carry bowie-knives and took the boxes in charge with exulting yells." It diverges subsequently and provides a different concluding text.

E. [Hugo Tafel], "Bilder aus dem Vereinsleben," In *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, II, 283–85. Aus der *Turn-Zeitung* 1858.

Leavenworth, Kansas Terr., 9. Januar 1858

Jim Lane sollte an dem Tage in Atchison bei einer Wahlversammlung sprechen. Atchison, wo die deutsche Zeitung jetzt herausgegeben wird, war früher ein Hauptsitz der Ruffians*), und ist es jetzt ungefähr halb und halb; es liegt 35 Meilen weiter den Fluß hinauf, zu Land ist es aber bloß 25 Meilen. Am Abend vorher kam ein Brief von einem Bruder des hiesigen Mayors, der dort ansäßig ist, worin er schrieb, daß die Prosklaverei-Männer sich zusammen gemacht hätten, und schworen, Jim Lane zu tödten, wenn er versuche, dort zu sprechen; es wären zwar die Freistaatenmänner von Sumna und Doniphan da, aber es wäre ihm doch lieb, wenn er auch einige Freistaatenmänner von Leavenworth sehen würde. Den Abend kamen zufällig die Turner und Mitglieder der amerik. Comp. zusammen und um Redefreiheit aufrecht zu erhalten, beschlossen die Wenigen, die da waren, hinauf zu gehen. Viele blieben, wie es bei solchen Gelegenheiten immer geht, zurück, es war auch allerdings kurze Zeit und Morgen Samstag, so gingen zuletzt ganz in der Früh 20 Mann fort, 11 Deutsche und 9 Amerikaner. Wir Deutsche hatten zwei Wagen und zwei Reiter, die Amerikaner waren zu Pferd. Um keine Aufregung dort zu verursachen, war beschlossen worden, keine Gewehre, bloß Revolver mitzunehmen, was wir später bitter bereuten. Wir kamen gegen 12 Uhr Mittags nach Atchison, und machten uns dort zu einander. Es stellte sich bald heraus, daß eine Masse Border-Ruffians dort waren, zum Theil von Missouri, und daß die Freistaatenmänner sich gar nicht organisirt hatten,

um Eventualitäten zu begegnen. Auch von Sumna und Doniphan waren bis dahin keine Freistaatenmänner da. Die Ruffians hatten etwa 50 Büchsen und Musketen, und waren schon theilweise betrunken. Ein schöneres *set* von Rowdies hatte ich noch nie beisammengetroffen. Wir hielten uns ziemlich zusammen und warteten der Dinge, die da kommen sollten. Gegen 1 Uhr erhob sich am andern Ende der Straße, wo die Prosklavereimänner beisammen waren, ein Tumult. Wir gingen langsam in unregelmäßigen Haufen darauf zu. Da kam der ganze Haufen retour auf uns zu; Adams, der aber bei der Zwistigkeit Frieden stiften wollte, vorne dran. Wie wir bei ihnen waren, fingen sie ein bestialisches Geschrei an; Einer schlug Adams den Hut vom Kopf und 3—4, einer davon zu Pferd, legten ihre Büchsen auf ihn an, um ihn zusammen zu schießen. Wir standen um Adams und der ganze Haufen, whiskyberauscht, schrie: kill him! es war ein kritischer Moment, einige von uns zogen die Revolvers, und wir hielten uns parat. Ein einziger Schuß auf Adams, der unbewaffnet war, und ein tödtlicher Kampf wäre die Folge gewesen und ich muß gestehen, mit den Chancen auf der andern Seite; denn nur wenig Atchisoner machten sich zu uns, und wir hatten keine einzige Büchse. Da griff ein Atchisoner, Pro- oder Anti- Sklavereimann, Adams beim Arm und führte ihn nach seiner Office, wir langsam hinten drein, ohne daß ein Schuß fiel.

Einige der Gemäßigten der andern Partei suchten die Border-Ruffians vom Schießen abzuhalten, aber ich glaube, daß eine heilsame Furcht vor unsern Revolvers ebensoviel dazu beitrug. Hierauf warteten wir bis 2 Uhr, da aber Lane nicht kam und die Atchisoner nicht den Muth hatten, die Versammlung zu organisiren, hielten wir es für's Beste, den Rückzug anzutreten. Die Ruffians unterhielten ein bestialisches Geschrei und versuchten ein paar Mal zu uns herunter zu kommen, ließen sich aber immer wieder zurückhalten. Wir schickten Adams den Berg hinauf, wo er wohnte und wo wir unsere Pferde in einem Liverystable hatten. Die Amerikaner hatten die ihrigen unten irgendwo. Halbwegs begegneten wir Adams Frau, ungeheuer aufgeregt, mit einem Colts Revolver in der Hand, um ihn ihrem Mann zu bringen. Wir sagten ihr, daß er schon auf dem Berge sein werde, wo wir ihn auch fanden. Einige von uns suchten ihn zu bewegen mit uns zu gehen, aber er sowohl wie seine Frau wollten nichts davon wissen, sondern begaben sich nach Haus, das etwas abgelegen war. Während wir uns beschäftigten, uns reisefertig zu machen, zogen ungefähr 40 Mann mit Büchsen an uns vorüber. Sie hörten, daß Lane mit einigen Freunden in der Nähe sei, alle mit Büchsen, Muketen und außerdem mit Revolvers und Bowiemessern bewaffnet. Die guten Freunde Lane's in Atchison schickten ihm Wort, nicht zu kommen, da sie unter obwaltenden Umständen es nicht zum Aeüßersten kommen lassen wollen. Ein Theil der Atchisonerleute war nämlich selbst gegen Jim Lane,

weil er Eigenthum in Doniphan, 5 Meilen oberhalb hatte; solche Stänkereien machte der elende Dollar auch unter den Freistaatmännern. Wir sammelten uns außerhalb der Stadt und hielten es zuletzt für's Beste, zurückzukehren. Ich war auf einem Lumberwagen mit andern, die übrigen nahmen eine Kutsche.

Wir kamen Abends zehn Uhr zurück; die in der Kutsche kamen schneller vorwärts, stießen aber zuletzt in der Dunkelheit in ein Loch, in dem sie bis Sonntag Morgen elendiglich stecken blieben. So endigte unsere Turnfahrt nach Atchison. Es war für mich in mancher Beziehung ein interessanter Tag; es war das erstemal, daß ich das Innere von Kansas zu sehen bekam, und ich war überrascht von der Schönheit des Landes, es ist wellenförmig und mehr in kleine Thäler und hügelketten getheilt, als Illinois, und deshalb für das Auge viel angenehmer, wenn es gleich theilweise vielleicht nicht so allgemein für Anwendung von Ackerbaumaschinen geeignet ist.

*) Border Ruffians, Grenzstrolche von Missouri

Translation by Natalie Aaron. [Hugo Tafel], "Scenes from the Life of the Turner Society," *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, II, 283–85. Reprinted from the *Turn-Zeitung* of 1858.

Leavenworth, Kansas Terr., January 9, 1858

Jim Lane was supposed to speak at a voting meeting during the day in Atchison. Atchison, where the German newspaper is now published, was once the headquarters of the Ruffians [Border Ruffians], and it still partially is; it's located 35 miles farther up the river, but by land it's only 25 miles away. The evening beforehand, a letter came from the brother of the local mayor who was based there, in which he wrote that the men who were proslavery had gotten together and swore to kill Jim Lane if he tried to speak there; he said the Free-State men from Sumna and Doniphan were there already, but he would be happy to see some free-state men from Leavenworth, as well. That evening, it happened that the Turners and the members of the American Comp. were meeting and, in order to defend the freedom of speech, the few that were present decided to head in that direction. Many stayed behind, as it always is in such situations, it was, however, short notice and tomorrow was Saturday; 20 men left finally in the early morning, 11 Germans and 9 Americans. We Germans had two wagons and two horsemen, the Americans went on horseback. So as not to make a commotion, it was decided that we would bring only revolvers, not rifles, and we regretted this bitterly later. We arrived in Atchison around noon, and assembled ourselves. We soon found out that a group of Border Ruffians were there, some of them from Missouri, and that the Free-State men hadn't prepared themselves to face all possible

outcomes. At that point, there were also no Free-State men from Sumna or Doniphan present. The Ruffians had approximately 50 rifles and muskets and some of them were already drunk. I had never before encountered such a fine set of Rowdies together. We stayed pretty close to one another and waited for what was supposed to happen. Around one o'clock, a riot started at the other end of the street where the proslavery men were. We walked slowly over in uneven groups. Then, the whole crowd came back toward us; Adams, who wanted to make peace at the dispute, was in the front. When we met up with them, they started yelling wildly; someone knocked Adams's hat off his head and 3-4 men, one of them on horse, pointed their rifles at him to shoot him. We stood together, and the whole pack, intoxicated with whiskey, yelled: kill him! It was a critical moment; some of us drew our revolvers and readied ourselves. A single shot at the unarmed Adams and a deadly fight would have ensued and I must admit, the odds were with the other side; for only a few from Atchison had joined us and we didn't have a single rifle. Then someone from Atchison, pro- or antislavery, grabbed Adams by the arm and led him to his office, we followed slowly behind without a single shot fired.

Some of the level-headed ones from the other party tried to stop the Border Ruffians from shooting, but I believe that a healthy fear of our revolvers contributed just as much. After that, we waited until 2 p.m., but because Lane didn't come and the men from Atchison didn't have the courage to organize those assembled, we decided it was best to pull out. The Ruffians let out a wild yell and tried to come down toward us a few times, but let themselves be held back every time. We sent Adams up the hill to where he lived and where we had left our horses in the livery stable. The Americans had theirs down below somewhere. Halfway there, we ran into Adams's wife, terribly upset with a Colt revolver in her hand, which she meant to bring to her husband. We told her that he should be up on the hill already, which is exactly where we found him. Some of us tried to get him to come with us, but he, along with his wife, wouldn't tolerate it, and instead they returned to their somewhat secluded home. While we busied ourselves preparing to leave, about 40 men with rifles passed by us. They had heard that Lane was with several friends somewhere nearby, all of them with rifles, muskets, and touting revolvers and bowie knives, as well. Lane's good friends in Atchison had sent him word not to come because they, under the prevailing circumstances, did not want to let the situation become dire. Some of the people from Atchison themselves were actually against Jim Lane because he had property 5 miles further up in Doniphan. The wretched dollar caused such stinks, even amongst the Free-State men. We assembled outside of the city and finally decided it was best to head back. I rode on a lumber wagon with others and the rest took a carriage.

We arrived at 10 p.m., those in the carriage moved faster ahead, but in the

end they hit a hole in the dark and miserably stayed stuck there until Sunday morning. That is how our excursion to Atchison ended. It was an interesting day for me in many respects; it was the first time that I saw the interior of Kansas and I was surprised by the beauty of the land; it is undulating and is divided into more small valleys and ridges than Illinois, and for that reason it is more pleasing to the eye, even if it's perhaps not so convenient for the use of farm machines.

F. Hugo Tafel, "Bilder aus dem Vereinsleben: Eine Turnfahrt in Kansas," *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, II, 285–87. Published also in the *Turn-Zeitung* and from that source also in the *Anzeiger des Westens*, January 31, 1858. Von Hugo Tafel, aus der *Turn-Zeitung* vom Jahre 1857.

Aus der Zeit der Grenzstreitigkeiten

Der Waffenstillstand, welcher seit mehr als einem Jahr im Territorium geherrscht, hat sein Ende erreicht. Die blutigen Ereignisse der letzten Jahre scheinen sich wiederholen zu wollen, glücklicherweise aber mit dem Unterscheide, daß die Freistaats-Partei jetzt stark genug ist, die Oberhand zu behaupten.

Die demokratische Partei hat Alles, was nur zu erdenken war, versucht, die Freistaatspartei bis auf's Aeußerste zu treiben; bei der Minorität von 1 zu 8 haben die von Calhoun, den Präsidenten der Convention, ernannten Wahlrichter es durch gefälschte Wahlberichte doch dahin gebracht, daß sie jetzt die Majorität in der letzten Wahl vom 4. Januar beanspruchten. Wahlprecinkte, von denen man früher nie etwas gehört hat und welche man auch jetzt nach der Wahl wenigstens in Kansas nicht finden kann, haben die Majoritäten von 1000 bis 2000 Stimmen für die Demokratie gegeben.

