

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 40

2005



The Society for

German-American Studies

Depicted on the front cover is the seal of Germantown, Pennsylvania, founded by Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1683. The seal was designed by Pastorius shortly before 1700. The three-fold cloverleaf with Latin motto denotes the three principal occupations among the citizens of Germantown: viticulture and wine-making, flax-growing, and textile production. The Latin motto reads *Vinum Linum et Textrinum* ("grapes/wine, flax/linen, and weaving mill/weaving"). Pastorius formulated the same motto in German as *Der Wein, der Lein und der Webeschrein*.

The Society for German-American Studies has elected to display the Germantown seal on its stationery and membership brochure as well as on the cover of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* in commemoration of the earliest group settlement of German-speaking immigrants in North America. Our source for the image is Rudolf Cronau, *Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika: Ruhmesblätter der Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1926), 69.



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2005

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General Information

The Society for German-American Studies was founded for the purpose of encouraging and advancing the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in North America. This includes coverage of the immigrants and their descendants from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other German-speaking areas of Europe. Members of the Society include representatives from various academic disciplines and others who share a common interest in German-American studies.

The *Yearbook* is published annually. The editor welcomes contributions in English, preferably, or German on all aspects of German-Americana from members of the Society. The manuscript should be prepared so that it can be read anonymously by the members of the Editorial Board, with the author's name appearing on a separate sheet only. For submission, four copies of the manuscript prepared in accordance with the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* are requested. All manuscripts and correspondence concerning the *Yearbook* should be addressed to William Keel, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, 1445 Jayhawk Blvd., University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-7950. Inquiries regarding book reviews for the *Yearbook* should be addressed to Timothy J. Holian, University of Wisconsin-Waukesha, 1500 N. University Dr., Waukesha, WI 53188-2799. The *Newsletter* appears four times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to La Vern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College, Northfield, MN 55057.

The SGAS annual membership dues, which include subscription to the *Yearbook* and the *Newsletter*, are \$30.00 for regular members. Membership applications to the Society for German-American Studies should be made to the Treasurer of the Society, William Roba, Scott Community College, 500 Belmont Road, Bettendorf, IA 52722. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

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From the Editor

This issue of the *Yearbook* is devoted to the Germans who participated in the struggle for a slave-free Kansas in the era of "Bleeding Kansas" 150 years ago. The 1850s were tumultuous times in the United States and particularly in Kansas Territory. The Territory was opened for settlement in May 1854 with the signing into law of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Kansas became a rallying cry for the adherents of several factions, including those favoring the introduction of slavery, those favoring the total abolition of slavery and many who were simply proponents of free soil.

Coinciding with the effective abrogation of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which prohibited the spread of slavery north of the southern border of the state of Missouri, was the founding of a new political movement that became known as the Republican Party. Abolitionists, Whigs, Free Soilers and others merged in the summer of 1854 into this new and radical political association. The Republicans also attracted many of the leaders of the failed German revolutionary efforts of 1848-49 who had come as exiles to the United States in the early 1850s. These exiled Germans and Austrians saw in the goals of the fledgling Republican Party a new struggle for freedom and democracy on this side of the Atlantic.

The convergence of radical Germans and the Republican Party led directly to the involvement of some of these Forty-eighters in the struggle to prevent slavery from gaining a foothold in Kansas. Indeed, the chief agency of abolitionism in Kansas Territory, the Massachusetts-based New England Emigrant Aid Company, made a concerted effort to attract Germans to settle in Kansas in the belief that Germans would vote against the adoption of a proslavery constitution for Kansas. Many Germans also came on their own to the newest American frontier as land speculators, entrepreneurs, adventurers, or simply homesteaders. These Germans in Kansas apparently had a song that addressed the issues of free speech and free men:

Hurrah – Frei Kansas!

Frei Kansas, freie Erde,
Die Freiheit unser Hort,
Dafür, sei's mit dem Schwerte,
Sei es mit Tat und Wort!

Frei Kansas, freier Boden,
Von Vorrecht frei und Bann!
Dem schwarzen und dem rothen,
Sowie dem weißen Mann!

Frei Kansas, freie Erde!
Sei unser Feldgeschrei;
Krieg, Krieg, mit Wort und Schwerte,
Sei stets die Sklaverei!

("German-American abolitionist song" c. 1860,
<http://www.musicanet.org/robokopp/Lieder/freikans.html>
and <http://www.gtg1848.de/>)

In an introductory essay for this volume, Frank Baron examines the complexities of these issues and provides background information on the two individuals whose historical texts are reprinted in this special issue: Karl Friedrich Kob, whose *Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas* was published in 1857 with the support of the New England Aid Company and modeled on the company's English *Information for Kansas Immigrants* written by Thomas Webb, published in numerous editions in the mid-1850s; and August Bondi whose autobiography was published in 1910.

Kob was born in East Prussia in 1820 and trained as a physician at the University of Königsberg. He became involved in the ill-fated uprising in the Duchy of Holstein against Denmark in 1849-50. In the aftermath of the revolutionary period in Germany he emigrated, settling first in Hartford, Connecticut, and later living in Boston, Massachusetts. During the election of 1856 he became involved in Republican politics during Frémont's unsuccessful presidential campaign that championed "Free Soil, Free Men and Free Kansas." With the support of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, Kob published his settlers' guide for Germans, moved to Atchison, Kansas Territory, and began publishing the weekly *Kansas Zeitung* in the summer of 1857. Kob collaborated with other Germans in the territory and dreamed of a belt of anti-slavery German settlements extending from Kansas to Texas. He died in Leavenworth of "inflammation of the brain" in 1861. In addition to the original German text, excerpts in English translation that provide descriptions of the German settlements in Kansas Territory are included in this volume.

Bondi, born in 1833, was an Austrian Jew whose family immigrated to the United States in late-1848 following the upheavals in Austria during the revolutionary period and settled initially in St. Louis. Bondi moved into Kansas Territory in April 1855, settling near a number of John Brown's sons in southeastern Franklin County. He and several other German/Austrian abolitionists rode with John Brown during the 1856 territorial skirmishes against the pro-slavery Missourians—the period known as "Bleeding Kansas." Bondi later served three years in Company K of the 5th Kansas Calvary during the Civil War as a Union soldier and was wounded while on a patrol

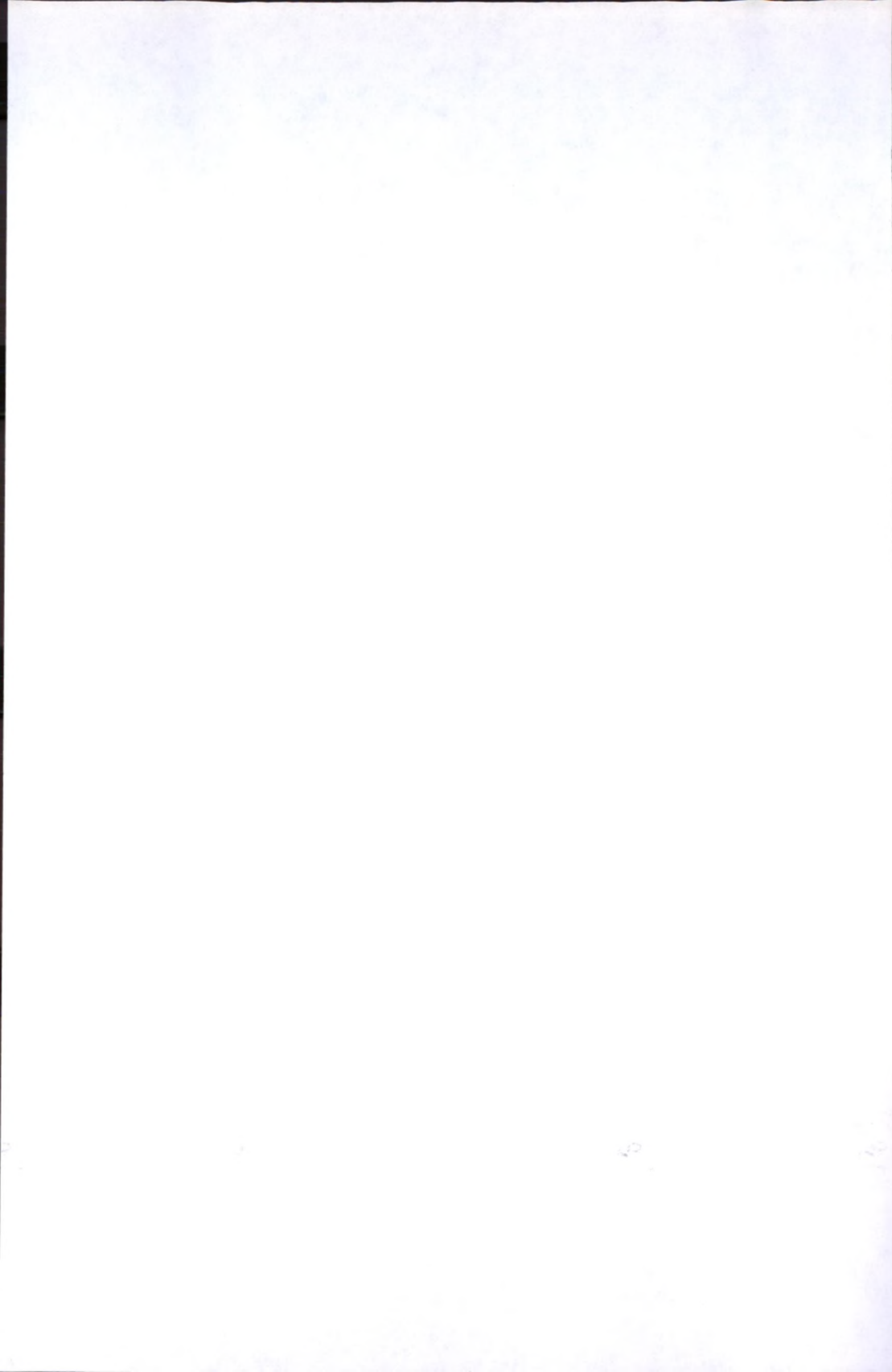
near Pine Bluff, Arkansas, on 11 September 1864. After his discharge in November 1864 he operated a store in Leavenworth, Kansas. Bondi moved to Salina, Kansas, in 1866 and spent the remainder of his life there as a successful businessman and judge. Bondi died in Salina in 1907. The autobiography was published for his family in Galesburg, Illinois, by the Wagoner Printing Company in 1910 and is now a rare book. The first five chapters of his autobiography reprinted here offer a firsthand perspective on the German-Austrian contributions in the struggle for a free Kansas in the years prior to the American Civil War.

For Kob's German text we have attempted to remain true to his German orthography where possible. For instance, nineteenth-century spelling of verbs ending in *-iren* rather than Modern German *-ieren* is retained (e.g., *rapportirte*, *cultivirt*) and irregular grammatical forms are also kept where nineteenth-century usage was not consistent (e.g., the plural of *Boot* could be *Boote* or *Böte*). Words or names that were emphasized in the German printed version by the technique known as *Sperrung* appear in boldface in our reprint. Where Kob used roman type instead of fraktur we have used italics. His use of English terms is not consistent. He may use roman type for an English word such as *claim* and a few lines later use the same word capitalized and in fraktur. We have attempted to mark actual omissions of letters and typographical errors by [*sic*] in square brackets. Kob also used a system of footnotes. We have included his footnotes at the point in the text at which they occurred. We have also included images of the original cover and the final page (48) of his guide (by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, call number US 287738.57*).

We should also note that volume 40 represents the twenty-fifth anniversary issue of the *Yearbook*. When the Society began publication of the *Yearbook* in 1981, we decided to continue the volume numbers of the *Journal of German-American Studies*, whose last issue in 1980 was volume 15. This issue of the *Yearbook* also contains a five-year index covering volumes 36-40 (2001-2005), including the two supplemental issues published in 2003 and 2006, respectively.

The editor wishes to especially thank his colleagues in Kansas, Frank Baron, Scott Seeger and Julia Trumpold, for their contributions to this volume. As always, our appreciation is extended to Timothy Holian for editing the book reviews and also Dolores and Giles Hoyt for the compilation of the annual bibliography. The next volume of the *Yearbook* is scheduled to appear in the spring of 2007 and will again be devoted to individual essays addressing the scholarly interests of the membership.

William Keel, Editor
Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
The University of Kansas
September 2006



Donald F. Durnbaugh: In Memoriam

We were very saddened to learn in the fall of 2005 that our colleague and friend of many years, Don Durnbaugh, had died on August 27 in a Newark, New Jersey, hospital following a sudden illness while returning with his wife Hedda from a trip to Europe. Don had been an active member of the Society for German-American Studies for over two decades and had served conscientiously and diligently as a member of the Editorial Board for the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* since 1996. Over the years, Don had himself contributed several scholarly essays to the *Yearbook*—in our last issue (volume 39 [2004]) his article on the Brethren relief effort after World War II known as “Heifer International” was published posthumously. His wisdom, sage advice and good humor will be sorely missed by all who knew him and worked with him.

Don was born in Detroit, Michigan, in 1927. His education included a B.A. degree at Manchester College in North Manchester, Indiana (1949), an M.A. in history at the University of Michigan (1952) and a Ph.D. in history at the University of Pennsylvania (1960). He also studied at the Philipps-Universität in Marburg, Germany. After teaching history for four years at Juniata College in Pennsylvania, Don was named professor of church history at Bethany Theological Seminary in 1962, teaching there until 1988. In that year he returned to Juniata as the J. Omar Good Distinguished Visiting Professor and a year later was named the Carl W. Ziegler Professor of History and Religion at Elizabethtown College (Pennsylvania). He retired there in 1993.

He was a noted historian of Anabaptist and Pietist religions. His publication record includes some 200 articles and reviews on the history of the Brethren Church and other Anabaptist religious movements. The sixteen monographs and edited volumes by Don Durnbaugh include such titles as *Fruit of the Vine: A History of the Brethren, 1708-1995* (1997); *The Believer's Church: The History and Character of Radical Protestantism* (1968); and *The Brethren in Colonial America: A Source Book on the Transplantation and Development of the Church of the Brethren in the Eighteenth Century* (1967). Don was also the primary editor of *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (covering the years from 1708 until 1980) whose first three volumes were published in 1983-84. At the time of his death he was co-editing volume four of that encyclopedia which documents the history of the Brethren from 1980 to 1995 (published in 2006).

Over the years, Don received numerous honors and awards for his scholarship. He received honorary doctorates from both Manchester College (1980) as well as Juniata College (2003). He was awarded the Colonial History Award by the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania in 1957 and named a Distinguished Scholar by the

Communal Studies Association in 2002. He held a unique position in the Church of the Brethren as "dean of the Brethren historians" (Dale W. Brown, Bethany Theological Seminary) and was considered a leading authority on the historic peace churches and the American communitarian movements. In a 1997 *Festschrift* celebrating Don Durnbaugh's scholarly contributions, Donald E. Miller wrote: "Don is internationally known and widely considered to be the leading twentieth century historian of the Church of the Brethren and other Brethren groups that originated in Schwarzenau, Germany, in the early eighteenth century" (*From Age to Age: Historians and the Modern Church*). We are proud to have been counted among his colleagues.

William D. Keel, Editor
Yearbook of German-American Studies

Frank Baron

German Republicans and Radicals in the Struggle for a Slave-Free Kansas: Charles F. Kob and August Bondi

Although they were mostly Democrats prior to 1850, the Germans broke party lines in the decade before the Civil War and played a prominent part in the formation of the Republican party. . . . They vigorously fought the extension of slavery into new territories . . .

John F. Kennedy, *A Nation of Immigrants*¹

Kansas was a violent and a radical and maybe even a crazy place by nature and by the circumstances of its founding.

Thomas Frank, *What's the Matter with Kansas?*²

Upon arrival in the United States, leading German revolutionaries, defeated and exiled in their fight for greater freedoms in 1848 and 1849, discovered a conflict with comparable implications. In the early 1850s these immigrants confronted a rapidly transforming political landscape. Without interruption, the headlines of northern newspapers focused on the crisis in Kansas. The opening of the Kansas Territories to a vote on slavery in 1854, seen in the North as a blatant violation of the Missouri compromise of 1820, became a direct cause for the realignment of the existing party system. In their effort to form a political force to oppose the expansion of slavery, northern politicians welcomed the arrivals from Europe. The German revolutionaries quickly embraced the challenge and opportunity to revive their frustrated idealism. The fight for freedom in Europe became the struggle against slavery and slavery's extension. Charles F. Kob and August Bondi were not prominent political figures, but through their associations and actions they demonstrate how the exiled "Forty-eighters" contributed to the new political conditions in their adopted country.

Reactions to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, signed by President Pierce on May 30, 1854, were swift. Within about a month Michigan and Wisconsin hosted conferences at which participants voiced vigorous protests and for the first time signaled a new era by using the name Republican.³ At the same time, immigrants began to arrive

from Massachusetts in Kansas, where they established the first Free State settlement. The pioneers of Lawrence named the new city after the Boston benefactor Amos Lawrence, a member of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Established with the expressed goal of populating the state with voters opposed to slavery, this company gave the most important challenge to the Missouri settlers who expected to be a force for a proslavery state. The northern settlers were the "intruders" in the eyes of the proslavery residents from Missouri. In subsequent years, the inevitable clash between forces manipulated from afar, involving threats, intimidation, and killings, became sensational material for newspaper reports about Kansas. Whether one side or the other could prevail in Kansas would depend on the vote of the population. Could the influx of immigrants from the North persevere in light of the pressures and attacks from the proslavery power issuing from the South and the administration in Washington? Constant reports of alleged injustices and violence ultimately became the catalyst for increasing support of the Free State cause and the emergence of the Republican Party.

The platform forged at the Republican convention of 1856 focused on a single issue, slavery. Nominating the presidential candidate with some chance of victory entailed a troublesome search for a prominent personality with few enemies. The Philadelphia delegates considered John C. Frémont, who had become famous for his accounts of exploration of unknown segments of the West. As a senator of California, a state that he helped to bring into the Union, the "Pathfinder" established his credentials as an opponent of slavery; he was stronger than the established politicians whom the convention was considering. In preparation for the convention, strategists in support of Frémont supported the publication of his correspondence with Charles Robinson. They expected favorable publicity from a focus on the connections with Robinson, the governor of Kansas under the Free State constitution. Frémont and Robinson had been friends earlier in California. In his letter, Frémont wrote that Robinson had stood firmly by him "when we were defeated by the nullifiers in California, I have every disposition to stand by you in your battle with them in Kansas." This letter was printed and widely reprinted nationally. The publicity gave Frémont a prominent place in the list of candidates. Impressed with the image, more than his views on major political issues, delegates nominated him as their candidate for the presidency.⁴

In the weeks that followed an earlier letter from Alexander von Humboldt, well known for his firm opposition to slavery, also strengthened the candidate's public image. Humboldt had written that the king of Prussia appreciated Frémont's contributions to science through the account of his expeditions and was awarding him the "Great Golden Medal of Progress in the Sciences." Shortly before the election, the *Weekly Chicago Democrat* and the *New York Daily Tribune* revived Humboldt's reference to "a friend of liberty" who resisted slavery in California.⁵ The results of the subsequent election took observers by surprise. James Buchanan won with 174 electoral votes to Frémont's 114. Despite this defeat, Frémont fared better than Buchanan in the popular vote of the free states, "a performance that was little short of astounding in view of the party's position the year before." In a short time "the Republicans had transformed their party from the weakest party in the North to the strongest." The party became the only alternative to the Democrats.⁶ Thus, the defeat, though painful, was, in one sense, a victory; it was an indispensable precondition for

Abraham Lincoln's successful candidacy just four years later. At the same time, the Germans who participated actively in the campaign of 1856 established themselves as dependable and necessary constituents of the new party.

The enthusiastic participation of Germans was broadly based and made itself felt in all northern states of the union. For example, according to the *New York Daily Tribune*, ten thousand people came on October 7, 1856, to hear speeches for Frémont by Friedrich Kapp (president of the German Republican Committee), Friedrich Münch, Gustav Struve, and Friedrich Hecker. A few days later Dr. Reinhold Solger of Boston addressed a mass meeting in Philadelphia, warning that a victory by Buchanan could mean the annexation of Cuba, and that represented the same strategy that was at work in the extension of slavery to Kansas. Solger attached special significance to the German vote: "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 living hands, the scales of the world's history for all time to come."⁷ In other cities, audiences heard speeches by Carl Schurz, Friedrich Hassaurek, Julius Froebel, Friedrich Kapp, and Gustave Koerner.⁸ Adolf Douai recalled having given numerous stump speeches in Boston, Hartford, New Haven, New York, Hoboken, Newark, Philadelphia, Reading, Allentown, Bethlehem, and Easton. For him the Republican election campaign was a "revolution," which would have been entirely successful, if voting fraud had not occurred in Pennsylvania. "Practically without money in a period of five months success was possible by means of voluntary and dedicated electioneering work by American abolitionists and German Forty-eighters."⁹

The individual efforts of German Forty-eighters increased in impact by the active work of the Turner organizations (*Turnvereine*). After a beginning of a single club in Cincinnati in 1848, the numbers grew quickly to seventy-four with membership of 4,500 by 1855.¹⁰ The Turner clubs also followed the consistent position of the Forty-eighters in their radical opposition to slavery. In Boston the Turners demonstrated their involvement by sponsoring a festival for about 2,000 people outside the city. Speakers included Massachusetts Senator Henry Wilson, who asked the audience to "consider the sufferings of the free settlers in Kansas, of which a large number [were] Germans." He urged them to "seek redress for the outrages thus inflicted upon their fellow countrymen by casting their votes for John C. Frémont." Other speakers included Adolf Douai, Gustav Struve, and Dr. Karl Friedrich Kob. As president of the German Frémont Club of Boston, Kob took on the task of leading the campaign effort of the Germans in the Boston area.¹¹

Like many German Frémont supporters, Kob was a Forty-eighter. Originally from the East Prussian village of Arys (today Orzysz in Poland), Kob had studied medicine at the University of Königsberg (1840-45). Later, serving as a surgeon, he joined the revolutionary army of Schleswig-Holstein in its uprising against Denmark (1848-50). In exile he continued his work as physician in Hartford and in 1855 moved to Boston with his wife (an immigrant from Holstein in Germany) and a three-year-old daughter.¹² Still only thirty-five years old, he was too young to abandon the lofty causes he had fought for in Germany. The year 1856 provides ample evidence of his active political engagement.

For their aggressive political involvement German Republicans had to expect serious backlash. The great influx of immigrants from Germany—in a single year

215,000 Germans arrived in 1854—generated a powerful opposition to foreign influence.¹³ The secretive members of the nationalistic movement against foreigners were the Know-Nothings (the designation signaled that members identified themselves by pretending to know nothing). The movement threatened foreigners in many ways, especially through restrictions on citizenship and voting rights. Under pressure from the Know-Nothings, the Massachusetts legislature considered a severe limitation of voting rights and demanded a waiting period of at least seven years after arrival. Douai and Kob testified against such restrictions at meetings of the committee considering these measures. German politicians had to take such nativistic reactions seriously.¹⁴

Kob clearly took a radical position and, together with his colleague Douai, also radical on many social issues, resolved to ignore the danger of backlash. Wasting no time, within three weeks after the election, and not dwelling on the disappointment of Frémont's defeat, they 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ A negative response also came from Eduard Schläger in the *Illinois Staatszeitung*. According to Douai, eastern states, Ohio, and Michigan applauded the Boston initiative. The strong opposition from Wisconsin and Illinois forced Douai, however, to write detailed analyses to counter the objections raised. Douai was forced into a defensive posture, and the public exchange dragged into January of the following year.¹⁷ The frustration caused by such dissensions undoubtedly forced 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 this city [i.e., Boston]." Because of limited funds the committee voted to ask Unitarian minister Rev. Edward E. Hale "to use his influence in the community to accomplish Dr. Kob's wishes." During the committee meeting of February 20, Thomas H. Webb, committee secretary, reported for Hale on the progress of the discussions with Dr. Kob. The proposal now appeared in a revised form. The home of the German paper to advocate Free State principles and to direct immigration to Kansas was to be not in Boston but in Kansas. The committee was clearly pleased to invest money in this direct involvement in Kansas affairs. The investment helped the newspaper where it was most needed and made it a vehicle of communication on location. Subsequent meetings in March focused on the details of implementation. The purchase of German type for \$300 gained approval. Contacts with Lawrence (George W. Brown of the *Herald of Freedom*) explored the

availability of an appropriate press in Kansas. The committee also approved sending Dr. Kob to Kansas to make preparations, and later, if resources permitted, to travel to Germany. Though not explicitly stated in the minutes, the trip to Germany would entail active promotion of immigration to Kansas. A detailed pamphlet or guide book to explain the advantages of settling in Kansas became part of Kob's project.¹⁸ Having won the financial support of the company, Kob immediately embarked on his Kansas mission.

When Kob arrived in Lawrence in April, he began a tour of Kansas settlements to collect information for a guidebook. He worked efficiently; within a 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.¹⁹ Kob's original contribution was the vivid description of settlements 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:

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.²⁰

When Kob returned to Boston, the executive committee of the New England Emigrant Aid Company learned 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 one half of the expense. The company then voted to cover the balance of the cost.²¹ The final product of this effort, *Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas* (*Guide for Settlers in the Territory of Kansas*), was printed by G. B. Teubner in New York; Kob's preface shows the date May 26, 1857.

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, New York, 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."²² 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.²³

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!"²⁴

In light of the administration's unyielding stand against the immigrants 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. 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 . . ." ²⁵ Kob also 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 German newspaper, the *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, 1857²⁶

The editorials and articles in German addressed specific interests and needs. The paper would attempt to represent German intellect, German customs and German 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."²⁷ 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 these 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."²⁸ 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 participated actively in statewide political meetings. On August 26, 1857, four hundred to five hundred persons in favor of a slave-free Kansas met at Grasshopper Falls (today Valley Falls). The delegates chose Kob as one of the secretaries of the convention. 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 saw the struggle analogous 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. That would be a cause for revolution.²⁹ 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, W. F. M. Arny, and Thaddeus Hyatt.³⁰

Kob's *Kansas Zeitung* reported regularly on the activities of the Turner clubs. The Turner club of Leavenworth formed a militia to prevent Missouri citizens from taking part in the upcoming elections.³¹ With some pride, Kob reported that the first well-armed company of a Kansas volunteer army was located in Leavenworth under the auspices of the *Turnverein*. The organizational structure of the Turner battalion would include, according to Kob's report, 150 men with the officers: Haas (captain), Petz (lieutenant), Ranst (lieutenant), Thelen (standard-bearer), Hasenkamp (sergeant), Tafel (sergeant), Seeland (corporal), and Denzler (corporal). Other German companies in preparation were planned for 130 men. The need for weapons was serious, but the Turner clubs had already succeeded in capturing a canon, including a canon, from the border ruffians. General Lane had inspected the company and was impressed.³²

Free State candidates won a conclusive victory in the election of January 4, 1858, and the 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. Anticipating this result, in the summer of 1857, Amos Lawrence wrote to Ephraim Nute, a Unitarian minister in Lawrence: "We look upon the great question as now settled, and all political movements in Kansas as having chiefly a local interest."³³

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. In October, 1858, he became a successful candidate for the Kansas legislature, but an accident prevented him from taking office. An ad offering his services as a physician now stressed that he would devote time exclusively to his work as a physician.³⁴ He still remained active on the school board and was a founding member of the Kansas Medical Society.³⁵ Obituaries of 1861 looked back on a man who gained respect in his community and in Kansas.

Funeral of Dr. Kob. — The funeral of Dr. C. F. Kob was attended, yesterday afternoon, from his residence on Second Street. The friends of the deceased, and a large number of citizens, joined in the procession, which was very imposing. The members of the Medical and Surgical Association, to which the deceased belonged, were mounted on horseback, and attended the remains to the place of interment. A band of music led the procession, and its mournful dirges and death-marches added much to the solemnity of the occasion.

Upon the summit of Pilot Knob the last resting place was selected. Slowly the long cavalcade wound its way up the ascent, and as the sun declined in the West, and its beams fell softly and slantingly upon the

scene, the remains were quietly sepulchered, there to sleep undisturbed, until the final roll call of the dead.

Thus has Dr. Kob passed from among us. He had received a liberal education in another land, and the sprightliness of his wit, the vivacity of his conversation and his intellectual superiority, which displayed itself in everything he undertook, won him many friends in this the home of his adoption. He had his faults (as who has not?) but these will soon be forgotten, and naught will remain save the fragrant memories of his virtues.

The resolutions of the Leavenworth College of Physicians and Surgeons, on the death of Dr. C. F. Kob, were unavoidably crowded out of yesterday's issue. They were adopted at a meeting held on Monday evening, of which Dr. S. W. Jones was President and Dr. L. P. Stiles, Clerk.

The resolutions pay a deserved tribute of respect to the deceased, as an esteemed member of his profession and a worthy citizen, and express deep sympathy with his family and friends.

(*The Leavenworth Daily Times*, March 6, 1861, vol. 7, no. 17)

Death of Dr. Kob. — Dr. Charles Frederick Kob died at his residence in this city at 5 o'clock yesterday morning [Sunday, March 4?] of inflammation of the brain. His age was forty years and nine months.

Dr. Kob was native of Koenigsberg, Prussia, was a thoroughly educated physician and in 184[9] acted as first surgeon in the Schleswig-Holstein war against Denmark. He came to Kansas from Boston in 1857, and soon after commenced the publication in this city of the *Zeitung*, a daily and weekly German newspaper. In the fall of 1858, he was elected to the Legislature, but his leg having been broken by an unmanageable horse, he was prevented from taking his seat in the House.

By his brilliant mind, his scholarly tastes, and his skill in his profession, Dr. Kob gained an extensive reputation.

He leaves a wife and one child to mourn his loss.

(*Lawrence Republican*, March 14, 1861,
reprinted from the *Leavenworth Conservative*)

* * *

The origins and early evolution of the Republican party, the German Forty-eighters' involvement in the campaign of 1856, and Kob's immersion into Kansas Free State politics provide a suitable introduction and context for August Bondi's autobiography. Bondi's life and experiences as a youth in Austria parallel those of Kob in Schleswig-Holstein. Although Bondi's description of John Brown's battles in Kansas precede the publication of the guidebook, Kob's network of radical Free Staters reflects the significance of the impulses that the Forty-eighters brought with their revolutionary experience for John Brown's mission. American and German radicals hand in hand with John Brown changed the history of Kansas, and to understand how this occurred, Bondi's narrative is certainly the most articulate and revealing documentary source.

Although Jewish, Bondi received his early education in a Catholic school administered monks of the Piarist order. When the revolution broke out in March 1848 he joined the Academic Student Legion, a revolutionary organization that supported Hungary's uprising against Austrian rule. His autobiography is unique not only as a first-hand narrative of the 1848 revolution but also as a record of the revolution as an educational instrument. Bondi was a keen observer of pivotal events in a historical process. The education in revolution formed the ideological background for his participation in Kansas affairs.

This education began in earnest when Bondi was only a school boy of thirteen years. His Hungarian tutor "often deprecated the outrages of absolutism and state-church." Two years later, on March 12, 1848, he heard the declarations that signaled the beginning of the revolution in Vienna, the students' demand for freedom of conscience and press, along with the requirement to teach and learn without interference. As the demands for freedoms grew louder in front of Vienna's Council Hall, the demonstrators met with gunfire. Twelve demonstrators were dead. Hearing demonstration leaders speak, Bondi "became imbued with hatred of spiritual and governmental tyranny" and was "fanaticized with sympathy for the downtrodden of the globe." Bondi recalled a heated discussion in which he defended the laboring classes of Vienna and deplored that the Italians in Lombardy and Venice were victims of Austrian military aggression. He thought that it was a mistake to stand "idly by while the Imperial army throttled Italy; that after Italy's defeat our turn would be next."³⁶ This was for him a painful lesson for future revolutions.

In June the Austrian army defeated the insurgents in Prague, and to counter the attack of that force against the Hungarians under Kossuth, Bondi was prepared to fight with the "Vienna Legion" in Hungary. Since the futility of such a venture was not difficult to foresee, Bondi's parents were able to persuade their son to accept an alternative in the form of emigration to America. In September, after the Austrian army had handed the Hungarians a decisive defeat, but just before it reentered Vienna, the Bondi family left. In a short period of less than five intense months young Bondi gathered the crucial lessons that affected his American life.

We youngsters from the barricades and struggles of the revolutionary movements of Germany, Austria and Hungary, who had there been initiated into politics, were eager to grasp the opportunity which would prove our important political influence in our new home.³⁷

At first it "was not sympathy with the Negro slave" that caused Bondi to look to Missouri Senator Thomas H. Benton, who had led a campaign to prevent the extension of slavery. At this time Bondi's political views did not focus on slavery but rather "the degradation of labor." Only several years later, in 1855, did the "curse of slavery" crystallize in his mind as a primary concern. An article by Horace Greeley in the *New York Tribune* finally persuaded Bondi that "freedom loving men should rush to Kansas and save it" from that curse. Greeley's fervent admonitions touched the revolutionary part of Bondi's soul.

Men and brethren! There is imminent danger that Kansas will be lost to freedom, but as yet it is danger only. She is not lost, but is sorely beset, and

those who can should fly to the rescue. Thousands of hardy pioneers who do not cower before work and hardship ought to find homes on her broad expanse . . .

(*New York Daily Tribune*, January 27, 1855)

The Anti-slavery movement is no longer at the mercy of spasmodic and irregular forces. It has got a prodigious momentum from its own action that secures it against obstruction from opposing influences forever hereafter. It cannot be arrested or again subordinated to other political issues.

(*New York Daily Tribune*, March 6, 1855³⁸)

Bondi's education in revolution and its interpretation in the American context reveal familiar patterns. Kob received his baptism in fire in the North, in Schleswig-Holstein, far removed from Bondi's Vienna. After initial adjustments as a physician in Hartford and Boston, Kob very quickly encountered a broad spectrum of German-Americans. In contrast, Bondi appeared to be a lone outsider in his limited circle of St. Louis labor class acquaintances. Despite their totally different paths, they arrived in Kansas with comparable missions. They both favored radical and swift actions against the border ruffians; they emphasized that delay would be fatal. Stressing the massive failures in Europe proved to be an effective rhetorical and propagandistic resource. Bondi and Kob both used it effectively to draw other German (Central European) emigrants to join them. Bondi won over Jacob Benjamin and Theodore Wiener. Kob had a strong following in Atchison and Leavenworth, where he resided, and also in Lawrence, where he won a partner in Dr. Moritz Hartmann. As we will see below, another recent emigrant, Charles Leonhardt, applied a similar strategy, referring to his revolutionary experience. Charles Kaiser also belonged to this circle of German veterans of revolution.

In his unpublished "Reminiscences" Bondi recalls the pleasure of first meeting "Dutch Charley," as Kaiser was known in Kansas:

Kaiser had a claim three or four miles from our hiding place and had become acquainted with Captain Brown during the 'Wakarusa War.' He was about thirty-three years old and native of Bavaria, had long resided in Hungary, where he had served through the whole of the revolutionary war of '49. His face was marked with saber cuts and lance thrusts. He was extremely well pleased to find in me a member of the old Vienna Legion. He, Wiener, and myself became very intimate in a few minutes, Kaiser was full of fun; no matter how serious the occasion, he was on hand with jokes.³⁹

A carpenter named Charles Kaiser (presumably the same person) became involved with a German socialist organization (*German Social Reform Society* and the *Socialistic Turners*), which in 1851, with the support of these two organizations, attempted to form a party, first designated as the Radical Free Soil Party and then later named the German Free Soil Democracy of New York. The platform, which Kaiser helped to formulate, demanded "land reform measures in the most radical manner." It stressed its strict opposition to slavery in "in whatsoever shape." It seems reasonable to assume that this Kaiser emigrated eventually to Kansas and found the

radicalism of John Brown akin to his own.⁴⁰ Although relatively little is known about Kaiser with certainty, his commitment to fight and sacrifice his life alongside John Brown suggest also a kinship with the other German radicals.

The detailed consideration of Kob's and Bondi's texts leads us to an important question about the ways in which Kob's political career intersects with the account of August Bondi's days with John Brown. Kob's *Wegweiser* shows a network of supportive Americans and Germans who would be willing allies of immigrants to Kansas, and in this context he remembers John Brown's famous encounter with proslavery forces at Osawatomie.

Osawatomie. Twenty miles north at the mouth of Pottawatomie Creek into the Osage River lies Osawatomie. This town was founded in 1855 and is doing well, despite the many troubles that have afflicted it. It was here that the old, courageous [John] Brown fought with only thirty-four brave men against 400 "knights" of slavery. Inflicting death on forty-two men and wounding 100, he forced them to flee to Missouri. In his small crowd of heroes there were five Germans, one of whom, along with a noble Hungarian, unfortunately lost their lives. They did so, however, with honor, showing their love for freedom. One of Brown's own four sons died a valiant death here.⁴¹

Kob depended on stories of others or on newspaper accounts whereas Bondi described this event from the perspective of an eyewitness. Kob referred to 400 "knights" of the proslavery attackers; Bondi was told that there might be 500 or 800 Missouri men.⁴² Kob thought that Brown's troop consisted of thirty-four men to Bondi's thirty-five. Both accounts report the loss of Brown's son, Frederick. Kob referred to the death of one German and one Hungarian; Bondi identified only Charles Kaiser, a German, as a victim of the battle. Because Kaiser had participated in the Hungarian revolution, Kob calls him a "Hungarian." It is possible that the two persons mentioned in Kob were one and the same person?

A newspaper report might have been the cause of Kob's confusion:

... the prisoners were subjected to very cruel treatment, and two of them, one named Williams, and the other 'Dutch Charley,' were taken out of the camp and shot by their infuriated enemies. The latter was a Hungarian who had fought under Kossuth, and since his removal to this country, had lived in Kansas and taken a very active part with the Free State party. He was present at the party of Black Jack, and after the capture of the proslavery party was appointed to guard the prisoners, one of whom was a man named Coleman. This Coleman was at the battle of Osawatomie, and after the capture of the Free State men, recognized Dutch Charley, i.e., Charles Kaiser. He demanded that Dutch Charley be delivered up to him, and taking him out shot him dead.

Kob's figure of 100 casualties on the proslavery side is not confirmed in Bondi's text;

the latter mentioned seeing "two wagons loaded with what looked like dead men, as legs and arms were hanging out."⁴³

Perhaps the significance of Kob's narrative is less the accuracy of the details than the rhetoric of his strongly sympathetic perspective. For him Brown's men were heroes who fought with honor for the sake of freedom. In this battle Germans played a significant role, though it is impossible to verify the figure of five Germans. Bondi's account mentioned only Jacob Benjamin and Charles Kaiser, besides himself. Bondi does not mention another member of the Brown company, Dr. William Wales Updegraff, a member of a distinguished Mennonite family that emigrated from Krefeld in the seventeenth century. Originally, the family name was Op den Graeff from from Swammerdam, Holland.⁴⁴ Kob also reveals a plan to establish a new city name Guttenberg, under the leadership of George Deitzler [Kob writes his name Dietzler], approximately twenty-five miles west of Humboldt. Part of Kob's plan was the strategic political location of the town.

In western Texas there is already a strong, prosperous German anti-slavery settlement of 50,000–80,000 Germans. 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.⁴⁵

George Washington Deitzler, born in Pennsylvania from a German background, became one of the most prominent Free State leaders of Lawrence next to Charles Robinson. Like Charles Robinson, he was a moderate politician and served in the Kansas legislature. He was the expert on military affairs, and in April 1858 he went to Boston in to acquire weapons in order to defend Lawrence against incursions. In 1856, Deitzler joined Robinson and Ephraim Nute in an effort to establish a university in Lawrence (for this project Amos Lawrence committed an initial investment). Kob considered him a German and rejoiced at his election during the 1857 elections.⁴⁶ As a political ally of Adolf Douai in Boston, Kob was well informed about the struggles of Germans for a free state in Texas. Douai, a radical abolitionist, who had worked hard in Texas to build an anti-slave coalition of Germans in 1852 to 1856, and established a newspaper (*San Antonio Zeitung*) for that purpose, but, encountering considerable hostility, was eventually forced to leave.⁴⁷ Where Douai had failed, Kob was hoping build a solid bridge to defeat the southern expansion.

During a relatively short visit in Kansas to prepare his guidebook, Kob was resourceful in establishing potential contacts to serve the immigrants. For the new city of Hyatt, named after Thaddeus Hyatt, the president of the National Kansas Committee. Although Hyatt was in Kansas to participate in the 1857 Grasshopper Falls conference and signed the "Address to the American People," Arny was a key partner to organize in the town, and he became its first mayor.⁴⁸ The location of the town plans near Osawatimie and Arny's later provisions to make the location a connecting point for roads in the area reflected political aims in a larger context of settlement policy. Arny's partnership with Kob in the real estate business meant the

establishment of Free State towns that could be part of the "belt of freedom" Kob referred to with respect to Guttenberg.

Kob is given credit for attempting to establish a town named Bunker Hill near Atchison and Ingraham thirty miles west of Humboldt. The *Kansas Zeitung* reported that the real estate company of Kob was establishing the city of Ingraham in honor of the American naval officer Duncan Nathaniel Ingraham, who freed Martin Kos[zt]a, a former Hungarian revolutionary, from the hands of the Turks.⁴⁹ These particular communities had short lives; they were essentially "paper towns." Nevertheless, the effort to establish them was clearly part of a plan to strengthen the strategic position against slavery. Thaddeus Hyatt sympathized with the aggressive abolitionist aims of John Brown. After Brown's death, he started a relief fund for Brown's family. In 1860, he served in prison for three months because of his refusal to testify in the United States about the Brown case.⁵⁰

In his narrative about Emporia, Kob introduces another German radical, Charles Leonhardt.

The valley of the Cotton[wood] River, which joins with the Neosho six miles below the newly-founded town **Emporia**, offers equally attractive features. The area is very attractive; timber and creeks are abundant. Mr. Leonhard[t] and 4 other Germans have staked out claims nearby. One could not wish for more from the soil. There is even a newspaper being published here. Each German settler may turn to Mr. Dietzler [Deitzler], the founder of the town, or to Mr. Leonhard[t].⁵¹

Like Kob and Bondi, Charles Leonhardt (full name: Charles Frederick William Leonhardt) also claimed to have learned important lessons from the European revolutions. His original plan for immigration called for settling in Texas. As it turned out, he resided at first in Massachusetts, where he tried to make a living as a construction worker, but then was able to make use of his interrupted university training to teach French and German, then later he served as an instructor in a Plymouth gymnasium, which he established. Immediately after his arrival in Kansas, he became involved in politics and represented the Emporia district at a Free State convention of Topeka.⁵² The newspaper of Emporia, *The Kansas News*, reported on his speech at he meeting of June 9. Leonhardt said:

After listening to these speakers, my spirit has gone back to Europe, and my mind recalls scenes in which I have been an actor on bloody fields. I allude to these things not on personal grounds, but because the struggle here is similar one. As representative from the 6th district, I have a duty to perform. . . . I see among the freedom loving men here, there are two parties. One of them says "wait," but the other says "go on." So it was in the Hungarian revolution. When we could have beaten the Austrians, a portion said, "wait till we are stronger." We waited until the Russians came, and we were overthrown. Here they say, "wait to see what your governor will do; he promises us railroads and many other things." I have not much faith in him. His acts are suspicious. "Timeo Dan[a]os et dona fere[n]tes." (I fear the Greeks though they come with presents.) When we get ready for

railroads, we will build them ourselves. We foreign-born citizens heard the wail of Freedom in Kansas—we were bound to listen to that cry. I speak for the adopted citizens when I say we are with you in the fight. We will not shrink. We are Americans by choice and are proud of our chosen land. The people of the 6th district wish to put the carriage in motion, and they ask of others to help them. They wish to organize under the state government. They do not wish to “wait.”⁵³

The same admonition was also voiced by Kob and Bondi with the minor difference of geographic location. In Kob’s argument the culprits were the Prussians; for Bondi they were the Austrians. Both regretted that the revolutionaries did not exploit the advantages of their initial successes.

At a Topeka convention of July 15 and 16, 1857, Leonhardt was, according to the *Herald of Freedom*, a Hungarian, who “spoke in the same strain [as Daniel Foster], and urged the forming of county organizations, and all the political machinery of towns and cities, and make Kansas a glorious, free Republican independent state.” Leonhardt discovered at this time his talent for making speeches and, together with Daniel Foster, a Unitarian minister who had come to Kansas with the intention of joining John Brown, he traveled back to the east coast to raise funds for the Kansas cause. He claimed to have had at least thirty-six speaking engagements. Foster became his friend and referred to him as “Colonel Leonhardt” and “an exile from his fatherland for liberty’s sake, one of the patriots of the revolution of 1848.”⁵⁴ In Kansas Leonhardt became an active member of General Lane’s militia and his Danites, a secret society whose members had to swear willingness to give up their lives to make Kansas a free state.⁵⁵ In 1859, Leonhardt became acquainted with John Brown, who trusted him and confided his plans for attacking Harper’s Ferry. Richard Hinton suspected that Leonhardt inadvertently revealed the plans to a journalist and thereby assured the failure of that venture.⁵⁶

Leonhardt probably represented the most radical member of Kob’s network. Although there can be no doubt about the former’s sincere commitment to the Free State cause, his claim to be a genuine Forty-eighter is questionable. The writings and records he left behind document years of service in the Prussian army during the revolutionary years and even show that he was part of troops that ended the uprising in Schleswig-Holstein.⁵⁷ His travel to London falls in a period when the Hungarian revolution was over, but much discussed in England. The claims that he fled from Hungary together with Kossuth and served with General Dembinski and General Klapka are also questionable; Kossuth’s flight and the campaigns of Dembinski and Klapka were taking place at a time when Leonhardt was serving officially in the Prussian army. Even as a myth, simply the claim, whether true or not, of participation in the Hungarian revolution has significance. At least two members of John Brown’s fighters, Charles Kaiser and August Bondi, displayed a sincere commitment to the Hungarian cause. In Lawrence, even a slavery advocate made claims to have been a veteran of the Hungarian revolution.⁵⁸

When Louis Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarians, arrived at New York’s Staten Island, he was greeted by a salute of guns. A torchlight parade included the Turner Society of New York.⁵⁹ His speaking tour in 1851 to 1852 throughout the country was widely publicized. James H. Lane, then lieutenant governor of Indiana, introduced

Kossuth to the state legislature. John Brown did not fail to take notice. Although Kossuth was unwilling to articulate a clear stance against slavery, John Brown defended him against critics who expected an abolitionist stand from him. Brown believed that he was "doing more to instruct our young people and to indoctrinate them in the true republican principle than any man has done since the revolution."⁶⁰ To be a veteran of that Hungarian experience meant suitability for the heroic struggle in Kansas.

Kob's text about the town of Humboldt reveals him as a shrewd planner and politician. He emphasized that the association and elected officials for building this town was "equally divided between Germans and Americans." Kob could assert this view on the basis of his most recent personal involvement. He was present, after all, when the German settlers had arrived from Hartford and intervened for them in making the transition from Lawrence to Humboldt. It was at this time, in March 1857, that he became acquainted with Dr. Moritz Harttmann, the president of the Humboldt City Association. This was the beginning of a partnership in matters relating to the planned German newspaper and the future of German settlements. On the basis of past experience, he shared with Harttmann the conviction "that the mixed population contributes best to the rapid development of towns."

On February 20, 1858, Reverend Serenbetz, the leader of the Humboldt settlers, could report the positive developments that had occurred in less than a year. According to him, Humboldt promised to become a vibrant city, a thriving center of commerce, trading primarily with the "rich" Cherokee Indians and later with Arkansas, New Mexico, and Texas. There were now twenty-five houses. In the election of January 4, 1858, Serenbetz reported with confidence that eighty-three votes went for the cause of the Free State. He conceded that the Americans had difficulty pronouncing the names of the German streets. In the same letter Serenbetz also asked Kob to get the word out to his eastern friends that there was a need for German settlers, especially craftsmen such as potters, tailors, cobblers, and coach-builders. (Street names, later to be changed into English names; included the names of the Forty-eighters were Tritschler and Blum [i.e., Wilhelm Adolf Trützschler and Robert Blum].)⁶¹ Although the Humboldt settlement represented a conservative religious community, it was aligned with Kob's political aims in supporting his vision of a "belt of freedom."

All these men instinctively recognized the significance of John Brown's missionary zeal. Brown, on his part, valued the experiences the revolutionaries brought from Europe, and the awareness of the lessons they brought to Kansas may have influenced him to a degree in moving against proslavery people without any hesitation. For the men who sided with John Brown, the leaders in Lawrence, Charles Robinson, George W. Deitzler, George W. Brown, and Ephraim Nute, were much too moderate. (All were founding members of the Unitarian Society of Lawrence.)⁶² George W. Brown showed his opposition to Kob when he reported in his *Herald of Freedom* with obvious glee, but erroneously, that Kob had been defeated in the election of 1858.⁶³ Although the Lawrence citizens were intent on defending themselves, even with the use of arms, they tried to avoid confrontations with the federal authorities, and they did not approve of the aggressive incursions into Missouri. The Pottawatomie killings by Brown's men became a controversial issue among moderates.⁶⁴ These moderates believed that the overwhelming majority of Free State citizens was a guarantee that the state would eventually secure legitimacy and peace. They considered the voting booths the suitable places to resolve the conflict. On this point there was a clear line

of division, but in these times of frequently violent confrontations, the interests and views of the moderates and radicals often converged.

In historical memory John Brown has survived as the symbol of radical and decisive action in the Kansas crisis. He acted in line with the experience of the Forty-eighters. Kob viewed him and his German followers as heroes. Bondi and Leonhardt expressed disapproval of Brown's designs on Harper's Ferry and his plans for freeing slaves, but Bondi stressed, nevertheless, his positive legacy in Kansas.

Old Capt. Brown was a good, square man, a man steadfast to principles which he had accepted as just and righteous, and if the border ruffians had not developed a tiger-like inhumanity, the Harper's Ferry raid could never have taken place. The free state men of Kansas owe to John Brown gratitude for their success. He and his handful kept together in Taway Camp in May of 1856, accomplished at Black Jack, June 2, 1856, he proved there that the Border Ruffians could be met in the field and defeated with proper energy and pluck. He saved the free state cause then and there from unavoidable defeat which would have been its fate if that action had not been fought or if victory had not been won.⁶⁵

The moderates' position was different, and disagreement about Brown's legacy persists even today. If we consider the question only from the perspective of the German Forty-eighters, however, Bondi's view was precise and just. Kob, Bondi, and their radical allies contributed to making Brown a mythical hero of emancipation. Even if Brown failed to bring about a nation-wide insurrection at Harper's Ferry, his execution transformed his struggle into an enduring legacy.

There have been vigorous challenges to the validity of that heroic image and, by implication, the rejection of any moral justification of the actions Kob and Bondi supported. The result has been an acrimonious, retrospective debate between the conservatives who would allow the use of force only as a defensive measure and those who believe that a revolutionary crisis justifies extraordinary military initiatives. In this case, the debate has centered on a single event of 1856, the so-called Pottawatomie massacre.⁶⁶ If we take into account the tensions and conflicts between conservatives and radicals on this or other related events, in the camp of the conservatives the name of Charles Robinson becomes prominent. He was the leader of the Free State settlement from the very beginning. Because of the unprecedented and rapid influx of immigrants from northern states Robinson confronted an unstable and constantly changing political situation. When the Border Ruffians attacked and destroyed Lawrence's Free State Hotel and the printing presses on May 21, 1856, and when a number of Free State leaders, including Robinson, were imprisoned by the federal authorities, the purely defensive policy was difficult to justify.

Without waiting for approval, John Brown took matters into his own hands and led a campaign of killings to frighten proslavery forces. The Pottawatomie killings, which Bondi describes only in vague terms, took place under Brown's direction. Whether those killings, clearly not a direct response to persons involved in the Lawrence attacks, could be justified morally and politically was a question that Robinson answered in different ways at different times. Before the Missouri attack on Lawrence, during the earlier dramatic confrontations of the Wakarusa War in

December 1855, Robinson could still insist on a defensive posture. With this view he was in disagreement with Lane, who was eager to take the offensive.⁶⁷ John Brown came to Lawrence with his sons and offered to help, but it became evident that he was not satisfied with a passive response to Border Ruffian attacks. Robinson was for him "a perfect old woman."⁶⁸ During a public meeting in Lawrence during this crisis Brown protested about the wisdom of a treaty with the state authorities represented by Governor Shannon, but he was not allowed to explain his point of view. Brown left in disgust because the "broken-down politicians . . . would rather pass resolutions than act."⁶⁹ According to one newspaper report, Brown proposed immediate advance against the "invaders, drive them from the soil, or hang them if taken."⁷⁰

Robinson's moderate approach was based, on the other hand, on the proposition that the Free State party could "outlast" the proslavery attacks and incursions. He was intent on avoiding provocation in face of the possible intervention of federal authorities on the side of the Border Ruffians. In light of the radical position, Robinson was fighting a war on three fronts. Robinson calculated, in light of the massive immigration, that Free State Kansas was destined to prevail. In August 1857 he declared that he had no doubts about the triumph. "From the census returns I am satisfied there is not a district in the Territory in which we have not a large majority of voters."⁷¹ In the summer of 1857 the New England Emigrant Aid Company was convinced that the Free State cause had triumphed and ceased its aid to Kansas. Amos Lawrence resigned as treasurer.⁷²

John Brown's views were not very different on this particular question. Considerably earlier, in February 1857 Brown asserted in an interview that ". . . as Missouri had undertaken to make a slave state of Kansas and failed . . . Kansas should make a free state of Missouri."⁷³ At this early stage Brown already contemplated the extension of the struggle beyond Kansas. For Brown the crisis had to be seen in national terms, and that conflict could be settled only militarily. He had studied Napoleon's military campaigns, and when he made a business trip to Europe briefly in 1849, he showed interest in the battlefields of Napoleon, which he visited. He reflected on the mistakes the general had made, and he focused on alternate strategies. Brown also read the life of Oliver Cromwell, probably because he could be a model for combining religious zeal with realistic military planning. Hugh Forbes, a veteran of the Italian revolutions of 1848 and 1849 and trusted agent of Mazzini and Garibaldi, was familiar with the plans of the European revolutionary organizations and leaders. Based on his experience irregular warfare (guerrilla fighting), he wrote a bulky *Manual*. In early summer 1857 Brown paid Forbes to condense his book into English. In planning for the future, Brown was clearly looking beyond Kansas.⁷⁴

Prominent Kansas politician General James H. Lane represented a strategy that was not purely defensive. Although not an abolitionist, Lane urged his followers to take actions to drive the proslavery settlers out of Kansas. Bondi participated in a meeting in which Lane "baptized" the fighters against the Border Ruffians as Jayhawkers:

. . . after a short speech, he 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 proslavery 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 Jayhawk-ers), afterwards applied indiscriminately to all Kansas troops.⁷⁵

Although there is no evidence that an Irish bird of this name ever existed, we can accept Bondi's word that this "first" use certainly could have been the powerful catalyst for the mythical creature that later acquired a will of its own.⁷⁶ In Lane's formulation the Jayhawker was under divine guidance to clear out the "proslavery hell-hounds." The justification of political and military campaigns with the Bible was not foreign to John Brown but alien to conservatives like Robinson and George W. Brown, the editor of the *Herald of Freedom*. Both Robinson and Brown belonged to the Unitarian church of Lawrence, a liberal organization, whose members, with strong support from the New England Emigrant Company, influenced events in the 1850s. They tended to favor non-violence.

George W. Brown, who welcomed John Brown to join the struggle in Lawrence initially and introduced him to Robinson, almost immediately reversed his view of the man and rejected his impulsiveness, which Captain Brown exhibited in the Wakarusa confrontation:

A small military company was organized at once, and the command was given to Old Brown. From that hour he commenced fomenting difficulties in camp, disregarding the commands of superior officers, and trying to induce the men to go down to Franklin and make an attack upon the Proslavery forces encamped there. The Committee of Public Safety w[as] called upon several times to head off his wild projects . . .⁷⁷

Whereas the editor of the Lawrence-based *Herald of Freedom* rejected Brown almost from the beginning and did not waver subsequently, Robinson's evaluation was weighed down by contradictions. The problem began with Robinson's letter of September 13, 1856, when, responding apparently to a request from John Brown, he wrote about the captain in generous terms:

History will give your name a proud place on her pages, and posterity will pay homage to your heroism in the cause of God and humanity. Trusting that you will conclude to remain in Kansas, and serve "during the war" the cause you have done so much to sustain. . . .⁷⁸

About more than twenty years later Robinson was still able to express very positive sentiments:

The soul of John Brown was the inspiration of the Union armies in the emancipation war, and it will be the inspiration of all men in the present and distant future who may revolt against tyranny and oppression; because he dared to be a traitor to the government that he might be loyal to humanity. To the superficial observer John Brown was a failure. So was Jesus of Nazareth. Both suffered ignominious death as traitors to the government,

yet one is now hailed as the savior of a world from sin, and the other of a race from bondage.⁷⁹

Robinson lived to regret his excessive generosity, which then made it all the more difficult for him to destroy the heroic image that he had helped to promote. In 1883 David N. Utter initiated a lively debate after Robinson's eulogy to Brown, and the controversies, and new evidence about the Pottawatomie killings forced Robinson to review the events now in the distant past. He wrote to Amos Lawrence that "until the testimony of Mr. Townsley appeared, many Free State men apologized for the massacre on the ground that the men killed were worthy of death for their crimes. With these apologies I sympathized . . ."⁸⁰ Robinson became convinced that the "massacre" of Pottawatomie did significant damage to the cause that it was supposed to promote. The result was more bloodshed and war. In this reversal the hero and martyr became suddenly a villain; the reversal took Robinson back to his original, conservative strategy to outlast the proslavery forces rather than to defeat and destroy them.

The inconsistency in the person of Robinson reflects hostilities and conflicts that only increased in intensity through retrospection. Robinson's biography indicates that at least in one period of his life he was inclined to accept and tolerate the validity of certain radical actions in the context of revolutionary circumstances. The engagements of Pottawatomie, Black Jack, and Osawatimie took place at a time of Robinson's imprisonment by the federal authorities as traitor. At that time Kansas could not be certain that Robinson's strategy would prevail. Robinson must have reflected seriously on the possibility that revolutionary situations might require extreme measures. Thus, for a brief period in 1856 the distinction between conservative and radical must have become blurred. Robinson's concession to the radical contribution bypassed the question of guilt for Pottawatomie; the crisis of 1856, a crisis of survival for the Free State settlers, suspended for many strict moral considerations. Many believed, apparently even Robinson, that at this critical point in time the end justified the means.

The unresolved controversy about who may take the law into his own hands, when, how, and for what cause is interwoven in an unresolved form in the fabric of Kob's and Bondi's texts and subtexts. The texts show that the German network was not necessarily aware of Brown's religious guidance. Kob and Bondi focused on freedom for Kansas; they did not become followers of Brown's mission beyond Kansas. Bondi at least did not think that Brown's plan to free the slaves in the South was realistic, and Kob's conception of a "belt of freedom" did not envision offensive military campaigns. The texts, nevertheless, share a strong admiration for Brown's zeal and idealism, and they promote his heroic image. For Kob and Bondi the conviction that slavery was wrong and had to be abolished, and therefore the revolutionary struggle, even in the form of the Pottawatomie killings, was a just one. If John Brown required justification for his mission in Kansas, the radical German Forty-eighters were willing to provide it.

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Notes

¹ John F. Kennedy, *A Nation of Immigrants* (New York: Harper & Row, [first published in 1964] 1986), p. 54.

² Thomas Frank, *What's the Matter with Kansas?* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2004), p. 31.

³ George W. Julian, "The First Republican National Convention," *The American Historical Review* 4 (1899): 313–22.

⁴ William E. Gienapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852–1856* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 325–41.

⁵ The original letter was dated October 7, 1850, *Weekly Chicago Democrat* on July 19 and *New York Daily Tribune* on July 15. The text of Humboldt's letter is available in a critical edition by Ingo Schwarz, *Alexander von Humboldt und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Briefwechsel* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004), pp. 275–77; Frémont's book is available at <http://www.longcamp.com/report.html>.

⁶ Gienapp, pp. 414–15 and 441.

⁷ *Atlas* of Boston, Oct. 18, 1856.

⁸ Ernest Bruncken, "German Political Refugees in the United States during the Period from 1815 to 1860 (1815 to 1860)," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 3–4 (1903–4): 53–54, reprinted in Heinrich Tolzmann, *The German-American Forty-Eighters (1848–1998)* (Indianapolis: Max Kade, 1998), pp. 52–53.

⁹ Adolf Douai, "Lebensbeschreibung," manuscript deposited with the Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, p. 180.

¹⁰ Bruce Levin, *The Spirit of 1848. German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), pp. 91–92. Cf. Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson, *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), pp. 249–78.

¹¹ *The Atlas* of Boston, Sept. 12, 1856; *The Atlas* reported on August 27 that Kob participated in a Boston event organized for the friends of Frémont.