Vor der Wahl hatte der an Stantons Stelle ernannte Sekretär Denver als stellvertretender Gouverneur die Zusicherung gegeben, daß an jedem Stimmhaften Soldaten genug sein sollten, die Missourier vom Stimmen abzuhalten und den ruhigen Bürger beim Stimmen zu schützen. Die Soldaten waren da; als die Offiziere aber aufgefordert wurden, die Freistaat-Männer, welche die Stimmen die Missourier 'challengen' wollten, zu schützen, erwiderten sie, sie hätten keinen Auftrag dazu, und verhielten sich ganz ruhig, als Freistaat-Männer mit Revolver und Bowiemessern von den Stimmkästen weggetrieben wurden. Die Administration hat sich hier vollkommen mit der äußersten Prosklaverei-Partei verbunden. Alle Beamten, die auch hier nur einen Funken von Ehrgefühl hatten, und sich in Folge

dessen den hier verübten Betrügereien widersetzen, wie Stanton und Walker, sind abgesetzt. Kansas soll jetzt, nachdem alle andern Mittel fehlgeschlagen, durch Ver.-Staaten Truppen zum Sklavenstaate gemacht werden. Ob es aber fertig gebracht wird, ist eine andere Frage. Die Freistaatmänner haben sich militärisch organisirt, und warten nur auf eine Gelegenheit, um den von den Senator Broderick ertheilten Rath auszuführen. Die Deutschen und vor allen die Turner bleiben natürlich nicht zurück; im Gegentheil suchen sie durch ihr kühnes Vorangehen den oft etwas zaghaften Yankee aufzumuntern.

Am letzten Dienstag wurde beschlossen, die in dem Hauptsitze der Prosklavereimänner, in Kickapoo zur Niederschießung der Freistaat-Männer aufgestellte Kanone zu nehmen. Hauptmann Haas mit 35 Mann seiner Turner-Kompagnie und ungefähr 35 Mann unter Hauptmann Dixon zogen Nachts 2 Uhr von hier aus. Als man nach einem dreistündigen Marsche angekommen war, wurde die Kanone mit Sturm genommen, darauf diejenigen Häuser, in welchen man Waffen vermuthete, durchsucht, die gefundenen Gewehre mitgenommen und einer der Wahlrichter, welcher zum letzten Wahlbetruge geholfen, arretirt. Nie wurden von einem langen Feldzuge zurückkehrenden Soldaten mit größerem Jubel empfangen, als bei seiner Rückkehr dieses kleine Häuflein, welches, wie die Ruffians oft geschworen, eine That verübt, wo keine 1000 Mann im Stande seien. Man schickte ihnen eine Musikbande zum Empfang entgegen, und darauf wurde die Kanone im Triumph durch die Stadt geführt.

Die genommene Kanone gehörte den Missouri-Grenzstrolchen, welche letztes Jahr mit derselben das "Free-State Hotel" in Lawrence zusammengeschossen hatten. Es wurde deshalb beschlossen, sie der Stadt Lawrence zum Geschenk zu machen. Am Tage nach dieser Affaire schenkten die Amerikanerinnen Leavenworths der deutschen Kompagnie eine Fahne als Zeichen der Dankbarkeit.

In Kickapoo hielten die Prosklaverei-Leute eine Versammlung und beschlossen, die Kanone wieder zu nehmen. Man requirirte zu diesem Ende 500 Mann Missourier und mit diesen rückten die Demokraten vorgestern Nachts gegen Leavenworth. Um 10 Uhr erhielt man hier die Nachricht, alle Glocken wurden geläutet, die Trommeln wirbelten und in 10 Minuten standen 150 Deutsche unter Capt. Haas bereit, die Grenzstrolche zu empfangen: die Amerikaner 400-500 Mann kamen aus der Mangel an Organisation langsamer zusammen. Sobald der Feind merkte, daß wir bereit waren, ihn zu empfangen, zog er sich zurück, und man hat seither weiter Nichts von ihm gehört, als daß der Whisky in Kickapoo im Preise gestiegen sei. Mit den Prosklavereieleuten hier im Territorium, so wie mit den Missourier wollen wir schon fertig werden, und wenn Buchanan Ver. Staaten-Truppen gegen uns schickt, so werden wir uns zu vertheidigen wissen. Die ganze Freistaat-Partei

ist entschlossen, lieber Alles zu verlieren, als unter der ostroyirten Lecompton-Constitution zu leben. Unsere deutschen Landsleuten mögen sich versichert halten, daß wir dem deutschen Namen hier in Kansas keine Schande machen werden; wir haben beschlossen, mit der Sache der Freiheit zu stehen, oder zu fallen. Den Amerikaner wollen wir beweisen, daß wir unseren Wahlspruch gemäß der Sache der Freiheit treu bleiben.

Ein Turner

Translation by Natalie Aaron. Hugo Tafel, "Scenes from the Life of the Turner Society: A Turner Excursion in Kansas," *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, II, 285-87. Published also in the *Turn-Zeitung* and from that source also in the *Anzeiger des Westens*, January 31, 1858. By Hugo Tafel, reprinted from the *Turn-Zeitung* of 1857.

From the Time of the Border Wars

The ceasefire, which has been in effect for over a year now, has come to an end. The bloody happenings of last year seem to be threatening to repeat themselves, but fortunately the difference is that the Free-State Party is now strong enough to take the upper hand.

The Democratic Party has tried everything possible to push the Free-State Party to extremes; with the minority of 1 to 8, the voting officials named by Calhoun, the president of the convention, are, through falsified voting data, claiming the majority in the last vote on January 4th. Voting precincts which no one has ever heard of and which, after the vote, we are unable to locate, at least in Kansas, have produced majorities of 1,000 to 2,000 for the Democrats.

Before the vote, Secretary [James W.] Denver, who was appointed to Stanton's position as acting governor, ensured that enough soldiers would be at every voting box to keep the Missourians from voting and to protect the peaceful citizens during the vote. The soldiers were there, but when the officers were asked to protect the Free-state men who wanted to challenge the votes from the Missourians, they replied that they did not have orders to do so and stayed quiet as the Free-State men were chased from the voting boxes with revolvers and bowie knives. The administration showed their alliance here with the most extreme of the proslavery party. All officials who had any sense of honor and, as a result of this, opposed the fraudulence committed here, like Stanton and Walker, are acquitted. After all other options have failed, Kansas shall now be made a slave state by U.S. troops. Whether this will be carried out is another question. The Free-State men have organized a

militia and are waiting for an opportunity to carry out the advice of Senator Broderick. The Germans and above all the Turners will not stay behind; on the contrary, they will try to encourage the often somewhat timid Yankees with their bold leadership.

It was decided last Tuesday that we would take the cannon from the headquarters of the proslavery men in Kickapoo that was set up to shoot down the Free-Staters. Captain Haas, with 35 men from his Turner Company and approximately 35 Americans under Captain Dixon, left from here at 2 a.m. When they arrived after a three-hour march, they took the cannon by storm, searched the houses where weapons were supposed to be, confiscated the weapons that were found and arrested one of the voting officials who had helped with the falsification of the last vote. Never were soldiers coming back from such a long campaign greeted with more celebration than this little group upon their return. They had completed a feat of which, as often sworn by the Ruffians, no 1,000 men were capable. A band was sent to greet them, and after that, the cannon was lead in triumph through the city.

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

In Kickapoo, the proslavery forces held a meeting and decided to take back the cannon. For this, they requisitioned 500 Missourians. In the evening of the day before yesterday, together with the Democrats, they approached Leavenworth. At 10 p.m. everyone here received the news, all bells were rung, the drums sounded, and within 10 minutes, 150 Germans under Capt. Haas were ready to receive the Border Ruffians; the 400–500 Americans assembled more slowly because of their lack of organization. As soon as the enemy saw that we were ready to receive them, they pulled back, and we have not heard anything from them since then, besides that the price of whiskey in Kickapoo has risen. We would like to bring the disputes with the proslavery forces here in the territory, as well as with the Missourians, to a conclusion. If Buchanan sends U.S. troops against us, we will know how to defend ourselves. The whole Free-State Party would rather lose everything than live under the imposed Lecompton Constitution. Our fellow German countrymen can be sure that we are upholding the German name here in Kansas; we have decided to either stand by the cause of freedom, or fall. We want to prove to the Americans that we will stay true to our motto in virtue of the matter of freedom.

A Turner

G. Canisius Correspondence. The letters of Theodore Canisius are found in the Papers of Lyman Trumbull in the Library of Congress. Minor adjustments have been made in capitalization, spelling, and punctuation.

Alton. Dec. 8, 1857

Hon. L. Trumbull, U.S. Senator

Dear Sir!

In fourteen days from now the new paper will be out. The types are here, and [I] will take the office in G. L. Brown's establishment. The name of the paper will be "Alton Freie Presse" (Alton Free Press). I have no doubt but I will succeed. Chr. Schneider, whom our Democratic leaders wanted to engage as editor of the "Beobachter," has refused to do the work for them, and I have taken him as assistant editor to secure him for our party. The Democrats bought Ha[uk] out and for that purpose used H. Weigden as "Tool."

The Democratic Party is losing ground fast here since the Cabinet has taken the position in regard to Kansas.

If our party will take the right steps in regard to the banking system, the Homestead Bill as one of their "Creed," I believe our success could be unconquerable.

Rob. Smith said to George Smith before his departure from here: The posit[ion] of Buchanan in regard to Kansas: [he is] a godsend to you Republicans. [I] wish it would be so, but I think the whole army of our Doughfaces will be back in again; destroyed will be their unholy party anyhow.

The "Republic" I received, please take my thanks. If you send me anything from the capital that I can acquire knowledge and information, I will be thankful to you.

Our Democrats are very "dull," but the Republicans [are] animated with a high spirit of self-confidence and hope of success; and the last depends only upon our endeavors.

Yours very truly,
Theodore Canisius

Alton, Jan. 15, 1858

Hon. L. Trumbull, U.S.S.

Dear Sir!

I intended long ago to send you few lines again from that place where the [T. S.] Fitch [editor of the *Alton National Democrat*] & English [Dr. Revel W. English, a Democratic legislator] are at home.

We had a quite exiting time since you left. The Democrats feel awful[ly] sore about the family quarrel and Fitch & English try very hard to convince

the Molly McGuires that there is no difference between Buchanan and Douglas in regard to the principal of squatter sovereignty. But Dr. Hope [Dr. Thomas M. Hope, editor of the *Democratic Union*], he has his own way and his own meetings too, and shows there is a difference between them. In his last meeting he was not very successful, as the Fitch & English clique broke up his meeting, but he will have another one in a short time.

The Democrats turned almost yellow about the appearance of the *Free Press*, and Fitch said in his paper, it could have been better for Dr. Canisius, if he had kept his mortar and plaster [spreader]. I returned to him that I never put aside the mortar on piatillum, but that I would prepare for him and his black associates occasionally very good Democratic pills and put on [his] back a very good vesicatory.

I have at present a plan to extend the paper, that is, I intended to make it an Alton and Springfield paper. [That] would require [however] to have Springfield local news also. By this movement we could counteract the influence of the German Democratic paper in Springfield and give our paper a larger circulation.

If I don't molest you, I would beg you to give me a recommendation to some influential man in that city as [I] have no acquaintance amongst the Am[ericans] here. I have commenced once and must succeed now.

No other news here at present. Next week I commence a course of Lectures in the hall of the Turners. Subject will be: Origin of Slavery and Progress of the Same in the United States.

Expecting an answer from you soon, [if] your time will allow it. I remain

Yours very truly,
Th. Canisius

Alton, Apr. 12th 1858

Hon. L. Trumbull, U.S. S[enator]
Washington, D.C.
Dear Sir!

I intended to write to you few lines long ago, but, as [they] say, time is very much occupied, and but very little news transpiring here, interesting to you, I have put it back from day to day.

One very sad calamity I have to report, the death of our beloved friend, Dr. Chas. von Arnim. We lost in him a good citizen, a good physician and a warm friend of our cause.

I am still editing both papers for Alton and Springfield, but find out that I am unable to carry on the same, if our party will not assist me to keep it up.

I have done already a great deal of good with the paper and it would be very unwise to give to our enemies the field again. But I have to sustain a family, and my imperative duty is to look to its interests. I have spent now every dollar in the enterprise and can't go further, if we don't find ways and means to do it. For the success of a party, it requires activity and working, I have done from the very beginning of our party as much as any man in Mad[ison] Co[unty]. and would like very much, if possible, to keep my political position how, as it is a "point d'honneur" for me not to retreat. But "necessity" is something over which we have no power.

I had to communicate to you a great many things, but as the session of Congress is very near to end, I will write you back.

Our party makes a wonderful progress here and in our state, if we manage it right, we will be victorious as certain as daylight. Our war must be made anti-Lecompton and anti-Dred Scott and the Republ[ican] Party will have a majority as none before.

But never must we attempt to make a compromise with the Douglas men; we must keep up and maintain our Republican organization pure, no compromise, we will be victorious anyhow!

My hearty thanks for your speech and financial reports you sent me. I have published an extract from your first speech and shall give an extract from your last in my next number.

On the 21st of this month the Democrats will hold their late convention. It will be an interesting one. The Douglas men will have the majority no doubt but the friends of the administration will not stand that; they will surely have their own way and their own nominations.

In Springfield we gained considerably in the city election last week, as we elected four candidates of our ticket. Last year the Republicans elected but one of their own candidates.

When will you be back? I suppose early enough for our won state convention as we intend to wait with it a while yet, to see how the Democrats are going t[to] work.

Yours very truly,
Th. Canisius

Alton, May 4th 1858

Hon. L. Trumbull, U.S. S[enator]
Dear Sir!

I have had the pleasure to receive your last favor. I showed the lines to our

friend Dubois of Springfield [Illinois legislator and Lincoln's friend], with the expression to take some steps to enable me to keep up the paper, if possible. I do not know what will be done. Our friends all know the necessity of having the paper going on. We would lose much if I had to surrender, but I feel that I have to do it, if there will be no extra help. I have a circulation of 700 now, but [I] don't expect to get more than 600 paid for. The expenses for the paper are more than \$2,500 ^{00/100}, the advertisements don't amount to anything in the hard times, so that there will be a deficit of at least \$1,000 ^{00/100}, my time and labor not counted in. Douglas started his German paper in Springfield again, but since the introduction of my paper, it lost ground entirely.

The Telegraph brought us the news of the passage of English's swindle last Saturday. The Democrats feel very sore about it; they feel that the last day of the Democratic Party will come soon. The Republican Party will be victorious next fall in our state in 1860 also. The people comprehend now what the Democratic Party is and intends to do. The Democrats elected just the right man for the presidency to kill off this dangerous party.

I suppose Douglas must feel bad now? He never can be reelected in Illinois. Great many of his old friends will give him a kick now and follow the administration.

We have fixed the 16th day of June for our state convention. I hope to see you back by that time. We will set a day yet for our county meeting this week to appoint delegates. We must have a full representation from all counties this year in the Republican convention.

Nothing new in Alton; our friends are all well and sure of the triumph in the next contest. And even the Democrats know that.

Yours very truly,
Th. Canisius

P.S. I think it would be well to adopt in our resolutions the Homestead Bill. I shall see to it to have it done. T. C.

Alton, July 19th 1858

Hon. L. Trumbull, U.S. S[enator]
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir! You would confer upon me a great favor, if you could write [a] few lines to Mr. Judd of Chicago in regard to my paper. If it had not been

for this important election this fall, I would have suspended the paper on the first of July, but I regarded it as my duty to keep on, as perhaps our success may depend on myself and my paper, for if we lose Madison County, we will positively lose the battle. My paper has now a stand amongst the German journals and the articles written by me are frequently copied by the first papers in the country. Douglas is fighting already very hard and is determined to do his utmost. I heard him in Chicago, but was disappointed, when I heard [from] him the same speech he made in 1856 on the stump.

He made a speech in Springfield last Saturday, but, as I learned, it was a pretty cool affair. They drummed some people up from Edwardsville and here, but could not bring out more than perhaps 50 persons.

Mr. Lincoln is pretty sure to win, if old Madison will go right. I wish you would be at home in a short time; we must work here more than anywhere else. It will be hard for us to find good and popular candidates. The Democrats intend to run Jim Davis for Senate, Job for the House. Rob. Smith is already traveling again in the district and intends to be a candidate. The Democrats display a great deal of activity; they know, if they get beat this time, that they will be lost forever.

Yours very truly,
Th. Canisius

Theodore Canisius, "The Next City Election – Position of the German-Americans," *Daily Illinois State Journal*, March 23, 1859.

In the municipal elections it is always a bad policy to let party politics, or party feelings interfere with the choice of the men, to whom are intrusted the care and duties of our city government. Not only does it frequently bring those responsible positions, so closely connected with the welfare and prosperity of the community, into the hands of unscrupulous and unable men, but it divides all the citizens, who all have the same interest in the prosperity of the city, into two bitter enemies, inconsistent with the development and progress of a community. We may honestly differ with each other in regard to National or State politics; but to allow this difference to influence us in selecting the most qualified men to serve as faithful officers of our affairs at home, is an absurdity.

But the Democracy [Democratic Party] of this city have determined to fight, at the approaching election, on the platform of national politics, and not, as it ought to be done, on the ground of qualification and ability, leaving to the Republicans no other alternative but to meet them on their own platform on the day of election.

Which side of the common battlefield the German population of this

city, in the approaching election, will take under the given circumstances, cannot be doubtful for a moment. Their love of liberty and hatred for doctrines and acts tending to subdue and crush out the spirit of universal freedom and liberty as advocated by our immortal Washington and Jefferson: the great philosophers of the last century—*Rosseau, D'Alamber, Diderot, Hume, Junius* and others—is the inheritance of the Germans, whether their footsteps press the land of liberty or despotism.

Not only the decided superiority of the candidates in every respect, nominated Monday evening by the Republicans, to those nominated by the Democrats in a Delegate Convention a short time ago, ought to induce the large body of German voters to support the Republican ticket in this election; but the very principle also which they advocate must necessarily compel them to put their feet upon the head of the reptile which gives them under a serpentine embracing the poisoning stench into their hearts, for neither in our legislature, nor in Congress, one of the acts so essential to the interest and welfare of the Germans, and the people at large, has been executed by that people calling itself "Democratic." It will not be necessary to mention here the criminal acts of the Democracy, to fasten the barbarous institution of Slavery upon an unwilling people and the soil, created by God only for freedom and the happy home of freemen and their posterity. It is useless to depict the shameless and even dangerous corruption penetrating even the marrow of that party to an alarming degree, or to point out that monstrous decision rendered by the highest tribunal known to our country, in the *Dred Scott* case, which, if accepted by this nation, must "blow out the moral lights around us and eradicate the love of liberty in the human heart," destroying the Constitution as a bulwark of liberty, making it an invincible redoubt for Slavery. The German-Americans are too well acquainted with these facts and the late history of our country to make it necessary. It will be sufficient only to call back to their memory the defeat that party has brought over the Homestead Bill, in Congress; and the Emigrant Aid Bill in our own Legislature, so zealously elaborated and maintained by the member from Cook [County], Mr. Butz. These two acts alone should be sufficient to separate the German-Americans forever from the "self-styled Democracy," so antagonistic to all the great measures and principles of the founders of this republican government. It cannot be denied that the Republican Party is far from being perfect. Many of her manly and firm positions have been surrendered in consequence of a "policy," and even Massachusetts has lately encroached upon the rights of a portion of citizens guaranteed to them by the Constitution, after they have become members of this great commonwealth; but all these errors dwindle down to a shadow, compared with the monstrous atrocities of the "Slave Democracy." It is due to the Republican Party of

Illinois, to remark here, that it has always been from the first existence, till now, acted nobly and right to all citizens, regardless of birthplace.

The Germans of this country demand nothing but justice towards all classes of men. It is not their desire to hunt after office; they rather follow their occupations, and vote for such men as will make faithful servants of the people, and not of a certain "clique." And this sense of justice, by which our German born citizens always will be actuated, will make them spurn at the Democratic ticket brought out on national politics, and infused with an excess of Hibernianism.

Dr. Theodore Canisius.

Springfield, March 22, '59.

**H. Excerpt from Wilhelm Rapp's Letter to His Father, June 30, 1861.
Wilhelm Rapp Papers at the Newberry Library in Chicago.**

Trotz dieser Unannehmlichkeiten harrete ich in Baltimore aus, weil es meinem Ehrgeize (wohl mit Recht) schmeichelte, [auf] der Vorposten der Freiheitspartei in dem Sklavenstaat Maryland zu sein, "verlorener Posten in dem Freiheitskriege." Anfänglich zwar ließ mich die Sklavenhalterpartei die sogenannte demokratische, ruhig gewähren, da sie von der, damals in Baltimore noch übermächtigen Know-Nothing-Partei unter dem Daumen gehalten wurde. Mit den großen politischen Kämpfen kamen aber auch die Verfolgungen und namentlich während des letzten Herbsts, in dem großen Präsidenten-Wahlkampfe war mein Leben mehrmals ernstlich in Gefahr. Während das andere deutsche Blatt in Baltimore, der *Correspondent*, zwischen Breckinridge u. Douglas hin u. her schwankte u. die angloamerikanische Presse zwischen Breckinridge u. Bell getheilt war, ging ich Tag für Tag aufs Feurigste für Lincoln ins Zeug. Unterstützt von tapfern deutschen u. amerikanischen Freunden veranstaltet ich zugleich öffentliche Meetings zu Gunsten des republikanischen Präsidentschaftskandidaten. Zwei dieser Versammlungen wurden von dem wütenden Pöbel der demokratischen Partei gesprengt, während der einen im freien auf dem "Richmond Markt" bombardierte uns die heulende Menge mit Backsteinen, faulen Eiern und andern demokratischen Wurfgeschossen u. feuerte mit Pistolen auf mich und mehrere Deutsche u. Amerikaner, die mit mir auf der Rednerbühne standen, ohne ernstliche Verletzungen aber am Hals u. auf der Brust tiefend von der Eierjauche (anzuschauen wie ein Kanarienvogel), kehrte ich in mein Redaktionslokal zurück, um mich in einem sehr schönen Artikel

bei der demokratischen Partei für die so ganz ihrer Natur entsprechenden Ordenszeichen, die sie mir auf dem Richmond Markt verliehen, zu bedanken; ein ander mal umringte eine aus mehreren tausend Klopffechtern bestehende Bande unser Versammlunglokal (das Frontstrassentheater) bewarf uns mit Backsteinen u. Vittriolfäschchen u. wollten mich auf dem Heimweg hängen, was jedoch durch eine Abtheilung Polizisten, die mich mit ihren Revolvern gegen den andringenden Pöbel deckten, verhindert wurde. Bessere Zeiten kamen für mich, als am 6. Nov. vorigen Jahres Lincoln siegreich aus dem Wahlkampf hervorging u. in Maryland dem schamlosen Terrorismus der Sklavenhalter u. ihrer Werkzeuge zum Trotze eine über alles Erwarten stattliche Anzahl von Stimmen erhielt.

Translation by Judith Arnold. Excerpt from Wilhelm Rapp's Letter to His Father, June 30, 1861. Wilhelm Rapp Papers at the Newberry Library in Chicago.

Despite these problems, I continued to remain in Baltimore because I enjoyed the challenge, and rightly so, to serve as an outpost of the Freedom Party [Republican] in Maryland, that "lost post in the struggle for freedom." It is true that initially the slaveholders party, the so-called Democratic Party allowed me to do as I wished for it was tightly controlled by the Know Nothing Party which was then superior in strength and numbers in Baltimore. However, along with the bigger political campaigns came persecutions. My life was in grave danger several times, particularly during the great presidential election campaign of last autumn. While *The Correspondent*, the other German newspaper in Baltimore remained undecided between Breckinridge and Douglas and the Anglo-American press remained divided between Breckinridge and Bell, day by day I fought passionately and steadily for Lincoln. At the same time, supported by courageous German and American friends, I organized public meetings for the benefit of the Republican presidential candidate. Two of these assemblies were busted up by angry mobs of Democratic Party members. On one occasion, outdoors at the Richmond Market, the howling crowd pelted us with bricks, rotten eggs, and other such democratic projectiles. They fired their pistols at me and other Germans and Americans with me on the speakers platform. I returned to my editorial quarters without serious injury, dripping from neck to breast with rotten eggs, looking much like a canary. There I composed a most lovely article in which I thanked the Democratic Party for this badge of honor awarded me at the Richmond Market, which so completely matched the Party's nature. On another occasion, our meeting place, the Front Street Theater, was surrounded by groups of several thousand medieval fighters. They threw bricks and bottles of vitriol at us and tried

to lynch me as I made my way home; this, however, was prevented by a group of police who protected me from the surging mob with their revolvers. Better times arrived for me last year on November 6th as Lincoln emerged victorious from the election campaign and despite the shameless terrorism of the slaveholders and their puppets, received an enormous number of votes that surpassed all expectations.

I. [Wilhelm Rapp], "Der zudringliche Bates-Humbug," April 10, 1860, *Turn-Zeitung*.

Die Wahl in Connecticut, wo das republikanische Votum von 5000 auf 500 sank und die Wahl in Rhode Island, wo die Republikaner von den Know-Nothings und den in diesen aufgegangenen Demokraten geschlagen wurden, haben den Schaherpolitikern, mit welchen die republikanische Partei leider so überreichlich gesegnet ist, neuen Muth und neues Feuer eingeflößt. Sie berufen sich auf die unionsretterische Ängstlichkeit, die eben in Neuengland, das man bis jetzt für das Bollwerk des Republikanismus gehalten, so eklatant an den Tag getreten sei; sie beweisen haarscharf, daß die republikanische Partei bei der gegenwärtigen Stimmung der Massen nur dann siegen könne, wenn sie einen möglichst konservativen Bannerträger aufstelle. Und als dieser conservative Messias wird fortwährend Bates von Missouri bezeichnet. Diese alte Whig Nebelkappe wird einem nachgerade zum Gähnen langweilig, und doch muß man sich immer wieder mit ihr befassen. Was ihr angeblich republikanisches Programm betrifft, sie ist es ein reiner Humbug: Herr Bates vindiziert dem Congreß zwar das Recht, die Sklaverei in den Territorien zu verbieten, aber er erklärt dieses Verbot nicht als eine Pflicht des Congresses; und in einem Briefe an Schuyler Colfax kommt er mit der Erklärung nachgehinkt, daß das Verlangen "keine weiteren Sklavenstaaten" nicht in sein Programm gehört, und daß neue Staaten in die Union ohne oder mit Sklaverei aufgenommen werden müssen, je nachdem sie selbst es in ihrer Staatsverfassung bestimmen; was das Verhalten des Hrn. Bates in der Naturalisationsfrage betrifft, so spricht er in seinem Programm nur von den gleichen Rechten der Bürger; ob der für Beibehaltung oder für Verlängerung des jetzigen Naturalisationstermins ist, erfahren wir nicht. Ein solches Programm [stammt nicht von einem Politiker], der auf seine Ehre und auf die Wohlfahrt derer, die nach ihm kommen, etwas hält.