¹² For general information on Kob's life see the obituaries in the *Leavenworth Daily Times*, March 6, 1861 and the *Lawrence Republican*, March 14, 1861. *The Lawrence Republican* reports that in 184[9] Kob was "first surgeon in the Schleswig-Holstein war against Denmark." This would have been a high rank for man of only about twenty-nine years of age. I have not been able to verify this claim in German military records. Kob's studies are verified in the Koeingsberg student records for the years 1840 to 1845. *Ämtliches Verzeichnis des Personals und der Studierenden auf der Königl. Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg i. Pr.* (Königsberg: Hartung'sche Hof- und Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1835–1921). Kob married Emilie Horst of Holstein. On June 20, 1851, she had arrived in New York with her father Barnard Horst, a merchant, her mother, Minna, and five brothers and sisters. According to information made available to me by Judith Ellen Johnson of the Connecticut Historical Society Museum, her 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.

¹³ Howard B. Furer, *The Germans in America (1607–1970): Chronology & Fact Book* (New York: Oceana, 1973), p. 43.

¹⁴ Douai, "Lebensbeschreibung," pp. 175–79.

¹⁵ The following persons signed the proclamation: Dr. Kob, Dr. Finois, C. Schmidt, Dr. Douai, and A. Babo. *Der Pionier*, September 24, 1856.

¹⁶ *The Atlas* of Milwaukee, December 13, 1856.

¹⁷ See articles of January 11 and 18 in *Der Pionier*, 1858.

¹⁸ New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers, Kansas State Historical Society, Microfilms, reel no. 7, records if meetings, from January 2 to May 29, 1857, reel no. 9, journal of accounts, pp. 31–58. See p. 645 on reel 7 for payments to John Brown on February 18 [to cover visit] to Boston (Cf. Oates, p. 194) and on March 28 to Charles Leonhardt.

¹⁹ Thomas H. Webb, *Information for Kansas Immigrants* (Boston: Mudge, 1855ff.).

²⁰ Kob, *Wegweiser*, p. 75 in this volume.

²¹ New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers, Kansas State Historical Society, Microfilms, reel no. 7, records if meetings, May 22 and 29, 1857.

²² 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, 56, according to a letter by Army and Thaddeus Hyatt, quoted in the *New York Daily Tribune* of October 11; Army arrived in KS a few days later, see report of Oct. 24 in

the *New York Daily Tribune*; Army reported on the destitute conditions he found there, published in the *Boston Atlas*, on November 1, 56. Although Army's Chicago records were destroyed in the great Chicago fire, much can be reconstructed in newspaper records.

²³ Wilhelm Kempf became Kob's real estate partner (see ad in Kob's frequent ads in his *Kansas Zeitung* and in the *Wegweiser*). He was also involved in the military preparations to protect the ballot boxes against fraud. 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: ACKGS, 1997), p. 35. Kempf was also active in the *Turnverein* militia. See n. 32 below.

²⁴ September 4, 1856, *Boston Atlas*.

²⁵ Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969 [first printed in 1885]), p. 362;

²⁶ *Kansas Zeitung*, July 22, 1857. This newspaper is available online at http://www.kckcc.edu/territorial_news/territorial_news. Cf. Eleanor L. Turk, "The Germans of Atchison, 1854-1859: Development of an Ethnic Community," *Kansas History* 2 (1979): 146-56.

²⁷ *Kansas Zeitung*, July 22, 1857. Since Moritz Hartmann was the agent for Lawrence, it is conceivable that the author of this view is not Kob. Cf. Frank Baron and G. Scott Seeger, "Moritz Hartmann (1817-1900) in Kansas: A Forgotten German Pioneer of Lawrence and Humboldt," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 39 (2004): 14-16.

²⁸ *Kansas Zeitung*, February 3, 1858.

²⁹ *Kansas Zeitung*, September 2, 1857.

³⁰ The document was published with the date August 26, 1857. The signatures are on p. 7. See Territorial Kansas Online. <http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/cgiwrap/imlskto/index.php>.

³¹ *Kansas Zeitung*, December 30, 1857.

³² *Kansas Zeitung*, January 20, 1858. For confirmation of the accuracy of this newspaper report, one may 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, is supposed to show Wilhelm Kempf, Kob's real estate partner, as the captain.

³³ Samuel A. Johnson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1954), p. 251. See n. 72 below.

³⁴ *Leavenworth Zeitung*, November 20, 1858.

³⁵ *Leavenworth City Directory*, 1859-1860; 1860-1861; *Herald of Freedom*, February 19, 1859; cf. Baron and Seeger, p. 16.

³⁶ Bondi, August, *Autobiography of August Bondi, 1833-1907* (Galesburg, IL: Wagoner Printing Co., 1910), p. 104 in this volume.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³⁸ The *New York Daily Times*, on Jan. 6, 1855, was more specific in encouraging German immigration:

"... the true policy of those associations in Massachusetts and New York is not especially to induce new England or New York settlers to emigrate, but to turn to Kansas the great currents of German immigrants. ... The Bavarian, the Rhinelander, the Prussian, the Bohemian know what is tyranny. Some have themselves felt the lash and the fetters; and all have felt 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. ... The Germans in America, where the question has been presented by itself, and where they have understood it, have been on the side of liberty. ... 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 practical course, to direct these men into this new country, where the great battle of freedom is being fought!"

³⁹ Bondi, "Reminiscences," p. 28, part of the Utter articles, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. Bondi also has published segments of his reminiscences in the article "With John Brown in Kansas," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society* 8 (1904): 275-89. Kaiser was involved in the Free State movement as early as December 1855, when he joined forces that were freeing Branson, who had been taken prisoner during the Wakarusa confrontations. See report of Colonel S. N. Wood. Robinson, p. 186.

⁴⁰ Levine, p. 150-51; *New York Daily Tribune*, August 26 and September 9, 1851.

⁴¹ See Kob, *Wegweiser*, p. 55 in this volume.

⁴² In a letter of September 7, to his wife, John Brown refers to 400 enemy men. He had twenty-six to thirty men on his side. He thought that his group had killed and wounded seventy to eighty men. Sanborn, pp. 317–8. Kob is entirely inaccurate when he makes this battle out to be a victory. In this case, John Brown was forced to flee, but the Border Ruffians were not.

⁴³ See the *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, Sept. 13, 1856; cf. Sanborn, pp. 290, 296, and 301 (the figure of forty to fifty wounded and thirty-one killed.) pp. 314–23.

⁴⁴ <http://members.aol.com/LCGSgen/updegraff.htm>.

⁴⁵ Kob, *Wegweiser*, p. 80 in this volume.

⁴⁶ *Kansas Zeitung*, November 7, 1857.

⁴⁷ Randers-Pehrson, pp. 183–216.

⁴⁸ See the website of Territorial Kansas. Lawrence R. Murphy published his account of exploration: Indian Agent in New Mexico: *The Journal of Special Agent W. F. M. Army*, 1870 (Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1967). After 1861 Army served in the administrations of Lincoln and Johnson in Indian affairs.

⁴⁹ *Kansas Zeitung*, April 17, 1858, Baron and Seeger, p. 15.

⁵⁰ Johnson, p. 215–16, 265; the Kansas States Historical Society has the Hyatt papers.

⁵¹ Kob, *Wegweiser*, p. 79 in this volume.

⁵² Todd Mildfelt, *The Secret Danites: Kansas' First Jayhawkers* (Winfield, Kansas: Central Plains Books, 2003).

⁵³ *The Kansas News* of Emporia, Kansas, June 20, 1857. On another occasion Leonhardt said about his European experiences: "I had received the bloody baptism of fire on some of the European battle fields in the eventful years of 1846 to 1849 inclusive when Germany, Poland and Hungary attempted to throw off the galling yoke of the tyrants. Great as these events have been . . . I am compelled to place them in background, when compared with the might uproar and toils of the great anti-slavery tumult here . . ." Mildfelt, pp. 14 and 17.

⁵⁴ Mildfelt, p. 18. Leonhardt and Foster cooperated to establish Russel, eventually to become a paper town. Charles Richard Denton, "The Unitarian Church and 'Kansas Territory,' 1854–1861," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 30 (1964): 307–38 and 455–91, especially 484–85.

⁵⁵ Mildfelt, p. 25.

⁵⁶ Richard J. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1894), pp. 253–57.

⁵⁷ Leonhardt probably arrived in the United States on May 22, 1854. A Carl Leonhardt is listed as being twenty-six years old. Ira A. Glazier and P. William Filby, *Germans to America: Lists of Passengers Arriving at U.S. Ports, 1850–1855* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2002), vol. 7, p. 138. (his year of birth is given elsewhere as May 13, 1827. See Mildfelt, p. 13. Periods of military service in the Prussian army: April 1 to 20, March 1, 1848; May 11 to August 22, 1848; April 11 to October 11, 1949; December 20, 1850 to January 29, 1851. Completed service on November 1, 1851.—Departure to London in December 4, 1849 to September and returning on November 16, 1850. Kansas State Historical Society, Leonhardt, Coll. 415. There are conflicting reports in various sources about Leonhardt in Hungary. His associations with Kossuth, Dembinski, and Klapka could not be confirmed. See István Hajnal, *A Kossuth-Emigráció Törökországban* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1927), vol 1, Dénes Jánosy, *A Kossuth-Emigráció Angliában és Amerikában. 1851–1852* (Budapest, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940 and 1948, two vols., Alfonsz Danzer, *Dembinski Magyarországon* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1874), Georg Klapka, *Memoiren von Georg Klapka: April bis October 1849* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1850).

⁵⁸ Sara Robinson, *Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life* (Boston: Crosby and Nichols, 1856), p. 87.

⁵⁹ *Republik der Arbeiter*, December 13, 1851. "As if intoxicated, the people were in a frenzy at the sight of Kossuth; their enthusiasm bordered on delirium." Because of this uproar, Kossuth was unable to address the crowd. John H. Komlos, *Louis Kossuth in America. 1851–1852* (Buffalo, New York: East European Institute, 1973), p. 80.

⁶⁰ Louis DeCaro Jr., *A Fire from the Midst of You: A Religious Life of John Brown* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), p. 199.

⁶¹ Baron and Seeger, p. 20, note 23; *Kansas Zeitung*, February 3, 1858.

⁶² Denton, p. 456.

⁶³ *Herald of Freedom*, October 9, 1858. Cf. October 30, 1859 issue of the same paper.

⁶⁴ Johnson, pp. 183–185.

⁶⁵ Bondi, *Autobiography*, p. 150 in this volume.

⁶⁶ This focus avoids the issue of allowing blacks into Kansas. John Brown was angered by the fact that Free State politicians were interested in preserving Kansas only for whites. James Redpath, *The Public Life of Capt. John Brown* (Boston: Thayer and Eldridge, 1860), p. 103.

⁶⁷ Don W. Wilson, *Governor Charles Robinson of Kansas* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1975),

p. 34.

⁶⁸ Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004), p. 109.

⁶⁹ Etcheson, p. 109. Cf. *To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 109. William A. Phillips, *The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and Her Allies: A History of the Troubles in Kansas from the Passage of the Organic Act until the Close of July 1856* (Boston: Phillips, Samson and Co., 1856), p. 222.

⁷⁰ Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892), pp. 208–9.

⁷¹ Robinson, p. 356. During the discussions, the conditions for the upcoming elections were the main topic. Cf. Wilson, p. 52.

⁷² Russel K. Hickman, "Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 4 (1935): 254–5.

⁷³ William A. Phillips, "Three Interviews with Old John Brown," *Atlantic Monthly* 44 (1879): 742.

⁷⁴ Hinton, pp. 146–152. Hugh Forbes, *Manual for the Patriotic Volunteer on Active Service in Regular and Irregular War. Being the Art and Science of obtaining and Maintaining Independence* (New York: De Witt & Davenport, 1855²), 2 vols. Contrary to what Hinton writes, a translation was not necessary; the two-volume work existed in English as early as 1855. The payment to Forbes was perhaps primarily for training Brown's men.

⁷⁵ Bondi, pp. 148–49.

⁷⁶ Describing events of December 1857, Bondi's text is interesting because it supplies the earliest known report on the use of the designations of Jayhawkers and Jayhawk. Cf. Mildfelt, pp. 26 and 72.

⁷⁷ This excerpt comes from an article of *Herald of Freedom*, October 29, 1859. Quoted in James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1942), pp. 20–1 and also in Redpath, p. 86 and Robinson, 264.

⁷⁸ Sanborn, pp. 330–31.

⁷⁹ Sanborn, pp. 324–25. Henry David Thoreau also compared Brown to Jesus. Cf. Robert Jewett and John Shelton Lawrence, *Captain and the Crusade against Evil: The Dilemma of Zealous Nationalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), p. 172–73. Thaddeus Hyatt wrote to John Brown on November 14, 1857: "Your courage, my brother, challenges the admiration of men! Your faith, the admiration of angels! Be steadfast to the end!" Malin, pp. 286–87.

⁸⁰ Robinson, p. 483. Robinson quotes from James Townsley's confession about his role in the killings, pp. 265–67.

Historical Texts

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9

Wegweiser
für Ansiedler
im Territorium Kansas.

Mit
vorausgeschickter Erklärung der bestehenden Gesetze und Verordnungen
über
Besiedelung öffentlicher Staats-Ländereien in den
Ver. Staaten von Nord-Amerika.

Von
Dr. Karl Friedrich Kob.

New-York,
Druck und Verlag von G. B. Teubner, 17 Ann Street.

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Ver. Staaten von Nord-Amerika.

Von

Dr. Karl Friedrich Kob.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1857 by
Dr. Chas. F. Kob,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the
Southern District of New York.

New-York,
Druck und Verlag von G. B. Teubner, 17 Ann Street.

1857.

Vorwort.

Der Verfasser dieser Broschüre fand bei einer längeren Explorations-Tour durch das Territorium **Kansas** das Land für Deutsche Ansiedlung so ungemein günstig und Gewinn versprechend, daß er nicht umhin konnte, die gesammelten Erfahrungen seinen Landsleuten in dieser Form mitzutheilen. Möge der beabsichtigte praktische Nutzen dieser Schrift den Mangel an schriftstellerischer Eleganz aufwiegen und den kritisirenden Leser in dieser Beziehung nachsichtig stimmen. Die Absicht war eben nur, **klar, deutlich und wahr** zu schreiben; für das Letztere bürgt der Verfasser in jeder Beziehung, ob er das Erstere erreicht, muß er dem Urtheil der geehrten Leser und Leserinnen überlassen.—

Jeder, der nähere Auskunft über irgend einen Punkt dieser Schrift oder sonstige darin etwa nicht berührte Verhältnisse von **Kansas, Nebraska** und dem **westlichen Missouri** wünscht, kann dieselbe vom Verfasser erhalten. Derselbe wird sich in **Atchison** niederlassen und eine deutsche wöchentliche Zeitung unter dem Namen "Kansas-Zeitung" daselbst herausgeben. Neben dieser Zeitung und in Verbindung mit zwei anderen tüchtigen Amerikanischen Geschäftsleuten ist ein Land- und Intelligenz-Bureau eröffnet. (Siehe Annoncen).

Vertrauensvoll übergebe ich diese Arbeit meinen Landsleuten zur eigenen Prüfung und Beurtheilung, mit dem Bewußtsein, nur deren Bestes erstrebt zu haben. Möge Jeder stets im Auge behalten, daß er, durch seine Ansiedlung in Kansas, wenn auch nur passiv, den großen Kampf gegen die Sklaverei mitkämpft und so indirekter Theilnehmer an der wichtigsten Entwicklung der Amerikanischen Staaten wird. Je mehr es uns gelingt, die Sklaverei einzudämmen und zurückzutreiben, desto näher kommen wir unserem Endziel, ihrer gänzlichen Ausrottung; jeder Kampf gegen dieselbe ist zugleich ein der Humanität und Freiheit geleisteter Dienst.²

Boston, den 26. Mai 1857.

Karl F. Kob.

Oeffentliche Staats-Ländereien (*public lands*) Amerika's, deren Vermessung, Besiedelungs-Gesetze etc.

Jedem Bürger Amerika's und jedem Einwanderer, der beabsichtigt sich auf den öffentlichen Ländereien der Ver. Staaten niederzulassen, wird folgende Zusammenstellung der Thatsachen und Gesetze über dieselben erwünscht und angenehm sein, vor Allem aber unsern deutschen Brüdern im alten Vaterlande. Der Verfasser hat sich bemüht so kurz wie möglich zu sein und doch so deutlich und verständlich zu werden, als die Wichtigkeit der Sache es erfordert.

Von dem sämtlichen Länder-Complex, welchen man auf der Karte unter dem Namen "**Vereinigte Staaten von Nordamerika**" bezeichnet findet, ist bis jetzt kaum die Hälfte von der Civilisation in Besitz genommen. Diese Hälfte ist unter den 31 Staaten, welche eben die Ver. Staaten bilden, vertheilt. Die andere Hälfte bezeichnet man mit dem Namen "öffentliche Ländereien."

Will nun die Civilisation sich weiter ausbreiten, so wird ein neues Stück der

öffentlichen Ländereien, welches dazu ausersehen ist, zu einem Territorium erklärt, d. h. es erhält eine eigene Verwaltung. Von der Bundesregierung werden die ersten Beamten ernannt und die Kosten der Verwaltung getragen, bis allmählig [*sic*] die Einwohnerzahl (wenigstens 40,000) es erlaubt, das Territorium oder den besiedelten Theil desselben als selbstständigen Staat in die Union aufzunehmen. In diesem Zustand befinden sich jetzt Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Min[n]esota, New-Mexico und Utah. – Alle diese Landsstriche und öffentliche Ländereien sind zu verschiedenen Zeiten theils von den einzelnen Staaten, welche ihren Besitz beanspruchten, an die Ver. Staaten abgetreten worden, theils haben die Ver. Staaten dieselben durch Verträge und Ankäufe von fremden Nationen erworben. So hat der Staat New York 1781, Virginien 1784, Massachusetts 1785, Connecticut 1786, Georgia 1802, Frankreich durch den Verkaufsvertrag 1803 (Louisiana), Spanien durch den von 1819 (Florida), Mexico durch die von 1849 und 1853 große Strecken Landes den Ver. Staaten übergeben.

Gleich nach der Revolution wurde es nothwendig, daß der Congreß über die Benützung solcher öffentlicher Ländereien eine Verfügung treffen mußte. Ein Committee von 5 Personen, mit Thomas Jefferson als Vorsitz, rapportirte am 17. Mai 1784 eine Ordonnanz darüber, welche jedoch nicht gleich angenommen wurde. Diese Ordonnanz verordnete, daß die öffentlichen Ländereien in "Hunderte," jedes zu 10 Quadratmeilen groß, diese Quadrate wieder in "Lots" (Parzellen) eine Quadratmeile groß, getheilt werden sollte. Jedes Hundert enthielt 100 Parzellen, von 1 bis 100 numerirt und von Westen nach Osten gezählt. So vermessen sollten dieselben in öffentlicher Auktion verkauft werden. Bei der Debatte darüber wurde ein Amendement von Monroe angenommen, welches die Quadrate auf 6 Meilen festsetzte, und endlich wurde die Ordonnanz mit noch andern unwesentlichen Bestimmungen, am 20. Mai 1785 angenommen. Dieses Gesetz bildet noch jetzt die Basis der Landvermessung und hat von Zeit zu Zeit noch Verbesserungen erhalten, je nachdem bessere Ansichten sich aus der Praxis Geltung verschafften. Die Prinzipien bei der Vermessung sind sehr einfach und leicht zu verstehen.

Von einem wichtigen Punkte, z. B. dem Zusammenfluß zweier Flüsse wird eine Meridian-Linie gelegt und mit 1 bezeichnet; mit dieser werden alle 6 Meilen Parallele gezogen. Ebenso wird eine andere Linie, unter rechtem Winkel diese Meridiane schneidend, gelegt und mit 1 bezeichnet; alle 6 Meilen werden Parallele gelegt, so daß nun Quadrate von je 36 □ Meilen entstehen. Die Meridiane werden in fortlaufender Reihe numerirt, ebenso die Querlinien; die ersteren bezeichnet man mit "*Range*" (Reihe), die letzteren mit "*Township*" (Stadtbezirk). Jedes solche Quadrat enthält also 36 Quadrattmeilen, diese werden nun wieder durch Parallelen je eine Meile entfernt in 36 Sektionen, jede genau eine Quadratmeile groß getheilt. Diese Sektionen zählt man von der nordöstlichen Ecke nach Westen von 1 bis 36. Jede Sektion enthält genau 640 Acker und wird wieder durch 2 Parallelen [*sic*] in 4 Theile getheilt, d. h. je 160 Acker oder *Claim*. Weil 160 Acker gerade die vom Gesetz erlaubte Landfläche ist, die der Ansiedler beanspruchen (*to claim*) darf, so werden 160 Acker von den Amerikanern ein *claim* genannt, welche Bezeichnung wir der Kürze wegen beibehalten.

Die Steine an den Ecken der verschiedenen Claims sind genau mit Strichen, welche in den Stein gegraben sind, bezeichnet, so daß jeder sehr leicht die Ecksteine seiner 160 Acker herausfinden kann. So hat ein Township's Eckstein 6 Striche an

allen 4 Seiten, welche eben bedeuten, so daß hier 6 Quadratmeilen anfangen. Ebenso steht in Zahlen die Nummer der "Reihe" und des "Stadtbezirks" darauf eingegraben. Die Zwischensteine sind kleiner und haben nur Striche an zwei Seiten, welche sich nur auf die Sektionen beziehen; sie sind mit der Meilenzahl bezeichnet, so daß dieselben von 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ bis $\frac{1}{4}$ variiren, je nachdem die Sektionen in der Mitte eines Stadtbezirks oder an der Außenlinie verlaufen. Die Bezeichnung ist in so fern verschieden, daß die inneren Steine nur die einfache Meilenzahl und Nummer der Sektion enthalten. Die $\frac{1}{4}$ Sektion oder 160 Acker werden bezeichnet als Nordost-, Südost-, Nordwest- und Südwest-Viertels-Sektion. Will man also sein Land bezeichnen, so sagt man z. B. mein "Claim" (160 Acker) ist das Nordwest-Viertel, Sektion No. 24, Reihe 14, Township 13, so ist jeder im Stande, im Augenblick die Stelle auf der Karte anzugeben.

Ich beziehe mich hier, obgleich diese Gesetze für alle Territorien gelten, nur auf die Karte von Kansas, und zwar auf "*Reams sectional map of Kansas*," worin alle Sektionen, soweit das Land jetzt schon vermessen ist, bereits bezeichnet sind.

Eine weitere Eintheilung, wie sie durch das Gesetz von 1832 verordnet wurde, in Subdivisionen von 80 und 40 Acker, berührt uns hier nicht, außer bei fraktionellen Sektionen, d. h. bei solchen, worin unübersteigliche Hindernisse den Feldmesser veranlassen, die Linien nicht zu bezeichnen, oder felsige Beschaffenheit den Gedanken an eine Bebauung des Landes ausschloß. In Kansas kann jedoch jeder deutsche Arbeiter noch 160 Acker erhalten, und wird wohl Niemand so thörich sein, 40 oder 80 Acker zu nehmen, wenn er für einen so geringen Preis 160 haben kann. Diese Ueberbleibsel oder Fraktionen von 80 und 40 Acker bleiben daher bis zum Verkauf liegen und werden dann gewöhnlich von den Nachbarn zu ihren 160 Ackern dazugekauft.

Nachdem nun das Land auf solche Art vermessen ist, wird es von dem Präsidenten der Ver. Staaten in öffentlicher Auktion, zu nicht weniger als Ein Dollar 25 Cents der Acker, zum Verkauf ausgebaut. Die Ländereien, welche in der Auktion nicht verkauft werden, werden später im Privatwege zu \$1,25 der Acker verkauft. Die Sicherheit des Besitztitels, direkt von der Ver. Staaten Regierung, hat wesentlich zu der schnellen Bebauung der öffentlichen Ländereien beigetragen, mehr noch die Sicherheit der Grenzen, da trotzdem, daß bereits weit über 100,000,000 Acker auf diese Art verkauft sind, noch nie Grenzstreitigkeiten stattgefunden haben, die nicht sogleich nach der Karte und durch Replazirung der Grenzsteine auf die einfachste Art hätten geschlichtet werden können.

Außer diesen Verordnungen über die Landvermessung hat das Gesetz über das Vorkaufsrecht der wirklichen ersten Bebauer noch die größere Wichtigkeit für den Einwanderer. Dasselbe ist vom 4. (8) September 1841 und heißt: "An act to appropriate the proceeds of the sales of public lands and to grant pre-emption rights." (Ein Gesetz über die Verwendung der Gelder, gewonnen durch den Verkauf öffentlicher Ländereien und die Verleihung des Vorkaufrechts.) Uns beschäftigt hauptsächlich die 12. Sektion dieses Gesetzes. Es ist nämlich ein großer, leider sehr verbreiteter Irrthum, wenn man glaubt, die Ver. Staaten schenken Jedem, der nach Kansas ginge, 160 Acker. Nein, das Gesetz gibt dem wirklichen Ansiedler nur das Recht, seine 160 Acker beim Verkauf für den festgesetzten niedrigsten Preis von \$1,25 per Acker zu erstehen und schützt ihn in seinem Recht und Besitz, wenn er nicht unterlassen hat, den folgenden Vorschriften des Gesetzes nachzukommen.³

Derjenige, der die Begünstigungen und Vortheile dieses Gesetzes genießen will, muß sein:

- 1) Bürger der Ver. Staaten oder **er muß wenigstens seine ersten Papiere herausgenommen haben, d. h. er muß die Erklärung legal abgegeben haben, Bürger der Ver. Staaten werden zu wollen.** (Dies kann er gleich bei seiner Ankunft thun.)
- 2) Entweder muß das Haupt einer Familie oder Wittwe [*sic*] oder unverheirateter Mann über 21 Jahre alt.*
- 3) Ferner muß er Bewohner der Viertels-Sektion sein, auf welcher er sich niederlassen und muß ein Haus errichtet haben, ehe er darum einkommt. Ferner muß für dieses Land der Indianer Besitztitel erloschen und dasselbe von den Ver. Staaten in der früher von uns angegebenen Weise vermessen sein.†

Jeder, der irgend einer dieser Forderungen nicht nachkommt, kann Kraft dieses Gesetzes keinen Claim beanspruchen. Jeder jedoch, der über 21 Jahre alt und wenn nicht schon Bürger, doch wenigstens seine Erklärung abgegeben hat, kann nach diesem Gesetz in Kansas, Nebraska oder irgend einem Territorium 160 Acker in Besitz nehmen, wofür er beim Verkauf \$200 oder \$1.25 Cents den Acker zu zahlen haben wird. Hat nun Jemand Land, welches zur Besiedlung vom Präsidenten bestimmt ist, in Besitz genommen, so hat er folgendes Schema auszufüllen und an die betreffende Landoffice binnen einem Monat einzureichen:⁴

I, A. B. of _____ being the head of a family, or widow, or single man over the age of twenty-one years, (as the case may be) a citizen of the United States, or having filed my declaration to become a citizen, as required by the naturalization law, (as the case may be) have since the 1st day of _____ A. D. 18__ settled and improved the _____ quarter of section number _____ of range number _____ in township number _____ in the district of lands subject to sale at the land office at _____ and containing _____ acres; which land has been rendered subject to private entry since the passage of the act at 4th Sept. 1841, but prior to my settlement thereon, and I do hereby declare my intention to claim the said tract of land as pre-emption right under the provisions of said act of 4th Sept. 1841

Given under my hand this __ day of __ A. D. 18 __.

Signed A. B.

In presence of C. D.

* Es ist in Kansas bereits der Fall vorgekommen, daß selbst ein Mädchen, welches drei kleinere Geschwister bei sich hatte, als Haupt einer Familie von dem Gesetz geschützt und ihr Claim anerkannt wurde.

† Ein Gesetz vom 22. Juli 1854 erlaubt jetzt auch Niederlassung auf noch nicht vermessenem Lande, jedoch muß dann spätestens 3 Monate nach der geschehenen Vermessung an die betreffende Land-Office Anzeige gemacht werden. Jedenfalls setzt sich der Ansiedler der Unannehmlichkeit aus, oft die besten Theile, je nachdem die neuen Linien der Vermessung laufen, wieder abtreten zu müssen; ein Fall der schon oft vorgekommen ist.

Ich, A. B. aus _____ bin (das Haupt einer Familie, oder eine Wittwe [*sic*], oder ein einzelner Mann über 21 Jahre alt (je nachdem der Fall sein mag) Bürger der Ver. Staaten, oder habe meine Erklärung Bürger zu werden, wie es die Naturalisationsgesetze bestimmen, eingereicht (wie der Fall sein mag) habe seit dem 1. Tage des Monats ____ A. D. 18 ____ mich niedergelassen und bebaut das _____ Viertel der Section No. _____ der Range No. _____ in dem Township No. _____ in dem Landdistrikt, bestimmt zum Verkauf in der Landoffice zu _____ und enthaltend ____ Acker, welches Land bestimmt ist zur privaten Besitzergreifung seit der Emanirung des Gesetzes vom 4. Sept. 1841, aber früher als meine Niederlassung darauf; und ich erkläre hiermit meine Absicht, das benannte Stück Land zu beanspruchen unter dem Vorkaufsrecht nach dem Gesetze von 4. Sept. 1841.

Gegeben mit eigener Hand, den ____ Tag des Monats ____ A. D. 18 ____.

Gezeichnet A. B.

In Gegenwart von C. D.

Das Gesetz schreibt ihnen ferner folgende Bedingungen vor:

1) Niemand kann zwei oder mehrere Mal die Vortheile dieses Gesetzes genießen.

2) Niemand, der bereits 320 Acker in irgend einem Staat oder Territorium der Ver. Staaten besitzt, ist zu einem Claim berechtigt.

3) Niemand, der seinen Wohnsitz auf seinem Lande verläßt, um auf den öffentlichen Ländereien zu wohnen, ist zu einem Claim berechtigt.

4) Keine Uebertragung des Verkaufrechts kann anerkannt werden. Der Besitztitel kann nur auf denjenigen lauten, der den Claim in Besitz und allen Anforderungen des Gesetzes entsprochen hat.

Dieses ist so zu verstehen, daß man den eigentlichen Claim, den man ja noch selbst nicht besitzt, nicht verkaufen oder verschenken kann, wohl aber kann man Alles das, was man darauf angelegt und verbessert hat, verkaufen. Auf diese Art gehen Claims durch 5, oft durch 20 Hände, bis der letzte Besitzer am Tage des Verkaufs seinen rechtmäßigen Besitz beweisen muß, und ihm wird natürlich, da kein anderer Besitzer sich meldet, der Claim für \$200 verkauft, obgleich er selbst dafür vielleicht seinem Vorgänger \$2000 oder \$4000 bezahlt hat.

5) Kein Claim darf genommen werden auf Ländereien, w[o] selbst sich anerkannte Salinen oder Minen befinden.

Es hütet sich daher jeder Einwanderer sehr wohl, über Kohlen oder Metall etc. zu sprechen, welches er etwa auf seinem Felde gefunden, ehe er das Land bezahlt und seinen Besitztitel erhalten hat.

6) Eine Association von 3 oder mehr Personen kann 320 Acker mit Beschlag belegen, um eine Stadt darauf anzulegen; haben sie das Recht dazu erhalten, so darf kein anderer diese 320 Acker als Niederlassung wählen.

7) Kein Land, welches für Schulzwecke von der Regierung bestimmt ist, darf beansprucht werden und ebenso

8) Kein Land, welches den Indianern als Wohnsitz vorbehalten ist.

Ist nun eine Landoffice für einen bestimmten District eröffnet und hat man gemäß dem Gesetz 30 Tage nach der Besitznahme seine Erklärung nach dem früher gegebenen Schema eingereicht, so kann man sein Land auch schon früher, als der öffentliche Verkauf stattfindet, bezahlen, wenn man eben durch wenigstens 2 Zeugen die Wahrheit der Besitznahme vor den Beamten beweist. Zu diesem Zweck muß man folgendes Affidavit (Zeugniß) abgeben:⁵

I, A.B. claiming the right of pre-emption under the provisions of the act of Congress entitled "An act to appropriate the proceeds of the sales of public lands, and to grant pre-emption rights" approved September 4th 1841 to the _____ quarter section _____ of township _____ number of range number _____ subject to sale at _____ do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I have never had the benefit of any right of pre-emption under this act; that I am not the owner of three hundred and twenty acres of land in any State or Territory of the United States, nor have I settled upon and improved said land to sell the same on speculation, but in good faith to appropriate it to my own exclusive use or benefit; and that I have not directly or indirectly made any agreement with any person or persons whatsoever, by which the title which I may acquire from the Government of the United States should inure, in whole or in part, to the benefit of any person except myself.

(Signed) A. B.

Uebersetzt heißt es mit Hinzufügung einer singirten Ausfüllung:

Ich, Adolph Braun, beanspruche das Recht des Vorkaufs unter den Verordnungen des Gesetzes des Congresses, betitelt: "Ein Gesetz über Verwendung der Gelder aus dem Verkauf öffentlicher Ländereien herrührend und der Verleihung des Vorkaufrechts" angenommen 4. Sept. 1841, an das Nordost-Viertel der Sektion No. 24, der Township No. 10, der Reihe No. 18, welches zu Lecompton verkauft werden soll, und schwöre hiermit feierlich (oder versichere, wie es der Fall sein mag, *[]) daß ich niemals die Vortheile des Vorkaufs unter diesem Gesetz genossen habe; daß ich nicht der Besitzer von 320 Acker Land in irgend einem Staat oder Territorium der Ver. Staaten bin, noch mich auf diesem Land niedergelassen und dasselbe mit der Absicht cultivirt habe, es wieder auf Speculation zu verkaufen, sondern in dem guten Glauben, es zu meinem eigenen Gebrauch und Nutzen zu gebrauchen; ferner, daß ich weder direkt noch indirekt irgend ien Ubereinkommen oder Contrakt gemacht habe, in irgend einer Art und Weise, mit irgend einer Person oder Personen, wer sie auch sein mögen, welchen der Besitztitel, den ich von der Regierung der Ver. Staaten zu

* Es gibt viele Religionssekten, die den Schwur verweigern, ebenso die Atheisten, Humanisten etc., bei diesen gilt einfache Versicherung als Schwur.

erhalten hoffe, zu Gute kommen solle, im Ganzen oder theilweise, zum Vortheil irgend einer Person außer mir selbst.

(Gezeichnet) Ad. Braun.

Man sieht aus diesem feierlichen Schwur, wie sehr die Regierung der Ver. Staaten bemüht ist, die Vortheile dieses Gesetzes nur wirklichen Ansiedlern angedeihen zu lassen und die Speculanten, Landjäger oder sogenannten Landhayfische (*landsharks*) davon auszuschließen. Leider erreicht dieselbe nicht ganz ihren Zweck. Es findet sich immer Hunderte, die von vorn herein ihren Claim von 160 Acker nur in Besitz nehmen, um ihn vielleicht schon am folgenden Tage für eine kleine Abstandssumme einem Andern zu überlassen. Doch auch dies hat oft sein Gutes. Ich habe viele Leute gesehen und gesprochen, die ohne einen Groschen nach Kansas kamen und jetzt im Besitz von schönen cultivirten Farmen und Vieh sind. Sie erzählten mir, daß sie die ersten Claims nahe an den Städten gleich wieder sollchen überlieferten, die ihnen eine Abstandssumme von einigen hundert Dollars zahlten.⁶ Dies Experiment machten sie nun drei bis viermal und kamen dadurch in die Lage, sich Vieh, Saat und Ackergeräthschaften anzuschaffen und eine Farm nun mit wirklichem Nutzen in Besitz zu nehmen. Da das Gesetz vorschreibt, daß der Ansiedler seine Wohnung auf dem Claim haben muß, so kommt es hauptsächlich darauf an, um den Claim zu sichern, so schnell wie möglich ein Haus darauf zu bauen und darin zu schlafen.

Es ist nun sehr interessant, die ersten Gebäude und namentlich die der Speculanten und armen **Landjäger** zu sehen. So ein Landpirat trägt sich einige Stücke Holz zusammen, bedeckt dieselben mit einigen Brettern und Zweigen, kriecht darunter und schläft so mehrere Nächte; natürlich hat er keine Freunde als Zeugen in der Nähe. Nachdem er an einer Stange wo möglich noch seinen Namen hinterlassen, geht er in den nächsten Ort und bietet den Neuankommenden seinen schönen Claim zum Kauf an. Der Wirth, bei dem er logirt, welcher den Andrang der wirklich neuen Ansiedler kennt, giebt ihm gerne Credit; nach 8 bis 14 Tagen ist der Claim gewiß für \$150 oder \$200 Abstandsgeld verkauft und der glückliche Claimjäger zieht, nachdem er den Wirth bezahlt, lustig weiter, um es wieder so zu machen.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit muß ich noch einer andern mehr gefährlichen Operation erwähnen, welche die Amerikaner "claim jumping" **das Claimspringen** nennen. Hat nämlich irgend Jemand einen Claim auf obige Art in Besitz genommen und verläßt denselben für längere Zeit, so findet er bei seiner Rückkehr oft ein zweites Häuschen neben dem seinen, aus dessen fraglicher Thüre ihm ein anderer Glücksritter ganz vergnügt ein *how do you do, Sir?* (wie befinden Sie sich?) zuruft. Oft findet er sein Häuschen gar nicht wieder, weil der Nachkömmling sein Haus fortgetragen und dann seine Freunde und Zeugen gerufen hat, um in ihrer Gegenwart feierlich Besitz von dem Claim zu nehmen. In solchen streitigen Fällen entscheidet dann gewöhnlich die Zahl der Freunde die Sache; oft giebt es darüber auch ein Handgemenge und der Revolver (Drehpistole) spielt oft eine Rolle dabei mit; selten überlassen die hartnäckigen Claimjäger die Entscheidung den Beamten der **Landstelle** oder dem Gericht. Doch habe ich zwei Fälle gesehen, in welchem zwei Familien auf einem Claim wohnten, denselben eifrigst bewirthschafteten und friedlich die Entscheidung der Behörde abwarten wollten. Dieses Claimspringen findet jedoch meist unter Speculanten statt, wirkliche Ansiedler, welche ein ordentliches Blockhaus bauen und

mit Vieh und Ackergeräthschaften ankommen, werden von ihnen wohl nicht leicht belästigt und machen gewöhnlich auch kurzen Prozeß mit diesen Glücksrittern.

Kehren wir nun nach dieser Abschweifung zu unserm Thema, der legalen Art und Weise, einen Claim zu erwerben, zurück, so bleibt nach der Leistung jenes Schwurs oder der Versicherung vor den Beamten der Landstelle, nur noch die Vernehmung der Zeugen darüber. Dieses nennt man englisch: "claim proving," d. h. den Claim beweisen. Haben die Zeugen unter Eid bezeugt, daß man auf dem Lande wirklich wohnt und es bebaut, so erhält man nach Bezahlung von \$200 oder \$1.25 per Acker den Besitztitel und kann dann damit schalten und walten[,] wie man will. Gewöhnlich zahlen die Ansiedler so schnell wie möglich die \$200, um rechtmäßige Besitzer zu sein, jedoch bleibt es jedem überlassen, bis zum öffentlichen Verkauf zu warten und dann bei dem Aufruf der Sektion, in welcher sein Claim liegt, vorzutreten, Zeugen mitzubringen und dann die \$200 zu zahlen. Oft kann man so jahrelang in dem Besitz der Farm sein und die Kaufsumme durch gute Speculation verdoppeln und verdreifachen, bis endlich der Tag des öffentlichen Verkaufs heranrückt. Wenn man bedenkt, daß der Zinsfuß in Kansas 60 pro Cent ist, so wird es jeder natürlich finden, daß man mit \$200 einige Jahre hindurch sein Capital leicht verdoppeln kann.

Die Verordnungen und das Verfahren bei Anlage von Städten (*Towns*) sind einfach und leicht verständlich. Es muß natürlich erst ein geeigneter Platz ausgesucht werden. Hat man diesen gefunden und zwar so, daß durchaus keine anderen Ansprüche daran gemacht werden können, so schickt man gewöhnlich gleich mehrere Ansiedler hinauf, um den Platz zu sichern. Ist dieses genügend geschehen, so tritt die Association zusammen, organisirt sich, entwirft Statuten, wählt Beamte: Präsident, Kassirer, Sekretair, und schickt diese Verhandlungen an die Landoffice. Diese prüft die Eingabe und gibt, wenn den Vorschriften des Gesetzes genügend, der Gesellschaft das Vorkaufsrecht über zwei Viertelsektionen oder 320 Acker. Diese 320 Acker werden dann speciell vermessen, ein Stadtplan entworfen und mit dem Verkauf der Baustellen, die gewöhnlich in (*shares*) Antheilen von je 10 Lots (Baulot, Baustelle) verkauft werden, vorgeschritten. Die einzelnen Baustellen werden oft für \$500 und \$1000 verkauft, während die Gesellschaft für 320 Acker nur \$400 bezahlt hat oder erst nach Jahren zahlen wird. Die schnellste Art reich zu werden, ist, an einem geeigneten Ort und zur rechten Zeit eine Stadt anzulegen. Gewöhnlich ist hier in Amerika der Maaßstab angenommen, daß alle 10 bis 15 Meilen eine Stadt oder Marktflecken durch die natürlichen Verhältnisse und den Verkehr bedingt und zur Blüthe gelangen wird.

Kurzgefaßte Beschreibung des Territoriums Kansas

Das Territorium Kansas erstreckt sich vom 37. bis zum 40. Grad nördlicher Breite, und von der westlichen Grenze des Staates Missouri 800 englische Meilen westwärts. Es umfaßt einen Flächenraum von 126,283 □ Meilen oder 80,821,120 Ackern, ist 3mal so groß wie der Staat Ohio und 14mal so groß wie Massachusetts. Es kann in zehn Staaten geteilt werden, die denselben Flächeninhalt umfassen wie Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-Jersey, Delaware, Maryland und South Carolina.⁷ Es liegt mit Virginien und Kentucky, dem südlichen Illinois und Missouri in denselben Breitengraden, und umfaßt daher den besten, gemäßigten Theil von Nordamerika. Es kann daher nur

Lächeln erregen, wenn man sagen hört: Was soll ich in Kansas, wo das beste Land schon fort ist? während kaum der 50. Theil desselben spärlich bebaut ist, während jetzt 90,000 Einwohner da leben, wo 20 Millionen einst bequem leben werden. Die folgenden Notizen beschränken sich auch nur auf den östlichen bis jetzt bekannten Theil von Kansas, etwa 150 Meilen von der Grenze Missouri's. Dieses ist das Land, welches von der Regierung vorläufig zur Besiedlung vermessen und dem Publikum übergeben ist.

Oberfläche und Scenerie. Die Oberfläche des Landes erhebt sich von dem Bette des Missouri und dem der unzähligen es durchströmenden Flüsse und Flüssen, in sanft anschwellenden wellenförmigen Terrassen bis zu einer Höhe von 900 F. über dem Meeresspiegel. Zwischen jeder Terrasse sind ebene Flächen, die oft meilenweit reichen und dann sich allmählich wieder senken oder aufsteigen. Aus dieser Bodenformation wird der praktische Farmer leicht ersehen, welchen günstigen Einfluß die sanften Absenkungen des Landes auf die Bewässerung desselben haben müssen. Die Natur hat hier selbst die Bewässerung vorgenommen und es ist keine künstliche Drainage nöthig. Ich kann mit Wahrheit behaupten, daß ich nicht einen einzigen Sumpf (*swamp*) in ganz Kansas gefunden habe. Je nach der Lage wird das Land in 3 Klassen getheilt, nämlich in *bottom land*, *middle and high prairie* (Boden-Land, Mittel- und Hoch-Prairie). Die beiden letzteren nennt man auch mit dem gemeinschaftlichen Namen *uplands* (Oberland) und enthalten dieselben die Hochebenen und die abfallenden Senkungen. Das Bodenland entspricht der deutschen Niederung und liegt nur an den Ufern der Flüsse und Bäche.

Die Scenerie, obgleich lange nicht so grotesk wie in Gebirgsländereien, ist sehr malerisch und lieblich. Die schwellende Ebene mit ihren Inseln von Laubwald, die sich zwischen dichtem Wald hinschlängelnden Flüssen mit den dieselben überschauenden Hochebenen, der Blumenflor der Bodenprairie und die lieblichen Thäler oft förmlich eingemauert, von der weißen kalkfelsigen Unterlage der Hochprairie, bilden hübsche Contraste und geben dem Ganzen einen malerischen, erhabenen Charakter. Ich habe bei dem schnellen Wechsel der Scenerie nie diesen erschlaffenden und einschläfernden Eindruck empfunden, den die unendlichen Ebenen von Indiana und Illinois auf mich gemacht haben.

Geologie. Die Felsen des Landes bestehen aus Kalk und Sandstein, Thonschiefer etc., überhaupt zur Kohlenformation gehörige Schichten. Sie sind meist horizontal oder nur wenig geneigt und können sehr leicht gelöst werden, so daß fast jede Hügelseite eine billige und reichliche Steinausbeute für Häuserbau liefert. Es kann kaum eine Quadratmeile gefunden werden, wo die Felsen nicht hin und wieder aus dem Gras der Prairien hervorschauen, dabei wechseln die Lager sehr häufig, so daß man fast überall Sandstein, Kalk und Lehm für Ziegel in geringer Entfernung bei einander hat. Kohlen sind eben so häufig; es ist eine sanft brennende bituminöse Kohle, gewöhnlich frei von Schwefel und wird bereits fast von allen Schmieden benutzt. Die Adern sind selten über drei Fuß dick, doch ist Kohle im Ueberfluß für Jahrhunderte vorhanden, da es dieser Adern so viele gibt. Eisen, namentlich schwefelsaures, sowie Blei wird an vielen Stellen gefunden; Salzsalinen findet man an den oberen Nebenflüssen des Kansas-Flusses sehr häufig und ebenso große Lager von Gyps.

Boden. Der Boden hat überall dieselbe Zusammensetzung und der Haupt-Charakter ist der eines reichen, schweren Lehmbodens. Das Boden-Land (*bottom*

land) ist angeschwemmtes Land und durch den Abfall von Land gewöhnlich mit einer Humuſſchicht von 4 bis 6 Fuß bedeckt. Die Mittel- und Hoch-Prairien enthalten meist schwarzen Lehm mit mehr oder weniger Sand und einer Kalkfelsen-Unterlage. Eigentlichen Sandboden habe ich nur am Fort Riley, dicht neben dem Flusse, auf einer sehr kleinen Fläche gefunden. Die Wege fand ich überall sehr trocken und gut; nach einem ziemlich heftigen Regenguß, der mehrere Stunden dauerte, was die Straße nach 5 Stunden schon wieder ziemlich trocken und vollständig fahrbar, wogegen in Illinois nach einem solchen Regen die Straßen für mehrere Tag unpassirbar sind.

Wasser und Flüsse. Der Missouri begrenzt Kansas auf eine Strecke von 100 Meilen, von dem Einfluß des Kansas-Flusses bis Nebraska. Er ist die natürliche Straße, die Kansas mit St. Louis und mit allen übrigen Staaten verbindet. Die größten Dampfböte befahren ihn und führen sämtliche Bedürfnisse dem neuen Ansiedler auf die billigste Weise zu. Außer ihm durchfließt der Kansasfluß das Land vom Westen nach Osten und ist auf 100 Meilen, bis zum Fort Riley, schiffbar, leider jedoch nur bei hohem Wasserstande. Diesem Uebelstande wird durch die Erfindungsgabe und Energie der Amerikaner bald abgeholfen werden, indem bereits jetzt mehrere kleinere Dampfböte für diesen Fluß, mit einem Tiefgang von nur 1 Fuß, im Bau begriffen sind. Der Kansasfluß hat sehr viele Nebenflüsse und Flößchen, auf die wir später zu sprechen kommen. Außer ihm sind noch als Hauptflüsse zu erwähnen der Osage, Neosho, Cottonwood, die Verdigris; letztere sind Nebenflüsse des Arkansas. Der Bächlein und Flößchen sind eine solche Anzahl, daß man alle 3 bis 4 Meilen gewiß sein darf, einen oder mehrere kreuzen zu müssen. Gewöhnlich haben sie ein klares, trinkbares Wasser, mit einem ziemlich starken Strom. Die Tiefe wechselt nach den Regenschauern; ich fand sie jedoch alle im Monat April leicht passirbar.

Brunnen können überall gegraben werden, und habe ich bei Farmern auf der Hochebene das schönste Wasser gefunden. Die Brunnen sind 12 bis 40 Fuß tief. Unzählige Stellen gibt es, woselbst Mühlen an den Flüssen mit wenigen Kosten angelegt werden könnten. Ich fand nur eine Wassermühle, die des Indianers Burassa, am Mill Creek, in dem Landdistrikt der Possowatomie-Indianer, alle übrigen sind Dampfmühlen.

Klima. Das Klima von Kansas ist bedeutend verschieden von dem unter denselben Breitengraden mehr östlich gelegenen Ländern. Es ist das Klima eines Binnenlandes, seine Atmosphäre [*sic*] mehr rein und trocken; der Schnee und Regen bedeutend weniger als in den Seedistrikten. Ein wolkgiger Himmel ist selten und Regenschauer nicht so häufig. Durch die Gefälligkeit meiner Collegen, der Herrn Dr. Hammond und Dr. Coolidge, Militär-Aerzte in Fort Riley, für deren collegialische Gastfreundschaft ich hiermit meinen wärmsten Dank ausspreche, bin ich in den Stand gesetzt, dem Leser ganz genaue meteorologische Beobachtungen mittheilen zu können. Es werden nämlich in jedem Ver. Staaten Lazareth täglich 3mal Witterungs- und hygronometrische Beobachtungen angestellt. Es liegen drei Forts in dem Territorium Kansas, nämlich das nordöstlichste Fort Leavenworth, das westlichste Fort Riley und das südöstlichste Fort Scott*. Von diesen drei Punkten habe ich

*Der Leser muß dabei nicht an europäische Festungen denken. Es sind diese Forts nur einfache Stationen ohne Befestigungswerke für die Truppen, welche an den Grenzen liegen, um die Indianer und nöthigenfalls die der Sklaverei feindlich gesinnten Republikaner im Zaume zu halten.

die Witterungsbeobachtungen zusammengestellt, nämlich: im Fort Riley ist nach zehnjähriger Beobachtung die mittlere Temperatur und der Regen oder Schnee.⁸

	Fahrenheit	Regen
Im Monat Januar	10° 99	0,07
Februar	25° 94	0,84
März	38° 18	0,68
April	60° 02	1,48
Mai	66° 87	1,94
Juni	80° 07	4,55
Juli	85° 66	3,40
August	80° 00	4,90
September	67° 97	1,10
Oktober	60° 34	1,99
November	38° 07	1,96
December	20° 31	1,93

Die Masse Regen und Schnee im Jahre beträgt 24,84 Zoll, also etwas über zwei Fuß. Wir sehen ferner, daß der meiste Regen in den heißen Sommermonaten fällt, daß der Herbst und das Frühjahr verhältnißmäßig sehr trocken und gesund sein müssen, und endlich daß die Wintermonate December, Januar und Februar kaum drei Zoll Schnee im Durchschnitt liefern, also leider auf das schöne Vergnügen des Schlittenfahrens in Kansas fast ganz zu verzichten ist.

Die Beobachtungen im Fort Scott sind auch 10 jährige, im Fort Leavenworth dagegen stehen uns sogar 24jährige zu Gebote. Folgende Tabelle giebt die mittlere Temperatur und Regenmasse in beiden Orten nach Monaten und Jahreszeiten und den jährlichen Durchschnitt.

Fort Scott

Durchschnitts-Temperatur

im Dec.	31° 09	im Winter	
Jan.	32° 91	32° 99	
Feb.	34° 89	Regen 4' 79	
März	34° 13	im Frühjahr	
Apr.	55° 72	54° 78	Järl. Durchschn.
Mai	65° 48	Regen 12' 57	Temper. 54° 50
Juni	72° 11	im Sommer	Regen 42' 12
Juli	77° 22	74° 95	
Aug.	75° 53	Regen 16' 37	
Sept.	68° 62	im Herbst	
Oct.	55° 28	55° 27	
Nov.	41° 91	Regen 8' 39	

Fort Leavenworth

Durchschnitts-Temperatur

im Dec.	29° 77	im Winter	
Jan.	28° 00	29° 64	
Feb.	31° 15	Regen 2' 75	
März	42° 22	im Frühjahr	
Apr.	55° 47	53° 78	Järl. Durchschn.
Mai	63° 42	Regen 7' 97	Temper. 52° 78
Juni	71° 31	im Sommer	Regen 30' 29
Juli	76° 67	74° 05	
Aug.	74° 16	Regen 12' 24	
Sept.	66° 16	im Herbst	
Oct.	54° 46	53° 66	
Nov.	40° 36	Regen 7' 33	

Die Regenmasse im südöstlichen Theile von Kansas ist also die bedeutendste, sie übertrifft die von Fort Leavenworth um einen Fuß und die von Fort Riley um 18 Zoll; dagegen ist es dort nur um **2 Grad wärmer**, so daß das Verhältniß der Temperatur durchaus nicht so bedeutend variirt wie das des Regens. An allen drei Orten fällt der meiste Regen im heißen Sommer, wenn die Wohlthat desselben am meisten empfunden wird, der wenigste im Winter und Frühjahr, wenn man ihn am besten entbehren kann. Die Temperatur ist eine ziemlich gleichmäßige und gemäßigte zu nennen, im Winter mild mit sehr wenigen wirklich kalten Tagen.

Die Hitze im Sommer ist jedoch weniger empfindlich, da jeden Tag ein bis zwei Mal ein erfrischender Wind weht; dies ist das Eigenthümliche aller Prairieländer. Gewöhnlich sind die Nächte kühl, so daß man sich eines erfrischenden Schlafes erfreut, und daher den Sommer wie in Deutschland mit zur angenehmsten Jahreszeit rechnen darf. Nachfröste kennt man in Kansas nicht.

Gesundheitszustand. Die Abwesenheit von Sümpfen und stagnirendem Wasser, die Frische, Reinheit und freie Circulation der Luft machen Kansas zu einem der gesunden Länder. Dies Urtheil wird durch die ältesten Einwohner bestätigt. Zwar klagen viele Ansiedler über Wechselfieber, doch ist dies mehr die Folge ihrer Nachlässigkeit und Unkenntniß, als eine nothwendige Folge des Klimas. Man baue nie das Wohngebäude im Bodenlande sondern mehr höher hinauf in die Mitte der Hochebene, trinke nicht schlechtes Wasser, sondern suche eine Quelle oder grabe einen Brunnen; man hüte sich vor der Abendkühle und dem sehr bedeutenden Morgenthau und man wird vom Fieber verschont bleiben. Diejenigen, welche diese Vorsichtsregeln beobachten, fühlen sich in Kansas frisch und vergnügt, lebenslustig und unternehmend; alte, jahrelange rheumatische und Lungenübel weichen dem wohlthätigen Einfluß der Temperatur, und Körperfülle und gesundes Aeußere kehren wunderbar wieder. Es ist bereits von den besten amerikanischen Aerzten in Boston der Anfang gemacht, beginnende Lungenschwindsüchtige nach Kansas zu schicken;

ich selbst habe solche Patienten dort gesehen und ist das Resultat ihres dortigen Aufenthalts ein auffallend günstiges.

Holz und Wald.⁹ Große Wälder nach Art der deutschen Forsten oder des endlosen amerikanischen Urwaldes giebt es in Kansas nicht, wohl giebt es Holz genug, um jedem Bedarf für mehrere Generationen zu entsprechen. Durch die jährlichen Prairief Feuer werden nämlich die zarten Baumsprößlinge regelmäßig zerstört.¹⁰ Gewöhnlich zünden die Indianer im Spätherbst und Frühjahr das hohe trockene Gras an, um desto schneller neues zu bekommen. Der Verfasser hat fast jeden Abend Prairief Feuer, oft 3, 4 und mehr gesehen, welche ihm oft den ganzen Horizont wie ein Flammenmeer erscheinen ließen. In den Thälern jedoch, wo die Nässe des Bodens das schnelle Umsichgreifen des Feuers verhindert, finden wir überall prächtige Laubwälder. Jeder Bach, jeder Fluß, jede Schlucht ist gut bestanden und da es der Bäche (*creeks*) unzählige giebt, so ist auch kein Holz mangel vorhanden. Ich bin auf meiner Tour von über 300 Meilen nie auf einem Punkte gewesen, von welchem ich nicht Bäume innerhalb meines Gesichtskreises hätte erschauen können. Sobald nun das Land cultivirt und Prairief Feuer eingedämmt ist, wird auch bald, wie dies an einzelnen Orten bereits der Fall ist, ein neuer Aufschlag sich zeigen und nach dem Zeitraume einer Generation wird gewiß mehr Wald und Holz in Kansas angewachsen sein, als jetzt darin zu finden ist. Uebrigens schützen die vielen Lager bituminöser Kohle, die bereits bis jetzt gefunden sind, hinreichend vor Mangel an Brennmaterial,¹¹ so wie der Ueberfluß an Sandstein, Kalk, und Lehm sehr bald das Bauholz übeflüssig machen wird, zumal es, sobald die Arbeitskräfte sich mehren, vielbilliger und vortheilhafter werden dürfte, Stein- statt Holzhäuser zu bauen.¹²

Ferner finden wir gegen den Holz mangel eine Abhülfe in einer hier sehr verbreiteten Eспенart, die die Amerikaner Locust nennen. Dieser Baum wächst so schnell, daß er schon nach zwei Jahren Brennholz, und nach drei bis vier Jahren sogar Fenzriegel (Feldzäunstangen) liefert. Er bereitet seine Wurzeln jedoch so stark aus, daß, um sein Hinüberwachsen in das Ackerfeld zu verhindern, es nöthig wird, den Platz (etwa 4 Acker werden für jeden Farmer ausreichend sein) mit einem etwa zwei Fuß breiten und eben so tiefen Graben au umziehen. Außer dieser nützlichen Baumart hat man angefangen künstliche Hecke zäune von einem Strauche, dem *Osage orange*, zu pflanzen. Der Erfolg hat alle Erwartungen übertroffen. Das Quart Samen kauft man für $\frac{3}{4}$ Dollar bei jedem Specereihändler, und wie mir gesagt wurde, genügen 5 Dollar, um die ganze Farm mit einer lebenden Hecke zu umziehen.

Die gewöhnlichen Holzarten sind: Eichen (zwei Arten), Hickory, Baumwollenbaum, (gewöhnlich hohl, die Fasern beim Bruch, baum-wollenartig, ein treffliches Brennholz), ferner Eschen, Sycamoren, Elm, und der schönste von allen, der schwarze Wallnußbaum.¹³ Dieser letztere erreicht eine Höhe von 150 Fuß, seine Dicke ist oft 5 Fuß im Durchmesser. Alle übrigen Sträucher, wie Stachel- und Johannisbeeren, alle Schlingpflanzen, namentlich Wein und Hopfen, findet man im Ueberfluß, ebenso alle Arten von Nüssen, wozu noch einige eigenthümliche Arten von Wassernüssen kommen. Die Kultur des Weins, womit schon an mehreren Stellen ein Anfang gemacht worden, ist vielversprechend, da alle Bedingungen für den Erfolg günstig sind, vorläufig fehlt es noch an Erfahrungen, um ein entscheidendes Urtheil zu fällen.

Lasse sich Niemand durch die vage Redensart: "In Kansas ist kein Holz" abhalten, dahin auszuwandern. Unsere Ansicht ist die: ein reiner Boden ist leichter

zu cultiviren, als ein Urwald, zu dessen Ebenmachung, Hinwegräumung der Bäume und Wurzeln ein Menschenalter erforderlich ist, um den Boden so rein zu machen, wie ihn in Kansas die Natur dem Ansiedler darbietet, der nichts weiter zu thun hat, als den Pflug anzusetzen und seine Saat hineinzulegen.¹⁴

Produktion. Mit einem so reichen Boden und einem so herrlichen Klima steht die Produktionskraft in gleichem Verhältniß. Mit Ausnahme der, der südlichen Zone eigenthümlichen Pflanzen, kann in Kansas Alles mit dem besten Erfolg gebaut werden. Das Korn wirft 40fachen Ertrag ab, wenn direkt in die umgerissene Prairie gepflanzt, in cultivirtem Boden 70- bis 80fachen. Ebenso die Kartoffeln. Alle Klee- und Grasarten gedeihen vorzüglich und sämmtlichen Obstarten darf man ein gleich günstiges Prognosticon stellen. Hanf, Taback und Hopfen werden jedenfalls Hauptprodukte werden, weil dieselben auch in dem angrenzenden Missouri mit so ungewöhnlichen Erfolg gebaut werden. Die Zeit des Pflügens beginnt Mitte März und dauert ununterbrochen bis in den December hinein, da der Winter sich hier, der Kalender-Eintheilung genau folgend, nur auf drei Monate beschränkt. Es haben mir Deutsche versichert, daß sie noch im Anfange December ohne Rock bequem haben arbeiten können. Das Vieh bleibt den ganzen Winter auf der Weide, da der Schnee das hohe Gras nie ganz bedeckt.