Doch vom Prinzip ganz abgesehen, halten wir den projektirten Bates-Schacher auch vom Standpunkt der bloßen Zweckmäßigkeit aus für thöricht und verderblich. Sind die Demokraten, was leider kaum zu hoffen ist, dumm genug, einen Süddemokraten ala Hunter zu ihrem Präsidentschaftskandidaten zu machen, so können die Republikaner, der Ängstlichkeit nördlicher

Philister zum Trotze, mit einem Seward oder Lincoln oder einem anderen Staatsmann der unverfälschten republikanischen Richtung siegen; denn so ängstlich ist die Majorität des Volkes selbst in Pennsylvanien und New Jersey schwerlich, daß sie die wohlbekannten unverschämten Forderungen der südlichen Ultras, mögen diese Forderungen in der demokratischen Plattform niedergelegt sein oder nicht, sich gefallen läßt, zumal wenn diese Ultras zugleich Freihändler sind. Wird aber von den Demokraten, wie wir sehr befürchten, Douglas aufgestellt, so wäre die Aufstellung des Bates von republikanischer Seite erst recht unzweckmäßig; die Nomination des gewaltigen Demagogen von Illinois würde, das darf man sich nicht verhehlen, von einem großen Theile der Bevölkerung des Nordens mit Enthusiasmus aufgenommen werden; Douglas hat nun einmal verschiedene Eigenschaften, die dem amerikanischen Volke gefallen und imponieren, er entwickelt eine unermüdliche Thätigkeit, er besitzt "Pluck" und zeigt in allem, was er spricht und thut, eine eigenthümliche animalische Kraft. Dabei übt seine Squattersouveränitäts-Lehre, die er durch sein mannhaftes Auftreten gegen den Lecomptonschwindel so geschickt illustrieren mußte, noch immer einen blendenden und magischen Einfluß auf einen großen Theil der Menge. Einem solchen Gegner gegenüber, dessen ganze Erscheinung mit gewissen Instinkten des amerikanischen Volkscharacters so sehr harmoniert, reicht man am wenigsten in einer Mumie wie Bates aus, die nichts, gar nichts hat, wofür sich das Volk enthusiamisieren könnte. Wird Douglas von den Demokraten nominiert, dann ist es erst recht ein Gebot nicht nur der Ehre, sondern auch der Zweckmäßigkeit für die Republikaner, sich um einen Mann zu schaaren, für den sich der bessere Theil des Volks begeistern kann; will man dann von Seward abstrahiren, so drängt sich Lincoln wie von selbst auf; er bestand schon einmal einen Kampf auf Leben und Tod mit dem kleinen Riesen und ging aus diesem Titenkampfe als Sieger hervor; denn er erobert seiner Partei in Illinois faktisch mehr Stimmen, als Douglas der seinigen; und nur der ungerechten Eintheilung der Wahlbezirke in Illinois hatte Douglas seine Wiedererwählung in den Bundessenat zu danken. Unter einem Bannerträger wie Seward oder Lincoln wäre für die republikanische Partei, auch einem Douglas gegenüber, noch immer die Möglichkeit des Sieges vorhanden und jedenfalls würde sie vor der Schmach einer entehrenden Niederlage bewahrt bleiben. Sie könnte sich im schlimmsten Falle mit fliegenden Fahnen vom Schlachtfelde zurückziehen, um vier Jahre später nach Maßgabe des Census von 1860, der dem großen Nordwesten die Entscheidung über die Geschicke der Union in die Hände geben wird, einen sicheren Sieg zu erringen.

Mit ganz absonderlicher Zudringlichkeit gerieren sich die Batesleute gegenwärtig bei uns in Maryland. Die Republikaner des Staates werden gegen Ende dieses Monats hier eine Convention halten, und Delegaten zur

National-Convention nach Chicago zu wählen. Die Batesleute, worunter viele Know-Nothings, bieten nun alles auf, um diese Convention für Bates auszubeuten. Sagt man den Herren, daß einem ihr Bates gestohlen sein könnte, so reiten sie einem den Herrn Ch. L. Bernays von St. Louis vor, in den sie ganz vernarrt sind, seit sie ihn als einen der Fragesteller, die aus Hr'n. Bates das oben erwähnte Programm herausgemolken, kennen gelernt haben. "Herr Bernays," sagen sie, "ist ja doch auch ein deutscher Republikaner und doch geht er für Bates ins Zeug." Die hiesigen deutschen Republikaner werden sich jedoch nicht bernaysen lassen.

Translation by Judith Arnold. [Wilhelm Rapp], "The Annoying Bates Humbug," April 10, 1860, *Turn-Zeitung*.

The election in Connecticut, in which the Republican vote fell from 5000 to 500 and the election in Rhode Island, in which the Republicans were trounced by the Know-Nothings and the Democrats, who joined them, have infused new courage and energy into huckster politicians, with whom the Republican Party is unfortunately so profusely blessed. They play upon the anxieties to preserve the Union such as have just become so strikingly evident in New England, long held to be the Republican Party's stronghold. These fears prove precisely that with the present mood among the masses, the Republican Party will only be able to be victorious when it puts up the most conservative possible standard-bearer. And, this conservative Messiah is constantly said to be none other than Edward Bates of Missouri. Mr. Bates is an old Whig in disguise whom we find so terribly boring that we can scarcely keep from yawning, and yet, we must concern ourselves with him and his program, again and again. Regarding the Republican program he advances, we must say it is pure and simple humbug. Although the distinguished Mr. Bates allows Congress to claim the right to forbid slavery in the Territories, he fails to assert that it is the duty of Congress to do just so. And, in a letter to Schulyer Colfax he declares lamely that the demand for "no new slave-states" does not belong in his program, and further, that new states must be accepted into the Union with or without slavery, according to what is determined by their own state constitutions. Regarding his stance on the naturalization question, although Mr. Bates speaks in his program about equal rights for all citizens, we do not learn whether he is in favor of retention or extension of the current naturalization deadline. A political program of this nature cannot possibly originate with a politician possessing any regard for his own honor or for the welfare of his followers.

Yet, leaving aside the consideration of principles for the moment, as a matter of pure suitability, we find the scheming huckster politicians to be

foolish and ruinous. Should the Democrats prove sufficiently simple-minded, which unfortunately cannot be anticipated, to put up a southern Democrat in the style of Hunter as their presidential candidate, then despite the anxieties of its northern Philistines, the Republicans would only be able to be victorious with a Seward, a Lincoln or another such statesman of genuine Republican persuasion. For, and sadly so, the majority of the population, even heavily Pennsylvania and New Jersey, is so fearful that it would acquiesce to the well-known and shameless demands of the conservative southern extremists whether or not these demands were laid down in the Democratic platform, so long as the extremists are free-traders.

However, if and as we fear will happen, Douglas is nominated then a Bates candidacy could not be any more impracticable. We must not conceal from ourselves that a great part of the northern populace would enthusiastically embrace the mighty demagogue from Illinois. Douglas simply possesses those unique qualities that please and impress Americans: he is always and untiringly in motion, he is plucky and he brings a unique, visceral, even animal-like energy to all he undertakes. At the same time, his "doctrine of Squatter-Sovereignty" wields a blinding, magical influence on a great part of the crowd, as he so ably illustrated with his valiant stance on the Lecompton swindle. A desiccated mummy like Bates, who has nothing, absolutely nothing that inspires the people would hardly suffice against an opponent such as Douglas, whose very presence so completely matches certain aspects of the American character. If Douglas is nominated by the Democrats then it is not only a matter of honor but one of sheer necessity for Republicans to gather round a man over whom the majority can get excited. If they want to take Seward out of the running, then Lincoln is the logical choice. He has already survived a life-and-death battle with the "Little Giant" and emerged victorious from that heroic struggle garnering more votes for his party in Illinois than Douglas did. Douglas owed his reelection to the Senate only to the inequitable division of the electoral districts. With a standard-bearer such as Seward or Lincoln the possibility of victory for the Republican Party remains, even against a Douglas. In any case, the Party would be protected from the disgrace of a dishonorable defeat. In the worst case, it could withdraw from the field of battle with flags still flying and would capture certain victory in another four years, when according to the 1860 Census, the decision on the fate of the Union will be in the hands of the more populous Northwest.

The Bates-men are presently plotting here in Maryland in a most peculiarly annoying manner. Republicans will hold a convention toward the end of this month to elect delegates for the Chicago National Convention. These Bates-men, among them many Know-Nothings, are putting all on the line to exploit this convention for him. When we inform these gentlemen that we do

not care one whit for their Bates, they parade before us a certain Mr. Charles L. Bernays from St. Louis. They are quite infatuated with Bernays since becoming acquainted with him as someone skillful in making some sense of Bates's program. "Mr. Bernays," they tell us, "is a German Republican all right, and all the same he works for Bates." The Republicans here in Maryland, however, will not allow themselves to be misled by a Bernays.

J. "Aufruf an die Turnvereine der Union." *Turn-Zeitung*, April 10, 1860.

Die Zeit naht heran, da durch eine Präsidenten-Neuwahl die politische Richtung der Union für die nächsten vier Jahre und damit ein guter Theil der Geschichte des Volkes derselben entschieden werden soll und die beiden großen Parteien des Landes rüsten sich zu ihren Konventionen, um ihre beiderseitigen Grundsätze und Kandidaten festzustellen. Seit lange hat kein Wahlkampf die Wichtigkeit des bevorstehenden gehabt, der eine dieser beiden Parteien nicht nur besiegen, sondern wahrscheinlich ganz zum Verfall bringen muß. Wir stehen an einem Wendepunkte der Geschichte des Landes. Für die deutschen Bürger der Union hängt vom Ausgange dieses Wahlkampfes mindestens ebensoviel ab, als für die Bürger anderer Abstammung, und sie haben dabei neben dem großen Interesse der Landeswohlfahrt noch ein besonderes zu wahren, welches man ihnen dadurch aufgedrängt hat, daß ihre Gleichheit an bürgerlichen Rechten hier und da in Frage gestellt worden ist.

Es ist deßhalb von vielen Seiten eine allgemeine Organisation aller Deutschen im Lande, welche die Grundsätze der Unabhängigkeits-Erklärung verteidigen, der Ausbreitung der Sklaverei entgegen, der Gleichheit aller Bürger vor dem Gesetze hold und Feinde jedes Vorrechts sind, beantragt worden, um möglichst viele deutsche Stimmen auf diejenigen Kandidaten und diejenige Plattform vereinigen zu können, welche die meisten Bürgschaften bieten werden, daß obigen Anforderungen von der Bundespolitik der nächsten vier Jahre werde entsprochen werden. Diese Organisation sollte ein Mittel sein, die Deutschen von blinder Parteianhänglichkeit zu befreien, ihnen eine geachtete Stellung und den verdienten Einfluß im Lande zu verschaffen und für die Selbstregierung zu einer Wahrheit zu machen. Zu diesem Behufe hat sich in New York ein deutsch-republikanisches Central-Comite gebildet und einen Aufruf an alle Deutschen der Union erlassen, sich in Lokal-Organisationen zusammenzufinden, um zwei Tage vor Beginn der republikanischen Unions-Convention in Chicago eine Versammlung aller dieser Organisationen durch je drei Abgesandte aus jedem Staate zu beschicken und dort einen gemeinsamen Willensausdruck zu erklären. Man mag diesen Aufruf falsch auslegen, man mag selbst mit seiner ausgesprochenen Absicht unzufrieden sein, weil er den Einen zu weit, den Andren nicht weit genug geht: das sollte

kein Grund sein, von der Durchführung deutscher Lokal-Organisationen und vor der Beschickung der erwähnten Versammlung abzuhalten. . . .

Die Turnvereine, deren Satzungen sie auf die soziale Demokratie verpflichten, haben hierbei eine besondere Aufgabe und eine besondere Aufforderung, sie zu erfüllen. Sie bilden einen Bund zu demselben Zwecke, zu welchem die Unabhängigkeits-Erklärung erlassen wurde, und können durch ihre weitverzweigte Organisationen viel thun, um auch andere Deutsche zum Organisiren zu veranlassen. Sie können in den meisten Fällen der Kern werden, um welchen herum locale Organisationen sich bilden mögen. Sie sollten dies ganz besonders überall da thun, wo die deutsche Presse sich einer solchen Organisation abgeneigt oder feindselig zeigt, oder wo sonst keine politische Regsamkeit herrscht. Sie sollten dem Vorort darüber berichten, ob sie in der Sache etwas unternehmen wollen, und was sie gethan haben, und der Vorort sollte sie dabei durch Rath und That ermuthigen, so sehr es ihm die Verhältnisse gestatten.

Wir fordern daher alle Turnvereine des Landes auf, in ihrem Kreise für das Zustandekommen von Lokal-Organisationen zu wirken, entweder indem sie selbst sich zum Mittelpunkt derselben machen, und andere Deutsche zum gemeinsamen Wirken auffordern, oder indem sie die bereits von anderer Seite her angeregte Organisation befördern und die Beschickung der Versammlung in Chicago befürworten und durchführen helfen. Und zwar gilt es, keine Zeit mehr zu verlieren, wenn aus der Sache noch etwas Zufriedenstellendes werden soll.

Wir wünschen diese Organisation nicht zu einem deutschen Knownothing-Bunde gemacht zu sehen—dazu ist überhaupt wenig Gefahr vorhanden—sondern wir wünschen, daß alle Deutschen des Landes als freie Bürger desselben für diejenigen Bestrebungen, welche sie gemein haben, ein Organ finden, damit sie dem neuen Vaterlande ihre Pflicht erfüllen können. Wenn wir unsere Wünsche nicht selbst vertreten, so vertritt sie Niemand gehörig. Wenn wir blindlings den Parteien nachlaufen, so laufen wir in der Irre und ernten zum Schaden noch den Spott, daß wir vor jeder Wahl "German friends," und nach derselben "voting cattle" genannt werden.

Im Auftrage des Turnvereins zu Boston
P. Pfeiffer, Fr. Brand, Ad. Douai

Translation by Judith Arnold. "An Appeal to the Turner Societies of the United States," *Turn-Zeitung*, April 10, 1860.

The time is approaching in which the political direction of the next four years, and with it a part of the history of this people, will be determined

through a new presidential election. The nation's two great political parties are readying themselves for the conventions to decide upon their respective principles and candidates. It has been some time since an election campaign has had such significance, for it must surely bring about not only one party's defeat but in all likelihood its eventual ruin. We have reached a watershed moment in the nation's history. There is as much at stake for the Union's Germans as for those of other descent. For, along with a great interest in the nation's welfare, Germans in addition have to deal with a special concern, for their civil rights have been called into question in various parts of the country.

Thus, many have proposed an umbrella organization of all Germans. We are speaking of those Germans who defend the principles of the Declaration of Independence, oppose the extension of slavery, hold dear the civil rights of all citizens before the law and are hostile to privilege. The organization would serve to unite as many German votes as possible behind the best candidates and platform for the required tasks in the next four years. This organization should function as a means to free Germans from blind attachment to a particular party, to provide them a respected position and appropriate influence in the nation, and to make self-government a reality. A Central Committee of German Republicans has been established in New York for this purpose. The Committee has issued an appeal to all the Germans in the United States to meet in local organizations. The purpose of these meetings would be to select and send three representatives from each state to Chicago. A meeting of all these groups will be held two days before the opening of the Republican convention to express the consensus of the delegates. One may misinterpret this appeal; one may even find fault with its stated intention. For the one it may go too far, and for another not far enough. This should not be reason to hinder its implementation by local German organizations nor to fail to send delegations to this meeting. . . .

The Turner societies, whose principles obligate them to social democracy, have a special task and a special challenge. They represent an association based on the same principles as the Declaration of Independence. Through their far-reaching organizations they could do a great deal to prompt other Germans to organize. In most cases, the Turner societies could be the nucleus around which other local groups would form. They should do so especially in all places where the German press is reluctant or even hostile to such an organization, or where political activity is otherwise lacking. The Turners should inform the administration of the Turner Union if they want to undertake anything in the matter and then report what they have done. The Union should support them as much as possible in word and deed.

We thus call upon all Turner societies in the nation to work within their areas to establish local organizations. We ask that they make themselves the

focal point, inviting other Germans to join in the common effort. Or we ask that they promote the organizations already in place and help the dispatch delegations to the Chicago meeting. If something satisfactory is to come of this, we must waste no more time.

We do not wish to see—and there is truly little danger of it—this organization become a German version of the Know-Nothings. Rather, we wish that the nation's Germans, as its free citizens with commonly held endeavors, identify with a political organization through which they can fulfill their duty to the new fatherland. If we do not act for ourselves, no one will act for us. If we run blindly after political parties, then we will run astray and, to our own detriment, garner ridicule. They will call us "German friends" prior to each election, and afterwards, "German cattle."

On behalf of the Boston *Turnverein*,
P. Pfeiffer, Fr. Brand, Ad. Douai

K. "Aufruf an die deutschen Republikaner," *Anzeiger des Westens*, June 7, 1860.

Chicago, 18. Mai [1860]

Nachdem die republikanische National-Convention am heutigen Tage die Grundsätze der Part[ei] in einer Plattform niedergelegt und darauf [ihre] Präsidentschafts-Candidaten ernannt hat, entsteht für die deutschen Republikaner im allgemeinen, und speziell für diejenigen, welche hierher abgeordnet waren, um der Gesinnung ihrer Constituenten im Rathe der Partei Gehör zu verschaffen, die Nothwendigkeit, ihre Ansichten über diese Plattform und Candidaten anzusprechen.

Es ist nicht durchgesetzt worden, daß das Massachusetts-Amendment in einer wenn auch noch so milden Form mit Namen verdammt wurde.

Es ist nicht durchgesetzt worden, das allgemeine Bürgerrecht auf das allgemeine Menschenrecht zu begründen.

Es ist nicht durchgesetzt worden, irgendwelche papierne Garantie für die Abschaffung des Massachusetts-Amendment zu erlangen.

Es ist zu beklagen, daß die That des Heroen John Brown in Virginien und der Missouri-Grenzstolche in Kansas in einen Satz zusammengeworfen und mit gleichem Maße gemessen wurde.

In Betreff der Anti-Sklavereifrage scheinen uns die Parteigrundsätze nicht weit genug zu gehen.

Dagegen ist mit Hilfe der westlichen Deutsch-Amerikaner, die Nomination von Präsidentschafts-Candidaten durchgesetzt worden, gegen deren Grundsätze als reine Republikaner auch nicht das Mindeste

einzuwenden ist.

Es ist durchgesetzt worden, daß der drohende Schacher um Grundsätze und Personen zwischen den Knownothing-Conservativen und den wirklichen Republikanern verhindert wurde.

Es ist allen in Chicago anwesenden amerikanischen Politikern die Überzeugung aufgeñötigt worden, daß jedes Wiederaufstehen des Knownothinggeistes, die Republikanische Partei als solche sofort zerstören würde.

Es ist erreicht worden, daß Mißverständnisse zwischen westlichen und östlichen deutschen Mitbürgern, welche jedes Zusammenwirken und damit jede Machtstellung derselben innerhalb der Partei unmöglich machten, beseitigt wurden; es ist eine Verständigung zwischen beiden Theilen eingetreten, und mit derselben eine Organisation aller fortschrittsfreundlichen Deutsch-Amerikaner, welche uns im Laufe der Zeit erlauben wird, [den Kandidaten] als äußersten linken Flügel derjenigen jedesmaligen Partei zu Gebote zu stellen, welche[r] die Grundsätze der Unabhängigkeitserklärung am reinsten verfißt, und es ist ein Central-Geschäftsbureau deutsch-republikanischen Organisationen ohne alle vollziehende und centralisierende Gewalt in Detroit, Mich., niedergesetzt worden, um das begonnene Everständnis dauernd zu erhalten.

Die Plattform der republikanischen Partei, wie sie in Chicago erlassen ist, muß ein entschiedener Fortschritt über die Philadelphia Plattform hinaus gemacht werden, weil sie eine feindselige Gesetzgebung der Einzelstaaten gegen das Stimmrecht der naturalisierten Bürger verdammt, weil sie den Schutz derselben auch im Auslande stark betont, weil sie in Bezug auf die Sklavereifrage wenigstens etwas weiter geht, und Schutzzoll und nationale Fluß- und Hafenverbesserungen befürwortet.

Überhaupt ist es unserere innigste Überzeugung, daß das von dieser Convention Erlangte das höchste Maß der nach der Umständen eben zu Erreichenden war, und daß der gute Geist der Einigkeit des Fortschritts und der Versöhnlichkeit, welcher die Convention durchdrang, auf baldige weitere Fortschritte innerhalb der Partei hoffen läßt.

Wir nehmen deshalb keinen Anstand nach reiflicher Berathung unter uns und mit vielen aufrichtigen Freunden unserer Sache den Deutsch-Amerikanern der Vereinigten Staaten zu empfehlen, daß sie die Handlungen dieser Convention guthießen und sie bei der jetzt bevorstehenden Präsidentenwahl kräftig unterstützen mögen.

[Signed by Wilhelm Kopp, and eight members of the German Convention]

Translation by Judith Arnold. "An Appeal to German Republicans," *Anzeiger des Westens*, June 7, 1860.

Chicago, May 18 [1860]

After the Republican National Convention laid down party principles in [its] platform and nominated [its] presidential candidate today, the necessity arises for German Republicans in general, and especially for all sent here as delegates to obtain a hearing for the sentiments of their constituents in the party council, to express their opinions about the party platform and candidates.

The convention did not succeed in condemning the Massachusetts Amendment by name, even in mild form.

It did not succeed in laying a foundation for universal civil rights on the basis of universal human rights.

It did not succeed in obtaining any written guarantee for the abolishment of slavery.

It is deplorable that the hero John Brown's action in Virginia and the Missouri Border Ruffians in Kansas are lumped together in a single sentence, and measured by the same standard.

The principles of the party regarding the slavery question do not seem to us to go far enough.

In contrast, with the help of the western German-Americans, the nomination of a presidential candidate against whose principles as pure Republican there is not the least objection, succeeded.

The haggling that loomed over principles and persons between Know-Nothing conservatives and real Republicans was successfully prevented.

The conviction that every reappearance of the Know Nothing spirit would immediately destroy the Republican Party as such was impressed upon all American politicians who were present in Chicago.

The misunderstandings between eastern and western fellow Germans, which undermined any cooperation and thus a political role in the party, were successfully eliminated. The understanding between the two sides has resulted in an organization of all German-Americans sympathetic to progress. In the course of time [the organization] will allow us, as the extreme left wing of the party at the appropriate time, to make available [the candidate] who most purely advocates the principles of the Declaration of Independence. A central business bureau of German American organizations was set up in Detroit, Michigan. It has no executive or centralizing authority and will [work to] permanently maintain the understanding just arrived at.

The Republican Party platform as enacted in Chicago [must be credited]

a decisive advance over the Philadelphia platform. It condemns hostile legislation by individual states against the voting rights of naturalized citizens. It strongly emphasizes the protection of these citizens, even when abroad. It goes at least somewhat further in reference to the slavery question. It supports protective tariffs and national river and harbor improvements.

Altogether, it is our fervent conviction that this convention achieved the greatest measure possible under the circumstances. The good spirit of consensus and conciliation that prevailed affords the hope that further progress within the party will soon follow.

We do not hesitate, therefore, after careful consultation with many sincere friends, to recommend our cause to the German-Americans of the United States, that they may endorse the actions of this convention and strongly support them in the coming presidential election.

[Signed by Wilhelm Kopp, and eight members of the German Convention]

L. "Die republikanische Convention in Chicago," *Die Freie Presse von Indiana*, May 24, 1860.

. . . . Fragen wir, welchen Antheil die Deutsch-Amerikaner an der Convention nahmen, so wollen wir zunächst einen Anspruch des *Cincinnati Commercial* zitieren, worin gesagt ist "daß die deutschen Republikaner einstimmig und fest auf Ernennung republikanischer Candidaten von ächtem Schrott und Korn dringen; das deutsche Element der Partei scheint dazu bestimmt, dem anglosächsischen Mark und Bein zu verleihen."

Als Herr Wilmot den Antrag stellte, in der 14. Resolution der Platform betreffs der Naturalisations-Gesetze die Worte "oder jeden Gesetzerlaß eines Staates" zu streichen, entstand eine Debatte, in Folge dessen Wilmot seinen Antrag zurücknahm. Während derselben erhob sich Karl Schurz und rief: "Nehmt Ihr diesen Paragraphen nicht hier an, und zwingt Ihr mich, ihn als besonderen Beschluß in der Convention selbst einzubringen, dann steht Ihr selber für die Folgen ein. Sollte er in der Convention abgelehnt werden, dann werde ich und meine zwanzig Collegen die Convention verlassen, und mit ihnen verliert Ihr 300,000 deutsche Stimmgeber!"

Das war allerdings ein Argument, das [zu widerlegen unmöglich war]. Man hatte begriffen, daß diese Deutschen eine Macht sind.

Koerner, Hatterscheidt und Hassaurek sprachen mehrfach und eindringlich.*

Herausgeber der *Freien Presse*: Ernst Hartmann

Translation by Judith Arnold. "The Republican Convention in Chicago,"
Die Freie Presse von Indiana, May 24, 1860.

... If we ask what part German-Americans took in the convention, we may first quote a demand by the *Cincinnati Commercial* wherein is said, "that German Republicans unanimously and firmly insist upon the nomination of a man of sterling character; the German element of the Party seems destined to add backbone to the Anglo-Saxons."