Einen Haupterwerbszweig wird jedenfalls in Kansas die Viehzucht bilden. Die Hochebenen eignen sich vorzüglich zur Schafzucht, und da die klimatischen Bedingungen hier denen Spaniens sehr nahe kommen, so glaubt der Verfasser kein schlechter Prophet zu sein, wenn es das zukünftige Kansas als einen die meiste Wolle gewinnenden und exportirenden Staat der Union bezeichnet. Pferdezucht wird bei der trefflichen Weide ebenso erfolgreich betrieben werden können; in Betreff der Schweinezucht jedoch ist ein günstiges Resultat wegen Mangel an Morästen, die dieser Thiergattung so besonders nothwendig sind, kaum zu erzielen.

Märkte. Wo aber, höre ich fragen, wird der Farmer in Kansas einen Markt für seine Produkte finden? Diese Frage ist leicht zu beantworten. In Kansas wie in allen neu bebauten Ländern reicht die Ernte für die ersten 10 Jahre kaum aus, den Bedarf der hereinströmenden Emigranten zu decken; bis dahin ist aber gewiß schon durch den Bau der Eisenbahnen eine Communication mit dem Missouri überall hergestellt und die Produkte werden eben so leicht, wohl noch viel leichter, als die der anderen nördlich gelegenen Staaten abgesetzt werden können. Doch wenn auch selbst dies nicht der Fall wäre, so muß ich auf zwei wichtige Punkte aufmerksam machen, welche jeden Zweifel an einer Möglichkeit des Absatzes beseitigen lassen. Dies ist nämlich der ungeheure Handel und Warentransport nach New Mexico auf der Sante Fe Straße; ferner auf der großen Straße nach Californien und Utah, welche ebenfalls durch Kansas führen. Man muß bedenken, daß 40,000 theils mit Mauleseln, theils mit Ochsen bespannte Lastwagen jährlich diese Straßen ziehen. Beinahe die Hälfte des Zugviehes muß alle Jahre neu ersetzt und das Geschirr theilweise erneuert werden. Dazu kommt noch, daß Kansas schon jetzt der Markt für die Ausrüstung der zahlreichen amerikanischen Militärgrenzposten ist, ein Bedarf an Lebensmitteln und Munition etc. welcher weit über 2000 Gespanne in Tätigkeit erhält. Welches andere Land, frage ich daher, hat einen so großen Markt wie gerade Kansas, selbst wenn die großartige Idee der Pacific-Eisenbahn, welche dem natürlichen Wege folgend

jedenfalls durch Kansas gelegt werden müßte, niemals in Ausführung gebracht werden sollte?

Markt-Preise. Die Preise für die Waaren, wie ich dieselben in den größeren Städten des Territoriums, wie Leavenworth, Lawrence, Topeca [*sic*] gefunden habe, sind sehr wenig verschieden von denen in den Städten an der Ostküste; natürlich muß der Frachtaufschlag von St. Louis in Anschlag gebracht werden. Fleisch ist bedeutend billiger; um Jedem einen klaren Einblick zu verschaffen, nehme ich den Marktbericht von Lawrence auf, wie er im "Herald der Freiheit" vom 14. März d. J. enthalten ist. Es wurde gezahlt für:¹⁵

Mehl, fein,	\$4.50 per 100 Pfd.	Aepfel	\$1,25—2,00 per Bschl.
Waizen	1.50 " Buschel.	Getrocknete Pfirsiche	\$3 per "
Korn	50 Cts. "	Crackers*	15 Cts. " Pfd.
Kornmehl	\$1.00 "	Fr. Butter	30—35 " "
Weißer Bohnen	\$2—3 per "	Käse	20—25 " "
Kartoffeln	\$1.25—1.50 "	Ger. Pottasche	12 1/2 " "
Süße Kartoffeln	\$2.— per Pfd.	Brauner Zucker	16 Cts. pr. Pfd.
Weißer Zucker	18 Cts. " "	Tabak	30—50 "
Nägel	7—10 " "	Manilla-Stricke	35 "
Gußeisen	9 " "	Seife	10 "
Ofenröhren	15 2/3 " "	Stearinlichte	25 "
Hufeisen	10—12 1/2 " "	Talglichte	12 1/2 "
Häute, frisch,	4 " "	Wachs	20 "
do. Getrockn.	8—10 " "	Watte	18 "
Salz per Sack	100 Pfd. " \$5,50	Eisen	7—10 "
Aexte	1,35	Kattun, gedr.,	8—15 pr. Yard
Sägen per Fuß	0.75	Wollenzeug (<i>de laine</i>)	25—50c. per Yard
Ochsenjoch mit Zubehör	3,25		
Socken	50Cts. per Paar.	Leinöl	\$1.25 per Gall.
Stiefel	\$3,00—\$5,50 " "	Fischtran	1,60 " "
Bettzeug, gew.	10—12c. " Yard.	Fluid	1,25 " "
do. Gebleicht	12 1/2—20c. " "	Syrup	1,— " "
Bretter	\$30—35 per 1000 F.	do. Gereinigt	1,50 " "
Schindeln	5,50—\$6 per " St.	Holz, hartes	3,— " Klfr.
Ochsen	60—100 " Joch.	do. Weiches	2,25 " "
Kühe	\$20—35.	Steinkohlen	30 Cts. " Bschl.
Pferde u. Maulesel	50—150	Sattel	\$7—15
Schweine	\$3 per 100 Pfd.	Pferdegesschirr	\$16—25 per Paar
Reis	12 1/2 Cts. per Pfd.	Glas 8 bei 10, 50 Fuß	\$3,—
Thee	75 Cts.—\$1 " "	10 bei 12, " "	3,25
Kaffee	16 1/2—20 Cts. " "	10 bei 14, " "	3,87
Rindfleisch	5—8 " "	Schaafe	2—3
Speck	11 " "	Wagen, schwere Arb.	\$100—125
Kodfish	10—12 " "	Kochöfen	18—35.
Mackerelle	12—18 " "		

Die Miethen sind natürlich sehr teuer, weil eben noch die Häuser fehlen; jedoch kann man fertige Häuser für \$200—600 kaufen. Dieselben werden meist

*Eine Art kleiner, harter Zwieback.

in Cincinnati angefertigt, auf den Dampfschiffen verladen und können an Ort und Stelle in zwei Tagen aufgestellt werden; sie sind sehr wohnlich und nett. Das Leben im Gasthause kostet von \$1,00—\$1,50 per Tag, im Kosthause (*board*) \$3—5 die Woche. Viele Einwanderer leben die erst Zeit in Zelten und beköstigen sich selbst.¹⁶

Preise und Arbeit. Der gewöhnliche Arbeiter, der kein bestimmtes Handwerk gelernt hat, erhält gewöhnlich \$1,50, arbeitet er bei einem Farmer, so erhält er Beköstigung und \$20—30 den Monat, je nach seinen Leistungen. Tischler, Zimmerleute, Maurer, Steinhauer, deren Arbeit so sehr gesucht wird, erhalten \$2,50, 3—4 Doll. den Tag. Schuhmacher, Schneider und alle anderen Handwerker verhältnismäßig \$2—3.¹⁷

Da die Versuchung, durch Bearbeitung des Bodens eigener Herr zu werden, jedoch sehr groß ist, so geben die meisten Handwerker ihr Geschäft auf und werden Farmer; es sind z. B. die Schuhmacher fast gar nicht zum Arbeiten mit dem Pflügen zu bewegen, oft müssen daher die besten Stiefel mit nur einen kleinen unglücklichen Riß gleich fortgeworfen werden, weil Niemand auszubessern sie übernimmt, wie wir selbst diese unglückliche Opfer der Farmwuth oft zu Dutzenden um die Hotels haben liegen sehen. Dasselbe gilt benahe von allen Handwerkern und es ist den Nachkommenden sehr zu rathen, bei ihrem Geschäft dort zu bleiben, da der Gewinn oft ein größerer sein wird wie der des Farmens.

Weibliche Dienstboten erhalten sehr guten Lohn, nämlich 3-5 Doll. Und als Köchinnen in Hotels sogar 7 Doll. die Woche; gewöhnlich verheiratheten sie sich nach wenigen Wochen, da das schöne Geschlecht in Kansas noch sehr schwach vertreten ist. Es geht so weit, daß der Mangel an Wäscherinnen die Herren zwingt, entweder die Wäsche stets neu zu kaufen oder dieselbe hinüber nach Missouri zu schicken und sie dort waschen zu lassen; der Ansiedler zieht es jedoch gewöhnlich vor, sie selbst zu waschen. So viel steht fest, jeder Arbeiter ist in Kansas eines guten Lohnes gewiß.¹⁸

Wild. In vielen, namentlich den weniger angebauten Gegenden ist noch sehr viel Wild zu finden. Alle Arten Geflügel, Enten, Gänse, Schweine, Pelikane, Prairie-, Reb- und Truthühner gibt es in Unzahl. Namentlich bilden die Prairiehühner, welche im Winter zu Hunderten von den Ansiedlern in Fallen gefangen werden, ein Hauptnahrungsmittel derselben. Ferner finden wir Eichkatzen, Hasen, Rehe, Hirsche, Antilopen und Elenthiere; die Büffel haben sich schon etwa 20 Meilen hinter das Fort Riley zurückgezogen und weiden von dort bis zum Felsengebirge in zahllosen Heerden. Von Raubthieren haben wir die Füchse und Wölfe zu erwähnen, welche Letztere (Prairiewölfe) in noch ziemlicher Anzahl vorhanden sind. Die Ansiedler vergiften dieselben mit Strychnin; oft habe ich fünf und mehr Wolfsfelle um die Hütte des Ansiedlers hängen sehen. So viel steht fest, daß noch jeder Jagdliebhaber in Kansas hinreichendes Vergnügen und reichliche Ausbeute finden kann.

Fische sind ebenfalls in allen Gewässern zu finden; es gibt deren so viele Arten, daß ihre Aufzählung hier zu weit führen würde.¹⁹

Indianer. Es leben in Kansas wohl ein Dutzend und mehr Indianerstämme. Sie stammen aus den verschiedenen östlichen Staaten, sind von der Regierung der Ver. Staaten immer mehr westwärts gesendet worden und werden auch jetzt wieder weichen und der Civilisation Platz machen müssen. Wahrlich, ein hartes Loos dieser unglücklichen Ureinwohners Amerika's. Zur Arbeit zu stolz ziehen sie weiter

westwärts, sobald ihnen ihr Jagdgebiet vom weißen Mann genommen wird, um ungestört ihre Freiheit zu genießen!-²⁰

Nur die Mischlinge (*half-breeds*) cultiviren das Land im gewöhnlichen Wege, selbst handanlegend und thätig; der eingeborene Indianer aber gibt die Hälfte des Ertrages seines Landes dem weißen Manne und läßt ihn arbeiten. Unter den Mischlingen finden wir schon viele gebildete Leute; Mad. Guthrie (Quindaro), nach der die neue Stadt Quin[da]ro ihren Namen führt, ist wohlgezogen und ebenso sind die Gebrüder Burassa, von denen der eine Mühlenbesitzer, der andere Advocat ist, tüchtige intelligent Leute, die wahrlich manchen eingebildeten Kaukasier beschämen. Da der Großvater derselben ein französischer Trapper (Jäger) war, sprechen dieselben und ihre Kinder französisch, auch fehlt das Piano in ihrem Hause nicht; doch sind dieses immer nur Ausnahmen und viele Stämme sind auch dafür ganz erbärmliche Geschöpfe, wie die Kaw-Indianer, die Sacs und Foxes etc. Diese reiten, sobald das frische Gras ihre Pferde ernährt, auf die Buffalojagd, kehren erst nach Monaten mit dem an der Sonne getrockneten Fleische der selben wieder, die Häute aber verkaufen sie am Fort Riley an die sie erwartenden Händler.* Von dem Fleische leben sie in ihren Hütten im Winter, im Sommer leben sie ohne Hütten in den Waldungen. Die Segnungen der Civilisation, welche ihnen, außer dem Christenthum, auch allerlei Krankheiten, vor Allem aber schlechten Rum und Branntwein mitgetheilt, haben ihre Reihen schon sehr gelichtet und in wenigen Jahrzehnten werden sie ganz verschwunden sein. Sie sind, wenn man sie als Menschen und nicht als Vieh behandelt, äußerst freundlich und friedfertig, gereizt und betrunken dagegen sollen sie mitunter gefährlich werden. Kein Einwanderer darf sich jedoch vor der Nachbarschaft der Indianer fürchten, im Gegentheil kann er durch geringe Aufmerksamkeiten und Geschenke ihnen seine besten Freunde und Nachbarn finden.²¹

Wege und die Art des Reisens. Die Kommunikationsmittel in Kansas sind sehr verschieden, je nach Lage des Ortes und der Eigenschaft des Reisenden. Auf den großen Straßen nach Santa Fee [*sic*], Utah und Californien bewegen sich tausende von großen Lastwagen, theils mit 6 Ochsen oder Maulthierien bespannt, deren Führer den einzelnen Reisenden gern für ein Billiges mitnehmen und so weiter befördert. Zwischen den größeren Städten sind bereits gute "Stages" (Diligenzen) eingerichtet, die nach der Frequenz der Straße, zwei bis dreimal die Woche, ja täglich abgehen und ankommen. Ist das Wasser im Kansasfluß tief genug, so gehen Dampfboote vom

*Bei dieser Gelegenheit muß ich erwähnen, daß der Handel mit den Indianern überhaupt ein sehr bedeutender ist, da die Regierung der Ver. Staaten den Indianern für die Abtretung ihres Landes bedeutende Summen zahlt, die hundert tausende von Dollars jährlich betragen. Natürlich wandert dieses Geld sehr bald wieder in die Hände der schlaun amerikanischen Kaufleute zurück. Diejenigen, welche feste Wohnsitze bauen und den Boden cultivirn, erhalten außer einem Jahrgelalt jeder 300 und für jedes Kind 200 Acker Land. So will ich, um nur ein Beispiel anzuführen, die Delaware-Indianer erwähnen. Der östliche Theil ihres Landes wurde im vorigen Jahre für \$470,000 verkauft, der westliche Theil, 350,000 Acker, wird in diesem Jahr verkauft und wenigstens \$600,000 mitbringen. Außerdem besitzt dieser Stamm eine Heimstätte Land, 40 Meilen lang und 10 Meilen breit, nicht weit von Leavenworth, von dem der Acker jederzeit \$10 kosten würde. Ihr Besizthum beträgt abgesehen von ihrem Privat-Eigenthum, in Vieh, Häusern etc. ungefähr \$4,070,000; ihre Zahl, in Allem 900 Köpfe, besitzt also ein Jeder (Frau und Kind) im Durchschnitt \$4523, dies macht jede Familie, zu 5 Personen gerechnet \$22,615 reich. Es läßt sich daher sehr leicht erklären, wie es kommt, dass so viele Delaware-Indianerinnen weiße Männer heirathen. Es gibt, glaube ich, keine andere durchschnittlich so reiche Nation auf der Erde, als diese Delaware-Indianer.

Missouri bis Fort Riley. Will der Ansiedler jedoch nach dem Inneren des Landes, so muß er sich entweder beritten machen oder wenn er dort zu bleiben beabsichtigt, ist es das Beste, sich mit eigenem Wagen, Vieh, Provisionen und allem Nöthigen von vorn herein zu versehen und dann auf den Weg zu machen; einen guten Claim zu finden darf er von Hause aus gewiß sein. Die Wege sind durchgängig vorzüglich; da die Prairie keine Steine, wohl aber festen Lehmgund hat, so fährt man gewöhnlich wie auf einer Chaussee. Das einzig Unangenehme ist der Mangel an Brücken, doch sind die Bäche überall leicht zu passiren.²²

Art und Weise der ersten Ansiedlung. Hat der Ansiedler einen Claim gefunden, der seinen Wünschen und Erwartungen entspricht, so wird seine erste Sorge sein, einen geeigneten Platz für das Wohngebäude aufzufinden; er wähle ja einen trockenen, hochgelegenen, niemals suche er ihn im Bodenlande unmittelbar am Wasser. Eine zweite Regel ist: man vermeide auch selbst die ersten Nächte unmittelbar auf dem Grasboden zu schlafen. Ueberall liegt so viel Holz und Laub herum, daß mit leichter Mühe ein und wenn noch so roher Flurboden gelegt werden kann. Will nun der Ansiedler zum Bau des Hauses schreiten, so wird er vor allen Dingen seinen Geldbeutel zu befragen haben, welche Art von Gebäude er aufzuführen im Stande ist. Die Kosten des Baues sind natürlich sehr verschieden, je nach der Größe des Hauses und des Materials, das dazu verwendet wird. Das erste Haus ist hier immer das Beste, und ein Zelt für \$8 bis \$15 Dollar ist zu Anfang genügend, und für 5 bis 6 Personen vollständig ausreichend. Ein Steinhaus, wozu ich allen Landsleuten rathe, kann mit Muße gebaut werden.²³ Die Kosten des Bauens sind, wenn eigenhändig übernommen, 12 1/2 bis 14 Cents der Kubikfuß, wenn fremden Händen übergeben, 16 bis 20 Cents. Ein solches Steinhaus wird fertig \$300-500 kosten. Ein Loghaus, d. h. ein von rohen Balken gebautes, wird \$30-250 kosten, je nach der Größe. Das Steinhaus würde 4 Mann 2 Wochen hindurch, das Holzhaus dieselbe Zahl eine Woche beschäftigen. Diese Loghäuser sind sehr warm und durabel und entsprechen den Bauernhäusern in den ärmern Gegenden Deutschlands. Eine große Verbesserung bei dieser Art Häuser besteht darin, daß man zwei parallele Seiten des Balkens behaut, die nicht behauenen auf einander legt, und die durch die concaven Flächen gebildeten Spalten mit Lehm und Kalk von außen und innen so ausfüllt, daß man mit den behauenen Flächen der Balken glatte Wände erhält. Wird die innere Wand dann tapeziert, so erhält man ein freundliches und sehr warmes Zimmer. Viele Ansiedler spannen über diese Wand ein billiges Zeug, nageln dieses fest und kleben die Tapete darüber. Ich bin oft in äußerlich ganz rohe Bauernhütten getreten, von deren innern Sauberkeit und Räumlichkeit aber äußerst überrascht worden.²⁴

Sobald das Haus fertig, wird sogleich rüstig an die Bestellung des Ackers gegangen. Ist der Ansiedler so glücklich, selbst einige Joch Ochsen zu besitzen, so wird er vor Allem an die Umarbeitung der Prairie gehen. Zwei Joch Ochsen sind völlig ausreichend; auch kann man überall den Acker für 4 bis 5 Dollars gepflügt erhalten. Je nach dem Verhältniß der mitgebrachten Saat wird nun die Aussaat gemacht, und dann sofort zu der Umzäunung (Einfenzung) geschritten. Zaun oder Fenzriegel kann man überall für \$3 bis \$5, das Hundert abgeliefert erhalten. Eine Holzfenz in Accord gegeben kosten 62 1/2 Cents per Rod (16 Fuß), eine Steinfenz \$1 und eine Rasenfenz 25 bis 40 Cents. Ich rathe jedem, eine temporäre leichte Holzfenz zu bauen und sofort eine lebendige Hecke mit dem Samen der *Osage Orange* anzusäen.²⁵

Der gewöhnliche Pflugschar in Kansas pflügt 20 bis 26 Zoll tief, und 2 Joch gute

Ochsen brechen 2 bis 2 1/2 Acker Prärie den Tag. Die Ochsen brauchen kein anderes Futter als das Gras und werden ungeachtet der Arbeit fett. Die beste Zeit, das Land zu brechen, ist vom 1. Mai bis Mitte Juli, bis zu welcher Zeit man auch noch Korn pflanzen kann. Das Korn wird gleich beim Pflügen von einem Knaben, der auf dem Pfluge sitzt, hineingeworfen, und der Pflug selbst bedeckt es. Es wird eine gute Ernte geben, wenn bis zum 10. Juni gepflanzt wird; das spätere giebt Futter und Streu. Sommerweizen dagegen kann sogar noch bis Mitte August gepflanzt werden und giebt noch eine gute Ernte. — Natürlich sind dies die äußersten Termine, die eben nur durch die Noth geboten werden, Jeder, der es möglich machen kann, wird seine Saaten früher, wo möglich bis Ende Mai bestellen.²⁶

Im zweiten Jahr ist die Farm schon in vollkommenem Zustande. Der Boden hat keine Klumpen mehr, der Rasen ist verfault, der Boden frei von Graswurzeln und bröcklig, kurz mit einem Wort zu jeder Benutzung fähig. Noch einmal muß ich hier den Vorzug des reinen Prairiebodens vor Waldboden erwähnen, abgesehen von dem trockenen Winter, der hier dem Farmer erlaubt, bis Mitte December in freiem Felde zu arbeiten. Bevor ich diesen Abschnitt schließe, kann ich nicht umhin eine Tabelle mitzutheilen, welche ein tüchtiger Farmer entworfen. Sie giebt uns an, wieviel Land ein einzelner Mann bebauen kann, sowie den Ertrag der Ernte zu den niedrigsten und höchsten Preisen.²⁷

Anzahl der Acker.	Ertrag pr. Acker.	Geringste Ernte u. niedrigster Preis.	Beste Ernte u. höchster Preis.
Hanf 7—8	800—1200 Pfd.	\$200	\$585
Korn 10—15	10—20 Barrel	100	600
Weizen 10—15	20—45 Bushel	160	740
Hafer 10—12	30—50 Bushel	90	180
Summa 37—50		\$550	\$2105

Der Scheffel Hafer ist mit 30 Cts., Weizen mit 80 Cts., das Barrel Korn mit \$1 und die Tonne Hanf mit \$80 berechnet. Bebaut man also nur 37 Acker, so ist der geringste Betrag der Einnahme zu den niedrigsten Preisen \$550; bebaut man jedoch 50 Acker, und erfreut sich eines glücklichen Resultates, so wird die Einnahme \$2150 sein. Alle übrigen Producte, alle Gemüse und Kartoffeln baut man dann nur für seinen Bedarf. Dieses mag manchem Leser als extravagant erscheinen, und doch sind die Marktpreise jetzt bedeutend höher. Hanf kostet jetzt \$150 die Tonne, Weizen \$1.50 per Bushel und Korn sogar \$3 das Barrel. Der Ertrag selbst ist oft größer, als der hier angenommene, doch ist es allerdings selten der Fall, daß der höchste Ertrag mit den besten Preisen zusammenfällt, er war uns auch hier hauptsächlich darum zu thun, den niedrigen Ertrag bei den niedrigsten Preisen festzustellen. Einen Hauptartikel in dieser Tabelle wird später gewiß der Taback bilden. Leider konnten wir uns über den Ertrag desselben noch keine gewisse Auskunft verschaffen, da er bis jetzt nur in sehr Klein-Quantitäten gebaut wurde; doch ist bei diesen Versuchen im Kleinen der Ertrag ein überraschender gewesen.

Die Kartoffeln gedeihen in Kansas vortrefflich, und sind äußerst schmackhaft und mehlig. Ebenso erreichen alle Gemüsearten eine ungewöhnliche Größe und auch ihr Geschmack wie der des Obstes ist ein vorzüglicher. — Würden wir hier eine Abbildung der rothen Beeten, Wassermelonen, Kürbisse, des Kohls etc. in

Lebensgröße geben, unsere Freunde in Deutschland würden gewiß glauben, wir scherzten, haben wir doch Bohnen und Schooten, die die Größe der in deutschem Boden gezogenen um das Doppelte überschreiten.

Gegenwärtiger Stand der Bevölkerung und der Ansiedelungen im Territorium.²⁸

Im August 1854 betrat die erste Compagnie Auswanderer aus Massachusetts den Boden von Kansas. Im Frühjahr 1857 wurde die Bevölkerung auf 60,000 geschätzt; die große Einwanderung in diesem Jahre beträgt wenigstens 30,000, so daß man die jetzige Bevölkerung mit circa 90,000 veranschlagen kann.²⁹ Um diese ungewöhnlich schnelle Besiedelung zu erklären, ist es unumgänglich nöthig, so gern ich es auch vermieden hätte, die politischen Motive zu erwähnen, welche so kräftig dabei mitwirkten.³⁰

Als Missouri im Jahre 1820 als Staat in die Union aufgenommen wurde, entspann sich ein heftiger Kampf, ob dasselbe in seine Constitution die Sklaverei mit aufnehme und beschütze, oder ob es freier Staat bleiben sollte. Die beiden Partheien standen sich ziemlich gleich gegenüber und zuletzt wurde ein Vergleich vorgeschlagen und angenommen, demzufolge Missouri zwar Sklavenstaat werden sollte, alle anderen Territorien jedoch, welche über dem 36° 30 Minuten nördlicher Breite lägen, sollten für ewige Zeiten der freien Arbeit überlassen bleiben. Im Jahre 1854 jedoch, als Kansas und Nebraska zu Territorien creirt wurden, hob man diesen Vergleich wieder auf, indem man behauptete, daß er die demokratische Freiheit der Ansiedler beeinträchtige, man müsse es dem Volke selbst überlassen, ob es Sklaverei dulden wolle oder nicht. Sehr einleuchtend ist es natürlich, daß beide Partheien sich beeilten, so schnell wie möglich das Land mit Anhängern ihrer Ansichten zu füllen. In wie weit die Entscheidung dieser Frage bisher wirklich dem Volke überlassen worden, zeigt uns die Geschichte der letzten Jahre. Die Bevölkerung ist ungefähr so getheilt, daß 10 Freistaat- oder Freibodenmänner auf einen der Sklaverei-Günstigen kommen. Durch Gewalt, Betrug und die Hülfe der Regierung ist indeß Kansas noch nicht als Freistaat aufgenommen und die nächste Zeit wird lehren, ob die jetzigen Versicherungen der Regierungsorgane die Wahrheit sprechen oder nicht. Zur Ehre unserer Landsleute sei es gesagt, daß alle Deutschen der Sklaverei entgegen sind. Ich sage Alle, denn die wenigen miserablen Subjecte, welche es mit der Sklavereiparthei halten, sind nicht der Rede werth; ich könnte sie mit Namen nennen, doch dies wäre zu viel Ehre für sie; es sind im Ganzen 5, die sich offen dazu bekennen, die Anzahl der Deutschen im Territorium ist beinahe 4000. Wie sich dieselben vertheilen, werden wir bei den einzelnen Orten später sehen, nur so viel bemerke ich jetzt, daß es wohl kaum eine Ansiedelung von Bedeutung gibt, in der nicht einzelne Deutsche zu finden wären.

Die Bevölkerung wohnt theils in Städten, theils auf ihren Claims auf dem Lande. Die letztere ist die bei Weitem überwiegende Zahl; von Wyandot [*sic*] bis Fort Riley, also weit über 150 Meilen, sind von beiden Ufern des Kansasflusses auf eine Entfernung von 4 bis 5 Meilen hin alle Ländereien von den Ansiedlern in Besitz genommen, die Indianer Ländereien, welche zu besiedeln das Gesetz nicht erlaubt, natürlich ausgenommen. Auf jedem Claim von 160 Ackern erhebt sich das Häuschen eines Ansiedlers, viele bereits mit Nebengebäuden, Garten und Umzäunung. Es ist

ein schöner Anblick, die häufig schon mit großem Luxus gebauten freundlichen weißen New-Englandhäuser wieder zu sehen.

Dem Kansasflusse entlang erholben sich auch die ersten Städte. Wir lassen die wichtigsten hier folgen:

Lawrence.³¹ Es wurde von den ersten Ansiedlern im Jahre 1854 angelegt und Amos A. Lawrence in Bosten zu Ehren so genannt. Es liegt am rechten Ufer des Kansasflusses, 35 Meilen oberhalb dessen Mündung in den Missouri. Die Lage ist eine vorzüglich passende und sehr gesunde. Holz, rollende Prairie tritt bis auf eine Meile dem Flusse nahe und flacht sich plötzlich in eine Mittel-Prärie ab; auf dieser, welche circa eine Quadratmeile umfaßt und eben ist, liegt die Stadt. Die Ufer des Flusses und die Umgebung sind mit gutem Holz bewachsen und geben dem Ort ein freundliches Ansehen. Ein Stein-Fort, welches auf dem äußersten Ausgange der Hochprairie, dem sogenannten Oread-Berge, zur Vertheidigung der Stadt gegen die Ritter der Sklaverei errichtet wurde, trägt dazu bei, ihr ein malerisches Aussehen zu verleihen. Die Stadt zählt jetzt über 2,500 Einwohner, jedoch befinden sich wohl täglich 3 bis 500 Fremde darin, welche ihr das lebhafteste Treiben einer Stadt von 4 bis 5000 Einwohnern geben. Lawrence ist der Hauptstapelplatz für den Binnenhandel; täglich rüstet es Dutzende von Ansiedlern für den Anfang ihrer neuen Laufbahn aus. Jeden Morgen ist Vieh- und Pferdemarkt, gewöhnlich kauft man gleich ein Joch Ochsen mit Wagen und allem Zubehör zusammen. Die Preise variiren hier wunderbar, stets nach der Zahl der Käufer und Verkäufer sich richtend. Alle Kaufleute, und es ist, in Wahrheit zu sagen[,] Jedermann hier mehr oder weniger Kaufmann, machen brillante Geschäfte. Der Bedarf ist oft so groß, daß die Waaren ungeöffnet verkauft worden sind. Es gibt mehrere Handlungshäuser hier, die über \$100,000 Umsatz machen. Das Grundeigenthum hat daher auch schon einen hohen Werth; Claims in der Nähe von Lawrence gelten \$4 bis 6000, und Baustellen, die nebenbei gesagt sehr klein sind (125 bei 50 Fuß), kosten in der Hauptstraße \$1–5000. Der Hauptmangel in Lawrence sind Arbeiter und Baumaterial. Ziegelbrenner, Steinhauer, Maurer, Tischler und Zimmerleute würden hier jahrelange Beschäftigung finden, denn Lawrence wird gewiß bald eine Stadt von 20–30,000 Einwohnern werden. Die Bewohner sind höchst intelligente, entschlossene und unternehmende Leute, die trotz der großen Störungen und Geschäftsstockungen, welche im vorigen Jahre durch den zweimaligen Einfall der Missouri Grenzbanditen ihnen verursacht wurden, ihren Prinzipien und dem durch den Haß der Sklavenhalter gewissermaßen sehr gefährlichen Orte nicht untreu geworden sind und noch hat Keiner den Muth verloren. Es hat schon jetzt viele ansehnliche Steingebäude, 2 Kirchen und 5 Hotels, 2 Waarenhäuser, 2 Zeitungen etc. (wir verweisen auf die Annoncen). In Lawrence und nächster Umgebung mögen jetzt etwa 60 Deutsche wohnen.

Udora.³² Dies ist eine neuangelegte Stadt, welche von den Deutschen Chicagos in diesem Frühjahrre gegründet ist. Dieselbe liegt an der Mündung der Waukarusa [*sic*] in den Kansasfluß, 9 Meilen unterhalb Lawrence. Seine Lage ist eine sehr gute, und es hängt nur von der Energie und den Mitteln der Gesellschaft ab, etwas Tüchtiges daraus zu machen. Die Gesellschaft hat 500 Theilhaber, von denen jeder zwei Baustellen erhält. Das Land wurde von einem Indianer für \$5000 (600 Acker) gekauft, jedoch sollen die Nebenbedingungen nicht allzu günstig sein. Jedenfalls wird es schwierig sein, für die nachkommenden Deutschen in der Umgegend Claims zu erhalten, da der Indianer-Titel noch nicht erloschen ist. Gewiß kann es eine

bedeutende Fabrikstadt werden, wenn eben das nöthige Capital vorhanden ist. Wir wünschen den energischen Unternehmern das beste Glück und Gedeihen! —

Topeka.³³ Diese Stadt, ebenfalls 1854 gegründet, liegt auf dem südlichen Ufer des Kansasflusses, 25 Meilen N. W. von Lawrence und 75 Meilen Ost von Fort Riley. Sie hat bereits über 1,000 Einwohner. Ein Antheil (*share*) von 10 Baustellen kostet jetzt \$600—1200, je nach der Lage derselben; einzelne Baustellen, die gut gelegen sind, kosten \$150. Es ist ein lebhaftes, freundlich gelegenes Städtchen und ist deutschen Geschäftsleuten und Arbeitern sehr anzuempfehlen. Es ist Topeka die Hauptstadt der Freistaatspartei und von ihr für den dereinstigen Sitz des Gouvernements bestimmt, ihre Berathungen haben dieselben in der Constitutionshalle gehalten.

Tecumseh.³⁴ Dieses Städtchen liegt 5 Meilen von Topeka, 20 Meilen von Lawrence, auch an der Südseite des Kansas. Das Land um Tecumseh und Topeka ist sehr fruchtbar und herrlich gelegen. Claims gelten hier \$1000—2000. Bei Tecumseh wird eine sehr feste Brücke über den Fluß gebaut, die \$20,000 kosten und diesen Herbst fertig werden soll. Deutsche habe ich in dieser Gegend wenige getroffen; südlicher jedoch, am Thiergraben (Deercreek), gibt es mehrere deutsche Familien. Tecumseh hat etwa 800 Einwohner.

Deutsche Niederlassungen am Millcreek.³⁵ Wir übergehen hier die Städte Bigsprings, Washington und Lecompton, das letztere der Hauptsitz der Prosklaverei-Regierung, weil sie uns für die Zukunft wenig Wachsthum versprechen. Wir wenden uns mehr südwestlich und kommen an ein Flößchen, Millcreek (Mühlenfluß) genannt. Leider fließt der Haupttheil desselben durch das Land der Pottowotomie-Indianer [*sic*], das noch nicht bebaut werden darf. An der südwestlichen Spitze dieser Reserve jedoch beginnt eine deutsche Niederlassung, welche sich 12 Meilen hinauf bis zu den Quellen des Millcreeks erstreckt. Diese Gesellschaft wanderte vor zwei Jahren von Cincinnati aus; die wohlhabenderen Theilnehmer derselben kehrten jedoch gleich wieder zurück, weil sie, wie mir Herr E. Hohnick, der jetzige Vorstand der Ansiedlung mittheilte, noch kein Theater, Biersalons und Concerte vorfanden. Trotzdem, daß die Leute mit wenigen oder so zu sagen gar keinen Mitteln anfangen, ist die Ansiedelung eine blühende zu nennen. Sie umfaßt das ganze Thal des Millcreeks, welches von ziemlich steiler Hochebene auf höchst romantische Weise eingeschlossen ist. Das Land ist meist Bodenland und enthält sehr viel Wald. Etwa 5 Meilen südlich vom Anfange der Colonie liegt ein Gasthaus und Store (Kaufmannsladen). Es ist hier eine tüchtige Wasserkraft für Mühlen zu verwenden, wenn das nöthige Capital da wäre. Lager bituminöser Kohle sind viele gefunden. Für deutsche Fabrikanten, Gerber etc. wäre hier ein gelegener Ort, unter ihren Landsleuten ein Geschäft zu beginnen. Auf meine Fragen, ob die Leute sich auch glücklich fühlten, erhielt ich stets ein Ja zur Antwort. Ich stellte ihnen vor, daß sie doch alle Freuden der schönen Stadt Cincinnati vermissen und vielleicht noch schwerer wie dort arbeiten müßten— sie gaben mir zur Antwort: Wir haben doch ein **Heim** und arbeiten für uns selbst und nicht für den Baas (Brodherr). Selbst die Aermsten hatten zwei bis drei Joch Ochsen, Kühe, Schafe etc. Kurz, die Zeit der Noth und Plage ist überwunden und für das fernere Gedeihen sind jetzt die besten Aussichten vorhanden. Die Colonie vergrößert sich täglich und zieht auch Amerikaner an (zwei bereits während meiner Anwesenheit). Der Weinbau ist hier auch begonnen; leider hatten die Leute genug vorerst zu thun, um das Nöthigste, das Brod zu schaffen; obschon der Weinbau in Folge dessen noch sehr im Argen liegt, ist es doch keinem Zweifel unterworfen, daß

an den südlichen Abhängen sehr guter Wein gezogen werden könnte; wild wächst er hier überall in erstaunlicher Menge und Größe. Die Colonie enthält ungefähr 80 Farmen und ist die älteste und bedeutendste deutsche Colonie. Mit wenigen oder gar keinen Mitteln angefangen, von den Führern verlassen, hat doch deutscher Fleiß und Ausdauer alle Schwierigkeiten überwunden, so daß sich die Leute jetzt in glücklichen Umständen und verhältnißmäßigem Wohlstande befinden. Daß die Colonie keine Freunde der Sklaverei birgt, darf ich wohl nicht erst versichern.

Ansiedlung am Rock Creek.³⁶ Auf der nördlichen Seite des Kansasflusses liegt oberhalb Louisville, am Rock Creek (Steinfluß) eine andere deutsche Ansiedlung. Dieselbe ist nicht so bedeutend, wie die am Mill Creek, doch sehr blühend. Die Ansiedler hatten mehr oder weniger ziemlich bedeutende Mittel. Das Land ist vorzüglich, Holz ist hinlänglich und nichts fehlt bei der Intelligenz und Energie der Farmer zum weiteren Aufblühen. Ich will hier zugleich erwähnen, daß außer diesen Colonien überall im Territorium vereinzelte deutsche Farmer in jedem County (Landbezirk) zu finden sind, die bei weitem die Mehrzahl aller Deutschen im Territorium bilden. Namentlich gilt dies von den Shawnee Reserve und allen den Missouri begrenzten Bezirken.

Manhattan.³⁷ Wir übergehen Wabonsa [*sic*], eine neuangelegte Stadt und kommen nach Manhattan. Es liegt am Zusammenfluß des Big Blue (großer blauer Fluß) und Kansasfluß, 18 Meilen von Fort Riley und 75 Meilen von Lawrence. Der Anlage nach ist es die größte Stadt, da sie 1400 Acker Stadtgrund enthält. Die Gegend ist reizend, das Kansasthal ist hier sehr breit und die es umschliessenden Hochebenen sind äußerst malerisch. Ein hoher Punkt, blauer Berg genannt, gewährt eine herrliche Aussicht. Die Nähe des Forts sichert hier für alle Produkte gute Preise. Das Heu kostet \$7 die Tonne, und im Fort \$12. Korn \$1.50 bei Ablieferung. Die Region des Big Blue hat sehr viel Holz und einen herrlichen Boden. Etwa 10 Meilen von Manhattan, den Fluß nördlich hinauf, sind noch viele Claims zu haben; ein Arm des großen, der kleine blaue genannt, wird der Garten von Kansas genannt. Die Humuſschicht im Bodenlande ist hier 8 Fuß dick und das Gras im Sommer so hoch, daß es Reiter und Pferd verdeckt, Korn giebt hier 70–100fältigen Ertrag. Die Stadt hat Sägenmühlen, Kaufläden, Hotels etc., und etwa 700 Einwohner. Jeder deutsche Handwerker kann hier ein reichliches Auskommen finden; will er in der Stadt bauen, so erhält er eine Baustelle von Herrn Mead umsonst; ich rathe jedem, sich direkt an denselben zu wenden. Die Farmen kosten hier \$2–3,000, wenn sie schon eingezäunt und theilweise cultivirt sind.

Ogden.³⁸ Ist ein neues Städtchen an der nördlichen Seite des Kansasflusses 5 Meilen von Fort Riley. Da es der Sitz der Landoffice und County Regierung geworden, wird es wahrscheinlich schnell aufblühen. Deutschen Einwanderern sind von den Herren Parsons und Mobly unentgeltliche Baustellen versprochen. Der Share (Antheil) von 10 Baustellen galt bei meiner Anwesenheit \$150. Das Land läßt nichts zu wünschen übrig und in der Umgegend sind noch viele Claims zu haben.

Riley City.³⁹ Schräg über dem Fort auf der südlichen Seite des Flusses liegt ein neu angelegtes Städtchen, Riley City. Durch die Nähe des Forts und das Zusammentreffen der großen Mormonen- und anderer Straßen an dieser Stelle wird deren Aufblühen jedenfalls verbürgt. Ich fand hier mehrere Landleute, welche theils Modewaarenläden hielten, theils ein Handwerk betrieben. Sie lobten den Verdienst

sehr. So hat der Deutsche Uhrmacher hier im ersten Monat \$90 netto gehabt. Die Baustellen waren im Verhältniß noch sehr billig.

Am Zusammenfluß des Red-Republican und Smoky Hill Forks, welche den Kansasfluß bilden, liegt Fort Riley.⁴⁰ Es liegt sehr schön auf der Hochebene und bietet eine herrliche Aussicht über das Thal; 6–800 Mann Soldaten bilden hier die Garnison. Neun Meilen den Republican hinauf ist eine deutsche Niederlassung von 10 Farmen zu finden, welche in diesem Frühjahr, durch den Holzreichthum angezogen, sich dort niedergelassen haben. Das Thal des Smoky Hill Fork ist schon 20 Meilen hinauf besiedelt. Die Hochebenen sind hier bedeutend höher, felsiger und nach den geologischen Untersuchungen sehr mineralreich. Am Salinenfluß finden sich viele Salzquellen. Die Formation verliert hier mehr den lieblichen wellenförmigen Charakter und wird mehr zerissen und grotesk. Schon die Ufer des Clark Creeks, der von Council Grove herauf vom Süden nach Norden fließt, haben einen eigenthümlichen Charakter; dieselben erscheinen oft wie gemauert und man glaubt in der Ferne große Festungen zu sehen. Bei hohem Wasserstande gehen die Dampfboote bis zum Fort; in wenigen Jahren wird eine Eisenbahn gewiß vom Missouri bis zu diesem Punkte fertig gebaut sein.

Wenden wir nun unsern Weg südlich, so finden wir 35 Meilen weit außer einigen wenigen Ansiedelungen im Thale des Clark Creeks unbebautes Land bis hinunter nach Council Grove.⁴¹ Dies ist ein Städtchen an der Santa Fee [*sic*] Straße; Einwohnerzahl etwa 200. Es liegt an dem Neoshofluß, der in den Arkansas fließt. Die ganze Umgebung des Neosho mit seinen unzähligen Nebenflüssen bietet ein herrliches Feld für deutsche Ansiedler dar. Ebenso das Thal des Cottonflusses, der sich mit dem Neosho 6 Meilen unterhalb der neuangelegten Stadt Emporia⁴² verbindet. Die Gegend ist sehr anziehend, Holz und Bächlein in Menge vorhanden. Herr Leonhard und 4 andere Deutsche haben in der Nähe ihre Claims genommen und der Boden läßt nichts zu wünschen übrig. Bereits erscheint eine Zeitung hier. Jeder deutsche Ansiedler wende sich an Hrn. Dietzler, den Begründer der Stadt oder an Hrn. Leonhard. Es ist der Lage und Umgebung nach ein Ort, der für die Zukunft viel verspricht. Die Entfernung von Lawrence ist 65 Meilen. Folgen wir dem Laufe des Neosho, so finden wir weiter südlich die Städtchen Neosho, Burlington und noch südlicher die neuangelegte Stadt **Humboldt**.⁴³ Um diese Stadt haben sich einige 20 deutsche Familien, meist von Hartford, unter der Leitung des Hrn. Serenbetz angesiedelt. Die Stadt selbst umfaßt die Süd-, Ost- und Südwest-Viertel-Sektion 4, Stadtbezirk 26, südliche Reihe 18, östlich von der als 1 angenommenen Reihe in Allen County (Landbezirk). Ihre Lage ist eine äußerst gesunde. Sie liegt auf der östlichen Seite des Neosho auf einer sanften Abflachung der Hochebene, das Flußufer ist hier felsig und der Fluß schon so bedeutend, daß man ihn von hier ab für schiffbar hält. Der Baumwuchs ist hier ein kräftiger, Eichen und Wallnußbäume sind am häufigsten. Wild ist in Menge vorhanden, namentlich Hirsche und Rehe. Das frische Gras war hier Mitte April schon handhoch, während um Lawrence herum dasselbe kaum zu keimen anfangt. Das Vieh findet hier, wie überall im südlichen Kansas, den ganzen Winter hindurch volle Weide. Leute versicherten mich, daß der untere Theil des sehr langen Grases noch im Dezember vollständig grün bleibe. Um die Stadt herum sind noch über 400 Claims zu haben, die alle Wald enthalten. Die Association zur Erbauung dieser Stadt besteht zur Hälfte aus Amerikanern, die Beamten sind aus Deutschen und jenen erwählt. Präsident ist unser Landsmann,

Hr. Dr. M. Hartmann in Lawrence. Die Erfahrung hat gelehrt, daß eine gemischte Bevölkerung das schnellste Emporblühen der Städte bewirkt. Exclusiv deutsche Colonien haben es bis jetzt noch zu keiner großen Blüthe gebracht, im Gegentheil kränkeln dieselben sehr bald an dem Krebschaden innerer Zwistigkeiten und sterben gewöhnlich an den Folgen der Prozeßkosten, die daraus entstehen. Wir rathen stets zu einer gemischten Ansiedelung; dem Fleiße und der Ausdauer des Deutschen den Eifer und Unternehmungsgeist des Amerikaners beizugesellen, kann für beide Theile nur vortheilhaft sein, außerdem erhält der gegenseitige Wetteifer die Leute frisch und lebendig und schützt sie vor der entsetzlichen Einseitigkeit und sogenannten Verbüfflung, in die der Deutsche versinkt, sobald er sich hier der Berührung und dem Umgang mit Amerikanern gänzlich entzieht.

Eine ähnliche gemischte Ansiedelung wird unter der Leitung des Herrn Dietzler an den Quellen des Verdigris, etwa 25 Meilen westlich von Humboldt angelegt werden. Der Name derselben wird **Guttenberg**⁴⁴ sein. Wir machen unsere Landsleute hauptsächlich auf diese Punkte aufmerksam, einmal weil der Süden von Kansas das schönste Land enthält, weil hier Weinbau getrieben werden kann, die Regenmasse hier größer ist und daher reichlichere Ernten verspricht, die Gegend holzreicher ist, endlich, weil hier eben noch viele, ja so zu sagen alle Claims zu haben sind, und sich größere Partien deutscher Farmer neben einander niederlassen können. Auch haben wir noch einen politischen Grund, den ich erwähnen will. In West-Texas ist bereits eine sehr kräftige, blühende deutsche, skavereifeindliche Ansiedelung von 50–80,000 Deutschen. Wenn es uns nun gelingt, deutsche Ansiedelungen in den Süden von Kansas zu bringen, so reichen wir unsern Brüdern in Texas nach wenigen Jahren die Hand, und bilden so einen Gürtel der Freiheit um die mit der Sklaverei behafteten aber nicht gesegneten Ländern des Südens. Außerdem ist der Ansiedler im Süden von Kansas vor allen und jeden Unruhen sicher, denn sollte es wirklich, was jedoch kaum zu erwarten, noch einmal etwas blutige Köpfe geben, so wird dies wieder auf den alten entscheidenden Punkten, wie Lawrence, Leavenworth etc. geschehen. Nein, die Mission des deutschen Ansiedlers im Süden ist eine ganz friedliche, rein passive. Activ wird er nur, wenn er einst bei der Volksabstimmung seine Stimme dahin abgibt, daß er keine Sklaverei in Kansas dulden will.

Kehren wir nun nach dieser politischen Abschweifung zur Stadt Humboldt zurück, so wäre noch zu bemerken, daß jedem Deutschen, der sich jetzt dort niederläßt, ganz bedeutende Vortheile von der Association geboten werden. Ein Hotel, eine Brücke, Schule, ein Store, eine Sägemühle und viele Wohnhäuser sind im Bau begriffen.

Nehmen wir nun unsern Weg westlich von Humboldt, so kommen wir in das Gebiet des Osageflusses. Dies ist ein bedeutender Strom und ergießt sich unterhalb Jefferson in den Missouri. Er durchströmt Kansas vom Osten nach Westen über hundert Meilen, seine Quellen reichen bis zu denen des Neosho und der Wakerusa hinauf; die Zahl seiner Nebenflüsse und Flüßchen ist Legion. Das Stromgebiet desselben wird als das Land geschildert, in welchem die Ansiedler von den Wechselfiebern am meisten zu leiden haben. Dies mag durch die Tieflage und Wassereichthum begründet sein, hauptsächlich wird es jedoch wohl an der Vernachlässigung aller Vorsichtsmaßregeln und dem unregelmässigen Leben der ersten Ansiedler gelegen haben. Die Gegend ist wegen der unendlich vielen Bäche eine der holzreichsten in Kansas; das Land ist, wenn auch etwas niedriger, doch eben so fruchtbar wie das am Cottonwood

und Neosho. Wenn wir von Süden nach Norden reisen, so treffen wir zuerst das Städtchen **Moneka**⁴⁵ am Sugar Creek. Es ist im vorigen Jahre angelegt und im schnellen Wachstum begriffen. Etwa 15 Meilen nördlich am Pottowottomie Creek [*sic*] liegt **Hyatt**.⁴⁶ Dies ist von dem Präsidenten des Kansas National Committee, Herrn Thaddeus Hyatt angelegt, und 86 der ärmsten doch wackersten Kämpfer für Freiheit und Recht in den letzten Kansasunruhen wurde es durch seine großmüthige Unterstützung möglich gemacht, sich daselbst niederzulassen. Auch dieses Städtchen ist in schnellem Aufblühen begriffen. Deutschen Ansiedlern wird von Herrn Hyatt jede Art von Hilfe und Unterstützung zu Theil werden. Claims sind hier noch in Masse vorhanden, das Land ist ausgezeichnet und Holz mehr als hinreichend. Unseren Landsleuten rathen wir, sich wegen der Uebersiedelung nach Hyatt direct an Herrn Hyatt, 46 Morton Street in New York zu wenden, der ihnen gewiß gern jede nähere Auskunft ertheilen und jede Art von Vorschub leisten wird.

Osawattamie.⁴⁷ Zwanzig Meilen nördlich an der Mündung des Pottowottomie Creek in den Osage Fluß liegt Osawattamie. Diese Stadt wurde 1855 angelegt, und befindet sich trotz der vielen Stürme, welche dieselbe durchzumachen hatte, in äußerst günstigem Steigen begriffen. Hier war es auch, wo der alte tapfere Brown mit nur 34 Mann gegen 400 Ritter der Sklaverei so tapfern Widerstand leistete, daß dieselbe nach einem Verlust von 42 Todten und 100 Verwundeten schnell nach Missouri zurückkehrten. Unter seiner kleinen Heldenschaar befanden sich auch 5 Deutsche; einer davon, sowie ein edler Ungar haben leider durch ihren ehrenvollen Tod ihre Liebe zur Freiheit besiegelt, so wie auch einer der 4 Söhne Browns hier seinen Heldentod fand.—Die Stadt hat eine ausgezeichnete Sägemühle und ein sehr gutes Hotel. Die Claims um dieselbe sind meist genommen, doch kann man 4 bis 5 Meilen davon noch sehr viele unbesetzt finden.

Council City.⁴⁸ Etwa 25 Meilen nordöstlich liegt in einem reizenden Thale, durch Schwitzler und Dragoon Creek gebildet, die Stadt Council City. Sie liegt an der großen Santa Fee [*sic*] Straße, 20 Meilen südlich von Topeka, 35 Meilen von Lawrence und 90 Meilen von Wyandot. Es ist hier ein herrlicher Boden, hinreichend Holz, Kohlen und Kalkstein, und eine Art Marmor, die einzige bis jetzt in Kansas gefundene. In der Nähe ist ausgezeichnetes Holz, namentlich viel Wallnuß. Claims sind noch zu haben. Es hat 2 Sägemühlen, 1 Hotel etc. Herr Schuyler will deutschen Ansiedlern mit Hilfe, Rath und That an die Hand gehen; er ist einer der Gründer dieser Stadt; und ein höchst geachteter und rechtlicher Mann.—Wir müssen aus Mangel an Raum viele Orte und Oertchen übergehen, so wie Blumington, Franklin, Milliard,⁴⁹ Brownville,⁵⁰ Ashland,⁵¹ Ottawa,⁵² Zeandale,⁵³ Osage, Valley, Palmyra etc. Jedenfalls steht fest, daß der südliche Theil von Kansas mit seinem milderen Klima, größeren Regenmasse, ausgezeichnetem Boden und Holzreichtume eine wahre Kornkammer werden muß, und gewiß in wenigen Jahren an Bevölkerung und Reichthum ältere, nördlicher gelegene Staaten weit übertreffen wird.

Wenden wir uns nun zu der nördlichen Seite des Kansasflusses, so treffen wir gleich bei dem Einfluß desselben in den Missouri eine neue Stadt **Wyandott**.⁵⁴ Obgleich erst in diesem Frühjahr gegründet, so ist es doch erstaunlich, wie blühend dieser Ort bereits ist. Wir finden 2 Hotels; ein altes großes Dampfboot, St. Paul, an der Landung ist in ein Waarenhaus, von E. Hunt, verwandelt worden, während der obere Theil desselben ein Hotel (mit 150 Betten) bildet. Ueber 100 Häuser sind im Bau begriffen. Eine Zeitung soll nächstens erscheinen. Eine tägliche Diligence

mit ausgezeichneten Federwägen und 4 prächtigen Pferden bespannt, unterhält die Verbindung mit Lawrence, welches dreißig Meilen davon entfernt ist. Hier fand ich bereits eine ziemliche Anzahl deutscher Landsleute, die theils merkantilsche Geschäfte, theils ihr Handwerk zu betreiben angefangen haben. Die ausgezeichnete Lage des Orts am Missouri und Kansas hat auch die Preise der Baustellen so in die Höhe getrieben, daß ein Antheil von 10 Baustellen schon über \$1,000 kostet. Claims sind in der Umgegend leider nicht zu haben, da das Land den Indianern gehört.

Wir kommen 4 Meilen nördlicher zu der Rivalin von Wyandott, nämlich:

Quindaro.⁵⁵ Auch diese Stadt ist erst in diesem Frühjahr begonnen worden und wie durch Zauberschlag entstanden. Kein Ort in Kansas liegt so romantisch wie Quindaro. Hohe Felsenufer, oft 60–80 Fuß, treten bis dicht an den Missouri; in einer Schlucht zwischen diesen ist die Stadt angelegt. Die Felsen bieten eine sichere und für alle Zukunft bestimmte Landung, während diese Wyandott mangelt.* Hierauf basiert sich hauptsächlich der Vortheil dieser Stadt. Da reiche Kaufleute mit bedeutendem Kapital hier ihre Waarenlager bereits errichtet haben, so fragt es sich, welche von beiden Städten aus diesem Kampfe als Siegerin hervorgehen wird. Die Schwierigkeiten des Terrains in Quindaro zu überwinden, kostet sehr viel, doch Energie und die Macht des Geldes haben schon oft viel Schwereres geleistet. Auch hier soll nächstens eine Zeitung erscheinen und etwa hundert Häuser sind im Bau begriffen. Mehrere Deutsche haben sich hier bereits angesiedelt und betreiben ihr Handwerk. Claims sind auch hier nicht zu haben.—Wir kommen nun etwa 6 Meilen weiter nordwärts bei **Delaware City**⁵⁶ vorbei, einem kleinen noch unbedeutenden Städtchen, und landen dann 6 Meilen weiter nordwärts in **Leavenworth**.⁵⁷ Es liegt auf einem felsigen Ufer 2 ½ Meile unterhalb dem Fort gleichen namens, 30 Meilen von Lawrence, 50 von Topeka, 20 von Atchison, 58 nördlich von Osawattamie und erstreckt sich eine Meile dem Ufer entlang. Es ist bis jetzt so zu sagen die Hafenstadt für Kansas und daher ein äußerst lebhafter Ort voll Handel und Wandel. Am 15. September 1854 wurde das erste Haus vollendet und im Januar 1856 enthielt es schon 307 Häuser, jetzt über 500 mit ungefähr 3,000 Einwohnern. Von diesen sind beinahe die Hälfte Deutsche, unter denen sich sehr viele wohlhabende und gebildete Kaufleute und Geschäftsleute aller Art befinden. Ein Turnverein ist bereits gebildet, ein Gesangsverein im Entstehen und bald wird auch an der linken Seite des Missouri deutscher Sang und deutsche Sitte dauernd Platz greifen. Jede Art von Geschäft wird hier bald seine Vertretung finden und in 10 bis 15 Jahren wird Leavenworth ein gewiß sehr bedeutender Ort sein. Schon jetzt enthält es 5 Hotels, unter denen das deutsche von Hrn. Menger sehr zu empfehlen ist. Zwei Bankhäuser vermitteln den Geldverkehr, Apotheken, Uhren und Juwelen, Modewaaren und alle Arten von Läden sind vorhanden. Für den Gaumen sorgen Restauranten und Bierbrauer, die in ihren Felsenkellern ein ausgezeichnetes Lagerbier beherbergen; kurz es hat alle Anzeichen eines schnellen Aufblühens. Viel trägt dazu auch die Nähe des Forts bei, in welchem jetzt über 2,000 Mann Militär liegen, welche ihr ganzes Tractament, welches beiläufig gesagt, für den Gemeinen außer freier Kost, Uniform und Wohnung \$11 monatlich beträgt, hier gewöhnlich schnell verzehren. Von Leavenworth macht der

*Der Missouri, ein reißender Strom, der viel Sand und Erde mit sich führt, wechselt sehr oft sein Fahrbett, so daß die Landung von aufgeschwemmten Bodenland nach einigen Jahren oft versandet und an der anderen Seite des Ufers eine neue entsteht.

Missouri eine große Biegung nach Westen; in dem äußersten Winkel dieser Biegung liegt die Stadt **Atchison**. Sie wurde von den Prosklavereimännern angelegt und hat dadurch bis jetzt in ihrem Wachsthum sehr gelitten, allein da jetzt Freistaatsleute in den Besitz derselben gekommen sind, wird ihre ausgezeichnete Lage ihr ein schnelles Emporblühen sichern. Wenn man nämlich die Karte zur Hand nimmt, wird man leicht finden, daß sie näher nach dem Mittelpunkt des Landes gelegen ist, wie irgend eine andere Stadt am Missouri. Ist daher die Eisenbahn von Chicago nach St. Joseph erst fertig, so wird dieselbe natürlich den Punkt zu erreichen suchen, von dem aus die übrigen Punkte des Landes auf dem kürzesten Wege zu erreichen sind. Dieser Punkt ist Atchison. Außerdem hat es den Vortheil, daß das Land, welches westlich liegt, alles für Ansiedler frei ist. Das Land ist ausgezeichnet und viele Deutsche haben sich dort bereits angesiedelt und sind sehr zufrieden. Atchison hat eine sehr schöne hohe und gesunde Lage; die Stadt hat jetzt ungefähr 300 Häuser, über 100 sind im Bau begriffen. Es ist Sitz der Bezirksregierung und jetzt zum Hauptpunkt der verschiedenen New-England Hilfsgesellschaften erlesen, welche es zum Haupthafen am Missouri machen wollen. Sie haben jetzt zu Neubauten allein die Summe von \$120,000 angewiesen, welche in 18 Monaten vollendet sein sollen. Der Antheil von 10 Lots kostet jetzt \$1,500. Es besteht eine englische Zeitung bereits und wird eine deutsche vom 1. Juli 1857 ab daselbst erscheinen. Hr. Pomroy, der General-Agent der New-England Hilfsgesellschaft, hat eine große Vorliebe für deutsche Ansiedler und will denselben große Vortheile gewähren, wie er es bereits in vielen Fällen bewiesen hat.

Es ist jetzt von den übrigen Städten weiter nördlich noch **Doniphan** und **Palmira**⁵⁸ zu erwähnen, welche jedoch bis jetzt noch nicht bedeutend vorgeschritten sind. Weiter westlich liegt **Grashopper Falls** (Grashüpferfall) am Flusse gleichen Namens, welches ein ziemlich bedeutendes Binnenstädtchen zu werden verspricht. Das Land am Flußthale ist ausgezeichnet und sind hier noch viele Claims zu haben.

Einige Rathschläge und Nachweise für Einwanderer⁵⁹

Hat sich nun Jemand zur Auswanderung nach Kansas entschlossen, so fragt es sich vor Allem, welche Zeit zum Antritt der Reise die geeignetste sei. Will der Einwanderer ein mercantilisches Geschäft oder sein Handwerk betreiben, so ist es ganz gleich, wenn er dasselbe eröffnet, will er jedoch Land bebauen, so ist es besser, vor Mitte Mai an Ort und Stelle zu sein, es sei denn er hat die Mittel, eine schon bebaute Farm zu kaufen. Jeder, der im Stande ist, im ersten Jahre auch nur 6 Acker zu bebauen, wird gewiß genug ernten, um sich und seine Familie den Winter über zu ernähren. Eine andere Frage wäre die, welche Gegenstände er mitnehmen soll. Ich rathe Jedem, so wenig wie möglich mitzunehmen, da er Alles an Ort und Stelle kaufen kann. Außer Betten, Bettzeug, Kleidern und vielleicht einigen Stücken vorzugsweise liebgewordener Möbel kann man dort alle Ausrüstungsgegenstände ebenso billig wie im Osten kaufen. Jedem Handwerker rathen wir jedoch, sein Handwerkszeug mitzunehmen. Die Fracht kostet von Boston nach Kansas für 100 Pfd. \$2,50. Das Reisegeld beträgt von Boston \$31, Kinder unter 4 Jahren sind frei, von 4 bis 12 Jahren zahlen dieselben die Hälfte, für jeden Passagier sind 100 Pfd. Gepäck frei, ebenso viel von New-York und Philadelphia. Doch muß man die Tickets (Billets) von der New England Aid Society oder deren Agenten kaufen; löset man die Tickets an

den einzelnen Eisenbahnstationen, so kosten dieselben \$5–6 mehr. Einwanderern aus Deutschland ist es zu rathen, direkt nach Boston zu reisen, und sich in Winterstreet No. 3 bei Dr. Thomas Webb, dem Secretair der Gesellschaft, zu melden.