When Mr. Wilmot made the motion to strike the words, "or every legislative decree of the state" from the platform's 14th resolution regarding naturalization law, a debate took place following which Wilmot withdrew his motion. Karl Schurz arose during the debate and shouted: "If you do not accept these sections and force me to introduce this myself as a special resolution at the Convention, then you will be responsible for the consequences. Should it be rejected there, I and my twenty colleagues will leave the convention, and with them you will lose 300,000 German voters!"

This was certainly an argument which [was impossible to refute]. It was understood that these Germans are a power.

Körner, Hatterscheidt and Hassaurek spoke several times and with considerable emotion.

Ernst Hartmann, editor of *Die Freie Presse von Indiana*

* On the second day of the convention, May 17, Wilmot's amendment (which would have implied state rights in the issue of immigration), was abandoned after speeches by Carl Schurz and Friedrich Hassaurek. The convention accepted without change the platform resolution opposing any change in the naturalization laws or "any state legislation" by which the rights of citizenship would be abridged. Schurz said: "The German Republicans of the Northern States have given you 300,000 votes [Applause], and I wish that they should find it consistent with their honor and their safety to give you 300,000 more. [Increased applause.] A paragraph like this would never have been asked for by the German Republicans if one occurrence had not taken place. The year of 1856 was the era of good feelings we all joined together in a common cause, and we all fought the common enemy. We did so with honor to ourselves, and with confidence in each other. There was no German Republican, I believe, who would have asked for anything more in the Philadelphia platform but the resolution which is there. But since it has been found that that resolution is not sufficient to protect them from infringement upon their rights in the States, I will tell you how they reason. They said our rights may be guaranteed to us in a national platform by a general sentence,

and nevertheless the legislatures of the different States may defeat the very purpose for which that national platform was enacted. Of what use, then, is a plank in a platform if its purpose thus can be frustrated by an action of a State legislature? It has been very well said that it was not the purpose of this resolution to declare that no State has the right to regulate the suffrage of its citizens by legislative enactment, but it was the purpose to declare that the Republican Party, in its national capacity, is opposed to any such thing in principle, and as such condemns it. [Renewed applause.] Gentlemen, the question is simply this, on one side there stands prejudice, on the other side there stands right." Hassaurek continued the opposition to the Wilmot amendment in a lengthy speech. He concluded: "I am an American by choice, not an American by birth, it is true, but an American from sentiment and from principle. Gentlemen, I hope this resolution will pass without objection from any side. There are more than 20,000 Republican German votes in the State of Ohio alone, and they shall be cast in a solid phalanx for the candidate who is to be nominated by this Convention. [Renewed applause.]"

Proceedings of the Republican National Convention, May 16, 17, and 18, 1860, a digital publication of the University of California, Los Angeles. Hatterscheidt participated in the deliberations of the Committee of Resolutions, but he did not speak during the convention proceedings.

M. "Convention der deutschen Republikaner" [vom 14. bis 16. Mai], *Die Freie Presse von Indiana*, May 31, 1860.

Wären die deutschen Republikaner nach Chicago gekommen, um die Verhandlungen und Beschlüsse der Convention zu kontrollieren, so würden sie ohne Frage eine große Thorheit begangen haben, denn sie würden etwas begonnen haben, wozu ihnen das Recht zu beschließen und die Macht es auszuführen fehlte. Nichts destoweniger waren Gründe zu einem Schritt, wie er hier geschehen. Durch das Massachusetts Amendment war die Gleichberechtigung von Adoptivbürgern zu einer Posse geworden. Es gilt sich dagegen auszusprechen bis jenes Unrecht aufhört oder wenigstens zu verhindern, daß andere Staaten dem Beispiele von Massachusetts folgen. Am 15. trat die Versammlung unter Vorsitze von Wilhelm Kopp von New York in freier Form zusammen. Hr. Douai von Boston schilderte die Geschichte und Bedeutung des Massachusetts Amendments, verlangte direkte Verwerfung desselben durch die Nationalkonvention. Ihm stimmte Hr. Kopp von N.Y. [W.] Stengel von Bridgeport, [Hermann] Kreismann [von Chicago] u.s.w. bei, während Hassaurek, F. Münch, Dr. Hammer von St.

Louis, Krekel von St. Charles, Mo., Hatterscheidt von Kansas sich begnügen wollten mit einer Verdammung der Unterscheidung zwischen eingebornen und Adoptivbürgern in Bezug auf das Stimmrecht und einer Erklärung gegen Abänderung der Naturalisationsgesetze und gleichen Schutz eingeborner und naturalisierter Bürger im Ausland. Fast einstimmig beschloß man nie mehr republikanische Candidaten zu unterstützen und die Parthei zu verlassen, wenn ein Compromißmann oder Know-Nothing sollte unterstützt werden. Zu den unbeugsamen Gegnern von Mr. Bates gehörten Dr. A. Douai und Karl Schurz. Die gedruckten Beschlüsse sollen den Delegaten der Nationalkonvention mitgetheilt werden.

Daß die Convention deutscher Republikaner in der Form einer Massenversammlung von Delegaten und Nichtdelegaten aus allen Theilen der Union zusammentrat, dass sie allen anderen Präntensionen entsagte, einen Weg beschloß und sich um das Notwendige und Verständige concentrirte, sichert ihr den Dank ihrer Mitbürger für eine würdige Vertretung.

Diese sowohl wie die National Convention sind von dem unberechenbarsten Nutzen für die Männer des Ostens und Westens gewesen. Während die Männer des Westens zum Bewußtsein der Hohlheit ihres künstlich zusammengeleimten Bates-Systems kamen, wurde den Männern des Ostens klar, daß sie in ihrer Machtlosigkeit dem Schicksal des Lächerlichen verfielen, sobald sie ihre Donner und Blitz-Beschlüsse in die Welt hinausschleuderten, um die sich Niemand kümmern würde. Mehr persönlicher Verkehr der Männer der Politik und der Presse würde der gute Sache heilsam sein.

Herausgeber der *Freien Presse*: Ernst Hartmann

Translation by Judith Arnold. "The Republican Convention in Chicago,"
***Die Freie Presse* of Indianapolis, May 31, 1860.**

If the German Republicans had come to Chicago to interfere with the convention's negotiations and resolutions, they would have unquestionably committed great folly. They would have begun something not theirs to decide which they lack the power to carry out. There were nonetheless grounds for action as took place here. The Massachusetts Amendment made a farce of equality for adopted sons. This requires us to speak out until every injustice ends or as a minimum, to prevent other states from following the example of Massachusetts. The meeting convened freely on the 15th under the chairmanship of Wilhelm Kopp of New York. Mr. Douai of Boston gave an account of the amendment's meaning and history, demanding its direct dismissal by the National Convention. Messrs. Kopp of New York, [W.] Stengel from Bridgeport, [Hermann] Kreismann [from Chicago], etc.,

concurred. Hassaurek, F. Münch, Dr. Hammer from St. Louis, Krekel from St. Charles, Mo. and Hatterscheidt from Kansas had in mind a condemnation of the differentiation between natural and adoptive citizens on voting rights, as well as a declaration against amendment of naturalization laws and the same protection for natural and naturalized citizens when abroad. The decision to no longer support Republican candidates and to leave the Party, should a compromise candidate or a Know-Nothing be supported was almost unanimous. Dr. A. Douai and Carl Schurz were among Mr. Bates's most unrelenting opponents. Printed resolutions will inform the National Convention delegates.

The convention of German Republicans convened as a mass meeting of delegates and non-delegates from all parts of the United States. Abandoning all other pretensions, it decided upon a path and focused upon the necessary and sensible. This worthy representation secures it the gratitude of its fellow citizens.

This meeting and the National Convention were of incalculable use to men from both East and West. Men from the West recognized the emptiness of their artificially patched together Bates-system. Those from the East, powerless, saw just how ridiculous they made themselves, launching bombastic decisions into the world of no interest to anyone. More personal relations between politicians and the press would be useful to the cause.

Ernst Hartmann, editor of the *Freie Presse*

N. "The German Republican Newspapers of the United States," *Daily Illinois State Journal*, June 29, 1860.

* Canisius introduced his list with the following statement: "It will doubtless be of some interest to your readers to learn that many German papers have hoisted the flag of Lincoln and Hamlin. I therefore give you today a list of them as complete as possible, but I have doubtless omitted some. Those marked with an asterisk* are dailies."

ILLINOIS

Staats Anzeiger, Springfield

* Staats Zeitung, Chicago

Stimme des Volks, Chicago

* Deutsche Zeitung, Peoria

Belleville Zeitung, Belleville

Correspondent, Galena

* Tribune, Quincy

NEW YORK

- * Abendzeitung, New York
- * Democrat, New York
- Criminal Zeitung, New York
- * Beobachter, Albany
- Freie Blätter, Albany
- Beobachter, Rochester
- Democrat, Syracuse
- * Telegraph, Buffalo
- Freie Presse, Buffalo

NEW JERSEY

- * Freie Zeitung, Newark
- Staats Zeitung, Trenton

PENNSYLVANIA

- * Freie Presse, Philadelphia
- * Courier, Pittsburg[h]
- * Freiheitsfreund, Pittsburg[h]
- * Volksblatt, Pittsburg[h]
- Freie Presse, Erie
- Vaterlandswächter, Harrisburg
- Morgenstern, Doylestown
- Amerikanischer Republicaner, Pottsville
- Liberale Beobachter, Reading
- Volksfreund, Lancaster
- Volksfreund, Middleburg
- Lecha Patriot, Middleburg

MARYLAND

- * Wecker, Baltimore
- Turn Zeitung, Baltimore

OHIO

- * Volksblatt, Cincinnati
- * Abendzeitung, Cincinnati
- * Republi[k]aner, Cincinnati
- Wächter am Erie, Cleveland
- Express, Toledo
- Intelligenzblatt, Sandusky
- Volksblatt, Zanesville

Wochenblatt, Dayton

MICHIGAN

* Michigan Journal, Detroit

Deutsche Zeitung, Adrian

National Zeitung, Monroe

INDIANA

Freie Presse, Indianapolis

*Volksbote, Evansville

Zeitung, Terre Haute

Helvetia, Tell City

Freie Blätter, Laporte

Post, Lafayette

MISSOURI

*Anzeiger des Westens, St. Louis

Democrat, St. Charles

Westliches Volksblatt, St. Joseph.

Missouri Post, Kansas City

Volksblatt, Herrmann

IOWA

*Democrat, Davenport

Freie Presse, Burlington

Iowa Staats Zeitung, Dubuque

Deutsche Zeitung, Muscatine

WISCONSIN

* Atlas, Milwaukee

* Volksblatt, Racine

Volkszeitung, Watertown

Madison Zeitung, Madison

Wächter am Winnebago, Oshkosh

Pionier am Wisconsin, Sau[k] City

Wisconsin Democrat, M[a]n[i]towoc

MINNESOTA

Minnesota Staats Zeitung, St. Paul

Pioneer, New Ulm

KANSAS

[Kansas] Zeitung, Leavenworth

O. Report on the Election by a Springfield Correspondent [Henry Villard], *New York Herald*, December 9, 1860.

That foreign elements prevail much more extensively in the northwestern than in the eastern states is a fact that cannot fail to be noticed by even the most cursory traveler. That of the heterogeneous mosaic of nationalities that constitutes the population of the former, the German is, next to the native, the most numerous component part, will also be learned by a short acquaintance with the respective localities. Ever since the reaction upon the revolutionary era of 1848 and 1849 began to swell the numbers of those that annually sought the hospitable shores of this Republic to heretofore unknown proportions, nine out of every ten of the newcomers crossed the Alleghenies in search of a cheap home in the broad free West, and hence the increase of the German settlers in all the states west of aforesaid mountain barrier and north of the Ohio River has been prodigious during the last ten years. Sameness of language, habits, and tendencies made them a compact body, whose influence was from year to year more decidedly felt in the political scales, as the number of voters among them was augmented by steady naturalization. In 1856 their numerical strength asserted itself far less strikingly than during the presidential campaign just ended, and that owing to the fact that the immigration of 1854 and 1855 (the most voluminous ever landed in this country in a like space of time) had not been naturalized the former year. But in the late contest it may be well said that the voters of German extraction held the balance of power in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. In each of these states they numbered tens of thousands, and on whatever side they were to throw the whole weight of their vote was sure to be the winning one.

There was not an intelligent politician in the Northwest that was ignorant of the importance of his "German friends." Hence all possible appliances were brought to bear upon them by each of the contending parties with equal vigor, but different success.

The majority of the Germans of the Northwest, unlike that of their countrymen in the Atlantic cities, contributed to the success of the Republican Party. Nor is this stubborn fact to be wondered at. Their ablest journals, their best speakers, their most prominent and popular men reflected Republican views. They worked with the peculiar zeal, earnestness, and indefatigableness with which the German mind is wont to make propaganda for its convictions; and hence the result—namely, an overwhelming majority among their

compatriots for Lincoln and Hamlin.

In Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Wisconsin, native Republicans now openly acknowledge that their victory was, if not wholly, at least to a great extent, due to the large accessions they received in the most hotly contested sections from the German ranks. Whether their share of the fruits of the triumph, in accomplishing which they assisted all but decisively, will be commensurate to the aid they furnished, remains to be seen.

That Germans, as a rule, run less after office than the natives, no candid observer of political life will deny. But that all those among them that made themselves conspicuous by their efforts, both on the stump and otherwise, in behalf of Lincoln, are disinterested patriots, free from all yearning for office, can hardly be supposed.

It is well known, on the contrary, that quite number are ready to serve their country. Of these Teutonic expectants the most prominent are:

George Schneider, editor *State Gazette* [*Staats-Zeitung*], Chicago, Ill.

H. Boernstein, editor *Advertiser* [*Anzeiger des Westens*], St. Louis, Mo.

B. Domschke, editor *Atlas*, Milwaukee.

J. [L.] Mannfeld, Indiana, Elector at large.

F. Hassaurek, Ohio, Elector at Large.

Gustavus Koerner, ex-Lieutenant Governor of Illinois.

[Nicholas J.] Rusch, ex-Lieutenant Governor of Iowa.

S. Kaufmann, New York, District Elector.

Karl Schurz [Wisconsin lawyer, journalist, campaigner].

Karl Schurz, whose claims are the strongest, in consideration of his having delivered over a hundred campaign speeches and spent a small fortune for the cause, expects to be United States Senator, and hence will keep out of the ring.

The ambition of all the above aspirants is a mission of the German [. . . that] cannot be gratified [. . . they must] content themselves with something else. I would not be surprised, however, if ex-Governor Koerner should be sent to Berlin.

The greatest drawback the German candidates for federal appointments will experience in pu[rsu]ing their claim, will be the difficulty of making Mr. Lincoln acquainted with the drift of the German wishes as reflected in their press; and hence, I trust, they will feel grateful to your correspondent for the publication of the above details, which were furnished to him by one of the most eminent German citizens of the state. Mr. Lincoln is disposed to be just to his German friends and will doubtless act upon the hints herein thrown out.

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Campaign Bee (Boston)
Chicago Press & Tribune
Chicago Sunday Times-Herald
Cincinnati Republikaner (Ohio)
Daily Democrat (Chicago)
Daily Evening Atlas (Indianapolis)
Daily Journal (Chicago)
Democrat (Davenport, Iowa)
Fort Wayne Sentinel (Indiana)
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper (New York)
Freedom's Champion (Atchison, Kansas)
Freie Presse von Indiana, Die (Indianapolis)
Hartland (Wisconsin)
Herald of Freedom (Lawrence, Kansas)
Illinois Daily State Journal (Springfield)
Illinois Staats-Anzeiger (Springfield)
Illustrierte Zeitung (Leipzig)
Indianapolis Daily Journal
Kansas Tribune (Lawrence, Kansas)
Kansas Zeitung (Atchison and Leavenworth)
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Index of Names

Adams, William 102
Adams (Turner) 193, 195
Albach, Henry 29, 59
Allen, C. M. 129
Allen, Ja[me]s H. Van 130
Almini, P. 103
Alschuler, Samuel G. 82, 102
Altgeld, John Peter 6, 9
Anbinder, Tyler 74
Anderson, Jeffrey Justin 135
Andreas, A. T. 59, 103, 104
Andrew, John A. 141
Angle, Paul M. 102, 105, 106
Anthony, Daniel R. 56
Arndt, Karl J. R. 105, 137
Arnim, Chas. von 201
Arnold, Franz 20
Arnold, Isaac Newton 79-80, 82, 84, 102-03
Arny, William Frederick Milton 41-42, 45, 61
Atchison, David Rice 34-35, 47
Babo, A. 60, 74
Bailin, Israel B. 155
Baker, Edward D. 93, 95, 110-11, 120-21, 123, 142
Bancroft, Frederic 157
Baringer, William 107, 137
Barry, Louise 59
Basler, Roy P. 9, 102, 104-06, 155-57, 163
Bates, Edward 107, 109-20, 122-23, 125, 127-34, 136-37, 139-40, 144,
153, 161-62, 208-10
Baum, David 56
Beale, Howard K. 139-40
Becker, August 115
Becker, Louis 165, 172
Beinert, Ferdinand 7

- Bell, John 206
Bender, Ph. H. 136
Benjamin, Jacob 40, 61
Bennett, James Gordon 147
Berge (Turner) 171, 177
Berger, Carla Schneider 103
Bergquist, James Manning 8, 58, 60, 102-06, 124, 136, 138-39, 149-50, 155-57
Bernays, Charles (Karl Ludwig) 122, 124-28, 136, 138, 145, 162, 210, 212
Biebusch, Henry 30
Bittman, John 73, 75
Blair, Austin 126
Blair, Francis P. [Frank] 122, 130-31, 139
Blehl (Turner) 166
Blow, Henry T. 122, 138
Blum, Robert 28-29, 49, 51-52
Boernstein, H. 143, 226
Bollmann, Louis 131
Bondi, August 40, 50, 60, 62
Bowles, Samuel 132
Brancaforte, Charlotte L. 138
Brand, Fr. 213, 215
Branscomb, Charles 63
Breckinridge, John C. 206-07
Brinkerhoff, Fred W. 63
Broadbeck, Conrad 125
Broderick, David 197, 199
Brown, Frank X. 6, 9
Brown, G. L. 200
Brown, George W. 22, 39, 56
Brown, John 40, 42, 50-51, 61-62, 125, 161, 215, 217
Bruns, B. 125
Buchanan, Jr., James 41, 43, 55-56, 73, 112, 197, 199-201
Buford, Jr., John 188, 191
Bunn, Jacob 105-06, 159
Burkhardt, John M. 96, 106
Burlingame, Michael 8, 101-02, 104-07, 122, 135, 137, 156
Burnham, W. Dean 155-56
Burr, Luman 147
Bursch, H. 136
Butz, Caspar 124-25, 127-28, 145, 205
Cabot, Jr., Samuel 38
Cain, Marvin R. 107

- Calbeck, Susan 59
Caldwell, Martha B. 59, 63
Calhoun, John 48, 196, 198
Cameron, Simon 112-13, 129, 134
Candler (Turner) 171, 177
Caniell (judge) 47
Canisius, Edes 92
Canisius, Emma 92
Canisius, Eugene 92
Canisius, Theodore 3, 6, 75, 88-94, 96-101, 104-06, 111, 117-18, 120-23,
137, 145-46, 153, 159-62, 200-04, 206, 222
Capps, Jabez 87, 100
Carman, Harry J. 138
Carman, J. Neale 54, 61-63, 137
Carpenter, Frank B. 140
Carter, David 140
Castel, Albert 154
Chase, Salmon P. 117, 130, 138, 140
Christman, Henry M. 9
Claussenius, Gustavus Adolphus 135
Clay, Cassius M. 82, 103, 114, 116-17, 123, 135
Cleveland, H. I. 135, 140
Colfax, Schulyer 95, 132, 208, 210
Connelley, William E. 58-59
Conway (judge) 56
Conway, Moncure 136
Cordley, Richard 59-60, 62
Cornelius, James 8, 106
Cornell, Alonzo B. 182
Crouthamel, James L. 156
Cullen, John 8
Curtin, Andrew 133
Cutler, William G. 59, 62
D'Alamber, Jean Le Rond 205
Dall, Caroline H. 98-99, 106
Dana, Charles A. 132
Daniels, Edward 41
Davidson, A. H. 135
Davis, David 106-07, 122-23, 129, 134, 137, 151
Davis, Rodney O. 106
de Borchgrave, Alexandra Villard 8
de Leuw, Leopold 105
Deckelman, Henry 56

- Defrees, John D. 122, 130, 132-33, 151
Deitzler (Dietzler), George W. 33, 60
Delahay, Mark W. 63, 151
Denver, James W. 198
Denzler, Friedrich 46, 166, 173
Deumplemen (Diempleman), I. C. 136
Diderot, Denis 205
Dixon, J. M. 48, 52, 56, 199
Dobert, Eitel Wolf 137
Dodd, William E. 6
Domschke, Bernhard 29, 37, 59, 143, 162, 226
Donald, David 106
Donalson (Donaldson), Israel B. 33-34, 60, 189, 191
Donelson, Andrew Jackson 131
Douai, Adolf 36-37, 60, 67-70, 74, 116, 123-25, 127-28, 139, 142, 154, 162, 213, 215, 220-22
Douglas, Stephen A. 1-2, 17, 24, 44, 55-56, 77-78, 80, 82-83, 85, 88-89, 101-02, 117-20, 131, 142, 150, 161, 201, 203-04, 206-07, 209, 211
Dubois, Jesse B. 129, 203
Düding, Dieter 8
Dudly, Thomas 140
Dulon, Rudolph 136
Duncan, R. Bruce 103
Eads, James B. 130
Easton, Loyd D. 136
Easum, Chester Verne 136
Edwards, Julia 93
Eiffler, Karl (Carl) 167, 174
Eimers, Enno 135
Eiselen, Ernst Bernhard 4
Engelhardt, Ludwig 13-15, 19, 165-66, 172, 178-80
Engels, Friedrich 16
English, Revel W. 200, 203
Ewing, Jr., Thomas 63
Fahrney, Ralph Ray 135
Falck, Richard 8-9, 19
Faust, Albert 156
Fehrenbacher, Don E. 102, 133, 140, 160, 163
Feigel (Turner) 179-80
Fell, Jesse 106
Fessenden, William Pitt 117, 137
Fields, H. C. 53
Fillmore, Millard 115, 131

- Finois, Frederick J. 60, 74
Fisher, Adam 56
Fitch, T. S. 200-01
Foersch, J. A. 20
Foner, Eric 107, 156
Försch, Louis 12
Fowler, Phillip P. 50-51, 62
Francis (sheriff) 170, 176
Frank, Aaron 15, 154, 181, 184
Freitag, Sabine 104, 154
Frémont, John 37, 68-69, 72, 86-87, 115, 117, 151
French, Amos Willard 146-47, 155
Frederick William IV 115
Fritsch, William A. 139
Fuchs, Thomas C. 8
Furer, Howard B. 60
Gaeddert, G. Raymond 63
Gambs, Johannes 136
Gathman, John J. 156
Gauss, Karl Friedrich 144
Gaylord, L. F. 56
Geimer (policeman) 166, 173
Gerolt, Friedrich von 110
Gibbs (Dr.) 103
Giesler, E. 165, 172
Goebel, Julius 6
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 28
Goodwin, Doris Kearns 77, 78, 102, 109, 135-36, 139
Greeley, Horace 15, 22, 35, 56, 58, 63, 111, 114, 116, 122, 126, 129-30, 132-33, 135, 139-40, 182, 185
Green, Michael S. 140
Greene, Evarts B. 104, 154
Gridley, Karl G. 59
Grimes, James W. 73, 75
Grimm, Franz 154
Gröschel (Turner) 169, 176
Gue, Benjamin F. 138
Guelich, Theodore 73, 75
Guenther, Arthur 23, 29-30, 49, 51, 59
Guenther, Georg 29, 59
Gurock, Jeffrey S. 155-56
Haas, Heinrich (Henry) C 46-47, 52-54, 56, 197, 199
Hackelmann, P. A. 131

- Hale, Edward Everett 23, 25-26, 38, 59-60
Halstead, Murat 1
Hamilton, Charles 103
Hamlin, Hannibal 145, 152, 222, 226
Hammer, Adam 124, 127, 220, 222
Hanna, William H. 87
Harlan, James 73
Harlow, Ralph Volney 58-59, 61
Hartmann, Ernst 218-19, 221-22
Hartmann, Katja (see Rampelmann) 59
Harttmann, Moritz 28, 30, 53, 59, 61
Hassaurek, Frederick 115, 124-25, 138, 141, 143, 145-46, 151, 155, 161-62, 218-220, 222, 226
Hatch, Ozzias M. 106
Hatterscheidt, John P. 45, 48, 54, 56-58, 124, 126, 141, 151, 154, 156-57, 161, 218-20, 222
Hecker, Friedrich 6, 24, 46, 68, 86-87, 104, 154
Heinzen, Karl 12, 19, 37, 70, 162
Hermann, Charles 96, 220-21
Herndon, William H. 79, 92-93, 98-101, 106, 129
Herriott, Frank Irving 59, 74, 75, 98, 101-02, 105-07, 122, 124, 135-39
Hertz, Emanuel 106-07
Hielscher, Theodore 91, 111-12, 114-18, 121, 123, 130-32, 135, 137, 144-45, 151, 153, 161
Hillgaertner, G. 73, 75, 136
Hinnens, Wolfgang 74, 136, 154
Hirschfeld, Joseph 166, 172
Hofmann, Annette R. 138
Hofmann, Francis A. 77, 163
Holliday, C. K. 63
Holzer, Harold 156
Homburg, Conradin 131
Honeck, Mischa 136
Hope, Thomas M. 201
Houston, D. W. 63
Humboldt, Alexan der von 28
Hume, David 205
Hunter, Robert M. T. 211
Hussander, P. 103
Huth, Dr. 74
Hyatt, Thaddeus 41-42, 61
Iglehart, Ferdinand C. 107
Isely, Jeter Allen 135