Diese Gesellschaft hat das philanthropische Prinzip, Kansas zu einem freien Staat zu machen und nimmt sie sich der deutschen Einwanderer mit Rath and That an. Für größere Parthien ist es sehr wichtig, sich mit dieser Gesellschaft in Verbindung zu setzen, nicht allein um vor Betrug und Betrügern geschützt zu sein, sondern um selbst materielle Vortheile, wie Vorschüsse an Saatgetreide, Sägemühlen etc. zu erhalten. Die Gesellschaft hat zwar in allen größeren Städten ihre Agenten und Officen (Bureaus), die leicht zu erfragen sind. Jeder thut jedoch am Besten, gleich in Boston, dem Hauptsitz derselben, zu landen, da alle Wünsche, Verhandlungen und Contracte etc. dort geschwinder und leichter zum Abschluß gebracht werden können. Sie sind die Parthien an Zahl bedeutend (mehr als 25), so schickt die Gesellschaft ihre eigenen Reise-Agenten mit und ist dadurch dem unbekannten und der Sprache nicht mächtigen Einwanderer am Besten gedient. Die Tickets der Gesellschaft sichern erste Classe auf der Eisenbahn und ebenso auf dem Dampfboot von Jefferson City bis Leavenworth auf dem Missouri; die Beköstigung auf den Dampfbooten, nebenbei gesagt eine ausgezeichnete, ist mit in dem Fahrpreise eingeschlossen. Die Reiseroute bleibt den Passagieren überlassen. Wählt man die nördliche Tour, so hat man noch den herrlichen Genuß, das große Naturwunder Amerika's, den Niagarafall zu sehen; von dort geht es über Detroit und Chicago nach St. Louis. Wählt man die mittlere Tour, so berührt man Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago; wählt man die südliche, so kann man von Cleveland nach Cincinnati und von dort direkt nach St. Louis reisen. Die letzte Tour ist offenbar die kürzeste; sie war bis jetzt nicht zu benutzen, da die Ohio- und Mississippi-Eisenbahngesellschaft erst vor einigen Wochen ihre Bahn zwischen St. Louis und Cincinnati dem Publikum zur Benutzung übergeben hat. Von Philadelphia fährt man über Pittsburg [*sic*] und Cincinnati. Ist die Pacific-Eisenbahn von Jefferson [City] nach Kansas erst fertig, was wohl in einigen Jahren der Fall sein wird, so wird man die Reise von Boston bis Kansas in 4 bis 5 Tagen machen können; jetzt braucht man 7 Tage.

Alle Frachtgüter muß der Einwanderer an Simmons & Leadbeater, 16 South Main Street, St. Louis, schicken; sie sind die Agenten der New England Gesellschaft und stehen mit allen Theilen von Kansas durch ihre Unteragenten in direkter Verbindung. Es ist das größte und zuverlässigste Speditionshaus dieser Art und auf's Wärmste zu empfehlen.

Wird die Eisenbahn von Hannibal nach St. Joseph erst fertig, so wird die nächste Tour nach Kansas die von Chicago über Hannibal sein. Die Einwanderung von Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota und Iowa wird jedenfalls diesen Weg nehmen, da dieselben schon jetzt diese Tour zu Wagen genommen haben.

Indem wir nun von unseren Lesern Abschied nehmen, wollen wir dieselben ersuchen, ernstlich all Punkte vorstehender Schrift zu prüfen, und wir sind überzeugt, daß die Vortheile, die Kansas dem Emigranten bietet, ihnen bald klar werden müssen. Jeder Deutsche, der außer den Reisekosten \$1[00]–500 übrig hat, sollte nicht lange in der Wahl zögern, denn mit diesen Mitteln kann er sich und seinen Nachkommen in Kansas eine glückliche Heimath und eine sorgenfreie Zukunft verschaffen.

Oeffentliche Landverkäufe.

Die Ver. Staaten verkaufen die nicht besiedelten Ländereien, ebenso die den Indianern gehörigen sogenannten Trust-Ländereien, welche gewöhnlich das beste Land enthalten, in öffentlichen Auctionen. Diese beginnen in diesem Jahr am 15. July und dauern Monate lang, da über 600,000 Acker in diesem Jahr verkauft werden sollen. Jeder Mann kann mitbieten und so viel Land kaufen, als er will. Unter dem festgesetzten Preise von \$1.25 wird kein Land verkauft. Im vorigen Jahre sind gute Ländereien mit \$5 bis \$10 per Acker verkauft worden. Die Delaware-Trustländereien, von denen 300,000 Acker in diesem Jahre verkauft werden sollen, sind ausgezeichnetes Land und werden wohl auch über \$1.25 heraufgeboten werden. Will nun irgend ein Deutscher sich ein Stück gutes Land kaufen ohne erst die Prozedur des Kaufens unter dem Vorkaufsrecht durchzumachen, so muß er entweder selbst diesen Auctionen beiwohnen, oder er muß sich an Landagenten wenden, die den Ankauf für ihn besorgen. So viel steht fest, daß Niemand sein Geld besser und sichere anlegen kann, als im Westen Land zu kaufen. Der Besitztitel ist der beste, den er erhalten kann, direkt von der Vereinigten Staaten Regierung, und der schnelle Wachstum des Landpreises sichert ihm hundertfache Prozente von seinem Kapital.

Wir verweisen auf die Annonce der Landagentur in Atchison und Lawrence.

Anzeigen und Adressen.
der bedeutendsten Geschäfte.

Lawrence.

Sämmtliche hier folgende Geschäfte befinden sich in Massachusetts Street, der Haupt-Geschäft-Straße.

M. Hartmann, Med. Dr.

Deutscher Arzt; ertheilt deutschen Emigranten, soweit es seine Zeit erlaubt, Rath und Hilfe. Derselbe ist auch Präsident der Gesellschaft, welche die Stadt **Humboldt** gegründet hat, und über dieselbe zu jeder Auskunft bereit.

Charles H. Branscomb,

Agent der New-England Emigrant Aid Society.

E. B. Whitman & A.D. Searl,

General- und Land-Agentur und Emigrant-Intelligenz-Office,
Wyandott und Lawrence.

Woodward & Finley,

Groß- und Kleinhändler, in Drogen, Medizinen, Farbestoffen, Oel etc., wie auch in Büchern, Papier und Varietäten.

Einwanderer können hier alle in amerikanischen Apotheken gewöhnlichen Medizinen kaufen und erhalten dieselbe so billig, wie irgendwo westlich vom Mississippi.

Eduard Clark,

Advokat und Notar.

John Hutchinson,

Advokat und Notar.

F. L. Whitney's Hotel.

Preis \$1.50 per Tag. Dieses Hotel kann der Verfasser dieses Buches auf's Beste empfehlen.

Brooks & Pike,

Groß- und Kleinhändler in Schuhen und Stiefeln, Hüten, Mützen etc., *N.B.* Fabriziren auch selbst.

Bulleve & Read.

Groß- und Kleinhändler in Eisenwaaren, fertigen Kleidern, Dry Goods, Groceries und Provisionsartikeln.

C. & W. Hornsby.

Groß- und Kleinhändler in Eisenwaaren, fertigen Kleidern, Dry Goods, Groceries und Provisionsartikeln.

S. N. Wood & Co.

Agenten für Landankauf, Kauf und Verkauf von Wechseln etc., Einkassirung von Forderungen werden übernommen, alle Aufträge prompt ausgeführt. No. 27.

Lawrence Bäckerei.

Jacob Schick,

einzigster deutscher Bäcker. Stets vorräthig alle Sorten Brod so wie auch Schmal Bier. No. 56

City Bakery.

G. Bauer & Southerland, Bäckerei und Provisionen.

Jas. G. Sands.

Lawrence Sattel-, Geschirr- und Reisekoffer Emporium. Groß- und Kleinhändler. Der größte Vorrath stets am Ort. No. 32.

Farmers Warehouse.
Burnham & Co.

Alle Arten Farmer-Utensilien, Sämereien für Feld und Garten.

W. & C. Duncan.

Groß- und Kleinhandel in Dry Goods und Groceries, Eisen, Porcellan und Modesachen, Stiefeln, Schuhen und Kleidungsstücken. Gegen baar Geld sehr billige Preise.

A. A. Taxon.

Groß- und Kleinhandel in Provisionen, Fleisch, Schmalz, Speck, Schinken und Gemüse. Ebenso Pferde, Ochsen und Wagen stets an Hand.

Georg Ford,

Gegenüber dem Freistaats-Hotel, No. 24. Fertige Kleider, Modesachen, Schuhe, Stiefel, Porcellan und Eisenwaaren.

J. Blood.

Groß- und Kleinhandel in Mode-Waaren, Groceries, Schuhen, Stiefeln, Kleidern, Eisenwaaren, Porcellan, Mützen, Hüten, etc.

O. Wilmarth,

Buch- und Papierhandlung. Stets vorräthig Schul- und Kinderbücher, Geschäfts- und Contobücher, kurz einen großen Vorrath aller in sein Fach schlagender Artikel. Musikalien und musikalische Instrumente, Saiten etc.—Seine kleine **Leihbibliothek** enthält die neusten Werke der östlichen Presse. Monats- und Wochenschriften auf das schnellste besorgt etc.

Bacon, Cook & Co.

General-Landagentur. Besorgen alle in ihr Geschäft schlagenden Geschäfte auf's Beste. Lots und Farmen gekauft und verkauft etc.

Allen & Co.

Alle Arten von Blech- und Zinnwaaren, Oefen, Röhren, und alle in ihr Fach schlagenden Artikel. Preise billig.

Wyandott,
am Zusammenfluß des Kansas und Missouri.

F. A. Hunt & Co.

General-Comissions-Geschäft. Uebernehmen alle Arten Transport- und Comissionsgeschäfte in Land- und Geldsachen. Man adressire "F. A. Hunt & Co. Wyandott, K. T."

E. Zeitz & Buesche.

Groß- und Kleinhandel in Groceries und Provisionen. *N.B.* Geben deutschen Landsleuten jede Auskunft und Information.

Quindaro,
am Missouri.

Blood, Basset & Brackett.

General-Landagentur. Vermesser und Ingenieure. Jede Auskunft wird ertheilt über alle Theile des Territoriums. Zweiggeschäft in Lawrence.

Simpson & Macauley.

Besorgungs- und Comissionsgeschäft. – Beziehen sich auf
Amos Lawrence, Boston, Mass.
Prof. E. Daniels, Ripon, Wisc.

McCown & Buck.

Groß- und Kleinhandel in Modesachen, Groceries, Eisenwaaren, Farmgeräthschaften etc.

Hall, English & Henderson.

Commisions- und Besorgungsgeschäft, Waarenniederlage etc. Alle Aufträge prompt besorgt.

**Kolby & Parker,
Quindaro House.**

Hotel, \$1.50 per Tag, bestens zu empfehlen.

**Leavenworth,
am Missouri.**

**Smoot, Russel & Co.,
Bankiers,**

Alle Geld- und Wechselgeschäfte besorgt. Land-Warrants und Wechsel gekauft,
etc.

**St. George Hotel.
B. O. Menger**

Ecke der 2. und Delaware Straße. Deutsches Hotel. (Gut und billig.)

F. & W. Engelmann.

Groß- und Kleinhandel in Eisen, Stiefeln, Schuhen, Mehl, Wein, Colonialwaaren
und Spezereien.

N.B. Jedem, der billig und auf's reelste bedient will, rathen wir, zu obigen
Gebrüdern zu gehen.

**Oscar Bräklein & Co.
Deutsche Apotheke.**

Ewige Lampe.

Felsenkeller und Lagerbierbrauerei, von **Hermann Haake.**

**Warschau Salon,
bei John Kapzinsky, Cherockee [sic] Street.**

**John B. George's
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Groß- und Kleinhandel in fertigen Kleidern, Stiefel, Schuhen, Mützen, Hüten und allen Toiletten-Gegenständen. In **Halls** Haus, Ecke 2. und Cherokee Street.

Topeka.

G. Holliday,

Advokat und Landagent

Atchinson.

Kansas-Zeitung.

Herausgeber: Dr. Carl Friedrich Kob.

Preis: \$2 pr. Jahr.

Pomroy.

General-Agent der New England Kansas Emigrant Hilfs-Gesellschaft.

Arny, Kob & Co.,

General-Land-Agentur und Intelligenz-Office.

Lawrence und Atchison.

Uebernimmt An- und Verkauf von Ländereien und Baustellen. Uebernimmt den Bau von Häusern, und wird in jeder Zeit Beziehung den Emigranten, seien sie Deutsche, Engländer, Franzosen etc. behülflich sein, ihre erste Niederlassung im billigsten und besten Wege zu bewirken. Herr **Arny**, ein Mitglied dieser Firma, war der General-Agent des National Kansas Committees, und hatte als solcher volle Gelegenheit, mit allen Verhältnissen und Lokalitäten bekannt zu werden. Deutsche und Nicht-Engländer adressiren: ARNY, KOB & CO., ATCHISON, K.T.

W. F. M. Arny.

Ch. F. Kob.

Referenzen: **Thaddeus Hyatt**, New York.

Dr. Th. Webb, Boston.

Dr. Charles F. Kob,

Arzt, Wundarzt und Geburtshelfer,

St. Louis.

E. Simmons.

F. C. Leadbeater.

SIMMONS & LEADBEATER

Commissions- und Speditions-Geschäft
und
General-Fracht-Agentur,
No. 16 South Maine Street, St. Louis, Mo.



New-York.

Bernhard Rölker,

ATTORNEY & COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
29 Nassau Street, Ecke von Cedar St.



Boston.

[Image of three rifles]

Schenkl's Patent Rifle.

Diese neue Büchse vereinigt alle Vorzüge der neueren Schußwaffen. Durch die einfache Construction derselben war es möglich, die wenigen Theile, aus welchen das Ganze zusammengesetzt ist, kräftiger zu bauen, als dasselbe bei irgend einer andern Patent-Rifle, durch größere Combination verhindert, der Fall sein konnte.

Das Laden geschieht von hinten, — Durch Eine Bewegung des Bügels wird der Lauf geöffnet und zugleich der Hahn gespannt — die Patrone, welche Pulver und Zündhütchen enthält, kann bequem in den Lauf gelegt werden, worauf durch eine Zweite Bewegung des Bügels nach vorwärts der Lauf wieder geschlossen — also fertig zum Abschießen ist. Uebrigens kann dieselbe auch in Ruhe gesetzt werden — in welcher Position sie nicht allein mehr Sicherheit bietet gegen zufällige Entladung, als irgend ein anderes Gewehr, sondern kann sie auch jeder Nässe ausgesetzt, selbst ganz unter Wasser getaucht werden, ohne im geringsten das Pulver, welches in der Ladung enthalten ist, zu befeuchten.

Abbildungen der Büchse mit erklärendem Text können gratis bezogen werden von

Schenkl & Wenzel,

57 und 59 Elm Street, Boston.

New - York.

Bernhard Rölker,
ATTORNEY & COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
 29 Nassau Street, Ecke von Cedar St.

Boston.

Fig1



Fig2

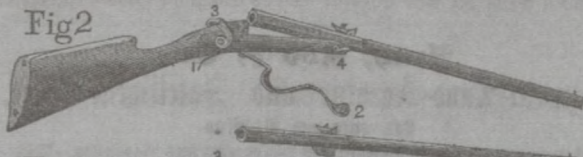
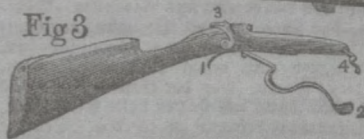


Fig3



Schenkl's Patent Rifle.

Diese neue Büchse vereinigt alle Vorzüge der neueren Schusswaffen. Durch die einfache Construction derselben war es möglich, die wenigen Theile, aus welchen das Ganze zusammengefest ist, kräftiger zu bauen, als dasselbe bei irgend einer andern Patent-Rifle, durch größere Combination verhindert, der Fall sein konnte.

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 57 und 59 Elm Street, Boston.

Notes

¹ Thomas H Webb, secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, published the *Information for Kansas Immigrants* through Alfred Mudge and Sons, Boston in fourteen editions between 1855 and 1857. The 1st edition appeared in the winter of 1854/55 after the founding of the settlements of Lawrence, Topeka and Osawatomie and before the departure of a group of settlers for Kansas in spring 1855. The 12th edition was available by March 1857. It is evident in the number of editions in just two years that Webb was expanding and adding to his immigrant circular at regular intervals in order to provide settlers with up-to-date information. Kob's *Wegweiser* (26 May 1857) and Webb's 13th edition (14 May 1857) were published within weeks of one another. Considering the similarity of many of the passages in both texts and the fact that both Webb and Kob were members of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, it is likely that Kob relied on the earlier Webb editions for much of his information. Some passages appear to be near translations while others seem to be paraphrased. They are structurally and topically similar, e.g., travel advice, weather, process of settlement, etc. Webb, however, generally provides much more detailed information of the settlements and the process of settling. Kob's text is much more than a translation or edited version of Webb's text. It reflects his deeper intention of attracting German immigrants to Kansas, the emerging problems of interaction between settlers and Native Americans as well as poignant statements against slavery. The other major difference is that, by the 13th edition, Webb included bibliographic sources and information on various helpful texts, books, and maps of Kansas Territory. Kob, on the other hand, includes contact information for merchants, stores, hotels, etc. The following annotations compare Webb's 13th edition and the Kob text.

² Webb's preface to the 13th edition reads: "In answer to the numerous inquiries respecting Kansas, daily addressed to the Secretary both by letter and in person, the following pamphlet has been prepared, which contains as accurate and full replies as can conveniently be furnished within the limits to which I have restricted myself, and with the information at my command. . . . It may be well to premise that—

The Company has not endeavored, neither does it now endeavor, to entice people to go to Kansas,—it has not paid, neither does it intend to pay, in whole or in part, the expenses of transporting individuals to, or of supporting them after their arrival in, the Territory.

Its course has been and still is, to use all the means in its power, to collect the best and most reliable information relative to the Territory, and furnish the same to those desiring it."

³ Webb, 16: "Land, How Acquired.—There are no Government gift lands in Kansas. The land is to be purchased of the United States, at \$1.25 per acre; 160 acres and no more can be taken, and this only by an actual settler in person; the individual must be a citizen of the United States, or have filed his declaration of intention to become such, and either be the head of a family, or a widow, or a single man, over the age of 21 years."

⁴ Webb, 17: "This form of declaration may be written or printed, must be signed by the applicant, in presence of a witness, who must certify to it by his signature, and it must then be delivered at or transmitted to the Office of the Territorial Surveyor General. No variation must be made in the form, which is as follows, viz:

DECLARATORY STATEMENT FOR CASES WHERE THE LAND IS NOT SUBJECT TO PRIVATE ENTRY

I, _____, of _____, being _____ have, on the _____ day of _____, A.D. 18____, settled and improved the _____ quarter of section number _____, in township number _____, of range number _____, in the district of lands subject to sale at the land office at _____, and containing _____ acres, which land *has not yet been offered at public sale, and thus rendered subject to private entry*; and I do hereby declare my intention to claim the said tract of land as a pre-emption right, under the provisions of said act of 4th. September, 1841.

Given under my hand, this _____ day of _____, A.D. 18____.

IN presence of _____

A.B.

C.D."

⁵ Webb, 18: "An important decision has been made by the Commissioner, which is contained in the following Circular, issued from his [Surveyor General of Kansas and Nebraska] Office, January 3d. 1857, viz:—

'By the 4th. section of the act of the 3d. of March, 1843, it is declared, that 'where an individual has filed, under the late pre-emption law, (1841) his declaration of intention to claim the benefit of said law

for one tract of land, it shall not be lawful for the same individual, at any future time, to file a second declaration for another tract."

This prohibition is held by the department to extend to BOTH classes of lands, unoffered and such as are SUBJECT TO PRIVATE ENTRY.

Where a claimant, however, of either class of lands, files a declaration which may prove to be INVALID in consequence of the land applied for not being open to pre-emption, or by the determination against him, as a conflicting claimant, or from any other similar cause, which would have prevented him from consummating a pre-emption under such declaration, such illegal filing will be treated as a nullity and as no inhibition to his subsequently filing a legal and proper declaration for the same tract, should it become available to pre-emption, or for any other land; it being the purpose of the law to allow a claimant a pre-emption upon one tract and nothing more, and also to prevent declarations from being presented or filed where the intention of establishing a pre-emption is not bona fide."

⁶ See Webb, 19: "Claims may also be purchased of the present holders for an advance of from a few dollars, to a thousand or more upon the Government price. Some in the vicinity of Lawrence, Topeka, and Leavenworth, have changed owners at a higher price than above specified."

⁷ Webb, 20: "It [Kansas Territory] contains an area of 126,283 square miles, or 80,821,120 acres;—it is three times as large as Ohio, and fourteen times the size of Massachusetts. It is capable of being divided into ten States, representing in number of square miles, Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina."

⁸ Webb, 23: "During the season above alluded to, there was no frost in the ground before the close of December; frost generally disappears by the beginning of March."

According to Thermometrical Tables carefully kept at Lawrence by the late Dr. H. Clark, the average temperature in November 1854, at sunrise, was 29° F.; at 1 o'clock, P.M., 49½°; and at ¼ of an hour past sunset 44 1/3°. The average in December 1854, at the same periods was 25¼°, 49°, and 42°; and in January 1855, 23°, 39°, and 32½°."

⁹ Webb, 20: "Wood and Timber.—To the oft made inquiry—is there an abundance of timber in the Territory?—the answer must be modified somewhat, according to the hailing place of the interrogator. If he be from Maine, we should answer, no; if from Illinois, we should answer, there is a fair supply."

¹⁰ Webb, 21: "Though timber, to a person from a timber region, would seem scarce, the scarcity is not one that will necessarily be constantly on the increase, as settlements multiply, and the lands are reclaimed from their present state; inasmuch as the limited growth arises, not from uncongeniality of climate, unsuitableness of soil, or absence of seed, but from the frequent prevalence, year after year, of vast prairie fires that sweep every thing before them, and thus stint, or entirely prevent the growth of tree or shrub."

¹¹ Webb, 21: "The Law of Compensation is here found admirably exemplified; as the under-supply of wood for fuel will be more than made good by resort to the vast deposits of bituminous coal which undoubtedly exist in the Territory."

¹² Webb, 21: "—the under supply of timber for building purposes is remedied by the abundance of lime and clay — the deficiency of fencing stuff by suitable materials for walls; and in a few years, should the Osage Orange be cultivated, which will grow luxuriantly, hedges will supercede the necessity of any other means for forming enclosures."

¹³ Webb, 22: "The principal varieties of wood are bass or linwood, cottonwood, hickory, oak, black walnut, ash, sycamore, hackberry, &c."

¹⁴ Webb, 20-21: "The advantage resulting from the limited supply is far greater than the disadvantage; for the consequence is a freedom from roots and stumps, the frequent occurrence of which, in many sections of our Country, proves a serious inconvenience to the Agriculturist and requires for removal an expenditure of much time, money, and labor, in order to place the ground in an arable condition."

¹⁵ Webb, 14: "Cattle, Farming, Tools, Seed, &c.—The price of good working cattle, horses, cows, &c. is nearly the same in Kansas and its vicinity as in New England; perhaps rather cheaper. The price of cows has heretofore ranged from \$25 to \$35; oxen per yoke, from \$50 to \$100; horses from \$75 to \$100 each; common sheep from \$1.50 to \$2.50 each." Webb also lists the "Prices Current. Lawrence market. Corrected weekly for the Herald of Freedom." in the appendix, page 100. For "Lawrence, May 2d. 1857: Flour — Superfine, \$6.00 per hund., Wheat—\$2.00 per bushel., Corn—\$1.75 per bushel., etc."

¹⁶ Webb, 35: "Hotel charges will be \$1 to \$1.50 per day. Many private families in Lawrence will temporarily board new comers for a reasonably moderate compensation, whilst they are determining where permanently to locate. Good board and lodging can be afforded at from \$3 to \$4 per week, without private rooms—single meals at twenty-five cents—a night's lodging at the same price. The charges at the other Settlements will not vary materially from the above; at all events should not be greater."

¹⁷ Webb, 43: "Wages.—These of course must vary much with the wants of the employer, and the qualifications of the employee. At Fort Riley, where Government has been erecting extensive stables, and other buildings, giving employment to many hundreds of mechanics and laboring men, the rates when the writer was there, was as follows, viz.: Common laborers received \$1.50 per day and board; ordinary Masons \$2.40 per day and board; Master Masons and Master Lime Burners \$3.00 per day and board; Wood Choppers \$1.25 per day and board; Teamsters \$1.00 per day, the year round, and board; they having nothing to do with the loading and unloading of teams."

¹⁸ Webb, 42: "FEMALE HELP is very much wanted at all of the settlements; and hundreds of honest, industrious young women, who barely maintain an existence, and only by constant hard labor, and the extreme of frugality, are enabled to secure a scanty subsistence in the Atlantic States, would very materially better their condition in Kansas."

¹⁹ Webb, 31: "Game is quite abundant in some sections of the Territory, though but little occurs in others. Several varieties of squirrels, ducks, geese, turkeys [*sic*], prairie hens, &c., were seen by the writer. In the Neosho valley, and other parts, deer are found. Herds of buffalo were within sight from Fort Riley, while the writer was in that section, although the present regular range of this animal, which is likely soon to become extinct, is farther W. and N.W."

The streams abound with gar, buffalo, whitefish, and a large variety of others of the finny tribe."

²⁰ Webb, 46-47: "Indians.—From the Indians, the original and *rightful owners of the soil*, the settler has nothing to fear, so long as in his intercourse with them, he squares his conduct by the Golden Rule. The poor native has in times past suffered more, and now has far more to apprehend, from the white man, than the white man from him. . . . Many of these, particularly among the Shawnees, the Wyandottes, and the Delawares, are highly intelligent and have a good common school education; among them will be found active and shrewd business men; some speak French and English almost as fluently as their native tongue."

²¹ Webb, 12: "Arms.—Should they be taken along for protection against Indians, for hunting, &c.? Our opinion of the red man is that, as a general rule, if treated kindly and met as a man, he will behave like a man; but if treated like a wild beast, you must expect him to conduct like one."

²² Webb, 32: "Modes of Conveyance.—Vehicles are frequently passing between various points of disembarkation and Lawrence and Topeka, by which means those who intend locating in the vicinity of said towns, will be conveyed there, for about four dollars the passage. Persons and Parties destined for the other sections of the Territory, may engage conveyance, on reasonable terms, at the river towns; or will probably adopt the course pursued by some who have preceded them; viz., those who intend to be Farmers will purchase their teams, and thus afford means for taking along the baggage of all their associates. There is a regular line of Stages between Kansas City and Lawrence, also between Leavenworth and Fort Riley, passing through Manhattan; also between Leavenworth, Topeka and Lawrence,—Topeka, Lawrence and Kansas City,—Kansas City and Osawatimie. Col. Eldridge will run a line between Wyandotte City and Lawrence; fare three dollars."

²³ Webb, 15: "Temporary Shelter.—The quickest, cheapest, and most comfortable way of securing shelter, at the outset, is to take along tents. These should be procured on the way out, at St. Louis. One of sufficient size to lodge four or five individuals may be had from \$8 to \$10."

²⁴ Webb, 35: "Cost of Building.—This of course may vary according to the material used, the size and style of the house, &c., &c. The main aim at first, when so many important matters will require attention should be to put up a cheap, temporary shelter, which ought to be done with the least possible delay. A tent costing from \$8.00 to \$15.00 will accommodate five or six persons, tolerably well. A stone house, somewhat similar to the concrete form, may be built for from 12 ½ to 14 cents the cubic foot; 14 to 16 cents when contracted for—the work itself costing from 7 to 9 cents. A house thus constructed a story and a half high, will cost, ready for occupancy, from \$300 to \$500. A permanent log house of the same dimensions, from \$100 to \$250; one suitable for transient occupancy, from \$50 to \$100; the former would require labor of four hands for two weeks, the latter the same number for one week."

²⁵ Webb, page 36: "Fencing, &c.—Rails may be purchased for from \$3 to \$5 per hundred, delivered. To fence with rails will cost about sixty cents per rod; stone walls can be built for about one dollar per rod; sod enclosures for 25 to 40 cents per rod; and what is known in the Territory as picket fence for forty cents per rod."

²⁶ Webb, 37: "The plough used will turn over from twenty to twenty-six inches, and one team will break from two to two and a half acres per day. The cattle require no other feed, but will keep fat on the grass while at work. The proper season for breaking prairie is from the first of May to the middle of July; up to which time corn can be planted. The corn is dropped in the furrow, by a boy who can sit on the plough, and is covered by the plough. It will usually mature and make good corn if planted as early as the

first of June."

²⁷ Webb, 38:

"Amount of land to hand, and yield per acre.

Hemp—7 to 8 acres,	800 to 1200 pounds.
Corn—10 to 15 acres,	10 to 20 barrels.
Wheat—10 to 15 acres,	20 to 45 bushels.
Oats—10 to 15 acres,	30 to 50 "

Value of products at home.

Hemp—2 ½ tons at \$80 per ton,	\$200.00
Corn—100 barrels at \$1 per barrel,	100.00
Wheat—5 acres—100 bushels at 80 cents per bushel,	80.00
Oats—5 acres—150 bushels at 30 cents per bushel,	<u>45.00</u>

Total least yield at lowest prices, \$425.00

Hemp—4 ½ tons at \$130 per ton,	585.00
Corn—300 barrels at \$2 per barrel,	600.00
Wheat—5 acres—225 bushels at \$1 cents per bushel,	225.00
Oats—5 acres—250 bushels at 40 cents per bushel,	<u>100.00</u>

Greatest yield at highest prices, \$1,510.00"

²⁸ Webb's *Information for Kansas Immigrants* provides, in general, more detailed information on the individual settlements, towns, churches, infrastructure, influential individuals etc., with special reference on the settlements founded by the Emigrant Aid Company. Whereas, Kob's text focuses on the German settlements, Webb's text is relatively void of references to specific immigrant groups. One exception in the 13th edition is a section entitled: "German Settlement" (See Upper Mill Creek Germans.) The following annotations compare the settlement descriptions of both texts. An attempt has been made to include information on settlements from Webb that Kob mentions but does not elaborate on.

²⁹ Webb, 50: "[The population has] since increased to hundreds, and now to thousands; the Population of the Territory, at the lowest estimate, has reached 25,000, and according to the intelligent correspondent of the Missouri Democrat, and the statement already given from the Squatter Sovereign, (authorities antipodal in most cases) it has reached at least 60,000; four-fifths of whom entertain Free State sentiments."

³⁰ Kob was much more openly radical in his opposition to slavery than Webb calling the proponents of slavery "Ritter der Sklaverei" (Knights of Slavery.) Kob also claims the German immigrants are fundamentally anti-slavery: ". . . daß alle Deutschen der Sklaverei entgegen sind" (that all Germans are against slavery). Webb's rhetoric was indirect and he chose to cast doubt not by directly attacking the pro-slavery agenda, but by calling the "sentiments and prediction" of a letter by General B. F. Stringfellow, who complained to "certain members of congress" a fairy tale. Stringfellow cites the failures of the "Abolition Societies" and attempted to encourage support for pro-slavery sentiment in the dispute over Kansas: Webb, 49-50: "that they have transported to Kansas 3,000 during the past summer; and I incline to the belief that the number is not over stated. Of that number, you will see, there was left on the day of the election, but 248! Of these, I am credibly informed, 150 left on the day following election, . . . Others have since left, and I can safely say, that of the whole batch, there will not by March, (1855) be fifty left in the Territory!" Webb reacts to Stringfellow's predictions (50): "If the above opinions, so magisterially set forth, be taken as correct, then the results to which we shall now refer, are more astonishing and magnificent, than any of the fairy work described in the thousand and one stories of the Sultaness of the Indies; and in the comparison therewith, the fabled wonder of the Dragon's teeth shrinks into utter insignificance."

³¹ Webb, 53: "Lawrence received its present appellation in September, 1854. The name was selected, as we were informed at the time, 'first, in honor of the Treasurer of the Emigrant Aid Company, Amos A. Lawrence, Esq., both as an individual and officer of the Company; second, because the name *sounded* well, and had no bad odor attached to it, in any part of the Union, or world; and lastly, because the citizens *preferred* it to any other.'"

³² Eudora not included in Webb's text.

³³ Webb, 56: "This is the second place, in time, established as a Free State Settlement. The site was

selected by the Agents of this Company. . . . It lies on the south bank of the Kansas River, about 75 miles from the mouth, 25 miles north-west of Lawrence, and 75 miles east of Fort Riley."

³⁴ Webb, 59-61: This is a flourishing town on the south side of the Kansas River, near one of the California roads. It is situated between Lawrence and Topeka, twenty miles west of the former, and five miles east of the latter. . . . One of the most important advantages that Tecumseh will have, will be the bridge across the Kansas to the north side of the river; . . . It will be a permanent structure,—estimated cost, \$20,000,—and cannot fail to prove a profitable investment."

³⁵ Webb, 79-80: "This on the Upper Mill Creek; about 15 miles south of Wabonsé and 40 miles south-west of Topeka. It consists of about seventy-five individuals, limited in means, but energetic and industrious, 'who never will give their voice to make Kansas a slave State.' There are three good mill privileges in the vicinity, and many excellent farm claims.

According to Mr. Hohenick, the entire population are pleased with the country, thinking it equal to any land in the Union. He reports excellent water-power for mills, and a good supply of timber. The signs of bituminous coal are good, and he says that when the veins are open, there will be sufficient for extensive manufacturing operations.

We would call the attention of German immigrants to this location, believing, from our personal knowledge of the neighboring region, that it is a highly advantageous one."

³⁶ Settlement on Rock Creek not included in Webb's text.

³⁷ Webb, 61-62: This town is located on the fork of land made by the junction of the Big Blue with the Kansas River. . . . The rich prairies in the vicinity, and the nearness of a good market for all the surplus stock of grain that may be raised, the purity of streams, the abundance of living springs that well out upon the sides of the valleys, all offer strong inducements to those in search of desirable locations. . . . Manhattan is 75 miles N.W. of Lawrence."

³⁸ Webb, 78: "This new settlement is in the vicinity and four miles northeast of Fort Riley, on the Military road between said Fort and Fort Leavenworth, upon the north side of Kansas river."

³⁹ Not included in Webb's text.

⁴⁰ Not included in Webb's text.

⁴¹ Webb, 68: "On the north fork of the Neosho, there are some pro-slavery families, more particularly in the vicinity of Council Grove; but very few have located on the Cotton Wood. A thriving Colony of Free State men have taken up their residence near the junction of the Cotton Wood and Neosho; and claims may still be (Spring of 1857,) obtained there."

⁴² Webb, 80: "This new town is situated between the Cottonwood and Neosho rivers, S. W. from Lawrence 60 miles in a direct line, 70 miles by the travelled route."

⁴³ Not included in Webb's text.

⁴⁴ Not included in Webb's text.

⁴⁵ Webb, 71: "This is situated on Little Sugar Creek, one of the tributaries of the Osage. It has been started by A. Wattles, (one of the assistant editors of the Herald of Freedom,) and five associates, who are resolved that it should be strictly a temperance settlement. 'They propose to give every man a lot who will immediately improve it,' until they have donated eighty lots. They have a public square of thirteen acres, and forty-eight lots reserved for schools, churches and other laudable objects."

⁴⁶ Hyatt is not included in Webb's text, but he refers to a "Hyattville" in the same geographical location as Kob's Hyatt. Webb, 72: "This is on the S. fork of the Potawatomie Creek, 20 miles from Osawatomie, and 50 m. South of Lawrence. It is occupied by an association of individuals styling themselves the 'Potawatomie Colony,' who held their first meeting in the school-room at Lawrence, Dec. 10th. 1856. It is numbered at the outset, eighty-four individuals. . . . The town is named out of regard to Thaddeus Hyatt, Esq., President of the National Kansas Aid Committee."

⁴⁷ Webb, 73-74: "This town is situated upon the Osage river, about one hundred hundred miles from its source, in the midst of a growing country, unequalled in the character in its soil and climate. The site was selected in 1855; it was surveyed and platted by A. D. Searl of Lawrence. . . . No place in the Territory suffered so severely from the incursion of the 'Border Ruffians' as this. A descent was made upon it, ere the dawn of day, on the morning of August 30th. 1856, whilst the inhabitants were still asleep. They were aroused from their slumbers, not by the Indian war whoop, concerning which many, before immigrating, entertained what proved to be imaginary fears, such sounds never being heard here, but by the savage yells of, so called, civilized men, drunk with rage and infuriated with liquor. The horde was led on by General Reid of Independence, Mo., (a recent candidate for Congress!) who seems since to glory in his shame, by recounting his valorous deeds."

⁴⁸ Webb, 75-76: "For the following notice of Council City, we are indebted to a gentleman residing

there, who is amply qualified to judge in the case. He says, "This place is located in the circle formed by the Switzler and Dragoon Creeks. . . . forty miles from South-West from Lawrence, twenty miles South of Topeka and the Kansas River. . . . It has good water, both from springs and wells; the average depth of the wells are about twenty feet. Coal of a good quality is found in great abundance, cropping out on the banks of the creeks. A good breadth of timber lines these streams, varying in width from half to 1 ½ miles; generally hard timber, cedar, and the black walnut, the latter grows large; often three feet across at the butt. . . . The best of lime stone quarries abound, laying up to the surface, and quarried out at a small expense, suitable for buildings, lime, or fence. There has also been a marble quarry discovered within eight or ten miles of this city, said to be very beautiful and abundant.' . . . At this Settlement we learn there are two Saw Mills, a Grist Mill, and two Blacksmiths' shops."

⁴⁹ Webb, 82: "The site of Millard was selected by Company belonging in Cincinnati, Ohio, and named in honor of Captain David Millard, one of the early steamboat pioneers, who explored and ascended the River with the Steamer 'Hartford,' in the summer of 1855. It is situated upon a gentle slope in the forks of the Kansas River, adjoining the United States Military Reservation, near Fort Riley."

⁵⁰ Webb, 76: "This is situated between Council City and Topeka, about 14 miles South-West of the latter, and 10 miles North of the former, on and near the head waters of the Wakarusa; Lawrence lies 35 miles to the North-East."

⁵¹ Webb, 78: "This is about two miles northeast of Odgen and six miles southwest of Manhattan, on the opposite side of the Kansas River. It is well watered and wooded; is much in want of a store and mill. It numbers about 150 inhabitants."

⁵² Webb, 70: "This is situated fifteen miles S. E. of Lawrence, and forty S. W. of Kansas City in Missouri. It is one of the oldest and best located settlements in Eastern Kansas. . . . Claims were taken on the Ottawa Creeks prior to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and in anticipation of its becoming law."

⁵³ Webb, 78-79: "This is situated in the lovely valley of Deep Creek, three miles south of the Kansas river, five miles southwest of Wabonsé, about eighty miles nearly east of Manhattan, 75 miles northwest of Lawrence. This settlement was started by New Englanders in April, 1855."

⁵⁴ Webb, 85: "This is the latest of the many towns, which owe their origin to the unshackled spirit, indomitable will, and unconquerable energy of freemen. It is the first town reached within the Territory, ascending the Missouri river. Situated at the junction of Kansas River, with the Missouri, fronting on both, it early attracted the attention of Northern men, as a spot pre-eminently desirable for a location."

⁵⁵ Webb, 84: "This new Town is situated on the Missouri river, about 3 miles North of the mouth of the Kansas."

⁵⁶ Webb, 88: "This place is situated about nine miles S. W. of Fort Leavenworth, and seven miles below Leavenworth City. It was originally a pro-slavery settlement, and consequently avoided by the friends and advocates of equal rights, it being found that none such would be favorably received, or kindly entertained. Very recently an association of Free State men have bought out a large portion of the town and adjacent lands; and already everything seems a brighter and more cheering aspect. All new comers are greeted with a cordial welcome and treated courteously."

⁵⁷ Webb, 82: "It is situated on the same range of hills with, and three miles south of, Fort Leavenworth. It is 30 miles N. E. of Lawrence; 50 miles from Topeka; 104 miles from Manhattan; 58 miles north of Osawatimie; 28 miles above the mouth of the Kansas River; and 480 miles from St. Louis. It is secured by a rock-bound bluff, and extends along the river, for the distance of a mile."

⁵⁸ Webb, 71: "This is located about twelve miles S. of Lawrence, on the Santa Fé road, upon a beautiful undulating prairie, which is nearly surrounded by timber, within the circumference of a few miles."

⁵⁹ Unlike Kob's final words of advice for travel and settlement, Webb's final words suggest a political call for "just and peaceable" settlers to come to Kansas. This would perhaps contradict the preface of his pamphlet that stated that the New England Emigrant Aid Company "has not endeavored, neither does it now entice people to go to Kansas." Though his rhetoric is subtle, nuances of the slavery debate are recognizable. Webb, 90: "The inquiry may be made, to which of the preceding Settlements does the Company give a preference? To which would they advise settlers to direct their course? We answer, the Company neither persuades persons to go to, nor dissuades them from settling at, either; each has its advantages; each its peculiarities; and whatever might be the opinion of the Company, every individual would or ought to select the one or the other, or avoid all, as his own interest dictates. . . . [i]t is desirous of seeing the whole peopled with good men and true, who will maintain their own rights, and respect those of others; who, whilst they resolutely resist being encroached upon by the lawless and reckless, whencesoever they may come, will carefully refrain from committing unjust acts, or uttering harsh epithets against others,

simply for a difference of opinion; who, save in extreme cases, will rely for victory upon the teachings of the Bible and instructions of the Ballot-box, instead of the influence of the bottle and destructiveness of the musket; discarding the bottle altogether, and reserving the musket as a dernier resort."

Karl Friedrich Kob

Excerpts from
Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas (1857)
(Guide for Settlers in Kansas Territory)¹

Foreword

During a longer expedition through Kanas Territory, the author of this circular found the country so favorable for German settlement and so promising economically, that he had to immediately impart to his countrymen his collected experiences in this form. May the practical use of this text offset the lack of elegance in the author's writing style and permit the critical reader be more indulgent in this respect. My intention was only to write clearly, precisely and truthfully; the esteemed readers may judge whether the first two aims were reached; the author vouches completely for the truthfulness of his words.

Anyone who desires more information about any aspect in the text or anything not covered therein regarding the conditions in Kansas, Nebraska and western Missouri can receive this from the author. He will himself be settling in Atchison and begin publishing a German weekly newspaper there under the title "Kansas-Zeitung." In addition to this newspaper and in collaboration with two capable American businessmen I have also opened a land and information office (see advertisements).

I confidently entrust this work to my countrymen for their examination and evaluation, knowing that I have their best interests at heart. 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.

Boston, May 26, 1857

Karl F. Kob

Present State of Population and Settlement in the Territory

The first company of emigrants from Massachusetts set foot on Kansas soil in August 1854. In the spring of 1857, the population was estimated to be 60,000; the

large immigration this year comes to at least 30,000, so that the present population can be judged to be nearly 90,000. To explain this unusually rapid settlement, it is absolutely necessary, although I would have rather avoided it, to mention the political motives which play such a powerful role.

When Missouri entered the Union in 1820, there was an intense dispute whether it would allow and protect slavery in its constitution or should remain a free state. Both parties were almost equally divided on this issue and finally a compromise was proposed and agreed to, according to which Missouri was to become a slave state, but all other territories above thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, north latitude were to be reserved forever for free labor. In 1854, however, when Kansas and Nebraska became territories, this compromise was repealed, by claiming that it restricted the democratic freedom of the settlers at people and that the people should decide for themselves whether to they would tolerate slavery or not. It is understandable, of, course, that both parties hurried to fill the territory with supporters of their respective positions. The history of the past years shows to what extent the decision of that question was really left to the people. The population is divided roughly as follows; there are ten free state or free soil men to one of the proslavery men. Because of violence, deception, and the help of the government, Kansas has still not been admitted as a free state, and time will tell whether the assurances of the governmental agencies are telling the truth or not. To the credit of our countrymen, I should mention that every one of the Germans here are against slavery. I say everyone, since the few miserable subjects who favor the slavery party are not worth speaking of. I could mention names, but this would accord them too much honor. There are a total of five who openly identify with the proslavery party. The number of Germans in the territory is nearly 4,000. When we discuss the several towns below, we will note the proportion of Germans in each settlement. For now it suffices to say that there is hardly a settlement in which several Germans cannot be found.

The population lives partly in towns and partly on their claims in the countryside. The latter is by far the larger number. From Wyandotte to Fort Riley, a distance of over 150 miles, all of the sections within 4 or 5 miles of both banks of the Kansas River have been claimed by settlers. The Indian lands, which according to law may not be settled, are, of course, excluded. On every claim of 160 acres, there is the little house of a settler; many with outbuildings, a garden, and fencing. It is pleasant to see the friendly white New England houses, often built with considerable luxury.

The first towns appear along the Kansas River. The following are the most important.

Lawrence. It was laid out by the first settlers in 1854 and was named in honor of Amos A. Lawrence of Boston. It is on the right bank of the Kansas River, thirty-five miles above its mouth in the Missouri. The location is excellently suitable and healthful. Woodland and rolling prairie extend to about one mile from the river and flatten suddenly to a level prairie. The town, comprising one square mile, has been constructed on this level spot. Sturdy trees grow along the banks of the river and in the surrounding area, giving the town a friendly look. A stone fort, built on the nearest extent of the main prairie, on the so-called Mount Oread, to defend against the "knights" of slavery, lends the present the town a picturesque air. Lawrence has more than 2,500 inhabitants, but 300 to 500 non-residents can be found there daily, lending it the lively bustle of a town with 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. Lawrence is

the main trade and supply center for the territory; it equips dozens of settlers for the start of a new life every day. Every morning there is a cattle and horse market. Farmers buy a yoke of oxen right away, together with a wagon and accessories. The prices vary amazingly here, always according to the number of buyers and sellers. All merchants, and, to tell the truth, everyone here is more or less a merchant, make astounding profits. The need is often so great that goods are sold unopened. Several businesses here make over \$100,000 in profit. Therefore, the real estate value here is already high; claims near Lawrence run \$4,000 to \$6,000, and building lots, which by the way are quite small (50 by 125 feet), cost \$1,000 to \$5,000 on the main street. Because Lawrence will certainly soon become a city of 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, the primary shortage is of workers and construction material. Brickmakers, quarrymen, masons, cabinetmakers, and carpenters workers will have employment here for years. The people of Lawrence are highly educated, determined, and entrepreneurial. In spite of the major disturbances and business delays caused by two attacks of Missouri border ruffians, the citizens have remained steadfast to their principles and have remained faithful to their town that is endangered to some extent due to the hate of the slaveholders. Nor has anyone lost courage. There are a lot of attractive stone buildings, 2 churches and 5 hotels, 2 general stores, and 2 newspapers, etc. (see the advertisements in this pamphlet). About 60 Germans reside in Lawrence and surrounding areas.

Eudora. This is a newly surveyed city, founded by the Germans of Chicago this past spring. It is located at the mouth of the Wakarusa in the Kansas River, nine miles below Lawrence. Its location is excellent. Its success depends only on the energy and the resources of the company to make something thriving out of it. The company has 500 investors, each of whom receives two lots. The land was bought from an Indian for \$5,000 (600 acres), but the conditions of purchase are not considered ideal. Because the Indian titles are still valid, it will be difficult for incoming Germans to make claims in the environs. If the necessary capital is available, Udora can certainly develop into an important production center. We wish the best of luck and success to the energetic entrepreneurs.

Topeka. This town, also founded in 1854, lies on the south bank of the Kansas River, 25 miles northwest of Lawrence and 75 miles east of Fort Riley. It already has more than 1,000 inhabitants. Depending on its location, a share of ten lots costs \$600 to \$1,000 now. A few lots on a good locations cost \$150 each. Topeka is a lively, invitingly laid out town and may be highly recommended to German entrepreneurs and workers. Topeka is the main town of the Free State Party. They have held their meetings in Constitution Hall and have selected the town as the seat of government [for the territory].

Tecumseh. This little town lies 5 miles from Topeka, 20 miles from Lawrence, and also south bank of the Kansas River. The land around Tecumseh and Topeka is very fertile and is ideally located. Claims cost \$1,000–\$2,000. A sturdy bridge will be built over the river at Tecumseh, to be finished this fall at a cost of \$20,000. I have not met many Germans here. To the south, however, at Deer Creek, there are a several German families. Tecumseh has approximately 800 inhabitants.

German Settlements at Mill Creek. We will pass over the towns of Big Springs, Washington, and Lecompton, the base of the proslavery government, because they do not promise much growth for the future. We turn here to the southwest and come

to a little river, called Mill Creek. Unfortunately, the creek flows primarily through the land of the Pottawatomie Indians, which is not yet available for settlement. At the southwest corner of this reservation, a German settlement begins that extends twelve miles upstream to the source of Mill Creek. This company emigrated from Cincinnati a few years ago, but, according to Mr. E. Hohnick, the present leader of the settlement, the well-to-do members of this group returned immediately; they returned because they did not find any theaters, beer saloons, or concert halls in the settlement. Despite the fact that the people started with little or nothing, the settlement can be considered prosperous. It includes the whole Mill Creek Valley, which is romantically enclosed by a steeply rising high plain. The land is primarily bottom land with a lot of wooded areas. Approximately 5 miles south from the edge of the colony are an inn and a store. If the required capital is available, there is a lot of water power for mills. Deposits of bituminous coal are found here. German manufacturers and tanners etc. would find it an ideal location to start a business among their countrymen. When I asked whether the people were happy here, I always got a "yes" as an answer. When I suggested that they will miss all the pleasures of the great city of Cincinnati and would have to work even harder here, they responded: We have a home, and we work for ourselves and not for a boss. Even the poorest had two or three yokes of oxen, cows, sheep, etc. In short, the time of hardship and misery is over, and there are the best prospects for continued growth. The colony increases in size daily and attracts even Americans (two of them joined during my visit). The cultivation of grapes has also begun; unfortunately, the people had too much to do initially in securing the necessities of daily life. Although the planting and cultivation of grapes on that account lags behind, there is no doubt that grapes of a very high quality could be grown on the southern slopes; wild grapes grow here everywhere in amazing quantities and size. The colony consists of approximately eighty farms and is the oldest and most significant German colony. Having started with hardly any resources, and abandoned by their leaders, German diligence and stamina prevailed over all difficulties. Conditions are now favorable, and people live in relative prosperity. There is probably no need to assure you that no friends of slavery abide here.

Settlement on Rock Creek. There is another German settlement on Rock Creek, on the north side of the Kansas River above Louisville. Although less significant than Mill Creek, it is, nevertheless, prosperous. The settlers came with relatively good resources. The soil is excellent, and there is enough wood. Given the intelligence and energy of the farmers, there is nothing to hinder continued prosperity. I should add that, in addition to these colonies, there are individual German farmers in every county of the territory. They represent the majority of the Germans here. This is especially the case in the counties that border the Shawnee reserve and the Missouri River.

Manhattan. We pass by Wabaunsee, a newly founded town, and come to Manhattan, which lies at the confluence of the Big Blue and Kansas rivers, 18 miles from Fort Riley and 75 miles from Lawrence. Because it spans 14,000 acres, it is the largest town site in terms of physical size. The surrounding area is charming; the Kansas Valley is very broad here, and the plateaus enclosing the valley make it quite picturesque. A high point, Blue Mont, provides a marvelous view. The nearness to the fort guarantees good prices for all products. Here hay costs \$7 per ton, and \$12

in the Fort, grain \$1.50 at delivery. The region of the Big Blue has a lot of timber and terrific soil. Approximately ten miles from Manhattan, upriver to the north, there are many unclaimed lands. One arm of the river, called the Little Blue, is called the Garden of Kansas. The humus layer of the bottom land is eight feet thick, and the grass is so high during the summer that it hides rider and horse. Grain yields a 70-to-100-fold harvest. The town has sawmills, stores, hotels, etc., and approximately 700 inhabitants. Every German craftsman can find a good livelihood here. If he wants to build in the town, he can get a building site from Mr. Mead free of charge. I advise everyone to contact him directly. The fenced and partly cultivated farms here cost \$2,000-\$3,000.

Ogden. This is a new town on the north side of the Kansas River, 5 miles from Fort Riley. Because it has become the seat of the land office and the county government, it will probably prosper quickly. Mr. Parsons and Mr. Mobly have promised to give free lots to German immigrants. The cost of a share for ten lots was \$150 at the time of my visit. One could not wish for more in terms of the soil quality. There are still many claims to be had in the surrounding areas.

Riley City. On the slope above the fort on the south side of the river lies the newly founded Riley City. Because of the nearness to the fort and the conjunction of the Great Mormon Trail and other trails in this area, prosperity is guaranteed. I encountered several fellow countrymen here who either owned clothing stores or practiced various trades. They were enthusiastic about the possibilities of earning money. A German watchmaker, for example, earned \$90 during his first month. The building lots are relatively inexpensive.

At the confluence of the Red Republican and the Smoky Hill forks, which form the Kansas River, lies Fort Riley. It is nicely situated on the high plateau and offers an attractive view over the valley; 600-800 soldiers man the garrison. Nine miles up the Republican there is a German settlement of ten farms, who settled there this spring because of the plentiful timber. The valley of the Smoky Hill fork is already populated for twenty miles up the river. The high plateaus are significantly higher, rockier and geological analysis reveals a richness in minerals. There are many salt deposits in the Saline River. The landscape loses its friendly rolling character and becomes more disjointed and grotesque. Clark Creek, which flows south to north from Council Grove, displays a peculiar character: it appears as if the banks were made of stone walls and at a distance one can imagine seeing great fortifications. When the water level is high, steamboats can make their way up to the fort. Within a few years a train route from the Missouri up to this point will certainly have been completed.

Now we will head south and find, except for a few settlements, untilled land for some thirty-five miles in the valley of Clark Creek down to Council Grove. This is a town on the Santa Fe Trail; it has approximately 200 inhabitants. It lies on the Neosho River which flows into the Arkansas. The entire Neosho valley with all of its numerous tributaries provides an ideal location for German settlers. The valley of Cotton[wood] River, which joins with the Neosho six miles below the newly-founded town Emporia, offers equally attractive features. The area is very attractive; timber and creeks are abundant. Mr. Leonhard[t] and 4 other Germans have staked out claims nearby and one could not wish for more from the soil. There is even a newspaper being published here. German emigrants should contact Mr. Dietzler (or possibly Deitzler) the founder of the town, or Mr. Leonhard[t].² Because of its

location and environment the town promises a lot for the future. The distance from Lawrence is 65 miles. If we follow the course of the Neosho, we will find, slightly to south, the towns of Neosho, Burlington and, even further south, the newly laid out town of **Humboldt**. Around this town, some 20 German families, mostly from Hartford, have settled under the leadership of Mr. Serenbetz. The town is located in Allen County in the southeast and southwest quarter of section 4, township 26, south, range 18, east of the assumed range 1. The location is conducive to sound health. It lies on the eastern side of the Neosho on a mild flattening of the plateau. The riverbank is rocky here. The river itself is navigable from this point. Timber is plentiful here with oak and walnut are the prevalent varieties. There is a lot of game here, mostly deer. In the middle of April, at a time when the grass around Lawrence was just beginning to sprout, the fresh grass was already about four inches tall here. Like everywhere in southern Kansas, there is pasture for the animals all winter long. People assured me that the lower part of the very tall grass stays green even in December. There are over 400 vacant claims, all of them with woods, around the city. Half of the town company are Americans; the company officials have been elected from them and the Germans. The president is our countryman Dr. M. Harttmann of Lawrence. Experience has taught us that a mixed population contributes best to the rapid development of towns. Colonies made up only of Germans are not yet as prosperous. On the contrary, their health deteriorates quite soon from the cancer of internal disputes, and they usually die from the subsequent legal fees. We advise, therefore, that people organize joint settlements; putting the industriousness and perseverance of the Germans together with energy and initiative of the Americans. This can be very beneficial for both sides; moreover, the healthy competition keeps the people fresh and lively and protects them from the terrible one-sidedness and mindless isolation into which the German sinks when he is not in touch with Americans.

A similar mixed settlement will be founded under the leadership of Mr. Dietzler [or possibly Deitzler] at the source of the Verdigris River, approximately twenty-five miles west of Humboldt. The name of that settlement will be **Guttenberg**. We want to draw the attention of our fellow countrymen in particular to these places because the best lands are in southern Kansas, where grapes can be cultivated, the amount of rain is greater, and thus promises more bountiful harvests. The region is rich in timber. Finally, there are still many claims, nearly all of the claims, to be had and larger parties of German farmers can settle here next to each other. There is also a political consideration that I wish to mention. In western Texas there is already a strong, prosperous German anti-slavery settlement of 50,000–80,000 Germans. 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. Moreover, the settler in southern Kansas is safe from all disturbances. For if it should come to bloody struggles again, which we do not expect, the conflicts will occur at critical places such as Lawrence, Leavenworth, etc. No, the mission of the German settler in the south is a peaceful and purely passive one. The settler only becomes active when he casts his vote during elections to express that he will not tolerate slavery in Kansas.

After this political digression, let us return to Humboldt. It should be noted

that the town company will offer significant advantages to every German who settles there. A hotel, a bridge, a school, a store, a saw mill, and many houses are being built.

If we make our way west [*sic*; east] of Humboldt, we approach the area of the Osage River. This important river flows into the Missouri below Jefferson City. It flows through Kansas east to west [*sic*; west to east] over 100 miles, its headwaters extend up to those of the Neosho and the Wakarusa, and the number of its tributaries is legion. The drainage area of the river is often depicted as the region in which the settlers suffer the most from malaria. This could be due to the low lying land and the abundance of water, but it is primarily on account of the neglect of normal precautions and the irregular habits of the first settlers. Because of the numerous creeks, the area is one of the most abundantly wooded areas in Kansas; it is a low-lying land that is as fertile as the areas of the Cottonwood and the Neosho. If we travel from south to north, we come first upon the town of **Moneka** on Sugar Creek. It was founded last year and it is growing quickly. Some 15 miles north on Pottawatomie Creek is **Hyatt**. The president of the Kansas National Committee, Mr. Thaddeus Hyatt, founded this town, and his generous support made it possible for 86 of the poorest but bravest combatants for freedom and justice during the last Kansas struggles to settle there. This town has also prospered quickly. German settlers will receive every kind of help and assistance from Mr. Hyatt. Numerous claims are still available. There are still a lot of claims available. The land is excellent and there is more than enough wood available. We advise our fellow countrymen concerning settlement in Hyatt to contact Mr. Hyatt directly at 46 Morton Street in New York, where he will certainly provide them with detailed information and all manner of support.

Osawatomic. Twenty miles north at the mouth of Pottawatomie Creek into the Osage River lies **Osawatomic**. This town was founded in 1855 and is doing well, despite the many troubles that have afflicted it. 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 death. One of Brown's 4 sons also died a valiant death here. The town has an excellent sawmill and a very good hotel. The claims around it are mostly taken, but 4 to 5 miles away there are still very many unoccupied.

Council City. Approximately 25 miles northeast, the town Council City lies in a charming valley, formed by Schwitzler and Dragoon Creek. It lies on the great Santa Fe Trail, 20 miles south of Topeka, 35 miles away from Lawrence, and 90 miles from Wyandotte. The soil is wonderful here. There is sufficient wood, coal, and limestone, and a kind of marble which is the only marble found in Kansas so far. In the vicinity the timber, primarily walnut, is excellent. Claims are still available. The town has two sawmills and a hotel, etc. Mr. Scuyler will help German settlers with advice and support; he is one of the founders of the town and an honorable and just man.—Due to lack of space, we need to pass over many towns and villages such as Bloomington, Franklin, Milliard, Brownville, Ashland, Ottawa, Zeandale, Osage Valley, Palmyra, etc. However, it is clear that the southern part of Kansas with its mild climate, abundant rain, excellent soil, and plentiful timber, is destined to become a

veritable bread basket and will in a few years overtake the older, northern states in population and wealth.