- Juvenal 4
Jacobi, Abraham 16
Jahn, Friedrich Ludwig 4, 7-8, 123, 160
Jefferson, Thomas 85, 205
Jessup, William 126
Johnson, Judith Ellen 60
Jonassohn (Jonason), Louis 171, 177
Jones, Samuel J. 34-35
Judd, Norman 90, 96-97, 105, 109-10, 135, 160, 203
Junius 205
Kahn (Turner) 166, 172
Kaiser, Karl (Charles) 40, 61
Kamphoefner, Walter 7-9, 156
Kapp, Friedrich 18, 69, 74, 116, 124, 136, 138, 142, 145, 148, 152, 154, 157, 181, 184
Kasson, John A. 72, 75, 126
Kaufmann, Sigismund 5, 11, 13-19, 116, 125, 136, 138, 142-43, 146-47, 155-56, 161, 163, 165-66, 168-69, 171-73, 175, 177, 180-86
Kawaguchi, Lesley Ann 7, 9, 156
Kedzie, J. H. 103
Keller, George 63
Kellner, Gottlieb 20
Kempf, Wilhelm 46, 53, 62
Ketchum, Morris 98
King, Willard L. 137
Kob, Charles Friedrich 36-46, 48-54, 58, 60-62, 67-69, 74, 116, 145, 159, 161
Kob, Dalia 36
Kob, Emily Horst 36
Koch (Turner) 175-76
Koehnle, Frederick C. W. 100, 106
Koerner, Gustave (Gustavus) 1, 6, 9, 77, 88-90, 92, 96, 104, 110, 122-23, 125-26, 128, 130-32, 134-35, 138, 141, 143-44, 146, 154-55, 161-63, 218, 226
Koerner, Sophie 143
Kopp, Wilhelm 127, 136, 216, 218, 220-21
Kossuth, Louis 72
Koven, Wilhelm (Turner) 171
Kreismann, Hermann 124, 220-21
Krekel, Arnold 125, 130, 221-22
Kremm, Thomas W. 7, 9
Krüer, A. 12
Kyle, Otto R. 104

- Lane, Henry S. 133
Lane, James H. 43-51, 61-62, 134, 141, 154, 192-95
Lange, Albert 131, 154
Lattek, Christine 136
Lawrence, Amos 22
Lawson, Iver 103
Learnard, O. E. 63
Lenel, Edith 74
Leonhardt, Charles 51
Lesquereux, Charles Leo 31, 60
Leuth (agent) 188, 191
Levine, Bruce 20, 61, 135-36
Levine, David 103
Lievre, Eugen 15, 17, 169, 171, 175, 177
Lincoln, Abraham 1, 3, 6-9, 18-19, 56-57, 63, 65-66, 70-71, 75, 77, 79-90, 92-107, 109-11, 117-23, 129-57, 159-63, 165, 181, 185, 203-04, 206-09, 211, 222, 226
Lindeman, George 115
Lohne, Raymond 156
Lowe, Richard 140
Luebke, Frederick C. 8-9, 155-56
Luther, Martin 4
Luthin, Reinhard H. 75, 105-06, 135, 137-39, 156
Maas, Benjamin 169, 175
Maier (Majer), A. 136
Maier, Elizabeth 28
Malin, James C. 50, 62
Mannfeld, Johann Lutz (see Mansfield) 143-44, 154, 226
Mansfield, John L. (see Mannfeld) 131, 139, 143-44, 146, 151, 154-55
Markens, Isaac 155
Martin, John A. 57, 63
Marx, Karl 16, 115
Mason, T. R. 27
Mayer, A. 136
Mayer, Ph. 169, 176
McClure, A. K. 133, 139
McCormack, Thomas J. 9, 139, 154-55, 163
McDowell, James 63
McIlroy (attorney) 103
McKay, Ernest 74
McLean, John 123, 130, 134
Mearns, David C. 102
Medill, Joseph 82, 86, 110, 123, 135, 140, 146

- Mehl, Jean (John) 166, 172
Mehl, Martin 166, 172
Meier, Elizabeth (Elise) 28
Melosch (brothers) 166-67, 169, 171-72, 175, 177
Menze, Ernest 7
Metternich, Clemens 5
Metternich, Germain 5, 8-9, 13-15, 17-19, 136, 165-67, 169, 172-74
Metzner, Heinrich 11, 19-20, 58-60, 62, 105, 135, 137, 154, 180, 183
Mildfelt, Todd 62
Monaghan, Jay 104, 140, 149, 155-56
Morgan, Edwin D. 151, 181, 185
Mrosowsky, Josef 46
Mueller, Jacob 102, 163
Mueller, Theodore (Ohio) 145
Muld, L. (Turner) 165, 172
Müller, Eduard 5, 14, 19
Münch, Friedrich 124-27, 145, 162, 220, 222
Muths, Guts 8
Nelson, Andrew 103
Neumann, Hannes 19
Nevins, Allan 136
Nicolay, Helen 156
Nicolay, John G. 1, 148, 156
Nix, J[acob] 167, 174
Noll, Rita L. 62
Oestreicher, A. 25-27, 58
Olshausen, Theodore 70, 72-73, 75, 145, 162
Olson, Ernst W. 102
Olson, May E. 105
Olsson, Nils William 103
Ostendorf, Lloyd 102-03
Oswald, Michael 30
Otto, Bodo 126
Otto, William T. 126, 129, 131
Page, H. Dwight 60
Palmer, John M. 106
Pancak, William 63
Peissner, C. 136
Perry (captain) 53
Peterson, J. G. 125
Peterson, Norma Lewis 75, 103
Petz (lieutenant) 46
Pfänder, Wilhelm 18, 31- 33, 47, 59-60, 186, 189

- Pfeiffer, P. 213, 215
Phillips, William A. 57-58, 63
Pierce, Franklin, 44
Pinsker, Matthew 82, 103
Plessner, Michael 125
Pomeroy, S. C. 42, 47, 63
Prager, David, 30
Pratt, Caleb S, 30, 59
Pratt, Harry E. 100, 104-06, 137, 159
Preiser (Turner) 31
Prince, Ezra 82-83, 103-04
Probst, George Theodore 35
Probst, Nora 8, 19
Purkins (judge) 53
Rampelmann, Katja (see Hartmann) 58-59
Randall, James Garfield 136
Randers-Pherson, Justine Davis 139
Ranst (lieutenant) 46
Rapp, Wilhelm 103, 117-21, 137, 145, 153, 161-62, 206-08, 210
Raster, Herman 145, 152
Rau, Karl Gottlieb 28, 59
Rawley, James A. 102
Ray, Charles H. 82, 85-88, 104, 110-11, 134-35, 140, 146
Redpath, James 51
Reeder, Andrew Horatio 189, 192
Reifschneider, Felix 12-13, 19, 165-66, 172
Reitz, Charles 8, 63
Reppmann, Joachim 75
Rice, Judith A. 103
Richardson, A. D. 56, 63
Richardson, William P. (General) 32, 188, 190
Richmond, Robert W. 59
Richter, Erhard 11-13, 15, 17, 165, 168, 172, 181
Richter, Henry 73
Robinson, Charles L. 27, 42-43, 189, 192
Robinson, Sara T. 27-28, 59
Rohlf, Peter 7
Rohlf, Robert 7
Ross, William W[allece] 57
Rowan, Steven 138-39, 154
Rusch, Nicholas J. 72, 74-75, 143, 154, 163, 226
Sammer, Hans 7
Sanborn, Franklin Benjamin 61

- Sandburg, Carl 97-98, 106, 140
Sarna, Jonathan D. 136
Scammon, J. Young 103
Schafer, Joseph 6, 9, 149-50, 156
Schappes, Morris U. 155
Scheibel, G. 166-67, 173-74
Schiller, Friedrich 28
Schläger, Eduard 37
Schmidt, C. 60, 74
Schneidau, Johann Carl Friedrich Polycarpus von 81-82, 84, 102-03
Schneider (brewer) 167-68, 173-74
Schneider (policeman) 168, 174
Schneider, Christian 200
Schneider, George (Georg) 6, 77, 80-87, 102-04, 111, 117, 124-25, 143-46, 155, 159, 162, 226
Schrader, Otto V. 110, 135
Schroeder, F. R. 182, 185
Schurz, Carl (Karl) 72-72, 115, 122, 125-26, 128, 136, 138-39, 141-43, 146, 151, 153-54, 157, 161, 163, 218-19, 221-22, 226
Schütte, Friedrich 104
Scripps, P. M. 103
Seeger (Turner) 31
Seeger, G. Scott 59, 61
Seeland (Turner) 46
Selby, Paul 102-04, 155
Serenbetz, Francis 53
Seward, William H. 3, 56-57, 110-11, 116-19, 122-23, 129-30, 132-34, 136, 138-40, 146, 162, 209, 211
Shannon, Wilson 27, 32, 43, 188-92
Shapiro, Henry D. 136
Shore, Elliott 103
Sigel, Franz 5, 17-18
Smith, Caleb B. 129-30, 139
Smith, Donnal V. 149, 156
Smith, Gerrit 41
Smith, George 200
Smith, Rob. 200, 204
Snedeger, B. Jean 59
Solger, Reinhold 69, 141-42, 154, 161
Speed, Joshua 74, 88, 162
Springer, Annemarie 137, 157
Spurgeon, Ian Michael 61-62, 154
Stad[t]ler, Wilhelm 166, 172

- Stallo, John B. 115-16, 136
Stanton, Frederick P. 196-98
Steckel, Richard H. 7, 9, 150, 156
Steinberg, T. J. 30
Stengel, W. 124, 220-21
Stephenson, Edmund 182, 185
Steuben, Friedrich Wilhelm von 142
Stevens, Walter B. 155
Still, Geo[rge] W. 56
Stringfellow, J. H. 21, 47, 159
Struve, Gustave 13, 16, 18, 68, 169, 176
Sumner, Charles 33, 114, 116, 135
Sundell, Charles J. 103
Swett, Leonard 106
Swift, R. K. 103
Tafel, Albert 24, 46
Tafel, Gustav 46, 115
Tafel, Hugo 46-47, 52, 62, 192, 194, 196, 198
Tafel, Richard 46
Tafel, Rudolf 46
Tarbell, Ida M. 80, 84, 102-04, 111, 135, 137
Temple, Sunderine (Wilson) 106
Temple, Wayne C. 8, 104-06, 155
Tesor, August 170, 176
Thacher, T. Dwight 63
Thayer, Eli 21-26, 38, 40, 58
Thelen (Turner) 46
Thieme, August 162
Tholen, William 56
Thomas, Benjamin P. 103
Thompson, Lawrence S. 6, 9, 135
Thornbrough, Emma Lou 156-57
Tolzmann, Don Heinrich 104, 155
Topliff, Charles W. 189, 191
Townsend, George Alfred 101, 105-06
Trefousse, Hans L. 139, 157
Truetzschler, Wilhelm Adolf von 28
Trommler, Frank 103
Trumbull, Lyman 1, 2, 90-92, 96, 99, 104-06, 109-10, 121, 135, 200-03
Turk, Eleanor L. 61
Tzschirnerr (Turner) 136
Ueberhorst, Horst 8
Uhl, Jakob 12

- Ulmer (Miss) 177
Valentin, Veit 9
Van Deusen, Glyndon G. 136
Vaughan, Champion 21, 52, 55, 57, 63
Vaughan, John C. 54, 56, 63
Villard, Henry 1-3, 6, 8, 19-20, 127, 138-39, 141, 143-49, 154, 156, 225
Vilter, Ernst 30
Vogel, John C. 124
Wade, Benjamin F. 117, 137-38
Wagerner, A. H. 125
Walker, Robert 197-98
Webb, Thomas H. 37-39, 60
Webber, J. B. 73
Webber, Jacob 136
Weber, Jacob 165, 172
Wedl, Frank 7
Wedisweiler (Turner) 166, 172
Weed, Thurlow 116, 136, 151
Wehler, Hans-Ulrich 74
Weigden, H. 200
Weik, Jesse W. 106
Weil, L. 56, 62
Weiler, Henry 30
Weitling, Wilhelm 15
Wentworth, John 83-84, 102
Wermerskirch, Wm. M. 136
Wernert, J. B. 24-25
Weydemeyer, Joseph 16
White, Horace 80
Whitney, Henry 106
Wiener, Theodore 40
Wiesner, A. 136
Willbourn, Dieter K. 59
Wilder, A[bel] Carter 57, 63
Wilder, D. W. 59, 62-63
Wilder, A. Carter 56
Willich, August 115-16, 136, 162
Willmann, Andreas 118, 116, 136
Wilmot, David 128, 218-20
Wilson, B. 168-69, 175
Wilson, Douglas L. 106
Wilson, Henry 65-68, 74
Wittke, Carl 104, 149, 155-57

Wohlgemuth, F. 166, 172

Woodford, Stewart L. 182

Wust, Klaus 156

Younger, Edward 75

Zane, Charles S. 106

Zimmerman, Charles 133, 135, 139, 154, 157

Zucker, A. E. 9, 59, 75, 102, 104-05, 135, 137-38, 154