If we now turn to the northern side of the Kansas River, we will find, at the confluence of that river with the Missouri, the new town of **Wyandotte**. Although only founded this spring, it has already become astonishingly well developed. We find two hotels. E. Hung has transformed a large steamboat, the *St. Paul*, into a warehouse at the landing. The upper level has become a hotel with 150 beds. Over 100 houses are being built. A newspaper will be published soon. A daily stage route with excellent carriages and four splendid horses maintain the connection with Lawrence, which is thirty miles distant. I found a great number of German countrymen; some of whom had started commercial businesses while others pursued trades. The excellent location of the town on the Missouri and Kansas Rivers has increased the price of lots so high that a share of ten lots costs over \$1,000. Unfortunately, because the surrounding land belongs to the Indians, no claims in the area are available.

Four miles further north we arrive at the rival of Wyandotte, namely:

Quindaro. This town, too, had its beginnings this spring, and has arisen almost by magic. No town in Kansas is situated more romantically than is Quindaro. The town is located in a ravine between high rocky cliffs, often 60–80 feet high, and the banks of the Missouri. The rocks provide a secure landing for ships now and in the future, a feature that Wyandotte lacks. (The Missouri is a swift river that carries sand and soil, changing its riverbed quite often, and, as a result, soil deposits block the landing place for ships after a few years and create a new one on the other side of the river.) The town, therefore, enjoys a special advantage. Because wealthy merchants with significant capital have already built their warehouses here, the question arises which of the towns will prevail. Although the cost of overcoming the obstacles of the terrain in Quindaro is great, energy and the power of money have often achieved much more difficult things. Here, also, a newspaper will be published soon. Approximately 100 houses are being built. Several Germans have already settled here and are pursuing their trades. Claims are not available here either.

Six miles northwest we pass **Delaware City**, a small town of no particular importance up to now, and land, six miles further north, in **Leavenworth**. It lies on a rocky bank two and a half miles below the Fort of the same name, 30 miles from Lawrence, 50 from Topeka, 20 from Atchison, 58 north of Osawatimie. It stretches one mile along the river. Until now it has served as the port of Kansas, and therefore is a lively city with brisk commerce. On September 15, 1854, the first house was completed, and in January 1856 it already contained 307 houses, and now more than 500, with approximately 3,000 inhabitants. Of these, almost half are German. Many of them are wealthy and educated merchants and businessmen of all kinds. There is 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. Every kind of business will be represented here and in 10 to 15 years Leavenworth will certainly be a significant town. It already has five hotels; a German one owned by Mr. Menger can be highly recommended. Two banks handle financial transactions; a variety of stores are now present (pharmacies, watch and jewelry stores, clothing stores). The connoisseur finds here restaurants and breweries, that feature an excellent lager beer in their cellars. In short, there are clear signs of rapid progress. The nearness to the fort contributes to that. The 2,000 soldiers stationed there quickly spend their

monthly allotment (which by the way amounts to \$11 for a private, in addition to room and board and uniforms). From Leavenworth the Missouri makes a big bend westwards; at the most extreme point of this bend lies the town of **Atchison**. It was founded by proslavery men, and it suffered very much on that account, but the Free State people have taken over the town now, so that it is now in a good position to secure a rapid development. If one looks at the map, one will find immediately that it is closer to the center of the territory than any other town on the Missouri. Once the train route between Chicago and St. Joseph is completed, there will be an effort to locate the point from which all other places of the territory can be reached most efficiently. This point is Atchison. This city has the advantage, moreover, that all the land to the west is open for settlers. The soil is good, and the many Germans who have already settled there are entirely satisfied. Atchison has a very nice, high and healthy location; the town has approximately 300 houses now, and over 100 more are going to be built. It serves as the county seat, and has been selected as the main center for the various New England aid companies, that have also decided to make it their primary port on the Missouri. They have even allocated a sum of \$120,000 to build new houses during the coming eighteen months. At the present time, the share of ten lots costs \$1,500. An English newspaper already exists, and a German one will begin publication on July 1, 1857. Mr. Pomeroy, general agent of the New England Aid Company, has a great preference for German settlers and will grant them special advantages; he has already demonstrated that in many cases.

We should mention **Doniphan** and **Palmira** of the remaining towns further north, however, they have not developed significantly. To the west, however, **Grasshopper Falls**, on the river of the same name, promises to become a significant interior town. The land in the valley is excellent and many claims are still available.

Some Advice and Contacts for Immigrants

If someone decides to immigrate to Kansas, he should ask himself when would be the best time to travel. If the immigrant wants to run a commercial business or if he wants to pursue a trade, the arrival time is of no consequence. In the case of agriculture, especially if the farmer does not have the capital to purchase an existing farm, it is best to arrive by mid-May. Anyone who is able to cultivate at least six acres in the first year will have enough harvest to feed himself and his family through the winter. What kind of supplies one should bring along is another consideration. Because it is possible to purchase things after arrival, I advise everyone to bring as little as possible. Aside from bedding, blankets, clothes, and perhaps some pieces of beloved furniture, all supplies can be bought there as cheaply as in the east. We still advise every craftsman to bring his own tools. Freight costs \$2.50 for 100 pounds from Boston to Kansas. The fare from Boston is \$31, children under 4 years of age are free, from 4 to 12 they pay half, and for every passenger 100 pounds of baggage are free, the same amount from New York and Philadelphia. The tickets should be bought from the New England Aid Company or its agents; if you buy tickets at the train stations they will cost \$5–\$6 more. It is advisable for immigrants from Germany to travel directly to Boston and get in touch with Dr. Thomas Webb, the secretary of the company, at 3 Winter Street.

This company has the philanthropic principle of making Kansas a free state and

stands ready to assist German immigrants with advice and support. It is important for larger parties to contact this company, not only for protection against deceit and deceivers but also to obtain material advantages such as advances of seed grain, saw mills etc. The company does maintain offices and agents in all the larger cities who are easy to reach. However, it is best for everyone to land right in Boston, the headquarters of the same, since all needs, negotiations and contracts etc. can be finalized there much quicker. If the parties are significant in the number of members (more than 25), the company will send its own travel agents along and the unknowing immigrants who cannot speak English are well served. The tickets from the company assure first class on the railroad and also on the steamboat from Jefferson City to Leavenworth on the Missouri; the meals on the steamboats, which by the way are splendid, are included in the fare. The route of travel is left to the passengers to decide. Choosing the northern route, you will have the magnificent pleasure of seeing the great natural wonder of America, the Niagara Fall; from there you continue via Detroit and Chicago to St. Louis. If you select the central route, you will pass through Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago; if you select the southern one, you can travel from Cleveland to Cincinnati and from there directly to St. Louis. The last route is apparently the shortest; until recently it was not usable since the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Company only turned over its route from Cincinnati to St. Louis for use by the public a few weeks ago. From Philadelphia you travel via Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. As soon as the Pacific Railroad from Jefferson City to Kansas is built, which should be the case in a few years, the trip from Boston to Kansas will be able to be made in 4 to 5 days; currently you need 7 days.

All freight goods must be shipped by the immigrant to Simmons & Leadbeater, 16 South Main Street, St. Louis; they are the agents of the New England Company and are in direct contact with all parts of Kansas by their subagents. They are the largest and most reliable shipping firm of this kind and we recommend them most warmly.

After the railroad is built between Hannibal and St. Joseph, the shortest route to Kansas will be the route from Chicago via Hannibal. The immigrants from Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa will also take this route, since they have already been traveling this way by wagon.

As we take leave of our readers, we implore them to seriously consider all the points covered in this text. We are convinced, that the advantages which Kansas offers the immigrants will soon become clear to them. Every German who has \$100 to \$500 left over after paying the travel costs, should not hesitate for long deciding what to do, since he will be able to secure for himself and his progeny a happy home and a worry-free future in Kansas.

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Notes

¹ We have translated only the "Foreword" and the descriptive passages about the various settlements in Kansas Territory that Kob believed would be of interest to the potential German settler into English. It is in these passages that Kob expresses his vision of a future Kansas free of slavery and populated with a significant number of Germans. The more technical information on supplies for settlers and land claims in the first pages of Kob's *Wegweiser* have not been translated since it essentially repeats material contained in such guides as Thomas Webb's *Information for Kanzas Immigrants*, published in several editions beginning in 1855 in Boston.

² This is very likely George W. Deitzler who was active in anti-slavery groups in Kansas Territory and later served as colonel of the 1st Kansas Regiment at the Battle of Wilson's Creek in 1861. Mr. Leonhard is very likely the anti-slavery activist Charles Leonhardt of Lawrence.



August Bondi

Excerpts from the *Autobiography of August Bondi (1833–1907)**

**CHAPTER I
FAMILY HISTORY**

ORIGIN OF THE NAME

There is a family tradition that sometime toward the close of the seventeenth or the early part of the eighteenth century, one Jomtov Landschreiber, a rural scrivener, whose business it was to keep up the census of the Jewish communities scattered through Bohemia, outside of Prague, and report the assessment of taxes subject to review by the respective authorities; when urged to adopt a Christian name and to Germanize it, adopted the name of "Bondy." He had traveled in Italy and "become somewhat acquainted with the Italian language, so he changed the Hebrew word, "Jomtov," (good-day) for the Italian word, "Bondi," (good-day) and Germanized it by changing the letter "i" into "y," making the name "Bondy" and all the Bondi and Bondy families in the world are descended from that Jomtov Landschreiber.

There are in the United States many families "Bundy;" they are descendants of a Huguenot settler, near Vincennes, Indiana, about the eighteenth century.

ANCESTORS

Of the descendants of Jomtov Landschreiber history is silent until we come to one Herz Emanuel Mendel Bondi or Bondy, a wealthy merchant of Prague, Bohemia, and his wife, Judith (nee Lämél), parents of seven children—two daughters and five sons. Of these sons, the youngest, Herz Emanuel Naphtali Bondy, was my father.

CHANGE OF NAME

My father's family name was originally "Bondy." In his first citizen's papers he changed it to Bondi.

**Autobiography of August Bondi (1833–1907): Published by His Sons and Daughters for Its Preservation* (Galesburg, Illinois: Wagoner Printing Company, 1910). The following excerpts (chapters I through V) retain the original text of the printed edition, except for minor changes in punctuation, capitalization, and the correction of obvious errors.

All I know of my father's ancestry is that he descended from an old and honored Jewish family of Bohemia. His grandmother was an Eibenschütz, of Dresden.

My grandfather, Mendel Bondy, had been a well-to-do merchant, up to some ten years before his death in 1827, at the age of sixty-five years. My father always spoke of him with reverence.

My father's mother, Judith Bondy (née Lämél), died when my father was but fifteen years old.

A little incident in the life of her youngest brother, Selke Lämél, may be of family interest.

In his young days, towards the close of the 14th century, an eventful battle between the Austrians and the French resulted in a sad defeat of the former, and Austria wanted peace. To begin negotiations an armistice was necessary; but they did not know who could possibly be *persona grata* with the French commander. Some person in high standing had become acquainted with young Selke Lämél, of Tuschkan (at that time a wool-broker, and about 24 years old) in the coffee house frequented by both, had found him to be a French scholar, and had taken a liking to him. This man proposed the young Jew, Lämél, as a fitting messenger to Gen. Moreau (the victor at Hohenlinden and Lambach, Dec. 1800), to propose a truce. Lämél went and was successful, his negotiations being most satisfactory to the Austrian government. Lämél's fortune was made. He was repeatedly commissioned to treat with French generals and even negotiated with Napoleon. He received any number of government contracts and became a millionaire, leaving to his wife, at his death in 1845, a sum equal to five million dollars.

His widow died in her 96th year and the estate was divided among her children, who devoted a great part of it to charities, mostly Jewish, and to educational institutions.

Lämél had, in about 1820, an audience with Emperor Francis. As he entered the room the Emperor called out, "Come closer, glad to see you, I love you, Lämél." (Lamel or Lamele means lamb in the Austrian dialect.) Lämél answered, "So your majesty can shear him?" This so pleased the Emperor that Lämél was thereupon ennobled with the title, Simon Edler von Lämél. The family name and male line died out with his son, Leopold, who left daughters only.

MY FATHER'S EARLY HISTORY

My father was born at Prague, Bohemia, December 25, 1788 or 1790, family records differ as to the year of his birth. In his 12th year he met with a serious accident at a ball game. His left leg was broken in two places which caused a limping gait in a fast walk. This defect, with his inferior size, 5 ft. 3 in., immured him from military service. He had what in those times was considered an excellent education and was well versed in Hebrew and German. From his eighteenth year on, he was engaged as either a salesman or a bookkeeper by prominent firms. In 1811 he joined the Masonic fraternity at Offenbach, or Frankf[u]rt, a[m] Main. Father often told me that the teachings of the secret societies to which he belonged incited to continual mental improvement and were a mutual aid and assistance in the troubles of life. He especially favored Masonry. Love and respect for that institution was, so to say, bred into me.

Among other societies to which my father belonged was a charitable organization something like the Christian Commission in our civil war of the sixties.

It was the business of the members of this organization to visit the battlefields of 1813 and 1814, to assist in caring for the wounded and to relieve the suffering population near the battlegrounds whose homes had been burned and sustenance pillaged by both armies.

In his old age my father could recall many scenes and events of the contests against Napoleon. He was present at the siege and battle of Dresden, where he saw Napoleon on the Bridge, over the Elbe, issuing his orders. Like all European Jews, my father held in great esteem the memory of Napoleon, as he had contributed so much to the extension of religious liberty.

CHILDREN OF HERZ EMANUEL MENDEL BONDY

My father's brothers and sisters were:

1st. Wolf Emanuel Bondy, eldest. Died in 1863 at Prague, in his ninetieth year. His two sons were: Rudolph Bondy, childless, separated from his invalid wife (Gentile). Died in 1903, July 2nd, at the Alexian Brothers Hospital, St. Louis, Mo., of acute Bright's disease. Remains cremated; ashes buried in Alton, Ill., cemetery by the grave of his first wife. Ludwig B., the second son, still living (1903), is the owner of quite a printing establishment in Vienna, with his only son as a partner. He is a widower and a Roman Catholic, his wife was also of that creed. The only daughter of Wolf Emanuel Bondy, Julia, married a Mr. Altman and died in 1852, leaving two infant daughters.

2nd. Ferdinand Bondy died childless at 45 years of age.

3rd. Lamel Bondy died childless in his seventieth year.

4th. Isaac Bondy died in 1879 at the age of ninety years. He had two sons, Emanuel Bondy, my brother-in-law, who died childless, near Salina, on my farm in 1874, buried in Gypsum Hill cemetery; and Joseph Bondy, died at Vienna, leaving surviving his widow, Helene Bondy, and one daughter married to a Mr. Freund, and one son.

5th. Anna Bondy, married, died leaving one daughter. Family name unknown to me.

6th. Louise Bondy, married "Lichtenstadt," died a widow, almost ninety years old, in the eighties. Left surviving her six daughters, all yet living (1903), and one son, Maximilian Lichtenstadt, married and in the millinery business in Düsseldorf.

MY MOTHER'S EARLY HISTORY

My mother, Martha, born December 25, 1806, the youngest of three children, was left motherless in her infancy, her mother, Abigail, née Kuh, became insane during confinement with my mother, and died soon after. Her father, Wolf Adam Frankl, was the senior partner of one of the largest silk firms of Austria.

My mother's family, the Frankls, was of the oldest and most respected Jewish families of Prague. In 1810 Wolf Adam Frankl moved to Vienna with his three motherless children, David Adam, Joseph Adam and Martha. He died suddenly in August 1812, as was then supposed, by poison administered in a letter. In 1863

some old letters fell into the hands of my Uncle David Adam which proved, beyond a doubt, that the crime had been committed, but the guilty parties had all gone to their last account. One of the abettors, when at the point of death, delivered the correspondence to my uncle. I do not know the particulars, as I was in the United States army when my uncle wrote the information to my mother, and after my discharge I refrained from mentioning anything about it for fear of causing unnecessary pain to my mother.

My mother's father was a most benevolent and charitable man, as was often told me by old people who had known him well. He was greatly esteemed by the Jewish congregations of Prague and Vienna. He is buried in the old Jewish cemetery, in the oldest part, number 1265, near the gate, second tomb from that of Isaac Forster.

After the death of Wolf Adam Frankl his children were removed to Prague and placed under the care of Israel Landau, president of the congregation, and Rosalia Rebecca Landau, his wife (my grandfathers sister), and were there educated. When a child I heard my mother and her brothers converse about the condition of my grandfather Frankl's estate, how large it was at his decease and plundered in a most shameless manner by different parties.

My mother at eighteen years married a young merchant, "Lippman Wehle," and was a widow six weeks after the wedding. She returned to her Aunt Rosalia Rebecca Landau and remained with her, assisting her in her business (silks) until married to my father, January 12, 1832.

Some three or four years before his marriage, my father had entered into a partnership with his brother, Isaac, wholesaling bleached and unbleached cotton goods. In 1830, nearly bankrupt, they tided their difficulties over by extensions. My parents, after marriage, moved to Vienna; my father to attend to the sales, and Uncle Isaac at Prague to attend to the purchases from mills in Bohemia.

CHAPTER II

EARLY PERSONAL HISTORY

In the third story of the Temple house at Vienna, July 21, 1833, I, August Bondi, was born. Following is the official record at my birth:

GEBURTSZEUGNISZ

Von dem Unterzeichneten wird hiemit, bezeuget, dasz am einundzwanzigsten des Monates July im Jahre eintausendachthundertdreyunddreiszig 21ten July 1833, dem Herrn Commissionair Herz Emanuel Bondi von seiner Ehegattin Martha gebornen Frankl ein Knabe geboren find demselben am 28 ten July 1833 der Nahme August Bondi beygelegt wurde.

Welches auch in dem Geburtsprotokolle der israelitischen Einwohner Wiens, folio No. 325, eingetragen ist. Zu dessen Urkunde eigenhändige Fertigung, Wien am 8ten Septembre 1833.

W. MANNHEIM
Lehrer der Israeliten zu Wien

Gesehen und bestätigt von dem
Herren Vertretern der hiesigen
Israelitischen Einwohner.
Wien, den 9ten September 1833.

Die Vertreter der Israeliten in Wien

T. L. HOFMANN M.D. LUDERMANN

Diese Unterschriften werden hiermit bestätigt von der L. C. Poligny Herr
Direction Wien, am 9ten September 1833.

Zeuge

G. G. DIETS [Direction seal]

My sister Henriette, or Harriet, was added to the family May 22, 1835. From her ninth month to her seventh or eighth year she was very sickly with a disease caused by an abnormal condition of the glands of the bowels—as I understood. She had to be humored and grew up quite self-willed and with all the faults common to family pets.

When I was five years old my mother began to teach me the a, b, c, and the next year I was sent to the private school of a stern pedagogue, Adam Schreyer, who gave me occasional thrashings which I had, no doubt, deserved. It must at that time have been about fifty years old, was yet a bachelor, and has crossed the river long ago; but while he was most strict, his system of teaching must have been most excellent, and I learned fast.

I would never tattle at home when I had received a licking, nor was I ever asked whether I had been punished. My mother taught me, and I have so instructed my children, that parents have no business to make such inquiries, nor ought children to tattle, because teachers entrusted with the work of character forming should have full control without parental interference.

Once, while my Uncle David Frankl was visiting us, I came from school to dinner with my hands bloody from a switching, and my uncle prevailed upon my parents to hire a tutor. I was kept home and "Moritz Stern," a Hungarian, from Pres[s]burg, a medical student at the Vienna University, became my tutor. He was a good scholar and also a friend of the rod. He remained with us six years and taught me, as private tutor, the common branches and Hebrew, German, French, Hungarian and Latin. I underwent the customary semi-annual examinations in different grades at the proper times. When past eight years—the fall of 1841—my father applied for my admission to the First Gymnasium class, but met a refusal because I was under ten years of age—the legal age of admission—so I was sent with my tutor to Pres[s]burg, Hungary, for matriculation in the *Parva* of the Gymnasium there, as the Hungarian school-laws ignored legal age of admission. I studied at 'home under my tutor and went to Pres[s]burg in February and July, 1842, for the semi-annual examinations. I distinctly remember an incident of my Pres[s]burg visit February, 1842. It was Purim night, the streets of the Jewish quarter were most lively with masks, clowns, etc. At

that time (before 1848) in Hungary the soldiers of the regular Hungarian regiments were used for police when anyone was needed. The weather was bitter cold, two feet of ice on the Danube, the city authorities had established warming stations with a corporal's guard in each of the main streets. My tutor and I entered one of those warming stations about midnight. It was quite filled up with people enjoying the red-hot wood stove, and the squad of Magyar grenadiers, all but the sentry outdoors, and the corporal in common with them, snoring on bunks. It struck twelve o'clock. The corporal called on the respective relief, but the snoring kept on, when the corporal, with a firm grip, raised his cane (of hazel), then the proper mark of distinction of a corporal in the Austrian army, and struck a decisive blow on the posteriors of the members of the respective relief with a "Teremtette" (the Magyar Goddam). The touched relief jumped up at once, rubbed the affected parts, donned their accoutrements and started for their posts.

A little historical item may also be of interest here. At the time of which I am writing, 1842, south and east of Vienna the Danube was crossed by pontoon bridges, and these were taken up when ice formed, and no communication between the two banks of the river existed until the ice had become strong enough to bear the traffic. Sheafs of straw were then placed over the ice at the regular crossings, irrigated and when the material had become solid, planks were fastened to it on top which formed good passage-ways for all travel.

After exhausting my amount of red tape I was at last, in October of 1843, (then past my tenth birthday) admitted to the Second Grade (Principe) of the Academic Gymnasium of Vienna. This Gymnasium, as were all gymnasiums of those days in Austria, was managed by the Piarists, a monkish order, somewhat like the Benedictines, all good men, treating their pupils with even-handed justice and using their best endeavors for their advancement. Shortly after my admission an imperial decree abolished the age qualification for admission to the Vienna Gymnasium.

Besides the regular gymnasium curriculum I continued to apply myself to the study of different languages. My intention all along was to become physician. My Uncle Joseph Adam Frankl, M.D.), (practicing at Marianbad during summers) who had acquired an European reputation, often in his jokes referred to me as his future successor in the profession. As for his boys he had selected different careers. For the elder, Paul, the military profession. The younger son, Joseph, was to be an artist.

In January 1844, my mother became quite an invalid from heart trouble, but under skillful treatment recovered within the next eighteen months. During the months of May, June and July she occupied a summer retreat near Meidling, one hour by railroad from Vienna. I stayed with them all the month of July and passed the happiest days of my childhood in the mountains and forests surrounding the village; often all alone, sometimes accompanied by a dog, generally returning in the evening with my clothes, dirty and ragged.

March of 1845, Moritz Stern, my tutor, was discharged. He afterwards graduated M.D., and in 1849 served as regimental surgeon in the Hungarian Revolutionary Army.

I had two tutors between March and July of that year. In the autumn mother engaged Edward Messer as tutor for sister and myself. He was a medical student of the Vienna University.

Up to 1840 I was among the seven of highest rank in the class. In January of '46,

while I was in the 4th grade of the gymnasium, the firm, "Emanuel Bondy Söhne," of which my father was the senior partner, failed. They had met with severe losses through mercantile failures in Italy, Galicia and Hungary. Father and uncle became involved in lawsuits. My father, as senior partner and manager, had to bear the brunt of a criminal prosecution. The creditors of the firm believed that some distant relative of my father would come to his relief, also that my father could and would likewise use compulsory means with his debtors; but it was impossible for my father to bring about a settlement with his debtors, as the political conditions in Hungary, Italy and Galicia were already quite chaotic, and the relatives who, like my father and my uncle, had suffered losses, would not and could not come to the rescue. In the spring of 1847 my father became dangerously ill and seven weary months passed before he recovered. My mother had saved a small part of her dower and with it she assisted Uncle Isaac (father's old partner), and hired lawyers for legal relief of my father who was committed to jail during the bankruptcy investigation. Legal proceedings in Austria at that time were all in chancery. Judges all expected and accepted bribes as their official perquisites.

Many a bank note wandered from mother's purse into the hand of the respective judges, and I believe that my father's case was kept in court only to bleed mother. During these days of tribulation, from January, 1846, to June 1848, when my father was returned to his family, we lived hard. We children continued to study as before, Edward Messer, M.D., being our tutor until June of 1847, then my sister went to the best private school for girls; but our fare was boiled potatoes and bread twice a day, and bread and cocoa shells for breakfast. Only two meals with meat each week. Some years afterwards my sister was informed that my Aunt Charlotte (Uncle Isaac's wife) had saved her entire dower and had a great deal more means than mother; but be that as it may, I feel, yet in my old age, proud that my mother did what she believed to be her duty, and never did we children oppose mother in her regular remittances to Uncle Isaac. Mother consulted with us about everything. Our lives were embittered by misfortune, but never could children revere parents as sister and I did mother, and she deserved it.

Father never interfered with mother's plans for educating us children. She was his cashier and clerk and had full control and management of the family. In all matters of discipline she was most strict, still I was never licked at home but once, for although I was impetuous, I was easily controlled. When I was nearly 12 years old my father gave me a sound threshing. I deserved it, and so acknowledged.

Under the teachings of my mother and by the example of father and mother I formed a kind and generous disposition. Up to 1846 my blackened shoes and dusted clothes were brought to me every morning; yet I was prohibited from using any but the most polite language to the servants. My parents always impressed upon their children that Jews or Christians, high or low, all are children of a common Father. These principles affected my conduct all through life.

While keeping a strictly Jewish house, my parents favored my knowledge of other religions. I had read the "New Testament" before I was eight years old. The martyrdom of Jesus caused in me the same feeling of horror and pain as the martyrdom of the victims of the tyranny of "Antiochus Epiphanes." My father explained to me that the report of the Christian Testament regarding the execution of Jesus by the Jews is merely false.

Leopold Brescer, the teacher of the Jewish religion of the Vienna congregation, lectured his students above the 3rd gymnasium grade on [*Moreh Nevuchim*] (Guide to the perplexed) of Maimonides, alternating with it the teaching of translations of the Psalms, Proverbs and Koheleth. My tutor, Moritz Stern, was liberal minded, yet an enthusiastic Jew, and whenever we walked for an airing, conversed with me on Judaism and religious subjects from a liberal standpoint. I could not, under these conditions, help forming my mind according to the command of Moses, "Thou must love the Eternal, thy God and thy neighbor as thyself." Enthusiastic Jew and lover of humanity.

The family troubles affected my studies. At times I got behind. The full gymnasium course in Austria then consisted of six years, each year containing two terms. We had semi-annual examinations in March and July, and quarterly examinations in November, January, April and June, and vacation from about July 5th to October 5th. In May and June of 1846, I had been much distracted and most careless. I had a foreboding that at the quarterly examination in June the professor would call me out for examination by the rector and to be lectured by him. I tied my feet to the foot-board of my bed when I laid down the night before the examination and got up at 3 o'clock a.m., and had mastered my studies by 7:30 o'clock a.m., when I started for school. I was called out to translate and explain Horace's Ode, "*De ista rustica*." "*Beatus ille qui procul negotiis paterna rura bovis exercit suis*." I had to translate, explain and expound the entire ode, and acquitted myself most excellently. Professor, rector and classmates were astonished. I managed to hold my own in the class. At this time I had to prepare my lessons at home alone, my tutor Edward Musser, M.D., having been discharged in June of 1847. In February of that year, he had married an ex-governess, the mother of his two illegitimate sons—legitimized after marriage. He often deprecated to me the outrages of absolutism and state-church. Showed me his confessional certificate purchased from a woman hawker for 6 Groschen (6 cents of American money), which the law obliged him to show to the priest before marriage. He died in 1896—83 years old. His son, Edward Musser, Jr., M.D., practices in Vienna.

At the Academic Gymnasium, Professor Rosalek was my instructor in *Parva*, Prof. Franck in *Principe-Gram[mar]* and *Syntax*, and Prof. Podlaha, of the 5th and 6th gymnasium classes, taught me *Poe[try]* and *Rhetoric*. He often read to us of Washington, Jefferson and the American Revolution from translations of the American authors.

In *Parva* the class numbered 106 students; when we reached *Rhetoric* we were but 96. In the first grade there were six Jews. There were but two left when we entered the 6th grade.

The friars, as teachers, paid no attention to the creed of their scholars. They were impartial educators. I yet remember with reverence their efforts in my behalf, while I am well aware that the system of the Catholic schools of those days could not bring out the full powers of their pupils' minds. Classics and history were pruned not to entice to disbelief of the state-religion or dissatisfaction with autocracy. The discipline was of the best. It was altogether carried out by intellectual means, but while it was far ahead of the American high-school humbug, it was yet infinitely inferior to the system even then prevailing in the Prussian gymnasiums, where all

superficial training is tabooed and classics and history are taught only to effect general erudition and culture.

I will mention in this connection two little incidents in my college life of this year, 1847. About the middle of January the first general thaw had taken place, but during a dreadful cold of three days in the last week of January, the Danube froze over, the ice being two feet thick. Wolves followed the deer of the Prater into the suburbs of Leopoldstadt and Passau. In the second week of February suddenly warm weather set in and the ice going out dammed the river at a bend, and an inundation was the result. At 9 o'clock a.m. the water stood four feet in the street of Leopoldstadt, where we lived. Some of the scholars hurried home. I would not leave school as I believed I could see the fun later; but when I started at 10 o'clock a.m., the ice-gorge had broken and the inundation was over.

The second incident was a riot of the students of the faculty of Philosophy in February of this same year. The professor of mathematics had slapped a student in the face, and for a week not a student of the faculty came to the lectures, till the professor had publicly asked pardon of the class and of the insulted student. Five hundred students remained together in the daytime and were careful to allow no public manifestation by which any could be singled out as leaders, and as all the 500 could not be arrested, none were.

Then followed those glorious days of March, 1848, glorious for those young spirits who arose as one man, burning with the desire to kindle the light of freedom of "Liberty" in priest-ridden, despotism-cursed Austria.

I will try to give a true and faithful account of those events. I will give only actual facts within my own personal knowledge. "Etsi quorum pars parva fui."

My children, and whoever else may read these lines, let me impress on you my assurance that in this, my autobiography and memoirs, I have not described nor mentioned anything which my ears have not heard or my eyes not seen—except where I state the events from hearsay, and so declare. Some historians or memorialists may contradict some of my accounts of important events; but remember, I was on hand at times and places when and where others were not. I have never favored that embellishment and romanticised tradition should take the place of history, which should be nothing else but true description of the actual happenings and events during the different epochs of humanity as they passed and were acted.

On the evening of the last day. (Tuesday) of the Carneval of 1848, seven young men, mostly medical students, enjoyed a merry-making in the Wieden suburb of Vienna. Only a few weeks before the French had expelled Louis Phillipe. They argued over that event and expressed their preference for a free government in Austria; at last, one called out:

"Let us have some fun and play Vienna Revolution and the expulsion of Metternich," prime minister of Austria for 25 years, who with Nesselrode, was the chief support and sheet-anchor of European despotism.¹

One of the students represented Metternich and the others, with their knotted pocket handkerchiefs, expelled him from the room.

From smallest acorns
Largest oaks do grow.

These youngsters, when sober next day, talking over their fun of the preceding night, eventually made up their minds for a realization of their play, and conferred with their comrades for such purpose.

The students at the Austrian universities had, for years, suffered the grievance that certain studies were attached to and connected with certain class years, and only salaried professors of the Catholic faith were allowed; while in Germany students were allowed to select what studies they pleased for each year of the course established for the study of the respective professions in which they desired to graduate and were allowed to maintain any number of "docents" for the several branches of studies; each docent, however, obliged to pass professional examination. These privileges were comprised under the title "Freedom to teach and to learn." The strict censorial system muzzling the press, which thereby had also become most servile to the powers which were; and the state-church dogging, more or less, each step of the citizen, were also causes of irritation and most keenly felt by the educated, intelligent youth.

The students at the "Alma Mater" of the three faculties, philosophy, medicine and law; the students at the Polytechnical School, and the students at the Academy of Arts—numbering in the aggregate, near 10,000, with youthful enthusiasm declared for:

Freedom of conscience;
Freedom of the press. and
Freedom to teach and learn.

The students and members of the various faculties and schools agreed to post and to hold a mass meeting in the *Aula* of the university on Sunday, the 12th of March, 1848, at 11 o'clock a.m., to comment upon the formulation of a petition embodying requests for the abolishment of the grievances and for freedom of conscience, freedom of the press, and freedom to teach and to learn, and for a National Guard; which petition could be presented next day, March 13th, by a committee to be selected, to the provincial council (*Landtag*) of the province of Lower Austria, then sitting at Vienna.

The provincial council consisted of the mayors of the large cities and the representatives of the landed aristocracy. The council convened once in a while to go through the formalities of voting an internal improvement budget.

The petition of the students was to be, and was, rather more of an address requesting intercession with the ministry for redress of grievances and abolishment of the autocratic system of government by a Diet to be called together without delay.

The afternoon of the 12th of March was quiet. The police had increased their force of spies in citizen's dress, but no arrests were made. It is said that Metternich ridiculed the movement. Monday morning, March 13th, I went to my class in the gymnasium. I was in the last class, rhetoric, but a few months more and I would have been ripe for the philosophy courses of the university. After the class closed, 10 o'clock a.m., I did not hurry home. We then lived in the Leopoldstadt suburb—Anthony Gasse [Antonigasse]. I loitered on my way to listen to various addresses made to the gathering crowds from the pedestals of monuments. My appetite getting the upper

hand, I hastened home for dinner, intending to return to the city without delay, to be present at the presentation of the address.

The Leopoldstadt suburb lies across that smallest arm of the Danube which separates itself from the main river a few miles above Vienna and reunites itself a few miles below the city. "The city proper" yet retained the old fortress walls with its several gates. On my return from dinner, I reached the gate, "The Rothe Thurm Thor" before 1 o'clock p.m. The gate was closed, infantry on guard. While I waited a few minutes before the guarded gate, my mother came. She had hurried after me, having become satisfied that there would be trouble and begged me to return home; but I stayed and mother kissed me and blessed me. "Go then with God," she said.

The small gate near the big gate was opened to allow the relief squad to march out; a crowd of roustabouts from some vessels (the harbor is close by) ran over the squad. The attack was so sudden and the soldiers so unprepared that they ran right over them. I and a few others rushed with them, and I was in the city proper.

Vienna had a weak garrison, as all available forces were needed in Italy at that time, and as I mentioned before, Metternich never suspected the least danger from a mob of half grown youngsters, and foolish protesters. Again, when a few hours after the Her[re]ngasse massacre, he had to change his opinion, the pusillanimity of his advisers influenced the doomed minister and, as is almost always the case when a tyrant meets determined opposition, courage failed him and irresoluteness marked the last hours of Metternich's ministry.

As fast as legs would carry us, I, with a few classmates, ran up to the Her[re]ngasse. With me was a Baron Spens of my class who, in 1849, entered the army as a cadet, and years afterwards died a general. During this walk he continually berated the men who participated in this revolt, as it had already become, and repeatedly said that grape and canister only was a fit reply to the petition.

I ran some faster than the others of my small crowd and reached the Her[re]ngasse and pushed for the front near the palace where the provincial council held its sessions. I became mixed up with the students of the different schools and faculties. The street was packed for quite a distance, but I kept in front. A couple of thousand youngsters cannot be kept quiet, and while waiting for news from the student deputation, who had taken the address to the provincial council (*Landtag*), we shouted for "freedom of the press, and freedom of conscience." Occasionally some shouts of "Down with Metternich," and cheers for "Constitution" were heard.

The deputation appeared on the balcony of the Council Hall and in a few words requested us to be quiet. We complied, when through a side street marched out a battalion of (Czech-Bohemian) pioneers, first in platoon, then in half-company column to within less than a hundred feet of the surging crowd—the platoon front extending from house-wall to house-wall across the street.

The commanding officer steps to the front and shouts the order to disperse. Even if willing, we could not move, as the 80-foot street was packed full. The order "fire" is given, the front ranks discharge their muskets, (flintlocks)—a dozen dead and dying fall around me. Heinr[i]ch Spitzer, 18 years old, a Jewish student of the Technical school, an only son of his parents, from Voisenz, Morana, pierced through the heart falls and brings me down with him, and another student of the same school falls over us both. A bayonet charge is ordered and as I crawled from under my dead comrades, a Czech struck me over the head and shoulders two licks with the butt of

his musket, and another Czech savage lounged his bayonet into my back, fortunately only grazing my skin and raising me from the ground, as his bayonet had become fastened in my overcoat. As the bayonet lost its hold, I made tracks along with a crowd, pushing our way through a narrow alley-like street, "Strauchgass[e]."

At this time a deed of heroism was performed by a man who, long ago, passed to his rest, forgotten by all except the few old men saved by his courage.

At the outlet of the Her[re]ngasse and Stra[u]chgass[e] into the Michaelisplatz, in front of the Burg, (imperial residence) were stationed two cannon in charge of an artillery sergeant, Johann Follett. The cannon were loaded with grape and ca[n]ister, and the gunners stood by them with burning matches. As the crowds, fleeing from the charge of the Czech pioneer battalion, debouched into the Michaelisplatz, an archduke (I have forgotten his name) galloped up in general's uniform and commanded "Fire!" The sergeant, Johann Follett, jumped before the muzzle of one of the guns and thundered to his men, "Hold, hold on, I am in command here and, imperial highness, remember, if I fall here, the House of Hapsburg goes down with me." The living masses of men, women and children within 100 feet of those guns were spared. The brave sergeant was, after a few days, promoted lieutenant and fell at Navara.

The students returned to the *Aula* of the university, leaving the dead and carrying their wounded comrades. My head and shoulders ached fearfully, and the blood trickled slowly down my back inside of my shirt from the slight bayonet wound. The back of my overcoat and my hat were soaked with the blood of Martyr Spitzer.

I went home, had a few bites to eat but said nothing to mother about my experiences. By dark I tried to reach the university to share in the attack on the arsenal, but the gates were closed, so I went home tired and went to bed. I will tell of the attack on the arsenal, as I heard it the next day. About 8 o'clock in the evening the students had organized to storm the city arsenal. Vienna had two arsenals—the city arsenal and the imperial arsenal. The city arsenal contained 25,000 old muskets, some remnants of the Turkish wars of the 18th century, and some ornaments of the Napoleonic Wars, of course, all old style flintlocks. The city arsenal, not containing weapons of great value, had no guard, only a corps of janitors to take care of the rooms filled with relics to be shown to the public which throngs the building on certain days.

The students went for the old banners, which had been used in the Turkish and the Napoleonic wars and later floated in advance of the brave youngsters of those days. They found the flag-room in the university locked and the keys could not be found. It was 8 o'clock p.m., when Prof. Stephen Ladislaus Endlicher grabbed a candle, stuck it on a pole, exclaiming, "Boys, we are all for more light; then let this candle be the symbol of our wish, and our banner." He took the front and the others followed. They marched to the city arsenal, found it unguarded, broke down the gates at 11 o'clock p.m., and each man seized a musket with bayonet and, as they were without ammunition, the bayonet alone was relied upon. During the night Metternich had fled, and the Emperor had issued his proclamation granting the demands of the people and appointing a new ministry. About 7 o'clock of the evening of the 13th of March, a battalion of curasiers had, without provocation, charged the crowds in front of the church of St. Stephen, on St. Stephen's Square, and many were left lifeless on

the spot, many more wounded. Altogether, the number of that day's dead was thirty-eight, among these three women.

Immediately the National Guard of the city was formed. Every citizen was entitled to membership, and the students, in a separate body, called "Academic Legion," formed an integral part. This Academic Legion consisted of five corps: 1st, the students of philosophy; 2nd, medical students; 3rd, law students; 4th, students of the polytechnic School; 5th, students of the Academy of Fine Arts.

So commenced the Vienna Revolution of March 1848. It was closely followed by the uprisings of Berlin, Munich and many others.

In Vienna, in March 1848, was started the movement for a United Germany, which was perfected 22 years later at Versailles, after Austria was ousted from the German confederacy in 1866; and yet the present German Empire and the present dual monarchy, "Austria-Hungary," owe an eternal debt of gratitude for their present freedom, political life, and their liberal institutions to the enthusiastic youngsters of 1848, who then and there sacrificed life and fortunes to their humanitarian aspirations.

Very few of the young men of 1848 concluded their studies. Once engulfed in the whirlpool of the stress and storm of this revolutionary period they could not concentrate their minds on studying for a livelihood.

Hundreds fell in the October days of '48; some were executed by court's martial, more had the death sentence commuted to imprisonment in the dungeons of Brunn and Spielberg. Hundreds joined the Vienna legion of the Hungarian Revolution and fell in the battles of 1849. Hundreds more were pressed into the Austrian army and perished in battle or deserted into Turkey or Italy, and thence emigrated to the United States, where others had preceded them. Many went clown, even in this free land, in the struggle for bread, and of the survivors many died on the battlefields of the Civil War of the '60's. Perhaps, one of the saddest deaths was that of Prof. Endlicher, the leader of the students' attack on the city arsenal, who suicided one year after the Vienna uprising. A very few yet survive, proud of the memories of their youth. None have ever regretted their share in the great drama commenced that fateful day of March, 48, whose last act has not been reached.

On Thursday, March 16th, the deputations of the Hungarian Diet and of the University of Budapest reached Vienna to receive from the Emperor, their king, the pledge that the Hungarian constitution should cease to be as a dead letter, Louis Kossuth (Kossuth Lajos) at their head. The members of the Diet in carriages, many of the Budapest students horse-back proceeded to the Burg amid the cheers of the crowds filling the streets.

On Friday, March 17th, we buried the thirty-eight victims of the Thirteenth in a common grave in the Währinger general cemetery. The remains were afterwards removed to the new cemetery and an imposing monument erected by free contributions.

The National Guard and the Legion, 15,000 bayonets, followed the remains to the grave. The different funeral orations lasted three hours. I marched with the corps consisting of the Philosophy students, which had the rear on the march and was on the left wing of the hollow square farthest from the grave, where it was impossible to hear the speaking.

The speakers all expressed the wish that with the remains of the martyrs all further strife be and remain buried; but idle thought! Despots and priests never yield,

except to overpowering force, and even then make continued efforts to regain by stratagem the powers wrested from them by the people.

By evening some Magyar bishops visited the university and, observing that the student's guard used water only for their beverage, ordered up an ample supply of beer, wine and bread to satisfy all the thousands returning from the funeral.

I returned to my studies in the 6th class of the gymnasium and did the best I could, considering that a great deal of my time was taken up with attendance at the various student meetings of those days.

During March and April ministries came and went. About the first week in May, the "Fiquelmont" of the most reactionary section of the high aristocracy was commissioned Prime Minister. One Count Hoyos [von Sprinzenstein] was commissioned in command of the Vienna National Guard. The citizens and the students had a right to believe that the concessions wrung from the imperial government by main strength were endangered. Deputations insisted to the emperor upon a change of ministry, but these efforts were in vain.

On Monday, the 15th day of May, the representatives of the different corps of the Legion, at 3 o'clock p.m., after a deliberation lasting from 10 o'clock a.m., ordered a petition to the emperor for a change of the Ministry, the petition to be supported by the armed forces of the National Guard and of the Legion.

The scholars of the three Vienna gymnasiums were not enrolled in the Legion; but those of the highest, the 6th class or grade, were permitted to bear arms and to do duty in the corps of the students of the Philosophy faculty, as but a few months intervened before they would be ripe for university and matriculation in the First class of students of the faculty of Philosophy. A neighbor, Moritz Pollak, a member of the National Guard, was temporarily absent from home. I took his gun, bought me six cartridges and joined the Legion. All the muskets of the Guard and of the Legion had flintlocks. One-half of the Austrian army was yet armed in the same manner. The regular members of the legion had drilled daily, we 6th class scholars had drilled only occasionally, possibly half a dozen times. At 6 o'clock p.m., the legion, some 9000 strong, left University Square marching by columns of platoons of 32 files, until we reached the wider thoroughfares, when we changed to half-company columns. The philosophy corps, 700 strong, in four companies; each company a captain, two lieutenants, two drummers. The student deputation to the Emperor at the head of the legion carried the monster petition asking the dismissal of the stationary ministry. The different bodies of the National Guard had all requested delay and had declined to take part. Nearing the castle we had to march through two lines of the several regiments of grenadiers of the Vienna garrison drawn up on the sidewalks, so that we scraped their files in passing. These grenadiers had each 60 rounds in his cartridge box. We boys felt the seriousness of the situation: not a loud word was spoken, cigars thrown away, we felt that the night might develop a bloody fray. We debouched into the square, Josephplatz, and in serried ranks took position, filling the square. About 500 or more of what appeared to be common laboring men surrounded the square formed by the legion. The corps of philosophy students had its position on the west side of the square. The windows of the cabinet in which the emperor, the ministry, and the student deputation discussed the petition, was in plain view of all. At 9 o'clock p.m., we received permission to stack arms and leave them under care and guard of a detail and break ranks for refreshments at the tavern on the Square, strictly

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enjoined to return to our places within thirty minutes. In ranks this afternoon and evening had touched elbow with Frederick Hassaurek, a scholar in the 6th class at the Piarist gymnasium, in the suburbs of Josephstadt. I had a little change, he had none and was as hungry and thirsty as I was. I invited him and we two had beer and bread at my expense. I have never seen Hassaurek since that night. He escaped from Vienna after the October days, came to the United States in 1849, settled in Cincinnati, began editing a German newspaper, *Hochwächter*, became prominent in politics, was minister to some South American republic, under Lincoln; Chili, I believe, in '62, '63, and '64. He was unfortunate in his second marriage and died broken-hearted toward the close of the '80s. Some think that he suicided.

Before 10 o'clock p.m., every man of us was in his place again. At about 11 o'clock the deputation appeared on the balcony of the council room, and Gustav Klier, a student of law, in behalf of the students' deputation, announced that his majesty desired till tomorrow for the consideration of the petition. The answer, "heute noch," (today [still]) came from thousands of throats. At 11:30 o'clock, some companies of the Guard of the outlying suburbs straggled in, were received with roaring cheers, and each announced that the other companies of the respective districts would be on hand sooner or later. At 12 o'clock, midnight, Gustav Klier returned to the balcony and repeated the emperor's request and received the same answer as before.

A few more companies of the National Guard arrived and with those already present, took position on the west of the Philosophy Corps. Knowing that some 20,000 troops were on forced march to Vienna from Bohemia and Galicia, we were determined to succeed in our demands without delay, and the roar, "heute noch," was incessantly kept up and at 12:15 a.m., the emperor yielded. Fiquelmont was allowed to resign and Pillersdorf commissioned to organize a new Ministry. We then returned to the University Square where we broke ranks about 1:30 a.m.

Gustav Klier, who in his clear voice had at various times during the night announced the condition of the negotiations, after the October days escaped from Vienna, came to St. Louis in 1849 and there made cigars for a living. Afterwards, in 1851, he became teacher in a ladies' seminary and studied medicine at the same time. He graduated as an M.D., in 1854, received an appointment in the city hospital of St. Louis in 1856 and perished in the Gasconade Bridge disaster on a Missouri Pacific excursion, I think, in 1860.

There was not much study after the excitement of the 15th, yet I went to my class each morning of the 16th and 17th of May.

Count Hoyos resigned and Count Mannsfeld was commissioned commander of the National Guard and the Legion.

On the morning of the 17th of May, Vienna awoke to the news that the emperor, fearful for his safety in the capital, had departed for Innsbruck in the Tyrol. Still everything was quite peaceful, only a few small riots occurred which were quelled by the Legion. I served in the ranks on the afternoon of the 17th.

Mother sent me on an errand to a lady, near the Jägerzeile, before breakfast, about 5 o'clock, Thursday, the 18th of May. Returning in about an hour I saw a large body of infantry—regiment after regiment—equipped for field service in half-company column debauching from the northern railroad depot, march towards the main city. I was satisfied something was up, so hurried home, put a piece of bread in my pocket, shouldered our absent neighbor's musket again, as in preceding days,

and put for the university. On the way I purchased at Vienna's only powder store, Stumers, six more cartridges which with the six bought on the 15th, I carried in my trousers. I was only one block from the university when the tocsin of the university church commenced to sound loud and deep. I was one of the first five to arrive. Outside of the regular guard, I was the youngest marching in the ranks of the Legion and my arrival amongst the first five caused quite a comment amongst the guard of the university. We were there informed of all the events of the early morning hours. The university building, ever since the organization of the Legion, was guarded every night by a full company, and one sentinel at each of the three gates. In the early dawn of this morning the sentinel at the south gate had heard a sound as of approaching infantry, and fearing some danger, shut the iron bar gate and shouted to his comrades at the other gates to do likewise, so when the company of grenadiers arrived, the entire guard was ready with loaded pieces behind the gates. Commandant Count Mannsfeld, at the head of the grenadiers, ordered the captain, commanding the student's guard, to disband his men and vacate the premises. A parley ensued. After it had lasted few minutes, a student, nicknamed Ducas, because he was the illegitimate son of a French duke, loaded his musket behind the bar-gate, in view of the troops, and resting his piece on a crossbar of the gate, raised and cocked it ready, and when Count Mannsfeld inquired, "What do you mean?" Ducas replied, "This first shot for you." Count Mannsfeld turned on his heel, the grenadiers retire[d] and a member of the guard climbed the stairs to the university church steeple and sounded the tocsin. By 8 o'clock the Legion was assembled in its full strength in and around the university, and troops commenced to stream in towards the city from the south railroad depot, as they had in the early morning from the north.

The troops took position on the glacis around the city walls and commenced to throw up intrenchments and to place their cannon in battery position, as for a bombardment. A laborer brought the news to the university—to the Untere B[ä]ckerstrasse where I was with the company in whose ranks I served. I exclaimed, "Cannot we build barricades?" and ran into the nearest home and got a pick, borrowed a crowbar from the janitor and set to work at once to lift one of the square granite blocks of the pavement. One of my classmates, a Hungarian, assisted me. As we lifted out the first two granite blocks, some fifty comrades with cheers fell to work. The pick was taken from me by stronger hands, I willingly surrendered it, and before 11 o'clock the barricade assumed respectable proportions, and several hundred more have been started throughout the main city.

My children, it was your father, who not yet 15 years old, had lifted the first granite paving block, to start the first barricade in Vienna.

At noon the decree abolishing the Academic Legion was promulgated but not heeded. Students and citizens of all classes seemed determined to oppose any infringement of the late won concessions.

The barricades, as soon as constructed, were manned by details of the National Guard, as an attack was expected by the large bodies of troops encamped near and around Vienna, and when, shortly after midnight, reinforcements for the Imperial troops arrived, an immediate attack was expected and the tocsin rang out from every steeple of the city and suburbs. Every National Guard drummer beat the alarm, everything was in the best order for defense. The gates of the houses were opened and two men detailed to every second floor window. All women and children were or-

dered from the streets, and when morning dawned, the Pillersdorf Ministry annulled all decrees of the two days just passed.

About noon of the 18th, the delegates of the various corps of the Legion assembled in the *Aula*, had elected Father Anton Fuster (a Catholic-priest), professor of theology of the faculty of philosophy, for commander of the Legion; and about 5 o'clock I was ordered to his quarters on duty as an orderly. Here I found several more youngsters on like detail. He gave us his verbal orders for the various barricades commanded by officers of the Legion, and assigned each orderly to a different barricade as its messenger between the barricade commander and himself. He assigned me to the barricade nearest to the house in which he lived. About 4 o'clock p.m., the delegates of the Legion and of the National Guard organized a "Committee of Safety," to consist of representatives elected by and sent from the various corps and battalions of the Legion and the National Guard. Its business, "Ne populus detrimentum capeat" (that the liberties of the people be not impaired). This committee was soon in working order, the Jew, Dr. Adolf Tischhof for its chairman. As committee of the public welfare its power was unlimited. Dr. Tischhof died in the '90's.

On the afternoon of the 19th, all military posts within the city and suburbs were surrendered to the National Guard for occupation and on the 20th the committee of safety ordered the demolishment of the barricades, and in a few days the city looked as of old. The guards at all public institutions, as the Imperial Bank; Customs house, 'Excise Station, imperial Gardens, the Burg, etc., had thenceforth to be supplied by the Legion and the National Guard. Monday, May 22, Father Fuster resigned as commander of the Legion and was elected chaplain. The Archbishop of Vienna excommunicated him after the October days, and in '49 he emigrated to the United States and taught in private schools in Baltimore and in Philadelphia. In 1870 he returned to Vienna and died there in '74, still under ban. Capt. Messenhauser, retired from the regular army, was elected commander in his place.

On account of the troublesome times, the gymnasiums changed dates of the semi-annual examinations from the first week of July to the first week of June. I passed, received my certificate (*abeunde*) to enter the university and I joined the Legion as a full fledged member with the privilege of a vote as well as to fight, which I had enjoyed heretofore.

I joined Company 5, of the battalion of the Philosophy Faculty, and became a private in its ranks Zach, captain; Fischer, first lieutenant (I have forgotten their given names). I was the youngest member of the Legion and quite petted. I shared all the duties with a will, always on hand to obey orders of the superior officers of company or battalion.

I remember a bread riot of several thousand laborers engaged on public works, clamoring for a small increase in wages, as victuals had raised in price. I happened at the *aula*, just in from 21 hours' guard duty at an excise post, when the order came for a detail of as many men as could be gathered without delay, under any commissioned officer at hand, for the quelling of the disturbance. Within a few minutes about twenty gathered. Lieut. Aigner, a young officer of the Corps of the Academy of Arts, took charge and our little handful hastened away. When close to the mob we detached bayonets and these twenty, mostly beardless youngsters, after arguing with the leaders a few minutes, induced the crowd of some 2,000 or 3,000 men to follow them to the city hall, there to lay their grievances before the city council, then in session, and

on their pledge to follow its in, we marched ahead and brought that mob to the city hall, where after a short argument, the pay of all day laborers on the public works of the city was raised 3 Kreuzers (not quite 3 cents), and the disturbance was quelled. Not much more than a boy, I was always welcomed when meeting with the popular leaders of those days. I became intimate with Oscar Falke, Hermann Moritz and Adolf Jellenek, Burchheim, eminent political writers and speakers, all members of the Legion; also with Capt. Messenhauser, the Commandant of the Legion, Robert Blum and others.

Oscar Falke escaped from Vienna after the October days and established himself at London. The younger Jellenek (Hermann) and Capt. Messenhauser were, after the October days, court-martialed, sentenced and executed (shot Nov. 23, '48) in the Brigit terrace. Adolf Jellenek became later, chief rabbi at Vienna and died Dec. 28, 1895. I also was then quite intimate with Prof. Aigner, who commanded the Corps of the students of the Academy of Arts. Aigner suicided after the October days when he found his escape from Vienna cut off. Daily intercourse with such men had its effect. We boys were all ears when with these men, eager not to miss a word of their conversation. I became imbued with hatred of spiritual and governmental tyranny. The intercourse with such men taught me devotion to humanity. We boys were fairly fanaticized with sympathy for the downtrodden of the globe. All our aspirations centered in the longing for a government in which thrones did not exist. Among my intimates of those days was Dr. Goldmark (a Hungarian Jew) member of the committee of safety, whom we met almost daily at the university, a leader and orator. He escaped to the U.S. after the October days, started a chemical laboratory and factory in New York, and hardly made ends meet until 1861, when at the breaking out of the civil war, he commenced the manufacture of percussion caps and shortly after nearly monopolized government contracts for that article. I also met, frequently, Hans Kudlich, medical student, who agitated the abolishment of the Ro[bu]th, the compulsory sixth work day for the old fief lord by the peasantry, and succeeded, for the law was repealed by one of the first acts of the Austrian Diet. He escaped to Switzerland in October and from there emigrated to the United States, where he still (1903) practices medicine in Hoboken.

One evening while on guard at the university, in a heated discussion, I defended the laboring classes of Vienna, then struggling for a slight increase of wages to ward off starvation, and also the Italians in Lombardy and Venice who, yet struggling against the infernal Austrian military despotism, engaged in a contest which we had won for the time being, but as I and my friends insisted would lose quickly after the quelling of the Italian insurrection. I thought myself insulted, during the discussion, by a class-mate, now a member of the same company and, about to attack him with fixed bayonet, was quieted by the interference of the bystanders. I challenged my opponent in the discussion, but as all around insisted on conciliation, we shook hands and drank some good wine out of one glass. An ample supply of bread and wine was always sent to the university for the guards. The Jelleneks, Falke and Bruchheim reprimanded me next day for my rash conduct, while they fully approved my sentiments and indicted several leaders in their paper, "Students Courier," foretelling a terrible retribution for having stopped half way in the conquest of right and for standing idly by while the imperial army throttled Italy; that after Italy's defeat our turn would be next.

The agricultural population of Austria and all the common people in the various

provinces, steeped in ignorance and superstition, were not ripe for a change from a despotism to free institutions.

On Pentecost Day, June 1848, Whitsunday, Prague, capital of Bohemia was bombarded and next day taken by assault. There had been quarrels and disputes between the different nationalities; but all parties had united in a demand for municipal home rule, when Windischgratz, commander of the troops in Bohemia, all at once interfered solely for the purpose of causing forceful resistance, which would furnish a pretext for a well delivered blow against the revolutionary tactics of the day, and by gaining a foothold in Prague would be better able to operate in the future against the imperial capital and Hungary.

Eight hundred students and citizens were killed in the two days' fight, June 15 and 16. Among the first killed was the wife of General Windischgratz. She was watching the battle from a third story window, when a stray bullet hit her in the forehead. Of wounded there were about two thousand.

The delegation from the Vienna Committee of Safety, sent to investigate conditions, was curtly ordered out of the town by the military authorities. A great many speeches were made in Vienna and in Budapest, but to no purpose. Many citizens and students of Prague escaped to Vienna, as Windischgratz did not care to hold any one who wished to leave. My cousins—children of my father's brother, Wolf-Rudolf, Julia and Ludwig, and my mother's cousins, Adolf, Karl, Hanna and Amelia Austerlitz, were refugees to Vienna and put up with us two weeks.

The German diet at Frankfort had elected Archduke Johann (uncle of the emperor) as *Reichsverweser* (protector of the realm). And now there were more speeches, more National Guard parades. The "Students Courier" prophesied days like Whitsunday and Monday for Vienna, but these warnings were unheeded.

On Corpus Christi Day the National Guard and the Legion took the place of the regular troops during the exercises of the day and in the procession, as all the regular army had departed. It was the custom for the clergy, headed by the archbishop, coming from the cathedral, St. Stephen's to march in procession through the kneeling ranks of troops, who then closed behind them and, with the clergy at the head, march through the city. Returning to the cathedral, again the clergy march through the kneeling ranks.

The Jewish students, with one voice, decided to do just as their comrades did, so we Jewish members of the Legion knelt with our Catholic and Protestant comrades before the Christian host. We did this also at a field mass celebrated in honor of our martyred dead, July 29, '48, by the legion Chaplain, Father Fuster. When the little bell tinkled we all knelt. Father Fuster preached a fine sermon that day that could be heard all over the field. I have met only one man whose voice could compare with Fuster's, he was Thos. H. Benton. About the middle of July I joined the "Vienna Legion" to go to Hungary and assist the Magyars in their struggle against the Ban Jellachich and his hordes of Croats, Slavonians, Wallachians, etc. We were not to depart until, at least, 1,000 or 2,000 had joined to form a full regiment.

My parents had just decided to start a grocery business in a suburb when I informed them of my desire to assist the Magyars in their war for the preservation of their liberties. Father and mother then asked me if I would not prefer to emigrate to the United States, and after a few days of discussion I consented.

All my closest and best friends, old classmates and chums agreed that the time

was near when the revolution in Vienna and Hungary would be drowned in blood, and that I should not oppose the decision of my parents.

General Windischgraetz took command of the army surrounding Vienna in October, commenced the assault and bombardment October 23 and continued it until October 30, when he gave the Hungarian army of 31,000 battle on the Marchfeld, near Vienna, and defeated the same October 31st. He took the city by storm. The losses were immense on both sides. The Odeon, a large building of a block, with various halls, used for dances and theatrical performances, was fitted for a hospital by the Legion and the National Guard, and on the 31st of October it contained 4,000 wounded of both sides. Jellachich's Croats set it on fire and it burned, with all its inmates. The Croats plundered three days in Vienna, just as Tilly's Croats in Magdeburg, when he had taken that city in the Thirty-Years War. I have this from an eye witness.

Before our departure from Vienna, the sessions of the Austrian Diet had commenced, July 28, and the emperor had returned from Innsbruck, at which time the National Guard and the Legion met him at the limits of the suburbs, and he was driven slowly to the Burg through their opened ranks, three rows of National Guards on each side. Then and there was the last time I did duty in the ranks of the Legion.

On Monday, the 6th day of September, in the morning I took leave of my closest and best Jewish chums, Ignatz Goldner, Frederick Brandees, Gustav Spitzer and Emanuel Stiasny. We wept together, embraced, and since I have never met Goldner nor Spitzer, nor do I know what became of them. I met Frederick Brandees in New York City in February and in May, 1898, when going to and returning from the legion jubilee celebration at Vienna. He died in New York May 14, 1899. I met Em. Stiasny several times at Vienna March, 1898, and have kept up correspondence with him.

I never met any of these friends of my youth, except Emanuel Stiasny, with whom I passed many hours during my ten days' stay at Vienna in March, 1848. Stiasny was drummer in the Legion, was court-martialed in December, 1848, sentenced to death, pardoned to dungeon and hard labor for life. He was incarcerated at Brünn for four years, worked at the fortification by day, was manacled to a 20-lb. ball and chain, of which he carried the scars to his grave. His father, through bribed influence, obtained for him a full pardon in 1854. He then studied civil engineering, made his mark in this occupation, retired in 1893, died on July 22, 1904, in his 72nd year. Was never married.

On the evening of the 6th of September, after a visit to my maternal grandfather's grave, my parents, my sister and I went to the Northern railroad depot, accompanied by Aunt Helene Frankl, (wife of Dr. Joseph Frankl, mother's brother,) and my cousins, Paul and Joseph Frankl. At about 7 p.m., the train moved from the depot. For miles we watched the St. Stephen's cross, gilded by the setting sun, and when it disappeared I hid my face in my hands and cried myself to sleep. We stayed two days in Prague at Uncle David's house. Uncle was absent and Aunt Fannie entertained us. We visited relations, and they visited us. From Prague we traveled towards Bremen; by stage to Eger, thence by steamer to Dresden. thence by railroad to Bremen, whence we left Sept. 23, on the bark, Rebecca, of 800 tons, for New Orleans. The vessel had 180 steerage and three cabin passengers, besides us. We occupied one on the upper deck, a small cabin with two large berths. The day before we left Bremenhaven, Uncle

David came to see us, but we were all ashore. The captain and mates did not know our names and so we missed the pleasure of seeing him. The officers of the ship—so uncle wrote us—denied having passengers by any such name as Bondi. We arrived at Balize on the 7th day of November, were taken in tow, with two other vessels, by a tug on the evening of the 8th. On the 9th the tug stopped at a plantation for wood; I went ashore and there saw, for the first time, Negroes at the sugar mill. They were late imports from Africa, men and women clad only in coffee sacks, open at both ends, slipped on and tied around the waist. We arrived in New Orleans November 10th and left it the next day at evening on the steamer, Buena Vista, for St. Louis, arriving there November 23rd.

When near Memphis, one of our fellow passengers on the steamer, trying to draw water from the river with a bucket, fell overboard and was drowned. His old neighbors on board had prayer meeting and I, under the stress of the impression, wrote a poem of some thirty lines which various parties, years afterwards, claimed were well written. My sister kept the poem with some other poetry scribbled at various times. I saw the same in her possession in 1881, but do not know what has become of them at present.

Mother rented rooms in a brick house on Third Street, between Market and Chestnut, one Schuetz, owner. Mother and sister began to teach needlework which proved rather unsuccessful. I hired with the Ruthenburg Bros., dry goods, one door south of the old theater, south of Vine Street, on Third Street, and next to the old Missouri Fire Co.'s station. The name of the senior partner was Julius Ruthenburg; I forget the first name of his brother. I stayed with them at \$8 per month from Dec. 1 to March 1. When first ordered to sweep the store I broke out in tears. A late member of the Vienna Legion to do such menial work—but I soon came to it, but never became a proficient sweeper. Julius Ruthenburg was quite clever to me, but I disliked to continue because the two brothers continually fussed. Father started to peddle, and in March, 1849, opened a store on Carondelet Avenue, about ten blocks north of the arsenal, but the venture was N.G. He sold out at cost to various parties, mostly his creditors, settled up, and we moved to rooms near the arsenal, home owned by a man named H[a]user. Mother and sister opened a private school for girls. They soon had about forty scholars, as the entire southern St. Louis had no public school. Father went peddling, and I started in with Ruthenburg and Emanuel, who had bought out Ruthenburg Bros.

Julius Ruthenburg had started on Broadway [and] Market. Rudolf Bondi, who had followed us to St. Louis, commenced to clerk for him at the time of the great fire in St. Louis which destroyed about ten million dollars worth of property and one life was lost; I think it was the 29th of May, 1849, but am not certain about the date. J. Emanuel, Ruthenburg's partner, was a Russian Jew, about 73 years old, who some forty years ago had escaped military service by running off to England and then to the United States. I worked for \$18 per month, paid \$4 per month for my six dinners per week, and walked about twenty-five blocks to my work every morning and back home nights. Some 10,000 people died of cholera from February to October, 1849. We kept well, but mother's school was broken up by the epidemic. In March my parents had agreed to let me go to California overland, and an informal agreement

was made with a party to take me along for \$60, but mother, at the last moment, withdrew consent.

In October, 1849, I started on a venture to retail an auction stock of dry goods in Quincy, Ill., with Julius Ruthenburg and Cousin Rudolph. I earned about \$90 in six weeks and when ready to return—my earnings in a money belt in five franc pieces—the belt burst and all my money was irrevocably lost. I was taught caution by this lesson and remembered it through life.

When I returned to St. Louis I found my parents living in the Schuetz brick house; mother and sister working for a shirt factory and father making cigars. I apprenticed to Arthur Olshausen, owner of *Anzeiger des Westens*, to learn the type-setting and printing trade. The foreman, one Lischen, was a scoundrel who, contrary to the arrangement made between Olshausen and my father, robbed me of the extra pay due me for work after 6, o'clock p.m.

There I proved quite useful. After two months I set from 4,000 to 5,000 ems and worked off by myself the setting of the small French, Italian and Spanish weeklies of the day.

I left the printing office in March, 1850, and for two weeks stayed with a nephew of Julius Ruthenburg, who ran a small tannery near Edwardsville, Illinois, to recruit, after the three months' night work in the printing office. (I forget the tanner's first name, but he was a Ruthenburg).

In May, 1850, I went into partnership in Vide Poche, Carondelet village, five miles north from Jefferson Barracks, in a tavern business, what is now Schirmer Street. My partner was Paul Mahé, 35 years old, native of Bordeaux, formerly orderly sergeant with the *Zepbies* in Africa for seven years.

In 1850, the Cabet communist colony of Nauvoo had disbanded and many of the ex-members drifted to St. Louis and quite a number came to Vide Poche village, which was then mostly inhabited by the descendants of the first French settlers. I then became acquainted with an old man who when a boy, had plowed corn on the site of the St. Louis court house. I heard the story of the Grand Coup, the last Indian onslaught in St. Louis, from the sons of the Canadian pioneers and from a few survivors. I was also in daily contact with the ex-Nauvoo colonists, and these people just made themselves contemptible in my eyes with their continued mouth-slobbering, upholding communism, atheism and other isms, and then bowing low when meeting a priest, of whom there were plenty in Carondelet, as the Jesuit seminary was then located there.

My partner, Mahé, taught me the principles and technicalities of gardening. We had five acres to cultivate and just as he taught me, so I garden yet by rule and line and flat cultivation.

I there became acquainted with the Carlat Bros., who kept tavern near Jefferson Barracks, four miles south from where I kept. They were named Jean Baptiste Carlat and Eugene Carlat. Both yet *live*; the former a farmer in Jackson County, Mo., and Eugene Carlat, the Kansas City undertaker, whom I still (1903) meet every time I visit Kansas City. I also learned to ride and to drive while at Vide Poche.

I quit the tavern business in May, 1851, came to St. Louis and tried to study mathematics.

My parents kept a small dry goods store and shirt factory on Second Street, near to and north of Myrtle Street, in John Eherle's brick building. I bought me a school

text book in algebra and tried hard to study by myself, intending to begin a course in some school to fit myself for a civil engineer, but I could not settle down to study. I had a good time swimming, fishing and on excursions. I joined the Society of Free Men (*Freier Männer-Verein*), where I became acquainted with Dr. Henry Börnstein editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, and Prof. Franz Schmidt, late president of the Frankfort Parliament.

ST. LOUIS POLITICS

Now about politics in the United States and St. Louis as I found them on arrival at St. Louis, and as they developed.

In the November election of 1848 the Whigs carried their national ticket and Zachary Taylor was elected president. Complete returns in those days were not possible till some time in December. The Germans in the United States were solidly aligned with the Democratic Party. Frank P. Blair, of St. Louis, had played a prominent part in pushing the Van Buren Free Soil ticket, which had hardly caused a ripple in the political sea. The pro-slavery attitude of the Democratic Party was not yet discovered in St. Louis. The two German papers made opposition to one another for patronage only. I tried to keep posted and attended all mass meetings, and all ward meetings, which were held near the center of the city and were easily come-at-able. The democratic mass meeting, held Jan. 8th, 1849, was the first political meeting which I attended in the United States. There I heard Frank P. Blair for the first time.

In 1849 commenced the contest for and against the admission of California as free territory. Clay, Webster, Calhoun and Seward were leaders in the respective debates.

In 1850 the Missouri legislature passed the since notorious Clairborn, Fox, Jackson resolutions pledging Missouri's cooperation with its southern sister states and instructing its representatives and senators in Congress to comply with these resolutions. Thomas H. Benton, "Old Bullion," opposed the resolutions with all the energy of his nature. "Solitary and alone, he set the hall in motion" to block the support of slavery extension by the Missouri democracy. He was beaten for his sixth term in the senate, the pro-slavery Whig, A. Geyer, was elected. In 1852 Benton became a candidate for representative to Congress for the 7th Missouri congressional district, in which St. Louis was situated, and was elected. In April, 1851, Luther M. Kennett, Whig, was elected mayor of St. Louis. In the riot on that election day, a few houses, owned by Germans in South St. Louis, were destroyed. The American, or Know-Nothing party, had begun to swallow the Whig party.

The ministers of various churches opposed the lately organized, so-called, "Benton Democracy," which was hostile to further slavery extension, and as all late German immigrants under the leadership of Henry Börnstein, editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, took a prominent part in the "Benton Democracy." Some ministers attacked that immigration which they claimed had to leave their country for their country's good. This antagonism of church against the men of '48 and '49 effected the organization of the *Freier Männer-Verein* by some 600 late political fugitives and

their friends which Henry Börnstein most effectively directed to influence progressive policies in city, state and nation.

We youngsters from the barricades and struggles of the revolutionary movements of Germany, Austria and Hungary, who had there been initiated into politics, were eager to grasp the opportunity which would prove our important political influence in our new home. It was not sympathy with the Negro slave, it was antipathy against the degradation of labor which made us a solid unit to back Thos. H. Benton and his campaign manager, Frank P. Blair.

We had no votes, as it required five years residence for full citizenship and only full citizenship could vote at that time, but we could argue, talk and discuss, and while some stood aghast at the cheek of the exiled youngsters, the crowds listened, were led to consider, were influenced to vote. Then and there was planted the seed of which Gen. Lyon reaped the harvest. The young exiles of '48 kept Missouri in the Union. They furnished the brains to the physical forces of German workmen. By them united St. Louis was firmly held in the grip of loyalty to the Union.

Börnstein eventually (1861) became lieutenant colonel of the Second Missouri Volunteers, then colonel and military governor of Missouri, and after the three months' service of his regiment, he was, until 1866, American Consul at Hamburg. He died in 1897 at Vienna in his 94th year.

Before 1851 the influence of the German voters in politics was nil. Occasionally a German was elected constable or justice of the peace, but few months after the organization of the *Freier Männer-Verein* the American papers began to fight the late German immigrant, to oppose his influence in politics; but they yet respected the youngsters who from the revolutionary battlefields of Europe had invaded the United States and were anxious to make themselves felt in politics.

Thomas H. Benton, in his struggle, was valiantly assisted by Frank P. Blair and Henry Börnstein and Joseph Lewis Blennerhasset, son of Hermon Blennerhasset, of Blennerhasset Island, of Burr Confederacy fame.

Whenever I could I attended these political meetings. I heard ex-Senator Benton address a meeting of some 20,000 on Washington Square. His voice was like the roaring of a lion. I attended the funeral procession in honor of Henry Clay who died July, 1852. I also heard Benton's funeral oration on Daniel Webster in November of the same year.

In the summer of 1851 the Lopez Crittenden expedition left New Orleans, 500 strong, to liberate Cuba. This undertaking was premature. If this first division of the liberating army had waited for the second division, the Spanish sway in Cuba would have ceased then and there, I enlisted in the second division which was to start two weeks after the first division. We were 35 strong. Each night we drilled in the Sturgeon Market. Alex Sturgeon paid our drill master and was to furnish our outfit—rifle, satire, bayonet, revolver. Of this division, only two survive (1903), Major Wiseman and myself. Alex Sturgeon is in his eighty-fifth year, and Major Wiseman is in the Leavenworth Soldier's Home (1903).

Every river town from St. Louis to New Orleans and from Pittsburg to Cairo was ready with its quantum for the second division, all to ship as nearly at one time as possible. Twenty-four hours before we were to take the steamer at St. Louis, the news of the defeat and annihilation of the best division reached St. Louis and the second

division disbanded. I cannot recollect the exact date, but think it was the second Sunday in September, 1851.

All the German organizations under Börnstein leadership united in a funeral demonstration in honor of Crittenden and his comrades who had fallen in battle or had been garrotted by Spanish court martial.

October, 1851, I engaged in school teaching in school district No. __, Merrimack township, St. Louis county, in a German settlement, at \$20 per month; boarded with Philipp Waldorf. Paid, with washing, \$6 a month. It was eighteen miles from St. Louis. I walked to St. Louis every Friday evening and returned Sunday p.m., riding in the Carondelet omnibus the first six miles. I had eighteen pupils in this log school house in the woods. The boys had to cut wood during recess to heat the room. As it was the first school kept for eighteen months, the children were beyond ordinary control and I quit the job, as I did not admire handling a hickory rod for six hours a day. I returned to St. Louis and about the middle of November I started from home again for Texas by deck passage on the *Grand Turk*, for which I paid \$2.50 to New Orleans. I was advised to buy a quart of whisky and give it to the first good-looking Irish deck hand who would feed me through. I did as advised and had my grub all the way for ten days in New Orleans.

I remained in New Orleans two weeks, became acquainted with a young man of my age from Boston, who boarded where I did. He was with his uncle. We visited all places of note around. I had a letter of recommendation from my father to a brother Mason, Dr. Dembitz, father of the S. N. Dembitz of Louisville, Ky. He recommended me to several houses, and if I had cared I could have had employment, but I refused several good offers of \$40 and \$45 per month. New Orleans was then the landing place of returned Californians, and I saw many leaving their ship with heavy carpet bags. I tried there to enlist for Commodore Perry's Japan Expedition, but they had just closed the recruiting office; I had reached it too late. It rained almost every day while I was in New Orleans. I paid no attention to getting wet and allowed my clothes to dry on me repeatedly, for which foolish trick I had to suffer afterwards.

I left for Galveston with the *Meteor*. Afterwards, under another name (which I have forgotten), as a gunboat in the Mississippi fleet of 1862, it assisted us in repelling the Confederate attack on Helena, Ark. July 4th, 1863. I arrived in Galveston about Dec. 10, 1851, stayed around a week and could not find a suitable job. I had only \$1.15 left, and I wanted to go to Houston. Hearing that a steamer *Brazos* was taking a lot of German emigrants there for \$1.00 per head, I went aboard in the evening, after having purchased a big bag full of wormy crackers for my supper and breakfast for 5 cents, and I slept on some sacks of grain on deck. Next morning the steamer started by 10 o'clock and the mate and clerk refused my dollar for the passage, as I did not belong to the emigrant crowd, fortunately the captain came along just then and he offered to take me free and give me my grub if I would interpret in collecting freight charges from the emigrant crowd.

The captain of the steamer *Brazos* was Thomas Henry Chubb, as Boston Yankee, afterwards Commodore in the Confederate service, and one of the most successful Confederate smugglers and blockade runners. His mate was his brother, John Chubb, also afterwards in the blockade running business. Arrived at Houston and finding no employment—the town was the muddiest town I have ever seen—I returned to the *Brazos* because Captain Chubb had promised me work in case of failure to find any in

Houston. I was installed as barkeeper. I made another trip to Houston and returned to Galveston Dec. 21. The day and evening was hot and sultry. It became still about 10 o'clock p.m., and the captain ordered the anchor out, as we were close to a bar and all signs foretold a northerner. At 11 p.m., the storm broke loose and drove the boat, dragging anchor, ashore on a sloping sandbank high and dry. The place was somewhere near Morgan's Point. Chambers County, I believe, is now the name of the region where, having been driven by the storm, we stayed six weeks, until relieved and floated off by a spring-tide. While staying wrecked on the sand bank I took part in an expedition of exploration. The country was a wilderness. We met thousands of wild cattle feeding on the prairies. We found a bayou, the mouth of which was close to the place where we were wrecked. We also found several hundred acres of cedar and oak timber. Everybody on board the steamer was discharged except the mate, (the captain's brother), myself and two Irish firemen and the engineer. The captain and the mate each had his wife come from Galveston by steamer and skiff to the boat to cook for us. We had plenty of hard bread and flour, and whenever we were out of meat we shot a young beef and preserved the hide, as instructed by Capt. Morgan's overseer. When we were floated off we took the hides to Galveston and delivered them to the agent of the ranch. The cattle, some six hundred head, and ten thousand acres of land, were for sale for \$15,000. Two dollars per head for the cattle and 25 cents per acre for the land. An old German and his hunchback son lived on the land in a cabin near the bayou to take care of the improvements of the large deserted plantation close by. These deserted plantations had costly mansions and had been deserted because the fevers had killed the families. The only drinking water was that which fell from the clouds. Every plantation had immense wooden tanks in which the rain water was caught. New Orleans, Galveston and Houston also depended upon the rain for their supply of drinking water, as the bayou waters were brackish. Capt. Chubb used what force he had to chop oak cord wood and cedar piles out of the timber lands close by and loaded them on board—none objected. He claimed to visitors that he ought to have something to reimburse him for lost time.

Through carelessness I lost my way and wandered around 21 hours in wet clothes before I regained the steamer, and the consequence was chronic diarrhea, which became worse daily. My disregard of sanitary precautions, allowing my wet clothes to dry on me, both in New Orleans and since, had undermined my system. The disease became so serious that the company gave me up. but I kept on my feet, and having some medical knowledge, I restricted myself to $\frac{1}{2}$ cracker and $\frac{1}{2}$ cup of tea three times per day, and put red pepper in my tea. With this treatment I improved so that I could skulk the boat loaded with cedar wood from the shore to the steamer through about eighteen inches of water. I kept moving and at work, and after a few days of my restricted diet, the fearful hunger which accompanies chronic diarrhea, left me, and I allowed myself two cups of beef soup with plenty of red pepper, and before we left the sand bank my condition was normal, but I continued to stint my food. About the middle of February 1852, the spring-tide set in, and all hands helped to work the boat into deep water. I coiled the slack of the capstan and when done with my work I felt that I could not get up, so severe was the pain in all my limbs. Inflammatory rheumatism had set in, and it held me bedfast for two weeks. As soon

as I could move, I took a bath in the bay every evening while the weather was warm, and improved in strength very rapidly.

The first week in March, 1852, the *Brazos* went into the Trinity River trade. It took four weeks for the round trip. I went as second clerk and barkeeper. While the *Brazos* was being fitted for the trip up Trinity River, I stayed three or four days at Capt. Chubb's home and bunked with his eldest son, Thos. Henry Chubb, Jr., later on wharfmaster at Galveston.

During my stay in Texas I gathered a great deal of information on southern life. When in Galveston the howlings of the slaves receiving their morning ration of cowhiding waked me at 4 o'clock a.m. I found the Yankees the most cruel masters. The native southerner had a full knowledge of the Negro character and treated slaves with regard to their dispositions, so different from whites. Hospitable to any white man, no matter how poor, they yet had no consideration for the poor white laborer. The sick slave received attention, the sick white laborer none. I make these statements from my personal experience and observation. Every good-looking young man from the north could have his pick of southern young ladies of first families. I was only 18 years, yet if I had been willing, several of these young ladies would have fallen in love with me. I disliked to marry a woman with slaves. Had I stayed south I would have joined the Confederate army, but while really I did not have much sympathy for the Negroes, I felt that my father's son was not to be a slave driver.

While lightering over Redfish bar on the first trip of the *Brazos* to Trinity River, the bay was black with swans, pelicans, geese and ducks, and Col. Morgan's 18-year-old son was close to our boat engaged in duck hunting in a skiff managed by a colored boy, who let one oar drop, scaring the ducks. Young Morgan, mad, his gun ready for the ducks, deliberately emptied the load into the shoulder of the colored boy. I loudly condemned such cruelty. (Of course, I put into my remarks all the vinegar of an 18 years smart aleck), when an old man, Rev. Roach, a minister of the southern M. E. church, father of our pilot, stepped up and reproved me, finishing his remarks thus: "We have no use for northern abolitionists, and only your age protects you from deserved punishment." In February 1852, three free mulatto sailors, citizens of Boston, were, according to Texas law, sold into slavery for attempting to run off three slaves by hiding them in their outgoing vessel.

The first trip of the *Brazos* was a paying venture. I saw numberless alligators, from ten to twenty feet or more. On our return trip a snag, into which we ran one morning by 8 o'clock, took our larboard guard, and it took two days to rig a false guard. We started on our second trip about the first week of April. We went each time as far as Magnolia, the landing of Palestine.

The keel boat from Dallas brought a full load of bear pelts for shipment. Here I saw *bois d'arc* (osage hedge), with trees three and four feet thick. On this trip I nearly lost my life in this manner: Capt. Chubb shipped a second engineer, gambler and spreer. The second day from Galveston he brought me a dozen decks of cards (as barkeeper, I kept and sold cards), and requested me to sell these instead of others when called for by him. I well knew that they were likely marked and refused. On the down trip he started a game of poker with some planters who had their cotton aboard, and putting in all night lost heavily, lost all his money. By morning he was wild, as he had had some twenty drinks during the game, and when he met me, pulled out a pistol, exclaiming, "I believe I just as well kill you d—s—b—." A young

Kentuckian, returning to his old home for his girl, knocked up his arm and the bullet went wild; he then pulled out his bowie knife and lunged after me. I raised my right hand to ward off, and as he reeled, the point of his knife cut into the tip of my little finger. The scar is there yet. The captain locked the fellow into a cabin, and tied him down till sober, when he begged my pardon. I refused to prosecute, which I could not have done anyway, as it all happened in a wild, sparsely settled country. On this trip I saw deer and turkeys by the hundreds in the woods bordering the river. A whole deer sold to the boat for 75 cents. Nearing Galveston, Capt. Chubb made me an offer of staying with him as overseer of a plantation and timber lot on the bay, 30 miles from Galveston. I did not refuse but said I would look over his place and see whether I could do the work.

When in the bay returning on this second trip to Trinity River, May 9th, we had to lighter twice over the bars. It took us until May 10th, o'clock p.m., to reach Galveston. The Negro crew had been up two nights. Capt. Chubb ordered the boat unloaded at once and his brother, the mate, and his cousin, watchman and second mate, by name, George Reed, to attend to the darkies getting it done by morning. The mate and watchman came and requested me to attend to the unloading. If I intended to follow boat, I had to learn anyway how to run the deck, but at the same time made me promise never to reveal to Capt. Chubb that they had left their job to me. In the goodness of my heart I assented. By 4 o'clock a.m., May 11, the crew tired, having been up three nights hand running, and some, trying to skulk, I poked them up with cord wood, when one of them, "Ike," turned on me and said, "M'assa, I didn't think dat of you." This cut me to the heart. I finished having the boat unloaded by 7 o'clock a.m. The captain came aboard at 9 a.m. I asked for my pay. He tried in vain to hold me, and at 11 a. in., I was on board the *Meteor* for New Orleans, where I arrived May 13th, at 5 o'clock a.m. I visited Dr. Dembitz, spent two days with them, and then put for St. Louis, where I arrived about May 23, having been away a few days over six months. When I arrived in St. Louis my parents and sister were highly pleased. My parents rented a room in the home where they had their business and desired nie to study for some profession. I tried hard but I could not concentrate my mind on my studies. I had taken up algebra, because if I had to choose a profession, civil engineering was my preference, and algebra and geometry were necessary studies for that profession. I tried two months but gave up. Political waves ran high—Missouri then had state elections in August. Benton ran for representative in the 7th district (St. Louis) and was elected with eight hundred plurality. Franklin Pierce ran for president against Winfield Scott. Ned Buntline, whose real name was Edward Judson, was in St. Louis, as he expressed himself, to run the American campaign against the d—d Dutch and Irish. The democrats called Gen. Scott all "Fuss and Feathers." I heard Stephen A. Douglas, the little giant, speak to thousands on the Court House Square of St. Louis, at one of the November elections.

During the summer and fall canvass I had never missed any gathering. I heard Benton, Kennett, Blair, [Ur]iel Wright, Blennerhassett, Kaiser, Kribben, Kretschma[r] and many others no longer among the living.² The hard work of the '48ers had elected Benton and his ticket in the August election of '52 in St. Louis. Dr Börnstein

and his crowd had met the expectations of his friends. This was the year of the high water in St. Louis. The Mississippi came up to Commercial St.

In November of '52, I went to work for Brooks, a clothier, on the Levee, at \$20 for the first month, \$25 the second month and after. I stayed with Brooks for six months, and then had \$30. The firm then became Brooks & Keiler, and I remained with them until April, 1854. The senior clerk was a Pol[e], Hendricks, about 60 years old. He was brother-in-law of Udall Levi, commodore of the U.S. navy, a good clerk but too fond of poker for his good. There was also another clerk, Kohn, nicknamed "Schnapschec[k]e." I got along fine with Brooks' young brother-in-law, Wolf Keller, about my age, for whom I wrote love letters to a girl in New York, whose mother at one time had expressed to my mother a wish that I might become her son-in-law. Mrs. Harris died with cholera in 1849. In March, 1853, my parents closed up their business and removed to Louisville, Ky. Here in 1853, my cousin, Emanuel Bondi, proposed to my sister and was accepted. Neither mother nor I liked the match, but would not oppose. My sister had refused marriage into one of the richest and oldest Portuguese families in Kentucky. They were married in March, 1854. I had left Brooks & Keiler the same month and had gone to work for my brother-in-law's old bosses, Lugarmann & Ettman, wholesale hats and caps. My brother-in-law established himself in the clothing business in Lexington, Mo., but for lack of business left in the fall and opened on Market Street, opposite Xaup[i]'s Concert Hall.³

August, '54, Benton was beaten for re-election. The three candidates were Thos. H. Benton, Free State or Benton Democrat; Lewis V. Bog[y] National Democrat; Luther M. Kennett, Whig and native American. Kennett was elected, and there followed a great riot in St. Louis, many killed and wounded. Capt. Almsted, with his battery, saved South St. Louis, mostly German, from invasion of the native American rioters, as his battery was drawn up at the junction of South 2nd and 5th Streets. The Benton Democratic Party in St. Louis County was badly used up. They had started in on the new deal of primary nomination, afterwards in Kansas called Crainford Co. system. I have since experienced repeated trials of the system, but have never known any party to be benefi[t]ed by it. During this canvass I was, of course, on Washington Square, where Thos. H. Benton made one of his characteristic addresses to about 20,000. When leaving the square I happened in a crowd which by chance hustled against a man who turned out to be Lewis V. Bog[y], Benton's opponent. Bog[y] was so excited, believing that the crowding on him was a premeditated insult, that he was about to draw his pistol, when some of his friends pulled him out.

July, of '54, was an eventful month for me. On the 21st I became of age. The same week a special friend, Isaac Fuchs, senior partner of Fuchs & Benjamin, died of cholera. I had faithfully nursed him during his brief illness, and a few days after his death I had a sunstroke; for 24 hours I lay alone in the upper story of Lugarmann & Ettman's wholesale establishment. Dr. Hartmann, long ago deceased, treated my friend and myself. My recovery was very slow.

During the winter of '53 and '54 my cousin Emanuel, Isaac Fox, Jacob, Benjamin and I organized as a whist club, met every night to 10 o'clock p m. After Emanuel's marriage and removal to Lexington, the three left, with now this, now that friend, kept on playing whist occasionally. After Fox's death I ceased playing altogether and for forty years did not even handle a card.

September, of '54, my brother-in-law moved to St. Louis and I It is L. & E. and

went clerking for Jacob Benjamin, former partner of my dead friend, Fuchs, at \$40 per month, boarding with my sister, and I remained with Benjamin until some time in February, 1855.

Benjamin and I had bought 4-in. Colts and practiced considerably at target. Once in May, '54, I came near hitting him at target practice. The pistol would not revolve, and he and I looked into the cylinder while on pistol. Inadvertently I pulled the trigger and the bullet passed between our hats. In November, '51, Benjamin was fooling with his pistol in the house and the bullet passed by me into a window frame. During the years '53 and '54, I rid myself of the last remnants of rheumatism by taking cold water baths morning and evening.

In March, 1855, I left Benjamin and made up my mind to become more useful to humanity than by mere counter hopping. To use President Roosevelt's mode of expression, I was most anxious for a strenuous life. I was tired of the humdrum life of a clerk. Any struggle, any hard work would be welcome to me. I thirsted for it, for adventure, and the next ten years gave me enough of the life I then hankered for. Preparatory to undertaking any new enterprise, I visited my parents in Louisville and stayed with them a few days. I found them comfortably situated. My dear father worked in a furniture factory at \$7 per week. He had had the job for some years. My dear mother worked for a clothing store and earned from \$3 to \$5 per week. They had saved some money and were still laying up some every week. If I had found any occupation there, I would have remained. I was loth to leave them after a week. I met my father's boss, as a partner in a furniture factory in 1857 in Kansas, he had settled at Garnett, Anderson County, and visited us on my father's claim. He praised father's industry and punctuality, told me also that nothing could prevent father from voting the democratic ticket. The election riot of '54 was expected, but father voted early, before going to work, to be sure that his democratic vote was in.

Returning to St. Louis about the middle of March, I happened on a Greeley leader in the *New York Tribune*, appealing to the freedom loving men of the states to rush to Kansas and save it from the curse of slavery to be fastened on it by the "squatter sovereignty" principle contained in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The same day I purchased a pair of saddle bags (which I kept in use even in the U.S. service and up to my discharge from the U.S. army. At my removal from Salina to the farm, 1868, they were lost), and March 26th I was on the steamer, *Polar Star*, on my way to Kansas City. I met Dr. Rufus Gilpatrick on board. After a most tedious trip (the passengers were landed several times to lighten the boat over bars and then had to walk from 5 to 10 miles), April 2nd I landed at Kansas City, then Kansas Landing. I left my saddle bags at the warehouse of Riddlesberger & Co., and, light with only my 4-in. Colts, struck out for the Territory of Kansas. My companion and chum was Stephen Withington, from Lancaster, Mass. He was about my age, his only baggage, a rifle and a single blanket. We two took supper at the Harris house at Westport, and the same evening, April 2nd, 1855, crossed the line and had arrived in Kansas. We slept and breakfasted at the Quaker Shawnee mission and then marched on to Lawrence, 35 miles from the Mission. By noon our feet were very sore, and night found us hungry and exhausted, and yet 10 miles from Lawrence. We ran upon a camp of teamsters, who fed us at 50 cents apiece for supper and breakfast, and we slept on the single blanket at the campfire. After a most frugal meal of bacon and corn meal cakes, we toddled on, and arrived at Lawrence by noon of April 4th. That night we

camped in the sod church, took our meals at the New England Emigrant Association Hotel at 25 cents per meal which, considering the prevailing prices of provisions, was very reasonable. My chum, Withington, was a member of the secret Know-nothing organization, and some typos of the lately established *Herald of Freedom* made some impertinent remarks to him on his association with sauerkraut—he laughed it off. I remarked to him that in the slavery issue was embodied the death warrant of the Native American party. Next morning before starting on our scout to look over the country, we concluded that we ought to buy a half pint of whisky. The store would not sell me any, but sold one-half pint of what they called belly-ague medicine to Withington for 50 cents. Walking out of Lawrence, we traveled about a mile with a man named Emory, afterwards Judge Emory.

The evening of the 5th of April we reached the claim-shanty of the Archibald family and there I became acquainted with Julia Archibald, afterwards Mrs. James Holmes, the first white woman that climbed Pike's Peak in May, 1858. The settlers we found in Wakarusa Valley were mostly from the New England states and Ohio, a few from Illinois. The Archibalds were blue-noses from Nova Scotia.

At the late March election mobs of some 2,500 or more armed men from Missouri (border ruffians) had overrun the settled parts of the Territory and had driven the settlers from the polls and had elected, what we afterwards called the First Bogus Legislature of the Territory of Kansas and had then retired to Missouri to their homes.

The Free State settlers were determined to conquer by outstaying the border ruffians. They said, "They have managed to outvote us but we will outstay them."

We squatted three miles from Archibald's, on a creek, tributary of the Wakarusa River and packed a few provisions and tools from Lawrence (10 miles).

We worked some time building a shanty, but were without team and provisions so scarce that, at one time, we had to wait two days in Lawrence before we could purchase a few pounds of flour. My chum became very tired of the country, and I concluded that, under the circumstances, I might as well leave, too, for St. Louis, and then return with my old boss, Jacob Benjamin, and settle in Southeast Kansas, which was claimed to be a finer country than the region around Lawrence. We sold our shanty and tools and struck out for the Missouri River.

CHAPTER III

THE JOURNEY TO SOUTHEASTERN KANSAS

The greatest drought within memory yet, prevailed in Kansas (1855). It had neither rained nor snowed in Missouri and Kansas since August, of '53. The creeks were dry, and rivers, such as the Wakarusa, barely a ripple. The prairies all cracked and no signs of new grass. Corn in Jackson County, \$1.00 a bushel; flour, \$6 and \$7, even up to \$10 a sack in Lawrence occasionally. This drought had extended over all the western country to the Alleghenies, and lasted to the end of May 1855.

Withington remained in Kansas City hunting for work. I arrived in St. Louis toward the end of April. Benjamin and I each bought a riding horse, accoutrements

and equipments and early in May we left St. Louis by the St. Charles state road for Southeastern Kansas, for the Pottawattomie country.

We crossed the Missouri River at St. Charles and again at Rocheport, where we sold our double-barrel shotgun; it was so cumbersome to carry, but we regretted having done so in after days. Unused to the saddle, we were quite stiff after the second day's ride, but soon overcame that difficulty and made from 25 to 40 and 45 miles per day to reach certain points for supper and bed. On account of the great drought of '54, which had not yet been broken, water and feed were scarce, and we soon learned to water out horses at any creek we came to before noon or after 4 o'clock p.m., as at none of the houses was there more water than was needed for household purposes. At many places taverns sent their stock three miles to water. Oats and corn were \$1.00 per bushel; potatoes were from \$3 to \$4 per bushel, and were sold at the drug stores. I claimed to have just come from Texas and Benjamin lately arrived from Germany. All the farmers had more or fewer slaves and were very suspicious of "Yankee Negro thieves." We could deceive the owners, but not the chatt[el]. Every Negro hostler talked Free State to us.⁴

The slaveholders were in great glee over the pro-slavery victory at the polls in the Territorial election in March. When nearing the border beyond Lexington, we met various crowds returning from Kansas. Some 10 or 15 miles beyond Lexington, at the place where we stopped for dinner, a cavalcade of about 30 rode in just from the Territory; from them we had a fine account of their expedition to Kansas and of their doings there lately. A young man from Jackson County, Mo., had taken a claim on the Marais des Cygnes late in the fall of '54, had laid four poles for the foundation of a squatter-shanty, had barked a few trees and then returned home. In the spring of '55 a man from Vermont, Baker by name, had taken the claim in good faith, built a log house in which he lived with his wife and four children. The border-ruffian crowd, who at the March election, had invaded the precinct, found him living on the land and preparing to break some prairie. They gave him warning to leave, but Baker stayed. In May, '55, the notorious Capt. Reid, with his gang of fifty border ruffians, scouting in the neighborhood mainly for the purpose of stealing stock, and "for fun" came down on Baker, broke up his little furniture, tied him to a tree and gave him a whipping, then warned him again to leave.⁵ The gang that was chief in this outrage was met by us at the time and place stated above. I may as well add that I afterwards became acquainted with Baker, who had stayed, and in 1859 had built a large two-story frame house of native lumber in Stanton, Miami County, and lived with his family in the lower story. The upper story was used a few times for a Masonic Hall by Stanton. Lodge, No. 3, A. F. & A. M. I think Baker was W. M. In April, 1860, cyclone, the first on record in Kansas, destroyed the home. Just wiped it from the earth during the night and Baker and his entire family were killed. The storm was not felt much beyond the confines of the little village. No rain followed the wind. When the settlers arose in the morning following the storm, they saw no house on the Stanton hill, and on investigation found the house scattered and the family dead in the ruins. I think Ottawa Lodge, A. F. & A. M., afterwards took the number of the destroyed Stanton Lodge. Capt. Reid became quite notorious in the border-ruffian war. He afterwards commanded the pro-slavery forces in several raids in Kansas. (More of this later).

We stopped about six miles from Independence with an old farmer, Napoleon

Franklin, for six days to recruit our horses before going into the Territory. He owned a thousand acres and 20 slaves, had 2,000 bushels of corn of the '53 crop, which he sold at the crib for \$1.00 a bushel. It had taken us six days to come from St. Louis to the Franklin farm.

May 20th, having bought an outfit of axes, handles, a few cooking vessels and some provisions at Independence, then headquarters for the Santa Fe trade, we struck for the Territory by the road to New Santa Fe. Ten miles from Independence we made our first camp, cooked our food with corn chips, and the following day at 2 p.m., reached New Santa Fe. Suddenly the sky clouded over, and for shelter from the approaching storm we stopped with a German who kept the only grocery store in the village. From 4 o'clock until midnight the rain fell in sheets. The first since Aug., of '53. All night through the Negroes kept us awake with their noisy barter of eggs, butter, corn, etc., for whisky. After dinner we crossed the line into the Territory, traveling about nine miles before we came upon a spot where some Missouri teamsters were camped. They had hauled provisions to some Indian agency and were returning. One of them halted us and bantered us for a trade of our horses and saddles for his wagon and two yoke of cattle. We slept at the camp and in the morning made the trade, so there we were on the prairie with a big wagon, one large wheel-yoke, one yoke of smaller leaders, ten days' provisions and a lot of most necessary tools and cooking utensils. Rather following than driving our team, 'we journeyed towards Marais des Cygnes where, we had been told, good bottom claims with timber were yet to be had in plenty. For noon we camped at Little Wolf Creek, where some teamsters assisted us to unhitch, so our cattle could drink and feed. In the afternoon we reached the Marias des Cygnes bottom and found three immigrant families from Illinois and one from Missouri camped. There I saw, tied up to the hind end of the Missourian's wagon, the first wooden mould-board plow I had ever run across. We did not dare unyoke the cattle, as we were not yet posted how to yoke them, so let them feed with the yoke on. The next morning the oldest of the Illinois party showed us how it was done.

Towards evening of the day we reached the camp on the Marais des Cygnes bottom, we were visited by an old man of 70 years, who gave his name as Dr. Eberhard[t], from Würt[t]temberg. He had been in the United States about 25 years. He claimed to have participated in the Napoleonic invasion of Russia, 1812 as surgeon in the Würt[t]temberg Auxiliaries. He told us he had immigrated from Indiana in the fall of '51, had a good claim on the Marais des Cygnes close by, but had no team, his horses having died the previous winter. He wished to show its some claims and, should we settle, help us to put up a shanty; we, in turn, to help him with our team to break 10 acres. His family consisted of a wife, who was sick in bed, two unmarried daughters and one son. One married daughter and a son-in-law, settled close by, had also lost their horses.

Dr. Eberhard[t] came around next morning, May 24, '55, and we went with him, accompanied by our friendly Illinois, and leaving our team, etc., in charge of the other Illinois men.

It had not yet rained in these parts. The Marais des Cygnes River was low and the branches dry. Dr. Eberhard[t] took us across the river to the Mosquito Branch and to its forks at the head, about 4 miles west from Dutch Henry's Pottawattomie crossing, the present site of "Lane," where the old California trail from the south

crossed the Branch. We found some good bunches of good timber and a nice Branch bottom. It was not sufficiently timbered to suit our Illinois friend and he concluded to go farther to the Neosho; but Benjamin and I decided to settle there, so returned to the camp. The next morning, May 25th, with Dr. Eberhard[t] as guide, we drove to our new home-to-be. Benjamin took the claim south of the trail and I the one north of it, stepping off for each 1000 steps square. That same evening we began to cut logs for Benjamin's cabin. I dragged them next day and on the third day of our squatting Benjamin's cabin was raised and a foundation laid for mine. As far as I can remember, it was about the 24th of May, 1855, that Benjamin and Dr. Eberhard[t] left to make some clapboards to cover our cabins, as we had no board timber on our claims. As soon as the boards were ready, Benjamin was to return for the team. He had not taken it with him, as the care of it would take up his time, and they were to work early and late to get ready 800 white oak clap boards in two days, (that is, to cut the tree, saw it in lengths and rine the boards).

CHAPTER IV

ROUGHING IT

The provisions left with me were a few pounds of unbolted cornmeal, two pounds of rice and a few bacon rinds; every other bit of our provisions had been eaten. As soon as Benjamin and the Dr. [Eberhard[t]] had left, I wrote a letter to St. Louis, and after yoking and chaining the oxen to the wagon, that I might be sure of their safety, I set out for Dutch Henry's Pottawattommie Crossing, where Dr. E[berhard] had told me teams passed on their way to Kansas City for supplies. It was about 4 miles from our claims on the Fort Scott and Leavenworth, or California trail. A brisk walk of an hour brought me to Dutch Henry's. I found him at home, gave him my letter, which he put into his cigar box with others. From him I learned that the nearest post offices were Westport, Independence and Macabee in Cass County, Missouri, and that most teams passing stopped at his house for letters to the Missouri offices.

I left many letters in Dutch Henry's cigar box and not one was ever lost. I gave him our names that the teamsters might inquire for letters at Kansas City, and we received our mail quite regularly in that way until the Osawotamie post office was established at Osawotamie, about eight miles from our claims, then we got our letters regularly from that office. Dutch Henry, (his real name was Henry Sherman, as given by him; it was probably Schürmann), with his two brothers, William and Jacob, or James, lived on what had been a large farm, and Agents' Headquarters of the Pottawattommies before it was moved to St. Mary's, in what is now Pottawattomie County. The Indians surrendering their lands on Pottawattomie Creek for their diminished reserve around St. Mary's. Dutch Henry had come from Northern Germany about 30 years ago, and had worked for the Indians.⁶ When they left, he squatted in the buildings and he and his brothers had started raising and stealing cattle. The place was on the California trail from the Indian Territory by Fort Scott, where thousands and thousands were driven annually to California. By night the Shermans would drive away more or less stock from each herd, hide them, brand them and then mix them with their own, after the herds had passed. They sold cattle to goat beef contractors and goat freighters. When the Sacs [Sauks] and Foxes wintered on the

creek they traded to them beef for ponies. I found only Henry at home, his brothers had gone 10 miles up the creek after some cattle that had strayed. He asked me about my politics. I told him I was Free State. He began to curse the "abolishtenists," as he called them, and freely expressed his pro-slavery sympathies, and hostility against the carpet-bag immigrants from the north, and assured me that Kansas would be a slave state, "by fair means, if we can; by foul means, if we must." Returning, I saw a man plowing north of the road. I went over to see him. It was Wilk[i]nson, late from Tennessee, who had squatted on an old Indian farm which had some six acres of an old field. He acknowledged himself pro-slavery. He was a member of the bogus legislature.⁷ Later, on my way home, I met the Rucker family, with some friends, from Cole County, Missouri, coming in. They had a bunch of cattle with them. They all settled on North Pottawattomie, somewhere near the present Westphalia. Their descendants are today the richest people of Anderson County, Kansas.

Arrived at the claim, I turned the oxen out to graze and went to work to cook my first lonely dinner. I mixed a dough of unbolted meal and baked it in the ashes. The pone was of good size, on which account I was in luck. Benjamin and I had experienced, as yet, no wet weather, except that heavy local shower at New Santa Fe, but on the evening of this day, the 29th of May, '55, the sky clouded up. Before dark, I yoked the cattle and chained them to the wagon. About 2 o'clock a.m., the gates of heaven opened and it began to pour. I put the meal and rice under the driest place in the wagon. By morning the Branch was a river and still it poured. I turned the cattle loose to graze and herded them, that they might not stray. I was drenched to the skin, (we had no waterproofs) still I must watch the oxen, so I crept under the wagon and there ate my breakfast (a piece of my pone). At noon I chained the cattle to the wagon, then undressed and wrapped myself in the blankets to take a little rest. About 2 or 3 o'clock, we had no watch, the rain quit and the sun came out. I hung my clothes out to dry and dressed in my underwear, made a fire and put on a little rice to cook. It must have been about 7 p.m., of the 29th of May, '55 ; I had just driven the oxen closer to camp and made ready to eat my supper of rice, when a man rode up and said that he lived five miles southeast of Dutch Henry's Crossing, had stayed at Stanton during the rain and hurried across the river before it should rise too high to ford, and was now in a hurry to get across Pottawattomie, yet curiosity to know what new neighbors he had, had induced him to come to my camp, which was hardly 50 rods from the big trail. He introduced himself as Mr. Barnabee, a minister of the M. E. church, south. He stayed about five minutes, inquired my politics and I of his. He would be thought neutral, as all pro-slavery men would to a free state inquirer, unless they intended to scare a new settler. Refusing my invitation to a cup of rice, he rode away, after informing me that the claims we had taken belonged to some Missouri young friends of his. We were informed later that he rode from one pro-slavery settler to another, a few days afterwards, and tried to incite them to drive the two Dutch abolitionists out of the county. This Rev. Barnabee was in February, 1856, appointed postmaster (I forget the name of the office). He left in the fall of the year, and judge Hannedy squatted on his claim and lived there up to his death. As the sun went down, it began to rain again, and rained unremittingly in sheets until about 4 p.m. next day. My hardest job was to keep the oxen close. The weather was warm, so I took no cold, although I was in wet clothes all the time. I had no food, but a little rice and my cornmeal pone, of which I could eat only so much as I must to

still hunger. With the evening the storm set in again. I felt quite lonesome and passed my time chewing bacon rind.

The rain that night, from May 30 to 31, was as heavy as any before. It ceased about 8 o'clock a.m., of the 31st.

The Mosquito Branch was a river and had come within three rods of my camp. I went into the timber for some dry wood and made up a big fire to dry my clothes. When the sun came out I fixed a frame on which to dry my bed-clothes, which had become quite damp. Desperately anxious for a change from unbolted cornmeal pone, I went out to see whether I could find anything, and saw a drowned rabbit. I fished it out, but it was too far gone, so I threw it back. I felt so lonesome; nothing to read, nothing to do, but to lug fire wood to keep up a big fire.

While exploring for dry wood I ran across the squatter foundation of which the Rev. Barnabee had spoken. I also found the frame work of two Indian wick[iu]ps made of pawpaw and hickory poles, where Indians had camped the preceding winter.

June 1, Benjamin and Eberhard[t] returned, took one yoke of oxen to haul the boards, returned late that evening and next morning began to roof the shanties. Benjamin had brought some bacon home, but as breadstuff was low, I went to Stanton, five miles the other side of the river, and bought half a bushel (25 lbs.) of meal and packed it to camp. The river was quite high. I stripped going and coming, and in the deep places held my clothes and the meal on my head. I used the compass to make a bee-line trail. In climbing up the bank of a ravine I had to cross, I took hold of what looked like a branch; it turned out to be a timber rattler digesting his meal. I let it be, when the clammy touch revealed its nature.

Dr. Eberhard[t] had brought his boy, Philip, along to help hurry up the roofing of the cabins.

As we were out of provisions, Dr. Eberhard[t] and I made up our minds to go to Independence to lay in a supply, taking with us one yoke (the wheelers) and Dr. Eberhard[t]'s lighter wagon; Benjamin to stay at Eberhard[t]'s and work at breaking with the other yoke, and a yoke of some of the neighbors, to get some brush land ready for a crop, and to haul out fencing and set it up, while Dr. E. and I should be gone—allowing eight days for our trip to Independence and return. Next came the money question. I had written for some money to be sent to Independence, but if our St. Louis people should have failed to remit, it was agreed that I should trade my 4-in. Colt for something to eat. Dr. E[berhard] and I started on our trip early in the morning of June 4th; my first trip of any length as bushwhacker. We reached Independence early on the morning of the 7th, found no letters, so traded my pistol for \$12 worth of provisions—100 lbs. meal, 50 lbs. flour, two sides of bacon (35 lbs. each), and a few minor articles. Late that evening we camped at New Santa Fe. I cared for the oxen and cooked supper—corn cakes and fried bacon. The Dr. [Eberhart] had bought some booze at 50 cents a gallon, and was dead drunk in the wagon. Having lived on dry pone so long, the fried bacon tasted fine, and I had a big supper, for I was hungry, having eaten nothing all day. I had been unwilling to spend any of my, little change left for a meal, and as the cattle had had nothing to eat since the evening before, I hurried on to the prairie, picking up dry wood as I went along to cook our supper and breakfast. Next day we camped for dinner at Little Wolf. Dr. E[berhard] having emptied his bottle, was still tipsy. While grazing the oxen, I ran across some wild onions, and for the first time used some to fry with my bacon. We

came to Eberhard[t]'s place June 10th. His wife was worse. Next morning I started with Philip to take our provisions home. I put the meal and flour on our clapboard bunk and hung the meat in the center log. (We had given Dr. Eberhard[t] one-half side). Half way home Philip shot a young fawn, weighing about 25 lbs. The same evening, June 11, Philip returned with me to our camp. The intention was to cut and split some posts and rails for a pen to hold the oxen in at nights. On the morning of the 12th early, after fixing things to rights in the cabin and eating our breakfast of pone and bacon, we started for the timber, cut a walnut tree, over three feet in diameter, and sometime in the afternoon had it worked up into 8-ft. lengths, the trunk as well as the largest branches, and about 4 o'clock p.m., we started to split the butt log. It was quite twisted. Of course, I was altogether new to the business and Philip only a common sized boy of 15 years. Long shadows were thrown by the trees already. It was full supper time but I was determined to open the log before supper. The boy was quite restless; he was hungry, so was I, but I remarked that the log was nearly open and I desired to conquer it before supper. I rolled the log over and said, "See here, Philip, the log is in two, all it needs is cutting the splinters; I will tear the bark off and show you." I peeled the log, shaving the bark off with my right hand. While I did this, Philip stubbornly hacked with his ax on the end of the log. The axes were well ground, like razors. His ax slipped on the sap and nipped off the first joint of my index finger and half the first joint of my middle finger on the right hand, which was under the bark, separating it from the log. The ax was so sharp that I felt no pain, but just a stinging sensation, and when I withdrew my hand from under the bark, said, "I believe you have cut my hand." I put my fingers into my mouth to lick off the blood and saw that the tips were missing. I tied up my hand and we hurried to the Eberhard[t]'s, where I washed my hands and the doctor put some raw petroleum on my fingers, which he had brought from Indiana. I found one of my finger tips weeks afterwards five feet from the log. Benjamin was at Eberhard[t]'s. We stayed there until the patch (some ten acres) was broken. Meantime I assisted some of the neighbors to survey and measure claims. My fingers healed fine; only three or four nights I waked up with a most painful sensation. It seemed as if the tips were cramped. Such feelings are peculiar to amputations.

We received a letter from St. Louis informing us that the brother of Benjamin's old partner, Michael Fox, and his chum, Arndt Klein, had arrived from Europe and had been sent to Independence, by the Missouri River, with one hundred dollars for us. We immediately started for Independence, where we found the boys. I purchased a supply of *callodeen* for my sore finger ends, applied it freely, and succeeded in a short time to use my hand well, and was elected cook for the season. Benjamin bought a prairie breaking plow, and we located claims along the Mosquito Branch for the new arrivals. We built a pen for the oxen and started to break the land. Benjamin left us about the first week in July in the weighting-teams from Stanton to attend to some business in St. Louis, intending to return in a few days. A few days after he left, our leader cattle strayed. We hunted for them faithfully, offering five acres breaking for information of them. At last, after they had been gone two weeks, one White, three miles from us on the prairie—afterwards the Hastings' place—gave us the desired information and we found them eight miles from our claims, in the Pottawattomie bottom, near Osawatomie.

While Benjamin was gone, we became acquainted with the Brown family—the

family of John Brown—afterwards Osawatomic Brown. One afternoon some thirty head of Devon cattle came into our bottom, grazing, and half an hour later came two men to drive them home. The two men were Jason and Owen Brown. They stopped about half an hour with us and told us they were Free State men. I told them we might need some help, as I feared the pro-slavery settlers would sooner or later attempt to drive the Dutch abolitionists from the Branch. They cheered us and said any time you let us know, we will come to your assistance. We are four brothers, all well armed.

The Brown's Devon herd frequently strayed into our claims which caused us many visits from the brothers. The father, old man Brown, any one of the younger boys, Oliver, and their brother-in-law, Henry Thompson, had not yet come to Kansas.

About the middle of July Dr. Eberhard[t]'s wife died, and some two weeks after, the Dr. claimed sickness and asked a visiting neighbor, Kincade, to get him a pint of whiskey. It was brought to him, he drank half of it and expired. His eldest single daughter married a young man, Standifer, in August. In the summer of 1856 the whole Eberhard[t] family (including the family of Dr. Buffington, who had married the eldest Eberhard[t] girl in Indiana) moved to Nebraska.

This Dr. Buffington was a case, claiming to be a graduate and barely able to write his name or to read the newspaper.

About August 1st, Benjamin returned from St. Louis, bringing with him a good two-horse wooden axle wagon, a good yoke of 5-year-old oxen, a double-barrel shotgun and abundance of provisions and tools, also a hired man to assist in putting up a good lot of hay. Including myself, there were now at the claims five men. I was continued as cook, Benjamin to keep the breaking plow going and the hired m[e]n, Klein and Fox, to keep at haying, to mow, rake and put up large cocks and whenever about twenty tons were ready to stack it. Benjamin was then to haul it with the team and big wagon. Everyone of us performed his share of the work faithfully. Benjamin wished all preparations for winter made before leaving again, as he intended to return to St. Louis in September. After breaking twenty acres and putting up 75 tons of hay, he left for St. Louis to perfect the arrangements for opening a store on his claim. Theodore W[ie]ner⁸ and his brother, Herman W[ie]ner, to furnish most of the funds and Jacob Benjamin and I to have shares in the venture; my brother-in-law to assist me with funds, and Fox and Klein to work for wages. Benjamin would send out from St. Louis another young man named Ash. Our capital, starting, was to be \$5,000, with \$5,000 more to be ready for investment should the venture prove profitable. The business was to be general merchandise, stock buying and selling to be one of its features. The intention was to found one of the largest business houses in that part of the Territory. We were sure, from what we knew of the stocks kept and the profits made by other merchants, that our venture would be a success, and no one need be astonished if we planned to employ six men: Theodore W[ie]ner, Jacob Benjamin, Fox, Klein, Ash and myself. Benjamin and I to tend to sales with Fox as helper; W[ie]ner to attend to purchases in St. Louis and Kansas City; Klein and Ash to team; Hermann W[ie]ner to remain in St. Louis with his clothing business, northwest corner of Market and Main Streets.

As Benjamin was ready to leave I became very sick with intermittent fever. He went to Stanton for a physician, who treated me with bluemass and quinine and

soon broke the fever, but I was still very weak. This doctor, whose name I now forget, drank himself to death, in the fall of that year. The Brown boys visited me repeatedly while I was sick and brought me sweet milk and buttermilk, and our intercourse with them became more and more intimate.⁹

When Benjamin left for St. Louis, the hired man went south to the Neosho, so we three, Fox, Klein and myself, were left alone. Although I was weak I continued the cooking and the other two boys hauled in a great quantity of dry wood for winter and cut some logs for an addition to the cabin to be used as a warehouse. About that time the man, White, who had given us information about our strayed oxen, came over and said he was ready for the five acres of breaking. Fox went along to do it, taking with him the three yoke of oxen. While he was away, young Ash came from St. Louis. He had come by boat to Kansas City, then to Osawatomie by stage and had walked from there. I received a lot of quinine pills and some aloes for a cathartic from my brother-in-law. I had an attack of intermittent [fever], but broke it up with the medicine just received. Still, I was so weak I could hardly crawl, and discouraged, selected a place on the hill behind my shanty for a grave; but the quinine strengthened me and I soon gained rapidly. We spent our time chinking and daubing the cabin, digging a spring, and raising the warehouse, when Klein fell sick with intermittent fever. He was sick for several days, refused food and medicine, and commenced to worry me. One evening when the fever had left him weak. I ordered Fox and Ash to hold him down; I pressed his jaws open and fed him medicine, as to a horse. I gave him three doses of quinine (9 grains), which broke the fever, and he gained rapidly afterwards.

I received a letter from Benjamin about the middle of October, saying he was sick and Theo. W[i]e]ner would start with \$3,000 worth of goods as soon as ready and that my brother-in-law had invested \$1,000 or more in the venture.

FIRST MEETING WITH JOHN BROWN SR.

The bogus Kansas legislature had arranged for an election of a territorial legislature, the election to take place in October, of '55. The Free State men had convened in Lawrence and agreed on a call for a Constitutional Convention to meet in Topeka July 4th, 1856. Election of delegates to the same to be held the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November at usual voting places, and enjoined on the free state people not to participate in the election for Territorial Legislature, but hold themselves all aloof as the invasion from Missouri would be overwhelming.

The Border Ruffians came in by the thousands, as they had done in March of that year, and of course carried every precinct. The Free State people did not offer to vote; it would have been useless. On the first Tuesday after the first Monday, 1855, the Free State people had their election for delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Our claims were that we resided in Franklin County. Franklin and Anderson Counties were in one delegate district and John Brown, Jr., who had resided on his claim in Franklin County, on the Vine Branch of Middle Creek, was the candidate. The polling place was at the house of a Free State settler, John Grant, a little distance north of Dutch Henry's, some four and one-half miles from our claims.

On the morning of the election we hitched up the wheelers and Fox. Klein, Ash and myself started for the polling place. As we neared Dutch Henry's Crossing, a two-

horse team caught up with us and to it, seated on hay, were the Brown boys, John Jr., Owen, Fred, Jason, Oliver, Solomon and Henry Thompson, their brother-in-law, and in their midst an older man of about 50 years, whom Jason at once introduced to us as his father, John Brown, from Akron, Ohio.

John Brown, Sr. wore the same plush cap that exists now in the collection of the Kansas Historical Society, a cavalry sabre belted on and a very large revolver, something at that time quite new, Chicope Falls manufacture. We shook hands, and he said he had come to Kansas to do what he could to help organize the Free State people for successful resistance. We voted, had quite a chat with the men at the polls and then returned home.

Not yet recovered from my illness and unable to do more than the little cooking, I became anxious to go to St. Louis to recuperate. Having only a few dollars, the boys agreed that I should take \$4, enough to pay a night's lodging and stage fare from Osawatomie to Kansas City, and the shotgun which I might pawn for fare from Kansas City to St. Louis. I arrived at St. Louis about the 20th of November, 1855. Theo. Wiener was gone and Benjamin was recovering from his fever. My brother-in-law let me have the money to redeem the gun which I then gave to Benjamin to take to Kansas. I was taken with remittent fever and was down with it more or less all winter until April, when it disappeared. The winter was very cold, the Mississippi was frozen two feet thick. The ice bridge held for two weeks. My brother-in-law closed up his business, sold out and intended to go to Kansas in the spring or summer to look up a business location, if the store run by Wiener and Benjamin did not need additional help, and then we two would arrange to start business together. Benjamin married in November the youngest sister of Sol. Boehm, now keeping drug store on Franklin Avenue, St. Louis (1903).

Dec. 31, 1855, I was shaven for the last time. I have never since allowed a razor on my face.

My brother-in-law and sister lived upstairs in the house where John Urban kept hats and caps.

January, 1850, Klein, Fox and Ash returned to St. Louis, They haul tramped all the way from Kansas. They and Theo. Wiener could not get along. They said if I had stayed, or if they had been assured that I would return they would not have left, but Wiener bossed too much. Klein worked for [Christian?] Freund¹⁰, whose sons still have a large bakery in St. Louis, Fox also found work in a bakery. (They were bakers by trade). Ash went to his brother who worked as cutter. Michael Fox and Klein afterwards started bakeries for themselves. Fox died in 1879 and Klein in 1893. Ash disappeared; no one ever knew what became of him.

My sister and Benjamin's wife and Mrs. Urban wished me to become acquainted with and court Miss Fannie Hendricks. I had clerked with her father some years at Brooks. Her mother was a Levi, of an old Portuguese family, the sister of Commodore Uriah Levi, of the United States Navy. Hon. Jefferson M. Levi, member of congress from New York, who inherited Monticello from his childless uncle, the commodore, is his nephew. The girl, about 20 years of age, was a beauty, but somehow was too bashful. The only time I visited her was to deliver to her a letter from Mrs. Benjamin. The girl would have been willing enough to marry me and would have waited until

I could have prepared for it. She married late, long after the commodore's death in 1871.

Benjamin and wife left for Kansas in March with the first steamer. I was to go with Theo. Wiener, who would be in St. Louis by April. My brother-in-law had sent some merchandise, groceries and clothing to Kansas and was to follow me shortly. Wiener came to St. Louis the last week in April, stayed about a week and purchased what he thought was needed in the business, and about the first of May, 1856, we left for Kansas via Kansas City, Mo. Upon our arrival Benjamin, Wiener and I were to consult whether we should stay together or my brother-in-law and I should manage a Branch, some twenty miles south, towards Neosho.

WIENER'S STORY

Theo. Wiener told me that some time in January the man, White, who had told us about our oxen, had undertaken to jump my claim, having sold his own to a man, David Garrison, the same, who in 1856, Aug. 30th, was murdered by the Border Ruffians. Garrison's widow had sold it to Hastings, who in 1864 was waylaid, shot and robbed of \$3,500, the sum for which he had sold the quarter section. (There was a \$2,000 house on the place.) The robber left him for dead, but he came to long enough to give evidence as to the murderer, a half breed, tawny Indian, whom the settlers found with the money still in his possession, and hanged him without much ado about it.

Wiener appealed to the Brown boys for help to oust White from my claim. They asked if he was sure that I would return. Wiener pledged himself that I would do so, then they marched to my claim-cabin and, not heeding White's protest and threats with his ax, bunted in the door and landed White, his family and possessions, on the prairie, whence he moved to a claim on Sauk Branch.

Theo. Wiener was in politics as late as the spring of 1855, a rank pro-slavery man. He was a thorough Douglas-squatter-sovereignty democrat and considered all free state reports regarding invasions of the Border Ruffians from Missouri as fakes and lies. He had lived for a long time in Texas and Louisiana and had gone to Kansas to trade and to make money, on the information of Benjamin and myself, regarding the chances. When settled in our place and in business, the pro-slavery men wanted him to come out and openly espouse their cause; but he refused, alleging that he had come to Kansas to trade and not for politics. Notwithstanding this, he soon procured a large custom of the settlers on the Shawnee and Peoria trust lands, who were, nearly to a man, pro-slavery. His custom extended to 25 miles east of his location. Even Shawnee Coppey, Indian Chief, dealt and traded with him, and he lived over 30 miles east. Yet some of them had it in for Wiener, and Dutch Bill, Dutch Henry's brother, 6 feet, 3 inches tall, weighing 250 lbs., a notorious bully, was to thrash Wiener. One Sunday in February, when Wiener was alone in the store, he came along and started in, but Wiener came out ahead. Theo. Wiener was a Polish Jew from Posen, near the Silesian border, 5 feet, 10 inches in height, and weighing 250 lbs. Instead of Dutch Bill thrashing Wiener. Wiener thrashed Dutch Bill, and after he had him down he pulled the revolver out of Bill's holster and fired it off and then kept on at Bill till

tired, then he ordered him up and gone, and threw the pistol after him. After that Wiener acknowledged himself Free State.¹¹

BIOGRAPHY CONTINUED

When Wiener arrived at Kansas City he did not find the teams he had expected Benjamin would send to meet him, as there were about 25,000 pounds of freight to haul out, so he started horse back to our place, which people had begun to call Wienersville. We decided that as he would return with horse and ox teams to haul the goods, I should stay in Kansas City to wait for the teams, then he would escort the three horse teams and I the two ox teams. I remained at the boarding house five days and, no Wiener appearing, and knowing the road by which he must come with the teams, I set out on foot one Sunday to meet him. By three o'clock p.m., I had made 35 miles and met our old three-yoke team. I did not know the driver, but I did know the cattle, and I learned that Wiener had started with several teams from this side of Osawatomie, his drivers mostly Shawnee Indians. Next morning I met Wiener at O.K. Creek, where the teams had camped and, having come in very late at night, had not yet prepared to go to the Levee to load at Riddlesberger's warehouse. After noon of the following day, Wiener started home with the horse teams and I stayed with the cattle teams, of which one was our old three-yoke team, driven by Benjamin's hired man. It rained heavily the first day out. We just made Bull Creek in time, before the rise made it unfordable. We had just camped on its west bank when the rain began again in a regular downpour, and when we reached Bundy's Crossing of the Marais des Cygnes, the river was booming. We waited three days on its banks and the morning of the 21st of May, we crossed, reaching Wienersville for dinner. Benjamin and Mrs. Benjamin greeted me. Our claim cabin was the dwelling house, the store building was an 18x24 log cabin, with a log addition as warehouse. Some twenty barrels of salt on the outside. The store contained a fine assortment of general merchandise. Twenty-five acres of the bottom, all that we had broken in '55, was fenced and in corn, already up. The store was thronged with customers. I had hardly helped unload and eaten my dinner when a runner came around and informed us that the Eldridge House in Lawrence was in ruins, having been bombarded by the pro-slavery Kansas militia, and that the Free State people called for help to drive the pro-slavery outfit out of town. That Wienersville was selected as the meeting place of the Pottawatomie Free State Minute men, under the command of John Brown, Jr., H. H. Williams, afterwards major of the 10th Kansas Volunteer Infantry, was 1st lieutenant, Simon B. Morse was 2nd lieutenant. That three and one-half miles northeast, where the California trail crossed Middle Creek, the Osawatomie company, commanded by Capt. Dayton,¹² and the Pottawatomie company would meet and march on to Lawrence that evening and night, under command of John Brown, Jr. A short time after the Pottawatomie men began to gather, Wiener and I decided to join; from my European experience, I advised that as he was marked by the pro-slavery people as a deserter, he was in danger and the Free State camp was the safest place for him. We held a "council of war" at Benjamin's and it was decided that Benjamin and his wife should take refuge at once with Peter H[a]user on the Marais des Cygnes, three miles north of Osawatomie, and should haul the most valuable goods there and hide them in the big timber. Two teams were with the Pottawatomie

men and Wiener had them loaded with all the meat and flour they could stow away as his gift, so we had provisions for some days. The border ruffian invasion being on hand, he would rather have our people fed on our stuff than let it fall into the hands of the Border Ruffian plunderers.

We reached Middle Creek by sunset. John Brown, Sr., and his sons were there, and the Osawatomie company reached there by 10 p.m., and we took up the march to Lawrence, waded through creek and river, breakfasted at Taway Jones' timber¹³ and reached a patch of woods near Prairie City by 11 o'clock a.m., of May 22nd, where we halted and struck camp, on the request of the Committee of Safety at Lawrence.

May 23rd, about 9 o'clock p.m., John Grant, from near Dutch Henry's Crossing, came to the camp. He was a member of the Pottawatomie company, but at the urgent solicitation of his mother and sister had remained at home. He told us that on the morning of that day Bill Sherman, Dutch Bill, had come to their cabin—his father and himself being out in the field—and in his usual swaggering tone had denounced the abolitionists, and finding that the women were alone, had attempted to criminally assault his sister—Mary Grant was one of the best looking and finest educated women on the Creek, a girl of 23 years. The outcries of the women brought father and son from the field in haste and Dutch Bill left, cursing and vowing utter extermination of all free state men.¹⁴ Old John Brown heard the account and John Grant's appeal for protection¹⁵, but just at the close of the account came runner from Lawrence with Col. Sumner's proclamation ordering all armed bodies to disperse. Thereupon the two companies agreed to break camp at dawn and return home. John Brown called his sons, Wiener, Townsley and myself to one side and made a short speech, telling us that for protection of our friends and families a blow must be struck on the Pottawatomie Creek to strike terror into pro-slavery miscreants who intended pillage and murder, and asked James Townsley¹⁶, who had a team of old grays, whether he would haul them. He assented at once. Brown then asked each of his sons, his son-in-law and Wiener separately if they were willing to accompany him. They all assented. To me he said, "I do not want you along, you have been away all winter; you are not so well known; we need some one to keep up communication with our families, so you will attend to bringing news to us and carry news to our families. You will remain behind for the present, anyway. You may meet us, however, if you choose, on the claim of my brother-in-law, Day, by tomorrow night." He gave a few more immaterial instructions. Townsley had his team hitched up, the men of the expedition were on the wagon, old Brown shook hands with me, and off they started. As arranged, we broke camp at dawn of May 24th. For breakfast we halted at Taway Jones and cooked and eat up the last of Wiener's gift of provisions. I do not know what we should have done without that supply, as no one had with him more than bread for one good meal. We had one tent amongst the crowd; some of the boys had pitched it. I crawled into it and sat gassing with the boys, when one of them named Reynolds began to handle his gun to fix something on the lock, resting the muzzle on the ball of my left foot. I said, or rather I intended to say, "I had better move my foot." As I said "move," the gun went off and I never finished the sentence. The bullet went into the ground outside the tent. Reynolds was scared; I jumped up and hollowed, "I was in luck, boys." That afternoon I reached my claim. There was no one there. The stock was gone and most of the dry goods, saddlery, groceries,

etc., had been carried away. The salt and the goods belonging to me, yet boxed up ready to go to some other trading post when we should agree upon it, were left. On the evening of that same day, May 24, I arrived, tired and hungry, at the camp ground of Old Brown, a log cabin on the banks of Middle Creek, on the claim of his brother-in-law, Orson Day, to which Brown had told me to come. Here I also found my friend, Wiener, from whom I first heard an account of the killing of Doyle and his sons, Wilkinson¹⁷ and Dutch Henry's brother, William. In this account Wiener never said positively who killed those persons, and I could only guess.¹⁸ Wilkinson was a member of the Border Ruffians and the day before his death had tauntingly said to some free state men that in few days the last of them would be either dead or out of the territory. In this he referred to the coming invasion of Cook, at the head of 250 armed men from Bates County, Missouri, who made his appearance about the 27th of May and plundered the whole region. John Brown and his handful of men only executed upon those scoundrels a just sentence of death for the benefit of many unprotected families.¹⁹

CHAPTER V

BORDER WAR

On the 26th of May, 1856, at an early hour in the morning, our little crowd rode on to the claim of John Brown, Jr., on Vine Branch, one mile and a half from Middle Creek bottom. About 5 o'clock that afternoon Carpenter from near Prairie City joined us and reported that he had come at the instance of his neighbors to request Capt. Brown's assistance against the Border Ruffians, who, in spite of all proclamations, continued to harass the settlers. It was Carpenter's mission to beg Capt. Brown's assistance in behalf of the settlers of the southern part of Douglas County against these marauders organizing under territorial laws and armed with guns furnished by the government. Capt. Brown declared his readiness to go at once, and sent one of his sons to tell Mrs. Jason Brown to send any enquiring friend who wished to join us to come to Carpenter near Prairie City. We started after dark, eleven in number. Capt. Brown carried a sabre and a largest size revolver. His sons and Thompson had a revolver, cutlass and a squirrel rifle each. Townsley an old musket. Wiener a double-barreled shot gun. Carpenter one revolver; myself a flint lock musket of 1812 pattern. About 4 o'clock on the morning of the 27th of May, we reached the hiding place on Taway Creek, which Carpenter had picked out for us. Brown inspected the surroundings, put out guards and appointed reliefs. After a while Carpenter brought in some corn for our horses and a small sack of coarse flour, and Capt. Brown began to prepare breakfast. We stayed here until Sunday, June 1st; during these few days I learned to appreciate the exalted character of my old friend. He showed at all times the most affectionate care for each of us. On the morning of the 28th of May, Ben. Cochran²⁰, a settler and member of the Pottawatomie Rifles, joined us. He related that in the last raid the ruffians had burned my cabin, stolen my cattle and plundered Wiener's store; all this had happened in the presence of the U.S. troops, under their commanding officer. Capt. Cook, Company F, 2d U.S. Dragoons, was asked by the settlers to interfere. He refused, saying he had no orders to that effect, but ordered the leader of the Border-Ruffian militia to surrender all his prisoners to the U.S.

troops. In the afternoon of that day, Carpenter brought Charles Kaiser, a native of Bavaria, and an old soldier of the revolution of '49, to our camp. He was extremely well pleased to find in me a member of the old Vienna Legion.²¹

On the 29th of May, Capt. Shore of Prairie City Rifles and Dr. Westfall, a neighbor of Carpenter, came into camp and told us that many horses and other property had been stolen near Willow Springs, about 10 or 15 miles distant, and asked old Brown what he calculated to do. Brown replied with the question, "Capt. Shore, how many men can you furnish me?" Shore answered that his men were just now very unwilling to leave home. Brown said, "Why did you send Carpenter after us? I am unwilling to sacrifice my men without some hope of accomplishing something." On the evening of the 29th of May, Capt. Shore visited us again and brought us some flour. Brown told him that if his men continued unwilling to turn out we would not stay there, as the enemy would soon find our retreat. Shore asked him to wait yet a few days. He felt that the Missourians suspected that Brown was not far from Prairie City and fear of him had protected the neighborhood from raids. Brown gave him until Sunday to gather the settlers, that with combined force we might hunt for the militia and offer them battle wherever we might find them. Shore promised to do his best. On the morning of the 31st, Capt. Shore informed us that a large company of Missouri militia had gone into camp on the Santa Fe Road, near Black Jack (Spring); that a few hours ago a house in Palmyra had been raided, the men disarmed and their weapons carried off. Rumors had been sent through the settlement summoning everybody to appear at Prairie City at 10 o'clock next forenoon. Capt. Shore concluded with the words: "We expect you with us." Capt. Brown grabbed Capt. Shore's hand and answered, "We will be with you." It was near midnight when our visitors left us. Next morning, June 1st, Capt. Brown had breakfast by sunup and when shortly afterwards Capt. Shore arrived to pilot us, we shouted with a will. Carpenter, Kaiser and Townsley assisted Wiener to empty his bottle. Capt. Brown called out, "Ready, forward march," and we were on the road. After a short ride we arrived at Prairie City. We found about a dozen settlers gathered around the principal building, a hewed log house, 18x24 feet. After picketing our horses we joined those present and were told that a circuit preacher had made an appointment for the day. Soon numbers arrived and the service began at noon. The prayers were hardly finished, when three men with guns across their saddles were seen galloping towards the village. They came within 50 yards and halted. The two Moore brothers, armed with carbines, and four or five others mounted and went out to meet the strangers who turned and put spurs to their horses; but racing down the first hill, one of their horses fell, when they surrendered to their pursuers. When brought before Capt. Brown they acknowledged they were from the camp of the Kansas Militia at Black Jack, on the Santa Fe Road, commanded by H. Clay Pate from Westport. Their company numbered about 80 men, all well armed with rifles and revolvers. One of the prisoners owned up that he was one of the three who had raided Palmyra the evening before, and that, not knowing of the Free State meeting, they had come to Prairie City for a like purpose. These prisoners and their arms were turned over to Capt. Shore, who detailed seven of his men as guard. The prisoners also told us that they had several Free State prisoners in their camp, one of them, an old man, a preacher, named Moore, whom they had picked up near Westport and taken along for their special fun. The Moore brothers at once knew this to be their

father and begged us to start at once, but Capt. Brown declared we should not start before night had set in, and attack the enemy at daybreak, to which plan all agreed. After supper about forty men, Prairie City Rifles, put themselves under the leadership of Capt. Shore. Carpenter, the two Moores and Dr. Westfall asked permission to face next day's dangers in his company, which was freely granted. On unanimous request Capt. Brown accepted the command-in-chief. After sundown the order to saddle up was given, but it was already night when our force of 60 men left Prairie City. At midnight we halted in a post-oak grove, two miles from the enemy. All hands rested near their horses. That night it was agreed to leave the horses with a small guard, to move on foot up to within a mile of the enemy. Capt. Brown's company in advance and center, Capt. Shore's men thrown out as skirmishers on each flank, all together, without firing a shot, to charge upon the Border Ruffian camp, Monday, June 2d, 1856.

Capt. Shore detailed five men as guard with the horses; Capt. Brown prevailed upon his son, Fred, to stay with them. At first streak of day we started, Brown's company ahead, consisting of Capt. Brown and his sons, Owen, Solomon and Oliver, Henry Thompson, Charles Kaiser, Theo. Wiener, Carpenter, the three Moores, Dr. Westfall, Benj., Cochra[n], August Bondi and James Townsley. After a march of a mile and a half we reached the summit of a hill, and saw before us, about a mile distant, the hostile camp, in the midst of a small grove. Capt. Brown called out, "Now follow me!" and down the hill he and his company started on a run. We had not made half the hill, when we were greeted with the shots of the Missouri pickets, at the same time we heard the guns of Shore's men replying behind us. Soon the Missourians sent whole volleys against us, but Brown's company charged right on. When we arrived at the foot of the hill we saw before us the old Santa Fe Road with its oldest wagon trail which in many places had been washed out some two or three feet wide and about two feet deep. Beyond, within about two hundred yards, was the Missouri camp.

Capt. Brown jumped into the old washed out trail and commanded, "Halt, down!" His companions followed his example, and now we saw that not a man of Capt. Shore's company, except Capt. Shore himself, had followed down hill; most of them had already disappeared, a few yet on the brow of the hill wasting ammunition, and very soon these also retired in the direction of their comrades. So, right in the beginning of the fight Brown's forces had been reduced to his own men. He scattered them all along that old trail, and using it as a rifle pit, we opened fire, to which the enemy replied with continuous firing. Wiener and myself were posted on the extreme left flank. Capt. Brown passed continually up and down the line, sometimes using his spy glass to inspect the enemy's position and repeatedly cautioning his men against wasting ammunition. About a quarter of an hour after we had reached the old trail, Henry Thompson was shot through the lungs and was led away by Dr. Westfall; shortly after Carpenter was shot through the upper arm and had to retire. Then Capt. Shore squatted himself on the ground and said to Capt. Brown, "I am very hungry." Brown never answered and went on his way to see that the gaps, caused by the absence of Thompson, Carpenter and Westfall, be filled as well as possible. Capt. Shore then spoke up: "Boys, I have to leave you to hunt up some breakfast." And the hero of that day—according to Mr. Utter—got up and dusted. After the lapse of another half hour Townsley asked Capt. Brown for permission to go for ammunition.

Capt. Brown did not reply, and Townsley left. Neither he nor Capt. Shore returned to us till after H. C. Pate's surrender, when they came to us following behind the Lawrence Stubbs.²² It might have been about nine o'clock in the forenoon when Captain Brown stopped near Wiener and me and, having looked through his spy glass for some time, said, "It seems the Missourians have also suffered from our fire; they are leaving one by one; we must never allow that. We must try to surround them; we must compel them to surrender." He then walked down our line, spoke with some of the men, and returned with the Moore boys to where Wiener and myself were posted and beckoned us to follow him. We five, Capt. Brown, the two Moores, Wiener and myself, ran up a hill south of the Missouri camp. As soon as we had gained a commanding position within two hundred yards of the enemy, Capt. Brown ordered the two Moores to aim with their carbines at horses and mules exclusively, and not to shoot at any men at this time, if it could be avoided, as he wanted to take as many prisoners as possible. The Moore boys, with four shots, killed two mules and two horses, which we could perceive created great consternation in the Missouri camp, and we saw several leaving. Now Capt. Brown drew and cocked his revolver and declared that he should advance some twenty yards by himself, and if then he should wave his hat, we were to follow; Wiener and me ahead; the Moores to come up more slowly that, if necessary, they could cover our retreat with their carbines. According to previous agreement our comrades along the Santa Fe Road were to run to us as soon as they saw his signal with the hat. Capt. Brown advanced but about twenty steps when he stood, waved his hat and we joined him. Then the Captain and we four behind him, together with the seven along the Santa Fe Road, charged against the Missouri camp. Capt. Pate stepped out in front of his men and waved a white handkerchief and called out to Capt. Brown that he was ready to leave. Capt. Brown kept on until within five feet of Capt. Pate, and, covering the hostile commander with his revolver, called out, "Unconditional surrender." The rifles slipped the grasp of the Ruffians and Pate surrendered his sword. Twenty-four well armed cutthroats laid down their arms; some thirty had run off during the engagement; seven, more or less seriously wounded, lay on the ground. The booty of the day consisted of thirty stands of U.S. rifles and accoutrements, as many revolvers, thirty saddle horses and equipments, two wagons with their teams, and a large amount of provisions, ammunition and camp equipage. Capt. Pate surrendered his sword and revolver and I, being right by, asked him for the powder flask he carried, and [he] gave it to me. I kept the old 1812 musket I carried at Black Jack with that powder flask like a sacred relic. They burned up in the old claim-shanty on my father's place, near Greeley, while I was in the military service. I found, afterwards, the flintlock in the debris. It is now in the collection of the Historical Society in Topeka.

While Capt. Brown was giving orders concerning the guarding of the prisoners, we discovered two riders, one behind the other, charging down the Santa Fe Road towards us. The first was Fred Brown, who introduced the other as Mr. Phillips²³, the correspondent of the New York *Tribune*. They informed us that the Lawrence Stubbs were right behind them. Now the three prisoners of the Border Ruffians appeared and words fail to describe the joy and gratitude shown by these men. Their treatment had been most barbarous. Now came up the Lawrence Stubbs with Major Abbott²⁴, Luke Parsons and Hoyt²⁵ in the lead. Capt. Shore and Townsley came up behind

them. After a few minutes, Capt. Brown succeeded in bringing into order the general turmoil, and with the prisoners in our midst we started for Prairie City.

On our arrival at Prairie City with prisoners and booty, Capt. Brown ordered our squad who had fought and won to continue guarding the prisoners, and he would find some women to bake bread and fry some meat to prepare a meal for us and the prisoners from the captured supplies. We obeyed and stayed with the prisoners, and it was seven o'clock before supper for the prisoners was ready. Capt. Brown first saw that the wounded prisoners were well taken care of—Dr. Westfall was with them—then he ordered that the thirty-six well prisoners eat first, after which we would be served, as he had in the meantime prevailed on the Lawrence Stubbs, Capt. Shore, and M[c]Whinney to prevail with their crowd to relieve us, guarding while we ate our supper. None of our crowd had tasted food or drink since the preceding day about four or five o'clock p.m., and were almost faint. At last we had our supper, at which time immense stacks of biscuits and meat just disappeared. After supper, twilight lasting, we marched to a grove on Tawny Creek where we, the men with Brown, and the Lawrence Stubbs made camp, the prisoners in the center, organized some reliefs for the night and rested as best we could. That night, June 2nd, everything portable of the Brown outfit and what we had captured was made away with and stolen by the settlers around the country. Wiener and I lost one pair of heavy Mackinaw blankets; Capt. Brown lost most of the blankets used by himself and his boys and a valuable pair of saddle-bags containing a complete set of surgical instruments and we had all we could do to save our horses and equipments and a few blankets.

Next morning, June 3rd, we organized messes, the mess wagons of the captured Pate company furnishing the provisions, reorganized companies, elected commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and John Brown commenced to entrench, using the high banks of the Creek for breastworks wherever possible, and digging rifle-pits at other places. We fortified this Camp Brown to withstand the attack of any force without artillery.

By noon of the third day of June we were about 125 to 150 men, reasonably well organized. A beef was brought in and killed and other like meat supplies were provided for the following days.

Several of the Stubbs, Shores, and M[c]Whinney's companies joined the John Brown company. Special mention of Luke [F]. Parsons, who joined Brown's company. He was just my age and was peculiarly attractive to me; we bunked together more or less during the campaigns of 1856. In the afternoon of June 3rd, we held council how to improve our exterior, the Brown outfit being altogether in rags. Capt. Brown selected five men to ride to the store of a pro-slavery man, Menard of Westport, who kept at Centropolis to "impress" for our use some clothing. Fred and Oliver Brown and three of the Stubbs went and soon returned with some palm leaf hats, check shirts, linen coats, a few linen pants and bandanna handkerchiefs. I was on camp guard when they returned. Fred Brown, however, kept for me a check shirt, a palm leaf hat and a bandanna handkerchief, and one of Stubbs gave me a pair of jean pants, so I was well fitted out, only that I regretted that my toes showed too much for their good and. stubbed continually on roots in the timber.

The work of entrenching went on and by evening it was fairly well completed, only artillery could have dislodged us.

We had elected a settler by the name of Walker for corporal, he claiming to be

a Mexican war veteran.²⁶ About four a.m., June 4th, I was on outlying camp guard when one of our prisoners made his appearance, coming from Prairie City. I halted him and called for the corporal of the guard, Walker. The prisoner related that he and Walker had been neighbors in Missouri, and Walker had sent him during the night for a quart of whisky, which he had now with him. The loud talk attracted Capt. Brown, who after information, confiscated the booze and handed it to Wiener, who was by. He reduced Walker to the ranks and sent the prisoner to his place with the other captives of war. Wiener and Kaiser took each a big drink to Walker's health.

About 10 o'clock the morning of June 4th, Br[o]ckett, the 1st lieutenant of the captive Border Ruffian company, got into some altercation with me. I cannot remember how it started. The dispute waxed loud; he used the expression, "What does a d__d Dutchman know of liberty?" Wiener mixed with it; Br[o]ckett challenged Wiener to a duel, and Wiener accepted at once, when Capt. Brown, attracted by the rumpus, came up, ordered Br[o]ckett and Wiener to their quarters, and the noise stopped at once. This Br[o]ckett figured for years in many midnight forays of Missouri robberies on Kansas farmers in Bourbon and Linn Counties. He commanded the Ruffians in the Indian Post massacre and many other outrages. He was taken prisoner November 1861 by a company of the 6th Kansas, court-martialed and executed.

Now that we boys were well fed, clothed and idle, of course we must be up to some scheme. So, after supper, June 3rd, Solomon and Oliver Brown, Luke Parsons and I discussed a plan to have the free state men secede Kansas from the U.S., raise a lone star flag and declare independence. We were very enthusiastic; but when John Brown was informed of our project he soon cooled our fervor by his cool, simple words, "Boys, no nonsense."

On Thursday, June 5th, about 9 o'clock a.m., Col. Sumner, in command of the 2nd U.S. Dragoons, with his regiment, came up to our camp, halted within a mile and proceeded with some of his officers and a U.S. deputy marshal to our camp. When halted by our guard, he sent word to Capt. Brown demanding an interview. Capt. Brown met the colonel at once, accompanied by me. Brown and Sumner stepped aside and held a quite spirited conversation for some ten minutes; of course, I heard nothing of their conversation nor did any one else. I caught Sumner's last words, however. "I have no orders for your arrest, but he has," and I supposed that by "he" Sumner meant the U.S. marshal.

By noon, within one hour of the interview between Sumner and Brown, the grove was vacated; Camp Brown had ceased to exist.

While moving our effects Solomon Brown carelessly handled a double-barreled shotgun by its muzzle and part of the load tore the flesh of his right upper arm. We hauled him to the Carpenter cabin and Dr. Westfall dressed the wound and continued to treat him, visiting him daily, and I stayed with him to nurse him. Col. Sumner offered the services of the regimental surgeon but, as the wounded man got along pretty well, we declined with thanks. Henry Thompson was also improving. The Brown outfit, consisting of the old man, the boys (except Solomon) and Wiener had selected a thicket, some half mile from Camp Brown, for their camp. Henry Thompson was made very comfortable with them. Capt. Brown would not allow any conversation above a whisper and no cooking in day time. I stayed with Solomon Brown till Sunday, June 8th, when he was so far recovered as not to require my services as nurse. I came into the Brown camp and learned from the Captain that a

company of the 2nd Dragoons, Company F, under Capt. Cook, was camped about a quarter of a mile distant, across the creek, guarding a lot of Free State prisoners, amongst whom were John Brown, Jr., Jacob Benjamin, Jason Brown and Simon B. Morse, of our Pottawatomie neighbors and friends, and he wanted me to go and visit them and see how they got along. I went at once, reached the camp of the soldiers by 8 o'clock a.m., and asked for the captain's tent: went in and was face to face with two military men, and addressed the one nearer me as Capt. Wood[s]²⁷. He replied, "I am not the captain, I am only 1st sergeant," and pointed out the captain. Capt. Wood[s], from South Carolina, afterwards general in the Confederate service, was killed at the Battle of the Wilderness. The captain asked me where I was from, etc., and after a few minutes' questioning, ordered that John Brown, Jr., Jason Brown, Jacob Benjamin and Simon B. Morse be brought in. These men were mighty glad to see me. The two Browns and Benjamin and Morse were chained with two big chains. Two by two, arm and foot chained to arm and foot. I could not give them any information which I had personally received from their families, but told them we would have been informed if anything was wrong with them, and we had heard nothing. They wished me to visit their families at once. About to leave, I said to Brown, Jr., "How are you treated?" when Capt. Wood[s] boiled up and said, "No impudence around here." You must remember I was about 23 years old and looked much younger. I replied, "Captain, we want to know how these prisoners are treated, as we have treated our pro-slavery prisoners d—d well." I then repeated my question, to which John Brown, Jr., replied, "We cannot exactly find fault; we receive good food, but these chains are hurting." I shook hands with each and returned to the Brown camp and reported. That night the camp guards were doubled and Capt. Cook issued orders that in case of an attempted rescue the prisoners be shot down. I must have made quite an impression in my linen coat, palm leaf hat and jean pants—toes out.

Capt. Brown then ordered me to visit the families of John and Jason Brown, of Henry Thompson and Mrs. Benjamin; to take the letters he handed to me their respective addresses and on my return bring any letters entrusted to me by the parties.

On the breaking up of Camp Brown, all captured property was, by orders of Col. Sumner, to be returned to our prisoners when they were set free. I had hidden Br[o]ckett's horse, a fine iron-grey, and put it in Wiener's charge. I left it now in care of Wiener and took his heavy Kansas pony to execute Capt. Brown's orders and left for the Middle Creek and Marais de Cygnes country. I found the Brown families at David Garrison's, took dinner with them, then went on to H[a]user, on the Marais de Cygnes, where Mrs. Benjamin stayed. She occupied the old claim shanty, with part of the merchandise saved still in it, part of the saved goods were secreted in various places in the timber. She told me that the cabin, store and warehouse buildings in Wienersville had been burned after everything except the salt had been looted. The salt barrels had been also burned and the salt scattered. The hewed-log house in process of construction, north of the other buildings, was not injured, but the fences had been torn down and the cattle had injured the growing corn. They also told me of the Border Ruffian raid on Osawatomie, when every store and house had been looted by the Border Ruffians, Capt. Cook heading the raiders. I stayed with H[a]user that night and next morning, June 9th, I set out early on my return leaving my 1812 musket with Mrs. Benjamin. I stopped at Garrison's, where Mrs. John

Brown, Jr., gave me a letter to her father-in-law. I also stopped at [A]dair's²⁸ and Day's and arrived safe at the Brown camp before evening.

Tuesday, June 10th, we held council and agreed to separate. Capt. Brown to go north for means to carry on the contest. Wiener was anxious to go to St. Louis and thence to Shreveport, La., to dispose of 4,000 acres in that neighborhood. We broke camp very silently about 6 o'clock a.m. Henry Thompson was taken up to Carpenter's to stay with Solomon, till both were able to travel. The other Brown boys to go with their father. Wiener and I started towards Lawrence, but after a few miles we made up our minds to stop at Capt. Walker's Free State camp to find out about the condition of the road towards the Missouri River, and so we did. Wiener was armed with a double-barreled shotgun and I carried a four-inch Colt's. I rode the iron grey, captured at Black Jack; Wiener his heavy Shawnee pony. We stopped at Walker's camp. He had about fifteen young men with him and told us that he was about to move his camp to Coal Creek, where the Free State Volunteer men were gathering, under command of one Topliff, late lieutenant in the regular army, who had resigned his commission and was sent out by our northern friends to organize the Free State forces. We took supper with Walker's crowd and June 11th, at daybreak, we were up, intending to reach Leavenworth by evening so we could put Wiener on board a boat at dusk or during the night, when we found my iron-grey gone—stolen. Afterwards I found out that one of Walker's men, nicknamed Yankee Jim, had hidden it, and afterwards sued for \$30. This Yankee Jim was eventually known as a regular thief and died of pneumonia in December, of '56.

Nothing else could be done but to grin and bear the loss. I put my saddle and bridle into the care of a settler near by, and we plodded towards Lawrence, Wiener horseback and I on foot. Arrived in Lawrence, Wiener met a brother Mason, who furnished each of us with a pair of socks and a pair of boots and also let Wiener have \$5 on Wiener's draft, payable in St. Louis, at his brother, Hermann's. We purchased also two loaves of bread and ten ears of corn and then pushed on to the ferry and crossed the Kaw River about eleven o'clock next morning. On the ferry we overheard the men telling one another the news that Gov. Shannon had issued a proclamation offering \$500 reward for the capture, alive or dead, of old John Brown, and \$100 reward for each member of his band. We pushed on without stopping for eating for about an hour, when we ran across an Indian with a half gallon of wild strawberries. I gave him a quarter and packed them in my hat till we reached a creek, when we sat down and made a meal of our bread and berries, feeding the pony the corn we had bought at Lawrence, and by two o'clock p.m., pushed on towards Leavenworth. We reached Three-mile Creek by evening and camped there, making our bed right by the pony's picket pins, watching alternately. At earliest dawn we pushed on again towards Fort Leavenworth, where we thought it least dangerous for Wiener to take a boat. On our way we met a man moving from Iowa. Wiener sold him the gun for \$10 which, with the change he had, furnished him the means for cabin passage to St. Louis. We reached the timber close to the landing place of Fort Leavenworth by about 9 a.m., June 12th, and made camp near a fine spring. (The surroundings of the Fort were still wilderness in those days.) I purchased some cheese, crackers and dried beef at the sutlers and some shelled corn for the pony.

The intention was to ship Wiener at night but no boat came. About 3 o'clock a.m., of the 13th, we heard a whistle up the river and hurried to the landing. It was

the "F. [X.] Aubrey." Wiener got on and in due time reached St. Louis. I returned to our camp, made my breakfast of the scraps of crackers and cheese left, saddled up and started for Lawrence, where I was directed to Topliff's camp on Coal Creek, which I reached late and had my supper there. I remained at the camp several days, and when it broke up for want of supplies I went with about fifteen of the boys, on invitation, with Major J[ames] B. Abbott to his place. This was, for the time being, headquarters for the Free State forces. Abbott was elected to the command of all the Free State forces of Douglas County—hence the title, Major. We were kept busy getting supplies from known pro-slavery trading posts and from herds owned by aiders and abettors of the Missouri marauders, and started a blockhouse as a basis of fortifications. Camp Abbott was the great stopping place for Free State people when traveling from place to place. I have met with Major Abbott several times since. He was agent for the Shawnee Indians under Lincoln and died at De Soto, Kansas, March 2nd, 1897; his wife and children had died before him.

One day, about June 23rd, Jacob Benjamin put in an appearance, as all Pottawatomie prisoners had been released, and we started for the H[a]user place, on the Marais de Cygnes. I was then, at once, invited to take part with five other boys in a raid on the pro-slavery settlers on the Big Pottawatomie, just to scare them. I went along and was selected as Capt. Pate. I was to make believe that we were Border Ruffians, just coming to see our friends and advise them to leave, as we could not protect them longer, and to return to Missouri for safety. We had quite a little fun and scared those people so that they sent a runner to Paola that very night to inquire if Capt. Pate's story was true. This night's fun was brought to my remembrance in October, of 1904, almost half a century after its occurrence by meeting in Salina a Mr. Williamson, who had worked for Dutch Henry during the summer of 1856, having come to Kansas from Virginia with his uncle, Baker, who had also stopped at Dutch Henry's. Williamson was with his uncle that night when we five boys made such a fuss and warned Baker to leave. Baker was quite scared and fired off a shotgun loaded with bird shot just as we were leaving, one shot of which struck young Fuller in the heel of his shoe. This Williamson afterwards herded Henry's cattle, when sometime in August we confiscated some fourteen fat beeves for the use of the settlers, and I had to take him prisoner and hold him for a short time till the other boys had cut out the beeves. But to return to my record.

I was at H[a]user's by five o'clock a.m., on the morning following that night escapade. At eight o'clock came a constable from Paola, county seat of Miami county, to attach the goods for some alleged debts owed by Wiener to some pro-slavery settlers. The constable took all the dry goods into his possession and hauled them to Paola, the trial to take place five days later. After this seizure we packed up, got the stock—cows, calves and oxen—together, some forty head, and moved that very day to Wienersville, camping there that night. With us was a boy of about 12 years, John B. Maness, and Freeman Austin. Next day we built a cattle corall; the boy was to herd the stock. We fixed up the fence, replanted some of the corn ground, which kept us busy for two days, then we went to work to make the new hewed-log house habitable; Austin to work inside, Benjamin and I assisting. By the time of the trial we had completed our work and were living in the house. Benjamin and I went to Paola to the trial on the attachment suit. Gen. Coffey, who afterwards served in the Confederate army and still survives (1903) at Knobnoster, Mo., nearly 100 years old,

pettifogged for plaintiffs, I for the defendants. When dinner time came, Gen. Coffey spoke up: "Squire, what is the use of a longer *parlez vous*, the constable knows all about this; the defense has no case," and this settled it. In due time about \$500 of dry goods were sold, or rather distributed to the plaintiffs to settle the costs.

Returned to Wienersville, Benjamin and I made up our minds that I claim the better of our former two claims—one-fourth mile by one mile, giving me over 100 acres bottom and 10 acres of good, thrifty hard timber, and Benjamin to take the old Fox Claim which was still vacant, being on Section N. The land had been surveyed during the winter of 1855-56. Such was our intention for the time being. The U.S. Land Office had not yet opened.

We kept very busy with all kind of labor preparing to stay and winter. I learned to milk, as the milk of nine cows was most of our living. Our meat supply came from the Dutch Henry herd, as the Free State settlers would kill one of his beeves from time to time. I was present when the first head of the Dutch Henry herd was impressed for Free State beef. It was about July 10th, when I met one of the three Kilb[o]urn brothers, who invited me to their house to help hoe a 20-acre corn field; they would return the service. I started at once and worked with them a couple of days till done, living on dry corn bread. About 5 o'clock of the afternoon we finished, Henry Kilb[o]urn said, "Boys, this dry corn bread won't do; Dutch Henry has some three of four hundred fat cattle; let us kill one and live." We started at once and soon found a bunch near the field of Wm. Partridge. Henry killed a big two-year-old heifer of about 600 lbs. weight. While the boys skinned the animal I went to ask Partridge to assist by hauling the quarters to his house to be cut up and divided. Partridge hitched up and by night had the quarters hung up by his house. Early in the morning we cut up the meat. Partridge was to haul the shares to the respective homes. Before starting we had a meat breakfast, and as we were ready to pitch in, P. remarked, "Boys, hold on, we must first ask the blessing of the Giver of all good." Thereafter, at least, one beef a week was killed out of the herd to keep us from starving. Breadstuff had become very scarce, as the Borderers in Missouri prevented the purchase and handling of it by Free State people.

I will tell you how I acquired the reputation of a good pistol shot. One day, three or four of us young men were at James Townsley's; someone fired at a target. I exclaimed, "No target for me. Do you see that blackbird in yonder oak-tree? I will bring it down." I fired my four-inch and the bird fell to the ground. The tree was, at least, 75 feet high. Of course, it was brag on my part and then luck. A few days afterwards in a cornfield they talked of my marksmanship, and one spoke up, "Show them, Bondi, what you can do; hit that butterfly." It was some twenty-five steps off. I fired and the butterfly was no more.

About the end of July, 1856, just as we were ready to start in to chink and daub the house preparatory for winter—before commencing to make hay—comes a runner from Lawrence, from the "Committee of Safety," to say that the pro-slavery settlement of New Georgia, on the Miami lands, four miles south of Osawatomie, had to be wiped out at once. Some 75 people from Georgia and South Carolina, a few families amongst them, had rallied to assist in the raid, viz., Bondi, Benjamin, Austin, and the three Kilb[o]urn boys. We elected Austin²⁹ for our captain and started for the big Pottawatomie timber, near Osawatomie, and made camp in the timber on the claim of Rev. Amos Finch (Wes. Methodist) in the afternoon of the

day set for the raid. A runner was at Finch's already to inform us that the expedition was delayed and could not be on hand for two days longer; so we camped right there, living on raw green corn from Finch's field and sleeping on the ground without fire. Rev. Finch could not feed us; he had hardly anything to live on himself. During those two days we drummed up a few recruits in Osawatomie. Dr. Gilpatrick came to us and requested me to accompany him to New Georgia, pretending to hunt some stray cattle, and spy out the conditions of the fortifications. We did so and succeeded. Found the entrenchments complete on three sides, yet open on the south. That night we met the Northern companies, marched around Osawatomie, crossing the Marais des Cygnes below the town. Some sixty of us rushed up, surrounding the entrenched sides, fired a few shots into the air, and the whole southern outfit ran out to the south, and we went to work to dismantle and burn. We found some 500 lbs. of bacon and a large supply of flour. Each one took about 10 or 15 lbs. of bacon for himself and we had to destroy the remainder, however sorry we were to do it. The block-house, with the bacon, lit up the sky for miles. New Georgia was destroyed and the southerners, deprived of provisions, had to leave, greatly to the relief of the Free State settlers. I gave my chunk of bacon to H[au]ser, so did Benjamin. Our captain, Austin, had bought a pint of booze at Osawatomie (only 15 cents) and had started in on it; so when we rushed up to New Georgia, he was pretty full and in the hurry stumbled and fell, dead drunk; but, as he related, rallied in the morning and visited the fire, still burning, then joined us at H[a]user's, and we all went home.

About this time, the last days of July, '56, my brother-in-law, Emanuel, came to us from St. Louis; and now, being one more in number, we started a well intending to go to haying after finding water. Up to this time, and afterwards, too, I, the assistant cook to Mrs. Benjamin, had to pack water from the Branch, a quarter of a mile distant. About the first week in August, 1856, I went to Osawatomie for mail. When I returned I was informed that while Benjamin was down in the well—Austin and my brother-in-law at the windlass—some soldiers of the 2nd Dragoons from their camp, near Dutch Henry's Crossing, came around. They proved to be the 2nd Lieutenant, Thompson, one sergeant and one private of Co. F. The lieutenant dismounted at the well, commenced cursing and ordered Benjamin to be hauled up, then arrested the three and ordered the sergeant and private to take them to camp, he riding behind, pistol drawn, and time and again, with oaths and curses, telling them that he had a good mind to kill them anyway, so as to lessen the Abolitionists by three. After running them a mile or so, he told them to get home. This Thompson, a native of South Carolina, was killed during the Civil War. He was a brigadier-general in the Confederate army.

The raids of the Missourians continued in a peculiar manner; some half dozen would steal into a settlement and drive off a lot of cattle and horses, rush them ten miles off, then sometimes divide into two or three parties, always herd the stolen stock in some out of the way place during the first day following the raid and drive them to Missouri the second night. Some efforts were made to steal our herd and also to steal Brown's herd of Devons. We, Brown, Benjamin and I put our cattle together and with all the families, moved them to David Garrison's, who had a large corral, into which we put them at nights under guard. The Mannes boy stayed with us. This boy, John Bean Mannes, was afterwards of my company, K, 5th cavalry. We made this move about August 10th. A day or two before this move I was called upon to assist in

the protection of an old German settler, on South Pottawatomie, Schutte [Schütte?]; a few Missourians had been seen lurking around his place. He had six or seven of the best horses in the country. Henry Kilbourn, Poin[d]exter, Mannes, Ben Cochra[n] and I stayed around Schutte's two days, scouted through the timber, found signs of a late camp in a ravine, but no Missourians, so we left Schutte's. Mind, we were always afoot, and after we had traveled a few miles towards Kilbourn's, we met a runner sent from Osawatomie to get, at least, twenty men to assist in defending the town, as a body of Border Ruffians had reached Paola bent on plunder. We four marched to Osawatomie, reached the town tired, slept on the floor of some house there. By morning the news came in that the Missouri company at Paola had retreated, not considering themselves strong enough to raid Osawatomie. We were about to leave the town, after a scant breakfast, when an old man came to us and asked about the locality of our claims and informed us that four yoke of pro-slavery work cattle, formerly owned by the New Georgia colony, were with his cows. The New Georgia men had stolen his four horses before we routed them, and he was afraid that when some of them might return for these four yokes they would drive his cows with them. There was yet a large Santa Fe wagon without box on the old site of New Georgia, and some log chains and yokes close by in a hollow. He wished that we would take away oxen, wagon, yokes and chains. He lived five miles from Osawatomie. We went with him at once. Arrived at his place we hid in the timber all day and at sunset came out, ate a hearty supper at our friend's house, hitched up the four yoke to the wagon and drove to the Mosquito Branch, arriving there by morning. We took the wagon to Kilbourn's timber and the eight oxen were put with the Bondi and Benjamin cattle and with them moved to Garrison's. These four yoke stayed with our cattle until late in October, then we put them out to winter with a man named Saunders, on North Middle Creek. In the spring we divided the spoils. To Kilbourn and Mannes, the best two yoke of oxen; to Benjamin and me, the two smaller yoke, the wagon and chains.

About the middle of August, a band of Free State boys, thirty in number, commanded by Capt. Cline, came on the Pottawatomie Creek; most of them had, with their captain, lately come from Iowa. They had some teams and provisions along. All of them were well mounted on horses captured from pro-slavery men. They had several brushes with Border Ruffians and as yet had always routed them. Their last raid had been on the Rev. Martin White's place (a Baptist minister from Missouri); here they had captured eleven good horses.

About August 20th, ('56) old John Brown reached Osawatomie with a spick and span four-mule team, the wagon loaded with provisions, besides he was well supplied with money—all contributed by northern friends of the Kansas Free State men, like Thad Hyatt. With Brown had come some thirty men from near Topeka and Lawrence—mostly of the Stubbs—amongst them Luke [F]. Parsons and Charles Kaiser.

Old Brown told me and some of the neighbors, who had come to greet him, that he intended to invade the pro-slavery settlements of Linn and Bourbon counties, to give them a taste of the treatment their Missouri friends would not cease to extend to the free state settlements up the Marais des Cygnes and Pottawatomie. As he saw that I was not mounted, he ordered some of his men to capture all of Dutch Henry's horses; and when they were brought in, I received a four-year-old fine bay horse

(steed) for my mount. I furnished my own equipments from some new saddlery goods of the old store which had been hidden in the brush for safety. Old John Brown rode a fine-blooded bay.

The Capt. Cline Company joined us and we moved from Osawatomie about August 24th. Benjamin and my brother-in-law remained with Mrs. Benjamin and the cattle at Garrison's, and it was agreed before I started with the Brown command that in case of an attack on the settlement, Benjamin should turn out: but my brother-in-law should under all circumstances remain with Mrs. Benjamin and the cattle. The boy Ma[n]jess too, was to continue to assist herding the entire bunch.

When Brown's company started from Osawatomie, a few men of the neighborhood joined the command and a few joined Capt. Cline's. I can recall some of those who joined Brown's command: Evander Light, Whitney Wood, [I]. M. Anthony (Susan's brother), and Cyrus Tator, afterwards probate judge of Miami County, elected in the fall of 1857, and in July, 1860, he was lynched on the overland Pike's Peak route for highway robbery and murder, Ben Cochra[n] and Poin[d]exter Maness³⁰ joined Cline's command; James Holmes, afterwards secretary of the Territory of New Mexico, was with Cline, also.

Brown's company was about thirty-five strong; Cline's about forty-five. Cline and most of his men were Free State Yankees, deteriorated into freebooters.

Both companies, Brown's and Cline's, started from Osawatomie August 24th. When camped for dinner rest, Capt. Brown made a talk to us of his company. He wished us all to understand that we must not molest women nor children, not take nor capture anything useless to us or Free State people: further, never destroy any kind of property wantonly nor burn any buildings, as Free State people could use them after the pro-slavery people had been driven out. Never consider captured horses or cattle as anything else than common property of the Free State army. The horses for military use, the cattle for food for our soldiers and settler. He ordered also that we should keep some distance in camp from the Cline company, as they were too riotous. Whenever he could he would hire our meals, as he had ample means to pay for them. He then made arrangement with Capt. Cline that the two companies should daily exchange places on the march. One day, Brown's in advance, the next day, Cline's; the teams with the provisions always in the center during the march and in the rear during a fight.

We camped the first evening near a small Quaker settlement of three families, near Sugar Creek, Linn County. Capt. Brown had them prepare supper and breakfast for us. We there received information that a large pro-slavery force of about 500, among them the Bourbon County Rangers, with a red flag ornamented with skull and cross-bones, were raiding the Free State settlers of Linn and Bourbon Counties; that a man, Montgomery, by name, and his neighbors had been compelled to flee and had all moved to Lawrence a day or two ago. Capt. Brown also learned the names and the residences of the local pro-slavery leaders.

When we broke camp on the morning of August 25th, '56, the Cline company had the advance. By 10 o'clock a.m., we came on the fresh tracks of the pro-slavery raiders and quickened our pace. By noon we received information of their camping on South Middle Creek and hastened to surprise them, the Cline company in advance. On the last hills, overlooking the valley two miles wide, the pro-slavery camp was in full view; and the Bourbon County Rangers and their Border Ruffian auxiliaries,

outnumbering us five or six to one, immediately upon sighting us, galloping down the hill, turned and fled, leaving the camp teams, many horses, provisions, tents and their red flag with the skull and cross-bones; yea, some who had been enjoying a noon siesta, left their clothes, hats, shoes and boots. I found a pair of boots which were just the fit, and as mine were in favor of keeping my feet aired, I was not long in changing. I also found a hat which I appropriated; my palm leaf of Camp Brown memory was used up. I still wore the pants and coat which had been apportioned me, the pants hardly holding together. In vain I looked for a pair amongst the plunder.

Capt. Cline saw Capt. Brown about the division of the spoils; he claimed the larger share because his men were in advance. Capt. Brown remarked, "My men do not fight for plunder; keep it all," and so Cline kept almost the whole spoils. This was the "Battle of South Middle Creek." We made camp on the ground deserted by the enemy, and rested there until morning. The Cline outfit quarreled till midnight about the division of the spoils.

The morning of the 26th we started to raid the pro-slavery settlement on Sugar Creek (Linn County). Brown's company had the advance. About 10 o'clock a.m., we stopped on the place of a "Capt. Brown"; he was captain of the pro-slavery or Shannon Militia. We took his cattle, about fifty head, and while searching the house for clothing, a young woman, his daughter, just berated the abolitionists for all out. Amongst her other remarks, I caught this one: "No Yankee abolitionist can ever kiss a Missouri girl." As she uttered these words, I spied a litter of hound pups in the corner of the kitchen. I picked up one and said, "I would kiss a hound pup before I would kiss a Missouri girl," and I kissed the pup. While rummaging around I found a couple of empty nail kegs and a box marked B, as my kegs and boxes had been marked, and this Capt. Brown had been in the raid on Wienersville. I opened a trunk, no doubt belonging to Capt. B., and found there a new pair of jean pants, about five sizes too large for me; nevertheless, I exchanged my nether garments. The newly acquired breeches reached nearly up to my arm bits, but were quite comfortable.

We returned from our raid to Osawatomie on the afternoon of the 28th of August, bringing along some 150 head of fat cattle. Of these Capt. Brown had four killed at once to feed the hungry settlers around. Early next morning Brown and Cline divided the captured stock, each taking one-half. Capt. B. charging to his share the four killed the previous evening, and he ordered four more killed for the settlers. The eight hides he gave to a poor widow who had given us six bushels of corn to feed our horses.

We broke camp, moving across the Marais des Cygnes with the horses and cattle, making the "Crane" dwelling on the "Crane" farm our headquarters. This Crane farm is the present site of the insane asylum—main buildings. The Cline company remained camped in the Bottom by Osawatomie south, with all their stock by them.

Jacob Benjamin and Freeman Austin came to us during the day, as there was a report that a very large pro-slavery force, under the command of [J.W.] Reid, was south of Lawrence, heading for Osawatomie, and the settlers were called upon to come and assist in defending the town. Capt. Brown arranged with Capt. Cline that Brown's company should picket the roads towards Paola and Cline's company picket the Lawrence road.

On the evening of the 29th of August, Capt. Brown told off the different reliefs

for the various picket posts. Benjamin and I were on the last relief of the picket, a full half mile from the camp, northeast, towards Paola, on the main road leading towards Paola, and we came on at 2 a.m. to stand four hours, till 6 o'clock a.m. At about 5 o'clock a.m., we heard one shot quite distinctly; some few minutes after another shot and, within a few minutes more, the report of several guns. I had just said, "Those boys ought not to waste ammunition so foolishly," when we heard several volleys succeeding one another, intermingled with a boom like that of a cannon, and again single shots. This was kept up, and I said to Benjamin: "This is battle." He agreed. As the firing continued, I said, "They must have forgotten us; the Missourians have surprised our people; let us hasten to the ford," and we did so. The ford was a full mile from our picket post. As we reached it we met some fifteen of Cline's men horseback, just having crossed over, and Dr. R. Gilpatrick was with them. They told us that the town was surprised, the pickets were driven in and followed at once by a big force of Missourians, they thought about 500 or 800 strong, and that they had a small cannon. I argued with them a minute or two that as Capt. Brown was still over there, we might yet do some good with our small force, when the firing ceased all at once, and we all considered the day lost. Cline's men and Dr. Gilpatrick declared that the best to be done was a retreat to Lawrence and assist the stand there, and they rode off. Then a young man—who had a claim on the Pottawatomie and had crossed the river on foot—came in and told us that the Missourians had crossed at Bundy's Ford and had jumped the town by the Lawrence road. That our men had made a good stand. That the Missourians must have met with quite a heavy loss of killed and wounded, and that he thought Capt. Brown had worked himself down the river to the H[a]user's. We then concluded to start up the hill and move on the highest points towards H[a]user's place. On the way we made a breakfast of muskmelons and watermelons and had gained the top of the hill, giving us a view of Bundy's Crossing, when we saw the Missouri force emerging from the timber, after having crossed the river, and going east. We could see very plainly two wagons loaded with what looked like dead men, as legs and arms were hanging out. Our voting companion left us to go to H[a]user's. We crossed at a low-water ford and came out on the Adair place and pushed towards Osawatomie, when we ran on the body of Fred Brown, right by the main traveled trail. Benjamin stayed with the body, and I ran to the Adair house. Mr. Adair came out, and we three carried the dead to a small shanty in the rear of the dwelling house. Mr. Adair told us Fred Brown was killed by the Missouri advance guard while going from the Garrison place to his; that David Garrison had also been killed about the same time. We learned afterward that the Rev. Martin White had commanded the advance guard, and if he had not killed Fred Brown himself, his men had done it under his orders, and the same of Garrison. From my experience with the Missouri guerrillas during the Civil War I incline to the opinion that these men were not killed because of their relationship and friendship to Capt. John Brown, but because these Border Ruffians, and later the Missouri guerrillas, when surprising a town or settlement, would kill all they ran across lest an untimely alarm might be carried to their objective point, copying Indian strategy.

From Adair's we went to the Garrison place, where Mrs. Benjamin and my brother-in-law stayed. I had left my horse here. Benjamin, too, had left the horse. Capt. Brown had given him out of the lot taken on Sugar Creek here. After quite

a council Benjamin and I started for Lawrence, by way of the Abbott camp. We reached our destination at 7 o'clock a.m., August 31.

I may as well at this time give all the information I received within the next few days after the battle. This information I received from Capt. Brown, Luke [F]. Parsons, Freeman Austin and others.

A man by the name of Hughes, quite wealthy for those days, owning the 160-acre claim south of Osawatomie with fine improvements—a two-story log house, a log barn, etc.—piloted the Missouri crowd across Bundy's Ford to the attack from the west of town. Brown and his men from the Crane house posted themselves in and around a log house at the edge of the timber in the north end of town; but after the first shot from the Missouri cannon the men scattered through the timber, keeping up a desultory skirmishing fire, assisted by the Capt. Cline crowd who had hurried from their camp, south of the town. But the numbers were against them, and our men began to retreat, most of them through the timber along the south side of the river. About fifteen or twenty started to cross at the ford and go up the river on the north side, among them George Partridge, who was shot and killed while crossing the river. Nearer the center of the town Charles Kaiser, severely wounded in the right hip, and E. T. Brown, the 14-year-old son of Orville C. Brown, were made prisoners.³¹ Some of the Missourians ran to the sawmill to set it afire. L. I. Parsons and Freeman Austin were behind some sawlogs. Parson's gun missed fire, but Austin killed the man carrying the torch, then the rest turned back, carrying the dead man with them. Austin and Parsons both fired again, and they had one more to move, and the mill was saved. Capt. Brown worked his way with a few men to H[a]user's place and returned to Osawatomie in the afternoon and found all the cattle and horses, being on the north side of the river, safe and unmolested about the Crane place. Cline's cattle, horses, teams, tents, etc., had all been captured. Capt. Brown ordered a sufficient number of beeves to supply the needs of the settlers to be killed daily, but cautioned against waste.

The killed in the "Battle of Osawatomie," on our side were Fred Brown, David Garrison, George Partridge.

A stranger, a Missourian, by name Williams, who had brought a load of meal and flour the day before, was killed and his team and load taken along by the Ruffians.

Charles Kaiser was killed the afternoon of August 30. Shot down in cold blood at the Missouri camp, near Olathe. We have never found his remains. T.E. Brown was set free and served three years in Co. F, 5th Kansas. Hughes left with his Missouri friends that morning and never returned. His cattle and hogs assisted in feeding the settlers all through fall. A man named Bogus Williams, a Pennsylvanian, a pro-slavery sympathizer, bought the improvements and pre-empted the quarter section, but sold at the commencement of the Civil War.

We reached Camp Abbott some time during the night, picketed the horses and slept till noon of August 31st, then went to Lawrence; were billeted and quartered at some house for meals and floor space. Sept. 1st, 1856, we registered at the headquarters of the Free State commander, James H. Lane. I received an old musket in place of the rifle I had borrowed some time ago from Taway Jones. I objected to the unwieldiness of a musket on horseback. Gen. Lane handed me a few cartridges and said, "That is just the gun I want you to have." He ordered a parade and some 200 or more of the Free State forces fell into line. Gen. Lane made a few remarks to them on absolute

obedience to orders; he closed with the words, "All who are ready to obey orders, at the word, 'Forward,' march two steps to the front." At the command all stepped forward. He said, "Not a d—d man in the rear." In his red (Ga[r]ibaldi) shirt, slouch hat, swarthy complexion, long, black beard, Lane was a quite picturesque figure. We (Benjamin and I) were detailed to Capt. Sam Walker's command and were with him scouting back and forth two days. When Capt. Brown reached Lawrence we went to his command. My brother-in-law had come with him, anxious to return to St. Louis. As he had only money enough to pay stage fare to Kansas City (\$3 00), and boat fare to St. Louis (\$12.00), I borrowed \$1.00 from Capt. Brown so he could buy a few meals, and he left.

As we received news that the Border Ruffians kept raiding the Pottawatomie country in small parties, we—Benjamin and I—made up our minds to return to the Garrison place and bring Mrs. Benjamin and the Brown families and all the stock to Douglas County. For this purpose we left for the Garrison place on the 5th of September, and on the 8th had the families and stock within eight miles of Lawrence; young Maness herding the stock, and we camped in a deserted cabin. I became very sick with fever and ague, and the only medicine on hand was Peruvian bark, which I took by the tablespoon full.

I surrendered my horse to Capt. Brown to mount someone whose horse had died, and about the 12th of September, after Jason and Owen Brown had scouted through the Pottawatomie country and found all raiding parties had departed for the Missouri camp, near Lawrence, we drove back to the Mosquito Branch, the Browns going to Iowa to winter.

Sept. 17th, Gen. Richardson of Missourians, and Gen. Lane formed line of battle. Richardson had 2,500 men in camp and line willing for duty, and Lane about 500. The two commanders rode out of their respective commands under a flag of truce, held a palaver and agreed to disband their men and send them to their homes, and to stop all depredations by their organized forces; and this agreement was tolerably well kept by both sides.

As we had made no preparations for winter and had not succeeded in finding water at sixty feet, we concluded to winter in Osawatomie where a good, roomy cabin and corral was offered us.

Benjamin and his wife were there, and Maness had driven the stock there, so I was left alone in the house on the Mosquito Branch claim, just to watch some furniture which was to be moved shortly. I was yet quite weak, when one morning towards the last of September, just before sunup, I noticed a lonely rider crossing the Branch and coming up the California trail to the house. As he came nearer I saw it was Capt. Brown. He stopped without dismounting and told me that he was on the road to Iowa where his people intended to winter. I paid him the \$1.00 I owed him, and as the sun rose we shook hands and he went on. That was the last time I met with old John Brown.

We moved to Osawatomie and put up a lot of hay. We had some fifty head of cattle. Sam Green hired me to sell out what merchandise he had left and paid me in shirts and socks; and when the Eastern-aid goods reached us, Rev. Adair, who had been elected to superintend the distribution, appointed me as his assistant to deliver

goods on his order, which I did without pay. I also assisted in butchering the Hughes cattle and hogs, as they were needed for food.

Mrs. Benjamin died in confinement about the middle of October; her child, a son, died soon after. Jacob Benjamin, Ben Cochra[n], Poin[d]exter, Maness and I, and Benjamin as Wiener's attorney in fact, laid out the town of Greeley, in Anderson County, in December, 1856; and Maness having taken a claim joining, he and I moved into an old claim cabin, and brought the cattle with us and wintered them there on the range. Benjamin married again in January, 1857, a daughter of Maness, her first name was Elizabeth.

1557. Toward the end of March I sold my claim for \$800, and we started a two-story log house in Greeley for a store.

Benjamin filed a pre-emption claim on the 80 acres on which he had wintered and eventually got it after considerable lawing.

My parents and brother-in-law and sister arrived in Osawatomie about the first week in April. I bought the Weightman claim on the creek, south of Greeley, on which they settled. I opened the store about the middle of April and did fairly well. I was appointed postmaster of the Walker³² post office. Benjamin was a partner in the business. I had a great many trips to make to Lecompton in land contests of the town of Greeley and Benjamin's claim. We won them, but during my absence the business was neglected, especially after my brother-in-law left for Europe in May.

In May, of 1857, I presented my claim against the United States for \$1,000 for property destroyed in 1856, before the Congressional Commission and had it allowed. It is yet unpaid.

During the spring and early summer came on the canvass for and against the vote on the Topeka constitution, and the old Free State leaders divided, part favoring a big vote, part favoring a general apathy. I stumped Anderson County against Dr. R. Gilpatrick and Dr. J. G. Blunt for the participation of the settlers in the election for the Topeka Constitution and prevailed. At one time the bribe of an appointment to the office of probate judge was offered me. Of course, it was rejected.

At one time in this campaign I walked from Greeley to Marais des Cygnes, crossing of the old California trail, and back to take part in a caucus held in the woods near the crossing. In July I spent the 1st, 2nd and 3rd visiting Theo. Wiener, who then lived in Washington, Iowa. I was in Mt. Pleasant and Keokuk on the 4th. I visited in St. Louis and returned to Kansas by July 15th, 1857.

My business did not keep up while I was gone. My sister tended the post-office and Benjamin mostly the store; he did not seem to take. The man had changed considerably since he had married his second wife. I believe his wife's relatives pilfered.

In November we had an election for the legislature under the bogus laws, the election was viva voce.

Gov. Walker shut clown on the pro-slavery election frauds and the elected legislature was thoroughly Free State. I happened in Lecompton when the attorney-general of the Territory, Wm. Weir, afterwards Colonel of the 4th Kansas, expressed himself thus: "What business has a democratic governor to expose and defeat democratic election frauds?" Gov. Robert J. Walker was an honest man, befriending the justice of the cause of the Free State settlers.

Dec. 1, 1557. For some days reports had been reaching Greeley that the

Missourians were repeating their raiding practices against the Lima and Bourbon settlers, and on Dec. 1, 1857, Dr. J. G. Blunt and I formed an organized company of fifteen to go down to help Montgomery, Jennison and Bayne to defend the homes of the settlers.³³ The Border Ruffians had a new way of pestering the Free State people. The pro-slavery grand jury in Ft. Scott had indicted a large number of most peaceable settlers for all kinds of offences, and the U.S. marshal posses in squads of fifty, one hundred and even more, scoured the country to make arrests and steal stock. The Free State men under Montgomery, Jennison and Bayne determined on making a stand. As already stated, Dr. J. G. Blunt and I had prevailed on some fifteen to assist the Linn and Bourbon County Free State people. Blunt hired a four-mule team and wagon and about fifteen of us started for the scene of the troubles. I am today (July 13, 1903) the only survivor of this expedition. We left Greeley at 9 o'clock the evening of the 1st, and about 3 o'clock the next morning one of the boys, Cass Eams, carelessly took hold of a gun by the muzzle to lift himself into the wagon, and was fatally shot. We left him in Mound City in the morning, where he died Dec. 5th, and was buried Dec. 5th with military honors. About noon, Dec. 2nd, we arrived at Fort Bayne, on the Bayne claim, a camp around a log cabin in the center on the Little Osage. Major Abbott was there with a few men from near Lawrence. Capt. Bayne had some twenty men with him. Dr. Gilpatrick was there, too, altogether we were about forty-five men. The marshal's posses were in the neighborhood of 250 men and an attack was expected. We knocked out some chinking of the cabin for port-holes and hastily made breastworks from some rail-piles. About 3 o'clock p.m., the Missourians came on to within 50 yards, when they spread out in open order and began firing; we replied, the action lasted an hour. The Missourians lost some horses and about ten men wounded, three of whom died in a few days. None of us received a scratch.

During the engagement Col. Wm. A. Phillips, the New York *Tribune* correspondent, came up on a gallop, hitched his horse under the upper river bank and jumped into our fortification, and was received with three cheers for the New York *Tribune*. The enemy left at 5 p.m., and our scouts, bringing us news that a body of 500 Ruffians was coming up from Fort Scott, we concluded to retreat to Mound City. Arriving there at 3 o'clock a.m., we made camp in a grove by a school house. There we recruited our forces. Ten men came from Greeley, and by the 10th of December we had 150 men tolerably well armed, under command of James H. Lane, commander-in-chief. We camped out through the whole time without blankets or warmer winter clothing. The weather was comparatively mild, and we had plenty of wood. The Missourians became afraid of the Free State forces and posses, and all made tracks back to Missouri, and while occasionally small parties of five or ten would raid and depredate and murder within a few miles from the border, never hereafter did any large bodies invade Kansas until the Civil War broke out, because the Free State men of Linn and Bourbon Counties kept up their organization under Montgomery and Jennison ever after as Jayhawkers. On the evening of the 14th we were ordered to break camp, Montgomery's, Jennison's and Bayne's companies sufficient to preserve order, and Gen. Lane further ordered all men to meet at the school house at midnight, where, after a short speech, he 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 (July 15, 1903). I and J. E. Blunt are the only survivors of this, the first military organization of Jayhawkers. The school house was a log house of very large dimensions, about 24 feet or more square, and we were packed in it like herrings.

At Gen. Lane's order, "March," we all piled out, each party for their homes. We from Greeley arrived home by 7 a.m., Dec. 15, 1857. February, 1858, I was removed from the post office because of having, with others, fired on the U.S. marshal. This just suited me, as I had quit the merchandise business. Jacob Benjamin, having made his proof and entered his claim near the town of Osawatomie, moved into the store building.

March, 1858, I was appointed enrolling officer of the Kansas Militia for Anderson County by Maj. Gen. Lane, commander-in-chief of the Kansas Territorial Militia. I appointed D. J. Jackman, who lately died at Ft. Scott (April, 1903), my deputy; no emoluments were connected with that office.

My sister left for Europe about the middle of March, 1858. From that time on I attended to farming and stock-raising. I purchased two old plugs and a yoke of cattle. April 1st, I started with Benjamin and a neighbor, John Ba[u]cher, into the Indian Territory to purchase cattle, but after two weeks' excursion returned without them. I had at that time scraped together some twenty head of cattle, of which more than half were cows and heifers. A young man, John Christian Fischer, in '58 began to make his home with me, and we chummed until the fall of '60. July 4th, 1858, I was with Jim Lane and his bandits at Topeka. In '58 and '59, I had a fine vegetable garden and even in '60 I had a good supply of vegetables.

In the fall of '58, Capt. John Brown camped for three days in the claim cabin of a non-resident, Mitchell, one-fourth mile east of our cabin. He had with him eleven Negroes, former slaves, which he had gathered in Missouri and was just then running off to Canada and on account of whom the so-called "Battle of the Spurs" was fought a few days later in Jackson County, Kansas, between John Brown and the United States marshal's posse. He would not let me know of his presence and instructed all to whom he applied for supplies (Benjamin, Squire Mack, James F[e]tton), to be close mouthed and never inform me, Gilpatrick or Blunt of his presence, as he well knew that we, Free State men, did not sanction an increase in the colored population north, and I suppose he never forgot my opposition to his Negro insurrection plans when at Taway Camp May, 1856, April, of 1859, Theo. Wiener visited Greeley and I accompanied him on his return to Leavenworth. We rode horseback. One of my old plugs gave out and died on the return trip, 15 miles from Leavenworth. I lived that year very contentedly with my parents. Our income was small, yet we did not live up to it. As I have said, my garden was fine. I raised 150 bushels of potatoes, four bushels of beans and one bushel of Japan peas on not quite one acre of ground. Every Sunday a few German bachelors gathered at our house to hear my father's war stories of 1812, '13, and '14, and to smoke his home made cigars of home raised tobacco. In the fall of that year (1859) took place the "Brown Raid" on Harper's Ferry. The Free State people of Kansas, while not approving of it, sympathized with old Brown.

The villainies of the Missouri Ruffians had created such a feeling of revenge it must have actuated old Brown. We all felt bitter upon the hackers—Pate Br[o]ckett, Jones and Richardson—who had beggared so many homes and wrecked the future of many hard worked pioneers by their merciless robberies, depreciations and raids.

Old Capt. Brown was a good, square man, a man steadfast to principles which he had accepted as just and righteous, and if the Border Ruffians had not developed a tiger-like inhumanity the Harper's Ferry raid could never have taken place. The Free State men of Kansas owe to John Brown gratitude for their success. He and his handful kept together in Taway Camp in May of 1856, accomplished at Black Jack, June 2, 1856, he proved there that the Border Ruffians could be met in the field and defeated with proper energy and pluck. He saved the Free State cause then and there from unavoidable defeat which would have been its fate if that action had not been fought, or if victory had not been won.

1860. April 29th I left home on a trip to Leavenworth to cash a draft sent to my mother as part of her share of the estate of her Aunt Rosalia Landau, who died in Prague.

May 1st, morning. I had camped 18 miles from Leavenworth. I found one inch of ice on the water in a bucket of some other campers. In the afternoon of May 1st, I visited Simon Kohn, an old acquaintance, from St. Louis. He introduced me to George Einstein, then city clerk, with whom I went home and stayed overnight, and there met Miss Henrietta Einstein, who married me June 28th, 1860. I proposed by letter on the short acquaintance of a few hours and was accepted. Squire Peter McFarland married us. At supper Squire McFarland discussed politics with me. I gave it as my opinion that Lincoln's election would cause a war of secession. He opposed me; but before the year was out, he, as a captain of Volunteers, had a piece of his skull taken off by a shell, and replaced by a silver plate. He was the first captain of Company G, 1st Kansas Regiment. Squire McFarland made a mistake in the record of the marriage which mentions July 28, 1860, as the date.

We left Leavenworth July 1st for home. It was a hot and dry summer. Sunday, July 12th, we rested for dinner at Taw[a]y Jones, in the timber, when the Moore boys passed and congratulated me, after having been introduced to my wife.

1860 was the driest year in Kansas experience since 1851. I raised some sixty bushels of corn, possibly more than the whole township had raised. I had plowed, in April, my six acres of brush land a foot deep, with two yoke of cattle and it yielded fine.

In November, 1860, mother and I went to Leavenworth to buy supplies. The trip lasted twelve days. By a sudden cold snap the Kaw River froze over, and we camped nearly four days on its bank. During the winter of 1860-61, I kept up the meat supply with rabbits. I killed one corn-fed hog, and four from the mart. In July, 1860, I met Jacob Benjamin one Sunday on the prairie. We somehow got into an argument, and he started to strike me, when I applied to him a few sound licks and kicks till he commenced to howl like a baby and expressed regret that our friendship had so ended. I fully rehearsed to him his treachery, that he had overreached me in spite of professed friendship in various deals and explained to him that his family and mine, he and I, could have nothing in common; yet, I shook hands with him,

pledging him my forgiveness, but wished him distinctly to understand that we had to be as strangers, and we never exchanged a word after that.

He enlisted in Co. E, of the 11th, was considered a D. B. in the service. Swapped his lands in Anderson County with Gen. Blunt August 1st, 1865, for a section in [Miami] County, and while hauling timber his team ran away at Bull Creek Crossing; he fell from his load, broke his jaw and died three days after the accident from blood poisoning. His wife, who held all the property, married again. This time a butcher of Paola, who went through all her belongings and left her, and Mrs. Elizabeth Maness died in the '70's, poor and forlorn, her children scattered. In the winter of '60-'61, my place was selected as a good underground railway station, and I sheltered several runaways; also nursed a young man from Linn County, who in a border foray, had been wounded in one hip. I kept him until his recovery was complete—about a month. Our house, or rather cabin, was close to a big body of timber which, in case of necessity, provided a good shelter.

1861. In February I made a trip to Lawrence and on the way swapped my horse for a fine half-breed mare, with a Shawnee Indian, named Polewishemo.

Sunday, April 28, my eldest child, Rosa, gladdened our cabin. Monday, April 29, I met with about forty neighbors in Mount Gilead and Squire James Hannaway administered to us the oath of allegiance, we forming a ring around him. Of the men who were with me, so far as I know, only Capt. J. G. Rees, late of Co. E, 11th Kansas, and myself are amongst the living.

A great lot of aid-supplies came to Kansas in the fall of '60 and spring of '61. I never asked nor received any. I hauled a jag of dry limbs to the Greeley corn mill every Saturday and was given in payment a half bushel of corn meal. I acted as special constable in almost every case before Squires McDow and Mack of the township, and occasionally had considerable fun with the parties to the suit. Neither the Squires nor I ever charged fees.

In the middle of May I teamed to Leavenworth, hauling butter and eggs there, returning with crockeryware, etc., for the Mt. Gilead merchant. My sister-in-law, Carrie Einstein, and my 3-year-old nephew, Sol Einstein, returned with me for a visit.

On the way to Leavenworth I stopped in Lawrence several hours to hear the speeches of Robt. B. Mitchell, Owen A. Bassett and J. G. Blunt to the crowds, encouraging them to enlist. I met on this occasion Dr. Rufus Gilpatrick and settled with him for assistance at my wife's confinement, \$4. I felt sore that I could not then enlist in the first regiments, but I made up my mind to do so as soon as possible. I also met Bernard P. Chenoweth, who had recruited part of Co. A, of the 1st regiment. He was then already married (I believe) to the woman whom Kansans know as Carrie Nation. Chenoweth was mustered out with the regiment as captain of Co. A, 1st Kansas.

About the 15th of June George Einstein visited us and took his wife and son home.

Eighteen hundred and sixty-one was a wet year. The bottoms raised but little corn. I had broken some seven acres brush land in the Spring, which I planted July 7th and I raised quite a crop of nearly fully matured corn by Oct. 15th, when I cut it up.

July 21st, my birthday, was the day the first battle of Bull Run was fought.

August 10th the battle at Wilson's Creek. The boys who had foretold the end of the war by Fall gave up as mistaken. I strained all my energy so that I might leave home and enlist by November. My mother also hurried me to complete my work that I might enlist. She would agree with my wife that the country which gave to us, exiles, home and rights, had a right to claim our services. She would take care of wife and child, and if I should fall I would honor my child, and family. I must follow the call of duty.

I had my hay and enough of it well put up, fodder hauled together, a big pile of wood before the door, my hogs killed and pickled, a supply of breadstuff laid in by November 20th, when I told my wife and parents that the time was at hand for me to join the men who had "rallied round the flag." My father said that if I left for the war, his blessing would go with me. My father, who was 71 or more years of age, was yet quite stout and in perfect health. He had always been industrious, never afraid of doing something to benefit his beloved ones. He worked in a brickyard in St. Louis in the fall of '49 to assist and contribute to the family living, his share. He worked at cigar-making, peddled, and in Louisville for some years had worked in a chair and furniture factory. On the farm he attended to the woodpile, fed chickens, hogs and cattle and calves. He was most punctual to attend to any duty or work he had once assumed. He was, of course, most partial to our baby, sliding her around in a box fitted up, as we had no baby carriage; such things being unknown in the settlement. My father and mother have faithfully assisted their son and his wife on all occasions, and my debt and my wife's debt of gratitude was not cancelled by caring for them when they became more or less invalids; but we tried to imitate them in assisting and providing for our children so that they should, at some time, when we were no more, bless our memory, as we did always the memory of my dear parents.

My mother said that as a Jehudi I had the duty to perform, to defend the institutions which gave equal rights to all beliefs. My wife was still—then my mother arose up and said she would care for and protect and work for and do all she could for my wife and child. I must go and fight for my country, and she would care for family and home. And my mother has faithfully, most faithfully, redeemed the pledge. When I left home Nov. 26th, 1861, I left with my family some thirty head of cattle (one yoke of work oxen, eleven cows, the balance young stock), one mare and two spring colts, also some pigs.

John Gerth, my neighbor, and George Lewis, of near Hyatt, had agreed to enlist in the same organization that I would, and we had also agreed to start Nov. 26th for Fort Lincoln, in Bourbon County, Kansas.

Notes

¹ Names that Bondi mentions, revolutionaries and the Austrian leaders, are often famous names that play prominent roles in histories of that time. See, for example, C.A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire. 1790–1918* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1969). I have made minor modifications in Bondi's orthography, e.g., *stayed* instead of *staid*.

² Ernst D. Kargau's *St. Louis in Former Years: A Commemorative History of the German Element* (1893) in Don Heinrich Tolzmann (ed.), *The German Element in St. Louis* (St. Louis: Clearfield, 2000). A number of the names that Bondi mentions figure prominently in this book. For example, on Börnstein, see p. 24 et alia; on Kennett, pp. 100 and 250; on Bogy, pp. 62, 249–50; on Uriel Wright, p. 84; on Kretschmar, pp.

104 and 159; and on Dr. John Hartmann, pp. 198 and 200.

³ Kargau, p. 110.

⁴ Phillips recalled the words of John Brown in an interview. Brown "condemned the sale of land as a chattel [i.e., land that includes slaves], and thought that there was infinite number of wrongs to right before society would be what it should be, but that in our country slavery was the 'sum of all villainies,' and its abolition the first essential work." William A. Phillips, "Three Interviews with Old John Brown," *Atlantic Monthly* 44 (1879): 741.

⁵ Sanborn's description of this incident may be, in part, based on Bondi's text. He reports that Baker came from Vermont. Sanborn, p. 254. Cf. James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1942), p. 750.

⁶ The Sherman brothers were natives of Oldenburg, Germany. Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge this Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 99.

⁷ Sanborn has information that Wilkinson came from the North, but married a Tennessee wife and adopted her view of slavery. Sanborn, p. 271.

⁸ In the typescript and in his hand-written letter to Sanborn Bondi consistently refers to Wiener, not Weiner. January 25, 1884. See n. 18 below.

⁹ Richard J. Hinton describes the Brown family settlement: "With the captain were his sons, John, Jason, Owen, Frederick, Oliver, Salmon, Thomas, his son-in-law, Henry Thompson, and his brothers-in-law, the Rev. Adair, who is still living at Osawatimie, Kansas, and Mr. Thomas Day, his wife's brother; Ruth, his eldest daughter, Wealthy and Ellen, the wives of John, Jr., and Jason, with children—one having died while these emigrants were passing through Missouri." Hinton adds also the names of others who became closely associated with Brown in the coming days: "To their camp came James H. Holmes, a well-educated New Yorker, fresh from college; August Bondi, European engineer (sic) and soldier; Charley Kaiser, one also of the brothers of Susan B. Anthony (there were two in Kansas); the Partridge boys, John Bowles and his brother William; Dr. Updegraff, John Ritchie, H.H. Williams, and a few others. Augustus Wattles, O.B. Brown, the founder of Osawatimie, James Hanway, E.B. Whitman, James Montgomery, with one or two more comprised nearly all who, after that first year, became identified with John Brown. Some of them were advisers, not fighters." *John Brown and His Men* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1894), pp. 39–40.

¹⁰ Kargau, pp. 68 and 115–16.

¹¹ "Salmon [Brown] recalled that W[ie]ner was 'a big, savage, bloodthirsty Austrian' who 'could not be kept out of any accessible fight.'" Oates, p. 99. Bondi wrote of Wiener's dramatic conversion to the Free State cause: "For nothing, however, did I admire John Brown as much as for the conversion of my friend Theodore Wiener from a rank pro-slavery man to an uncompromising abolitionist, which happened in the winter of '55 to '56. Wiener was a Jew, as I am, and Benjamin was; he came from Germany in '47 and to St. Louis in '54, where Benjamin and myself became acquainted with him. Benjamin and myself left St. Louis for Kansas early in spring '55, as we parted, he wished that the southerners would assist us to an early return. In fall '55, about September, B[enjamin] returned to St. Louis, when Wiener consented to come to Kansas and open a store on my claim, pledging himself to B[enjamin] that he would run his store and let politics alone. Wiener invested \$7–8,000 in goods and came to Kansas. In the meantime I had become very sick and had left for St. Louis just two days before Wiener reached my claim. So I did not see W[ie]ner till about May '56 when he came to St. Louis to buy goods (I returned to Kansas with him). Judge of my surprise when W[ie]ner conversed with me as a radical Free State man. He was free to acknowledge that the change was mainly due to his intimacy with the Browns." The letter, dated January 25, 1884 from Salina, is on stationery that refers to the "Office of August Bondi, Police Judge, Salina, Kansas." Collection Bondi, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

¹² James Townsley described the events involving Captain Dayton. Sanborn, pp. 262–63.

¹³ Taway Jones is John T. Jones, referred to also as the Indian Ottawa Jones. He supported the free-state cause. Jones's place was off the California Road. Oates, p. 138. Cf. Sanborn, pp. 245 and 262.

¹⁴ Charles A. Foster reports about this incidence: "In the spring of 1856 William Sherman had taken a fancy to the daughter of one of his Free-State neighbors and had been refused by her. The next time he met her he used the most vile and insulting language toward her, in the midst of which Frederick Brown appeared and was besought for protection, which was readily granted. Sherman then drew his knife, and, speaking to the young woman, said: 'The day is soon coming when all the damned Abolitionists will be driven out or hanged; we are not going to make any half-way work about it; and as for you, Miss, you shall either marry me or I'll drive this knife to the hilt until I find your life. Frederick Brown quietly warned Sherman that if he attempted any violence, he would be taken care of; when with an oath and threat, Sherman left them.'" Sanborn, p. 256.

¹⁵ Despite this plea, Grant was one of the persons who later "censured the massacre as an inexcusable outrage." Oates, p. 141.

¹⁶ Sanborn writes: "Townslley had been a cavalry soldier in the United States army from 1839 to 1844, and had fought against Indians in Florida; by trade he was a painter . . . went into the Pottawatomie region and bought a 'claim,' for which he paid eighty dollars, put up a rude cabin, and moved his family into it." p. 262. Mrs. Townslley describes her husband's activities in Kansas and defended his innocence of the Pottawatomie "murders." Selections from the Hyatt Manuscripts, "Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 1-2 (1881): 203-06. In 1879 Townslley himself gave an interview in which he said that he had refused Brown's request to be a guide for a proposed killing of pro-slavery people. "During the killing Townslley, Fred Brown and Wiener stood guard . . . Townslley admitted that he did not approve of the killing and considered it terrible, but Brown insisted that it was necessary for the protection of the settlers." Molin, p. 386. Despite his disapproval, Townslley continued to be part of Brown's subsequent campaigns.

¹⁷ "Allen Wilkinson, his wife Luisa Jane, and their two children had emigrated from Tennessee. They built a cabin (which also served as post office) on Mosquito Creek, about a mile north of Dutch Henry's Crossing. Wilkinson had been elected to the proslavery legislature. . ." Oates, p. 99.

¹⁸ In his article in response to Utter, Bondi adds: "I was astonished but not at all displeased. The men killed had been our neighbors, and I was sufficiently acquainted with their characters to know that they were of the stack from which afterwards came the James brothers, the Youngers, and the rest, who never shrank from perpetrating crime if it was done in the interest of the pro-slavery cause. As to their antecedents—the Doyles had been 'slave hunters' before they came to Kansas, and had fetched along two of their blood hounds. 'Dutch Bill' Sherman, a German from Oldenburg and a resident of Kansas since 1845, had amassed considerable property by robbing cattle droves and emigrant trains. He was a giant, six feet four inches high, and for the last weeks before his death had made it his pastime) in company with the Doyles) to break in the doors of free state settlers, frightening and insulting their families, or ones in a while attacking and ill-treating a man whom they encountered alone. It would take too long to recount all their atrocities. Wilkinson was one of the few southerners who were able to read and write, and who prided himself accordingly. He was a member of the border ruffian legislature, and a principal leader in all attempts to annoy and extirpate the free state men. Although he never directly participated in the murders and robberies, still it was well understood that he was always informed a short time before an invasion of Missourians was to occur, and on the very day of his death, he had tauntingly said to some free state men that in a few days the last of them would be either dead or out of the territory." Bondi "Reminiscences," p. 28, part of the Utter articles, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. When interviewed in 1880 about the killings, Wiener denied his involvement. He said, according to John Hutchings: "I tell you I know nothing about the matter." Malin, p. 394. In his letter to Sanborn Bondi speculated about Wiener's position on the killings: "Wiener himself has never to any extent conversed with me on the so-called Pottawatomie massacre. He never would allow himself to be drawn out. I have a theory of my own on this matter. I have a suspicion that Wilki[n]son was a Mason; so is Wiener, and Wiener did not know at the time that Wilki[n]son was a brother Mason. It may not have been, still such is my suspicion." At the bottom of this page Bondi wrote: "The last part of this letter from mark x strictly confidential." The confidential segments include remarks about Wiener and Kaiser. The letter is dated January 25, 1884. Collection Bondi, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

¹⁹ James C. Malin has published the affidavit by George W. Grant about this controversial event. *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six*, pp. 573-577. Grant stated that "John Brown Sen., Owen Brown, Frederick Brown, James Townslley, M. Wiener, Henry Thompson, Oliver Brown, and Salmon Brown did on malice aforethought kill and murder the said Wilkerson, Shearman & Doyles, and the affiant further states that Samuel W. Kilborn, Poindexter Mannass, Simeon Morse, William Partridge, Henry H. Williams, and Jason Brown remained with said Company, until they disbanded on Potawatomie . . ." James Hanway, who lived near the place of the "Pottawatomie executions," described John Brown's reflections about it. "I knew all good men who loved freedom, when they became better acquainted with the circumstances connected with the case would approve of it. The public mind was not ready then to accept such hard blows." Sanborn, p. 250-51.

²⁰ John Brown wrote on June 3, 1857 of Mr. Cochran, on Pottawatomie Creek as one of the reliable persons for his cause. This letter also mentions Daniel Foster, William David, Dr. Updegraff, S.H. White, William Phillips (see p. 52), Mr. Adair (see p. 64), Holmes (see p. 61), Frazee, Hill, and A. Wattles (to whom the letter is addressed). Sanborn, p. 303.

²¹ Bondi's typescript gives a few more details about Kaiser. See note 39, p. 25, in this volume.

²² A Lawrence rifle company to which Luke F. Parsons belonged. John Brown hoped that the company would join him in his battles, but the company was not willing to leave Lawrence. Nevertheless, Parsons

joined Brown. Sanborn, pp. 283–85.

²³ Phillips met with Brown on several occasions. In one interview, published in the *New York Tribune* on July 11, 1856, Brown criticized the free state politicians from the East for trying to pass resolutions instead of acting. Phillips saw Brown as a “strange, resolute, repulsive, iron-willed, inexorable old man.” Oates, p. 159.

²⁴ Bondi mistakenly writes John, instead of James for Abbott. Major James B. Abbott is known as the person sent to New England to procure weapons for the free-staters of Kansas. “Abbott Howitzer – Its History,” *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society* 1–2 (1881): 221–26.

²⁵ Cyrus Adams describes the death of a Major Hoyt in a letter of August 25, 1856. Sanborn, p. 328.

²⁶ Oates, pp. 160–61.

²⁷ Governor Shannon sent Captain Woods to Osawatimie and had him bring John Brown Jr. and other prisoners back to Tecumseh for interrogation. Oates, pp. 144 and 146.

²⁸ Bondi probably means Adair (not Odair). According to Sanborn, Rev. S.L. Adair, who resided at Osawatimie since 1854, made his log cabin available for meetings of the Brown family. Sanborn, p. 188.

²⁹ During the time of the Pottawatomie killings Freeman Austin, according to Bondi, stayed behind to locate and protect the Benjamin family. Austin was “an old neighbor” who “was afterwards named ‘Old Kill Devil’ from a rifle he had of that name. In memory of the “old man” and “in memory of his friendship and self-sacrifice” Bondi “placed a simple slab upon his soldier’s grave near Helena, on the Mississippi.” Bondi, “Reminiscences,” p. 28, part of the Utter articles, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

³⁰ P.D. Maness is one of the prisoners with H.H. Williams, Wm. Partridge, Jason Brown, S.W. Killbourn, John Brown Jr., S.B. Morse, and J. Benjamin after the Pottawatomie killings. Letter of June 14, 1856 by H.H. Williams to Rev. Samuel Adair. Williams writes: “The eight prisoners including myself from Pottawatomie and Middle creeks arrived here today & are to have a preliminary examination next week.” <http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/cgiwrap/imlskto/index.php>.

³¹ These Browns are not related to John Brown Sr.

³² Walker is now referred to as Greeley.

³³ The fight took place at Bayne’s Ford on the Little Osage River in Bourbon County. Bondi’s participation caused his removal as postmaster of Walker.

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Book Reviews

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University of Wisconsin-Waukesha*

The German Migration to Missouri: My Family's Story.

By Paul C. Nagel. Kansas City, MO: Kansas City Star Books for the Jackson County Historical Society, 2002. 231 pp. \$16.95.

The news that Paul C. Nagel has published a book on his Missouri German ancestors generates high expectations. He has proven to be one of the best chroniclers of American families in highly readable and well-received books on the Adams family of Massachusetts and the Lee family of Virginia. Moreover, his short, interpretative history of Missouri, originally published in the Norton Bicentennial Series, was generally accepted as the best volume of all fifty in the series and is certainly one of the most sophisticated and perspicacious analyses of Missouri ever released.

The second half of the book here reviewed (chapters five through nine and the epilogue) lives up to the promise of Paul Nagel's name. These chapters tell of how, about a century ago, one pair of his German-speaking grandparents came to live and flourish on a farm near Independence, Missouri and the other pair in an Evangelical parsonage at Napoleon on the Missouri River in northwest Lafayette County. Nagel knows this history from having grown up with all four of his grandparents, and with aunts, uncles, parents, friends and neighbors who knew the families. His grandparents also left a considerable legacy of documents and artifacts now in his possession. The last chapters of this book are a warm, wonderful memoir of his grandparents in their declining years after both couples retired to Independence, and their relationship with the author himself when he was a child and young man. The epilogue is a short, well-reasoned argument for "rediscovering the lives of our forebears in the 19th century and before" (211) as an antidote to some of the ills of our time.

The book has other notable strengths. It is refreshingly honest. The author dares to reveal conduct by earlier ancestors as documented in parish registers and other sources in early modern Germany which would have been greatly frowned upon at the time. Some of these acts would have been highly embarrassing to later generations as well, although the "wantonness" on the part of mature women might be seen by today's feminists as examples of women controlling their own sexuality. Nagel does not hesitate to condemn his grandfather, the pastor, who wanted to relate to the

farmers in his congregation in Lafayette County in the way an East Elbian Junker related to the peasants on his estate. Some scenes in the book are highly amusing and some are very touching. The maps in this book should prove to be just what is needed by readers not especially familiar with the geography of either Germany or Missouri. Nagel's ancestors came from widely separated corners of Germany and went to both to "Duden Country" along the Missouri River west of St. Louis and to Cooper County in central Missouri, before coming to the western part of the state.

At the same time, this narrative contains an embarrassing number of errors of historical fact and unsound interpretations which will weaken its appeal to informed readers. The genealogical research behind this book appears to be exemplary, but the historical research is not what one would expect from such an accomplished historian. At the beginning of the first chapter (9), we are told that holder of the Bishopric of Osnabrück rotated between Protestant and Catholic as a part of the Peace of Augsburg of 1555. In fact, it was owing to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. And this is not especially relevant to the story being told at that point since Nagel's ancestors in question lived nearby but across the border in Grafschaft Tecklenburg. Westerkappeln is east of Metten, not west. Metten is still spelled that way on modern maps contrary to the author (11).

Germans were put into East Prussia by the *Drang nach Osten* after 1000 A.D, not B.C. (39) The author surmises that Christianity "did not flourish" in Hesse until the sixteenth century (22); what of Fulda, one of the great centers of Christian learning in the early Middle Ages? The *Völkerwanderungen* did bring Anglo-Saxons to Britain, but not Celts (49), who were there before the Romans. It was Frederick William III who merged the Lutheran and Reformed confessions in Prussia, not William III (60). This is of some importance since all the reigning Hohenzollerns seemed to be named Frederick or William or Frederick William.

In the context of the Brueggemann family's migration to Missouri in 1860, Nagel writes, "Places like Westphalia were being enticed into unification with the great power to the east, Prussia . . ." (99). In fact, the Brueggemann home at Lotte was in the County of Tecklenburg which has been ruled by Prussia since 1707 and had been a part of the Prussian province of Westphalia since 1814. The photograph on page 122 is of a binder, not a mower. In the photo, Gottlieb Nagel and assistants were harvesting wheat, not "mowing." Bismarck came from Brandenburg and Pomerania, not East Prussia (149). There are other similar gaffs. Alone these items are unimportant, but summed together they make an impact.

This reviewer also disagrees with Nagel's interpretation of the history of the Evangelical Synod, the ancestral denomination of us both. It is highly questionable that any significant number of immigrants who joined the congregations which made up the Kirchenverein des Westens, or as it was later named, the Deutsche Evangelische Synode des Westens, or still later the Deutsche Evangelische Synode von Nord Amerika, emigrated for religious reasons as the author asserts (59). To be sure, the movement to unify the Lutheran and Reformed confessions in Germany was tinged with a pietism which was, to some degree, a reaction against the formalism of the Lutheran liturgy. But those who emigrated from Prussia and several other Protestant areas already had a united or "evangelisch" church as their *Landeskirche*. Many of those coming to Missouri from Hannover, which had a purely Lutheran (although not highly confessional) state church joined Missouri Synod congregations

or went into the Evangelical Synod with reluctance as the only likely alternative to the rather too confessional Missouri Synod.

Yet, Nagel is certainly on target when he asserts that today the United Church of Christ, of which the former Evangelical Synod is now a part, and the most liberal of contemporary American mainline denominations, seems to embody as much the message of Friedrich Münch, the rationalist minister of the Duden Country, as that of Rev. Hermann Garlichs, a prominent Duden Country founder of the Kirchenverein des Westens.

Overall, despite its disconcerting historical errors, this book will greatly repay the time and effort of most readers and should inspire others to learn more about their German ancestry.

Northwest Missouri State University

Robert W. Frizzell

The Ritchie Boys: A Film by Christian Bauer.

DVD Video. English and German Version. [München]: Tangram Christian Bauer Filmproduktion, 2004. 93 minutes. € 20.00.

Die Ritchie Boys: Deutsche Emigranten beim US-Geheimdienst.

By Christian Bauer and Rebekka Göpfert. Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 2005. 224 pp. € 19.95.

Few people will probably be even generally familiar with the Ritchie Boys. As the subtitle of the book tells us, these were (with few exceptions) a group of German emigrants who became members of the U.S. intelligence service in World War II, interrogating German POWs, sending propaganda the enemy's way, and engaging in various cloak-and-dagger activities. The name is taken from the center where they received their extensive training, Camp Ritchie, Maryland.

The DVD features interviews with several of the surviving Ritchie boys, all octogenarians, nonetheless "youthful" and "exuding energy," as Christian Bauer characterizes Guy Stern in 2003 (a quote from the book, 9), a description that could be applied to any of the interviewees. They include American academicians (Stern, Werner Angress, Victor Brombert), and equally impressive success stories from other walks of life, e.g., Si Lewen, an artist; Richard Schifter, a diplomat; and businessmen Fred Howard and Hans Spear.

The film begins with the theme of departure, the backgrounds and emigration—or, better, flight, as we read in the title of the first chapter of the book—of the heroes of the story. We are soon introduced to one of the principal motifs, return, as Stern and Howard are shown on their way back to Camp Ritchie in 2003, talking and reminiscing as they sit in the backseat of a car. This motif will be picked up later as the Boys enter Germany, where most of them were born, with the advancing American army. The reactions of these young Jewish exiles to entering their native country once again are quite varied.

We see and hear the story of this crack intelligence team, from their training at Camp Ritchie to the early postwar period, with brief reports on the later careers

of several of them. The structure is highly episodic, as segments of the survivors telling their stories alternate with archival footage from World War II related to the narrative at hand. The mood varies tremendously, from Si Lewen's heart wrenching account of Buchenwald, which he visited two days after its liberation, to Guy Stern's side-splitting tale of interrogating German POWs in his role as the "Russian liaison officer" Krukov (for more Ritchie Boy humor, see Guy Stern, *Oh What a Funny (?) War*, Cincinnati Occasional Papers in German-American Studies, No. 13 [2005]).

Some of the Boys landed in France shortly after D-Day; Stern reports that when he arrived, the Normandy beaches were still strewn with corpses. One, Angress, parachuted in behind the German lines on June 6; he was soon taken prisoner and spent a harrowing few days in German captivity, fearful that his status as a German Jew and American intelligence officer might be discovered. At Camp Ritchie the Boys received not only general training that covered a wide range of subjects, but also specialized training in individual areas. The interviewees had various specialties, and we are given an excellent introduction to their principal activities. Most interrogated German POWs. Brombert was primarily responsible for questioning French citizens, not all of whom welcomed the invasion. Lewen was involved in the highly dangerous task of propagandizing front-line German troops with texts read over a loudspeaker. After the capture of Luxembourg, Ritchie Boys were responsible for using this nation's powerful radio station to send broadcasts into Germany itself.

The interviews are for the most part conducted in English, with subtitles provided for the few segments that are in German. A German-language option is also available, in which a German voiceover is played, unfortunately with the original English disturbingly audible in the background. When I last checked, the DVD was not available from amazon.com (and I must presume other American sources). It can be ordered online, from Europe, at www.ritchieboys.com.

The book covers the same ground as the DVD, if in a more consistently chronological fashion and in significantly greater detail. It contains eight main chapters, an introductory "Auf den Spuren der Ritchie Boys," a conclusion-like "Der Kreis schließt sich," acknowledgments, a brief bibliography, and biographies of fifteen Ritchie Boys. It is important to note that in addition to those individuals whom Bauer interviewed for the film, three Ritchie Boys play major roles here on the basis of their published reminiscences: the prominent writers-to-be Hanus Burger, Hans Habe, and Stefan Heym, all of whom settled in Europe after the war and died before serious work on the project began. Extensive use is made of these accounts, which are scarcely alluded to in the DVD. The book is illustrated, but many of the pictures are small and their technical quality leaves something to be desired.

I thoroughly enjoyed both book and DVD, and expanded my knowledge of an important group of German-Americans in the process.

University of Cincinnati

Jerry Glenn

Illinois' German Heritage.

Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing Co., 2005. 190 pp. \$16.95.

Tolzmann's latest edition of historical texts and essays provides readers with a close look at one of the more neglected states in the German-American settlement area: Illinois. By bringing together firsthand accounts from the nineteenth century and essays from twentieth-century historians, this book explores the rich German heritage of Illinois from the earliest settlements to the present. More importantly, we learn about the significant role played by German leaders in Illinois during the tumultuous years leading up to, during and following the Civil War. The essays, together with Tolzmann's contributions in the area of research tools, offer both scholar and interested layperson an excellent introduction to the state's German side.

Following a brief introduction, which provides bibliographic detail on the selections edited for this volume, Tolzmann has culled and translated two chapters from Gustav Körner's book published in 1880, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848*, that focus on the important German enclave east of St. Louis near Belleville, Illinois, that gave rise to the term "Latin Farmers" and also on settlements in central Illinois such as Highland settled by the Swiss. A third chapter, devoted to the Germans in Chicago, is taken from a 1932 publication, *The Germans of Chicago*, by Andrew Jacke Townsend.

After giving the reader an overview of the German settlements and important figures throughout the state, Tolzmann presents three biographical sketches of significant German immigrants in the nineteenth century: Gustav Körner (by Evarts B. Greene, 1907), Friedrich Hecker (by Alice Reynolds, 1946), and Francis A. Hoffmann (by D. I. Nelke, 1895). Both Körner and Hoffmann served as lieutenant governor of Illinois in the years surrounding the Civil War and were active in Republican politics, especially in the political career of Abraham Lincoln. Hecker, of course, was the hero of 1848 fame, who settled on a farm near Belleville, Illinois, and continued to speak out and serve the cause of liberty for the remainder of his life (Hecker enlisted as a private in the volunteer infantry formed in St. Louis in April 1861 upon Lincoln's call to put down the rebellion; he later became a colonel of his own regiment in Illinois).

In addition to providing lengthy annotated notes to each of the first six chapters, Tolzmann summarizes the development of the German community in Illinois in a final chapter on its "German Heritage." After placing the Germans of Illinois in the overall context of German immigration and settlement in the nineteenth century, he provides interesting details on political, religious and cultural life of the Germans in Illinois during that period. Of particular note are the events surrounding the controversial Haymarket Riot of 1886 and the subsequent pardon of some of the perpetrators by German-American governor John Peter Altgeld in 1893. This chapter concludes with a focus on the twentieth century, giving special attention to the German-American Alliance and the anti-German feelings during the World War One era, as well as developments since that time such as the formation of a new organization based in Chicago, the German-American National Kongress (D.A.N.K.). The volume also includes a guide to sources and an index.

In comparison with some of the editor's earlier publications of edited texts, the typographical errors appear greatly reduced. A second edition should, however, correct misspellings such as "Speier" (6; instead of *Speyer*), "Berkley" (9; instead of *Berkeley*), "18544" (74; instead of *1854*), or "principle" (94; instead of *principal*). Electronic word division has also apparently led to a number of unfortunate glitches that should be remedied, such as "Rhei-nkreis" (16) or "Man-nheim" (21). On page 75 we also find six lines of text repeated causing much confusion as to whether the Germans of Chicago favored or opposed the right of new immigrants to vote on the important issue of allowing slavery in Kansas Territory. But despite such *Schönheitsfehler* this is a volume worthy of widespread attention, both for those interested in the heritage of the German community in Illinois and beyond the borders of that state. Tolzmann believes that "German immigration has had a deep and lasting influence on the social, cultural, economic, religious, and political landscape of the state" (161). This reviewer concurs that the chapters presented by the editor confirm that claim.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

Zwischen Kutte und Maske: Das geheimnisvolle Leben des Charles Sealsfield.

By Ernst Grabovszki. Vienna: Styria, 2005. 240 pp. € 24.90.

New biographies of celebrated writers usually tend to inaugurate a paradigm shift. Ernst Grabovszki's recent biography of Charles Sealsfield confirms this thesis. However, it does so in a curious way. After Eduard Castle's seminal biography of Charles Sealsfield, *Der geheimnisvolle Unbekannte: Das Leben Charles Sealsfield* (1952) had begun to be subjected to critical scrutiny by a new generation of Sealsfield scholars in the 1970s, a narrative was revealed, containing undocumented assertions, couched in terms of victimization and conspiracy. Since then surprisingly few attempts have been made to reinterpret Sealsfield's life—a life that, however shrouded in obscurity, has become fashionably modern and familiar and easily amenable to contemporary discourse. After all, the stranger, the other, the migrant, the imposter, *der Grenzgänger*—all have become common subjects of scholarly interest and widely used tools in literary studies.

Grabovszki's study, however, does not delve into these issues. Instead of adorning Sealsfield with metaphysical or cultural categories, the biographer brings to light a quotidian Sealsfield, a Sealsfield accessible to historical scrutiny. The result is that "the mysterious life" announced in the subtitle as an implicit thesis is completely overturned: Sealsfield emerges as a comprehensible and predictable figure, idiosyncratic perhaps but also mundane. What contributes to this view, among others, is the biographer's detailed descriptions of Sealsfield's relationships with his publishers and his interest in the stock market, culminating in the deprecatory remark about Sealsfield's dubious moral stance: "Sealsfield hat mit seinen versuchten Kontaktaufnahmen mit Metternich und der amerikanischen Regierung bewiesen, dass er auch Ausnahmen machen kann, vor allem dann, wenn der Geldbeutel zu füllen ist" (184).

The paradigm shift in this new biography involves creating a Sealsfield that is a fully explicable historical figure. Unlike Castle, who saw Sealsfield as the pawn

of Freemasonry and who knows what other sinister forces, Grabovszki transforms Sealsfield into a precursor of the modern, international, polyglot intellectual. However, even here, he is not interested in succumbing to any romantic sentiments or legends, but instead carefully documents Sealsfield's deficiencies in French. More significantly, Grabovszki replaces Castle's web of invisible forces and interests with the all too visible forces of the marketplace.

Grabovszki's biography conforms to another contemporary paradigm: it adopts a multimedia approach. Carefully weaving text and image, its purpose is equally to show as well as to tell. For the visually oriented reader, this is a welcome dimension, since Sealsfield is now rendered more accessible, more transparent. For example, when Grabovszki describes the monastic order, of which Sealsfield was a member and then complements this description with a photograph of the Knights of the Cross of the Red Star at Prague, the reader recognizes what the young Sealsfield-Postl might have perceived and experienced when he left his village of Popitz and entered the imposing Bohemian metropolis. The interaction between text and image reveals the author's principal intention: to create a graphically highlighted Sealsfield, that is, *anschaulich* for the modern reader.

The modern tendency to explain and show all, leaving nothing to the imagination enables Grabovszki's biography to become a valuable introduction to Sealsfield studies. This is not primarily a book for the specialist, but for readers who may have been put off by some of the more obscure figures and settings in Sealsfield's life, but who now has everything clearly explained and shown to them. Curiously enough, Grabovszki's biography follows Sealsfield's own literary credo: to write instructive books for the educated reader for the purpose of enlightenment.

As a result of Grabovszki's attempt to construct a Sealsfield that is accessible to the untutored reader, context becomes at times more important than text. The reader is treated to information about Prince Metternich, Napoleon, Andrew Jackson, the American Civil War, to mention only a few examples of the author's need to inform the reader. We are almost tempted to say that Grabovszki's treatment presents Sealsfield in hypertext, replete with an endless array of interesting links about every conceivable subject. The problem with such a treatment, however, is that in reconstructing a meaningful context, one has to intuitively grasp the limits and boundaries of same. Otherwise it continues to expand until the original text or even the original purpose of the context is forgotten. This occasionally happens in Grabovszki's Sealsfield biography. The reader sometimes feels that he is being treated to a series of digressions about matters that don't necessarily blend in with our understanding of Sealsfield or illuminate his life or work in any way. The other difficulty with such an approach is that one is tempted to succumb to flights of fancy, like Castle, or, in attempting to master an endless amount of material, may succumb to factual inaccuracies (for example, Pittsburgh as the capital of Pennsylvania).

There is a fine line to tread here, and, in general, given the author's purpose of enlightening an audience that has little experience of Sealsfield or his works, he succeeds. Another problem, however, may emerge in such an approach. In the need to educate and perhaps popularize, one may be vulnerable to simplifications of judgment. For example, Grabovszki maintains that Sealsfield "ist eines der frühen Beispiele für die Globalisierung im 19. Jahrhundert" (222) and qualifying this by stating that "Sealsfield ist ein warnendes Beispiel" for assessing otherness in a

“prejudice-free” manner (222). Since globalization is a diffuse concept even today, to categorize Sealsfield in terms of a concept that had no meaning for Sealsfield or for his contemporaries is somewhat precarious. Furthermore, the fact that the study of anthropology was still in its infancy at this time would make it exceptional for anyone, including Sealsfield, to develop a non-ethnocentric stance towards other cultures and ethnic groups.

Another, even more perplexing judgment arises when Grabovszki writes, “Salopp formuliert, ist Sealsfield der bessere Karl May, weil er im Unterschied zu dem populären Winnetou-Erfinder vieles aus seinem eigenen Erleben schildert und politisch gewiss wachsamer war—von Karl Mays späten Bemühungen um den Weltfrieden vielleicht abgesehen” (223). Apart from Jeffrey L. Sammons’s study, *Ideology, Mimesis, and Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May, and Other German Novelists of America* (1998), which attempts to define Sealsfield as an ideologue and May as a fantasist, there seems to be little scholarly interest in comparing the two authors. Each was an artist in his own way, pursuing different credos and literary stratagems and devices. Each found somewhat different readerships, enjoying different degrees of success. The only common denominator was that each was a *poseur* in his own way, which may not be sufficient to establish a substantial link.

All in all, this is a book that will promote Sealsfield studies, because it seeks to illuminate an obscure author for a wider audience. Even during Sealsfield’s last days and even at the moment of death, the biographer has managed to gain access to Sealsfield’s final thoughts: “Vor seinen Augen noch verschwommen ein Morgen, matte Bewegungen, die willenlos scheinen. Keine Worte mehr, nur lose Gedanken, die ohne Ziel in sein Bewusstsein absinken. Kein Atem mehr, nichts” (217).

Turku, Finland

Jerry Schuchalter

Going Dutch – Gone American: Germans Settling North America.

By Christian Gellinek. Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2003. 222 pp. € 19.50.

Gellinek brings together here various threads of research from over thirty years of scholarship. The thirty chapters of this book are divided evenly among six parts: Pre-emigration and Transportation, Formation History, Founding History, Assimilation and Acculturation Problems, Going Dutch – Gone American, and Bibliographic Data. The variety of chapter topics reveals the breadth and complexity of German-American studies and the daunting task of providing a definitive narrative of Germanic influence on North America.

In the section on “Pre-emigration and Transportation” Gellinek provides evidence that challenges the traditional view of the Palatine Germans as the first “cohort” to arrive in the New World. Linguistic analysis suggests that a sizeable group of Low Germans settled with the Dutch in New Amsterdam. Their linguistic and cultural similarity to the Dutch has made it difficult to accurately assess their numbers and their cultural contributions.

The chapters in “Formation History” build on the philological approach used in the previous chapter and introduce “perceptual geography” as a tool for understanding

the dissemination of German-speaking migrants throughout the United States and Canada. This becomes especially clear in the third part, "Founding History," which at over 100 pages forms the bulk of the book. Here Gellinek presents a typology of hundreds of place names in North America. He categorizes place names as either "descriptive-associative," "possessive-commemorative," or "shift" (i.e. transferred) names and uses them to gain insight into migration patterns and ethnic heritage. Finally, he investigates how those names changed over time and calculates the percentage of loss for German place names in each region. This loss coupled with his discovery that the population of listed communities does not match known numbers of immigrants provides Gellinek with some insight into how many German-speaking migrants might have simply assimilated (or gone American) into the dominant Anglo culture of North America.

The volume has some weaknesses. Of greatest concern is Gellinek's methodology: he relies heavily on the Internet as a research tool and fails to reference readily available texts on the topic. Missing from his bibliography are Ronald Baker's *Hoosier Place Names* and *German Place Names in Minnesota* by LaVern Ripley and Rainer Schmeissner, to name just two books that immediately come to mind. Another quibble: Gellinek includes the city of Jasper in his listing for Indiana. While Jasper is one of the strongest bastions of German heritage in the state, that fact cannot be gleaned from its biblically-derived name, leading one to wonder how reliable typonomy is as a means of understanding the German-American legacy.

Often the book reads as a collection of lecture notes or informal scholarly discussions. From one perspective this style is a refreshing departure from turgid academic tomes, but it could easily prove frustrating for someone trying to support related research with information contained here. For example, Gellinek frequently asks questions that seem semi-rhetorical, as though the answers should be obvious to the reader. But the answers are only implicit, leading to the sense that some of Gellinek's claims (which may very well be reasonable assertions) should have been buttressed by further research.

In spite of these weak points, there is much to recommend *Going Dutch – Gone American*. Gellinek touches on a variety of topics that have not previously attracted a lot of attention, notably his discussion of humor, which is profoundly culture-based and reveals much about ethnic divisions. His range of interests reveals new avenues of inquiry into the German element in the Americas.

Wabash College

J. Gregory Redding

Karl/Charles Follen: Deutsch-Amerikanischer Freiheitskämpfer.

Eine Biographie von Frank Mehring. Studia Giessensia 12. Giessen: Verlag der Ferber'schen Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2004. viii + 224 pp. € 12.80.

Frank Mehring's new biography is a welcome contribution to a closer study of Charles Follen, whose life and work deserve the attention of anyone interested in the intellectual and cultural transfer that took place in the early nineteenth century between Germany and the young American republic. Follen, whose active

participation in the German student movement had made him politically suspect in his homeland, sought refuge first in France and Switzerland and, in 1824, made his way to the United States. In Boston and Cambridge he came into close contact with the intellectual leaders of New England, leading to a very fruitful German-American cultural exchange. He became the first Professor of German Literature at Harvard, was much involved in the abolitionist movement, fought for equal rights for women, and also served as minister in the Unitarian Church. His final appointment was to a church in Lexington, MA., where the "Follen Church" remains a monument to his activities to this day. Except for the church, and "Follen Street" in Cambridge, near the Harvard campus, Follen's name is almost forgotten, both in this country and in Germany. Mehring's biography should help to rekindle a broader interest in this fascinating man and his time, not only among students of German-American immigration history, but also among German and American cultural historians.

Mehring's book is, of course, not the first biography of Follen. The basic source of information to this day remains the *Life of Charles Follen*, compiled by Follen's widow Eliza Cabot Follen and published in 1842. It is based on Follen's diaries, his letters, and notes, and thus obviously is not a critical study. Scholars, including Frank Mehring, have relied heavily on this book, because it still is the best source for documents that are otherwise not available. In Mehring's case, whose book is in German, it leads to the problem of retrotranslation, where the original German letters, which appeared in English in *Life of Charles Follen*, have to be translated back into German. Mehring does a good job of this, but one is never quite sure of the authenticity of twice translated material. To the extent that Mehring had access to original documents (both at Giessen and at Harvard, where he had done his research), he has done a thorough job of interpretation.

While the literature on Follen in Germany remains sparse, the American reader has at least two substantial studies to rely on: George Spindler's *Karl Follen. A Biographical Study* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917) and Edmund Spewack's excellent work *Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). Mehring's book is the first extensive study in German, and it is meant for a German audience. While the American studies have the tendency of emphasising Follen's activities in the United States, Mehring wants to show how the German academic environment and the struggle for freedom among the "Burschenschaften," the radical student groups, have shaped Follen's life and thought. Mehring believes that Follen's character should neither be reduced "auf seinen ersten Lebensabschnitt in der Alten Welt noch den zweiten in seiner neuen Heimat" (3). He devotes the first five chapters (of a total of ten) to Follen in Europe and draws an interesting picture of the ideas and ideologies shaping the radical Giessen student movement. This is one of the strengths of Mehring's book: he writes not only a biography of Follen, but also a cultural history of the forces that shaped him and his time. This is also true of the remaining chapters, concentrating on Follen's life in America. To underline the omnipresent German idealistic thought in Follen's life, Mehring introduces each chapter with a quotation from Schiller's works, picked somewhat randomly from the plays that were the topic of Follen's lectures. For Mehring, Schiller remains a *Leitmotiv* in Follen's life.

The book contains interesting illustrations from contemporary sources and a valuable bibliography. Unfortunately, it also has a few flaws. To be blunt: it could have

used more rigorous proofreading and copy-editing. Printing errors are numerous, and one is at times puzzled by strange wordings, which sound like misplaced anglicisms. A case in point: "Follen adressierte seine Zuhörerschaft" (75) - for a simple German „spricht zu seiner Zuhörerschaft“. And there are also a number of outright mistakes. Prussia and Austria were indeed members of the German Confederation after 1815 (47-48); Francis Lieber was born in 1798, not in 1800 (128), and the church reformer Johann Calvin was certainly not "ein französischer Heiliger" (178).

University of Minnesota

Gerhard Weiss

Memories of New Ulm: My Experiences During the Indian Uprising in Minnesota.

By Rudolf Leonhart. Translated and edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Roseville, MN: Edinborough Press, 2005. x + 125 pp. \$14.95.

In putting pen to paper in 1880, Rudolf Leonhart was neither unique nor unpredictable by turning to war during the 1860s for the setting of a historical text. He was hardly the first German-American writer to place emphasis upon that weighty topic, and in fact over the previous two decades Leonhart had already published several accounts of the German-American experience during times of armed conflict (*Abenteuer eines deutschen Soldaten in Virginien* [1860; Leonhart's first book]; *Der geheimnisvolle Pedlar, oder die Tochter des Schiffbrüchigen: Roman aus dem amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg*; and *Nord und Süd im Krieg und Frieden, oder Szenen aus der jüngsten Rebellion*). What sets the present account apart from those earlier works is the backdrop: rather than concentrate further on the Civil War during the early 1860s, Leonhart turns his attention here to the struggles of the German settlers of southern Minnesota generally, and the New Ulm area specifically, during the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862. The result is an extensive eyewitness account of frontier life at a formative moment in time, one of the longest and most reliable put into print for the edification of the general public.

Born in December 1832 in Bodenfelde, Hannover, Leonhart came to America at the age of twenty and soon settled in Pittsburgh, working there as a teacher of German, history, and music to forge a living. Early writings for the local German-American press supplemented his income and, more importantly, provided the essential stylistic foundation for his later historical narratives; in total Leonhart would publish thirteen novels—all of which deal with topics of German-American interest, the work here under consideration being the only specifically autobiographical one in nature—before his death in California in November 1901. By that time Leonhart long since had been lauded as an accomplished author, on a wider scale than many contemporary German-American writers due to his ability to compose and publish works in English as well as German. In 1860, dissatisfied with his job in Pittsburgh, Leonhart accepted an offer to teach elementary school in New Ulm, Minnesota. By fortuitous circumstance the brief period of Leonhart's residence there coincided with the 1862 Uprising, generating the necessary experience and perspective to write the present historical account, almost twenty years later and well after his return to

Pennsylvania immediately after the tragic event.

The newly translated and edited version of *Memories of New Ulm* includes a one-page Editor's Foreword and an informative Editor's Introduction, which provides details regarding Leonhart's life and the significance of the book as a contribution to the German-American literary canon. The body of the work is divided into eighteen primary sections containing Leonhart's original text; Tolzmann occasionally adds brief bracketed information, acknowledging instances in which Leonhart misremembers specific events or dates, and corrects those accordingly. A detailed notes section follows the Leonhart narrative and provides further elucidation with regard to historical events concerning New Ulm and the Uprising, as well as recommendations for supplemental reading. A brief index and profile of the editor conclude the work.

While *Memories of New Ulm* is an eminently readable book, one that easily captures and holds the attention of the reader, it is most remarkable for the manner in which Leonhart is able to contextualize what the German-American experience means to him on a collective as well as individual level. By crafting his narrative as a *Rahmenerzählung*, he succeeds admirably at blending his brief but formative New Ulm adventure with the totality of his German-American background. The concept of community stands at the core of the work: arrival in New Ulm is marked by immediate bonding with those who will introduce Leonhart to "old and young, great and small, high and low, as well as to the best of beer in New Ulm" (9). Class distinction ceases to exist in fighting the Indians shoulder-to-shoulder; Otto Barth, publisher of the *New Ulm Pionier* newspaper and a man previously described as being of "small, unimpressive stature," stood alongside the lowliest of refugees, sustaining mortal wounds in defending fellow settlers and earning lasting respect as one who "knew how to fight, and not only with his pen!" (61). Family in particular serves as an enduring source of strength to Leonhart, who recounts with clear agony moments of separation from loved ones and anxiety over illness, ultimately rejoicing in the survival of a daughter at the end of the long trip back to Pennsylvania while noting that, years later, "[this] Minnesotan is the strongest and most Germanic in appearance of our children, as can readily be seen from afar" (102).

Stylistically, Leonhart's account is noteworthy for the degree to which he makes use of his acquired literary skills. A pronounced sense of humor, irony, and even satire runs throughout the work, not least within descriptions of fiduciary matters: early New Ulm is described as perpetually cash-poor, its settlers having "almost completely forgot what money looked like. ... Children who needed a schoolbook came weekly with the good excuse that their parents had no money" (13-14). At another point Leonhart turns his attention to the daughter of a local rival, noting after the fact that she "had long fingers and had been involved in theft in St. Paul, where she had demonstrated an unusual yen for silver teaspoons" (33). It quickly becomes clear that Leonhart does not seek to write a documentary here, but rather to tell a story, a word picture in which the reader may see clearly critical people, places, and events through his eyes and, by extension, those of others in the community. Particularly vivid are the accounts of hunting and Christmas in and near New Ulm, as well as descriptions of early relations between the settlers and Indians who, in detailed portrayals, "surpass even the slickest Caucasian tramp as beggars. They practice the profession with a dignity, as if it were the most honorable profession on earth" (34).

Ultimately the greatest value of *Memories of New Ulm* may be seen in sociolinguistic terms. Tolzmann's service in translating and republishing the work reinforces the notion that there are still many original German-language texts, containing a treasure trove of first-hand accounts of pioneer German-American life, waiting to be reintroduced to scholars, local and regional historians, and a general public lacking substantive knowledge of German. Original versions of such books also are subject to the laws of supply and demand: as the editor points out in one of the endnotes, recent Internet sale prices for copies of *Erinnerungen an Neu Ulm* have run as high as \$3,500. Thus in addition to the many scholarly benefits of the republished work, Tolzmann has provided readers with yet another tangible reward: a net savings of some \$3,485—a development which the prospective bookbuyer will surely appreciate.

University of Wisconsin-Waukesha

Timothy J. Holian

Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York.

By Philip Otterness. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004. 235 pp. \$39.95.

The Palatine exodus has long been regarded as the first wave of what would become a series of mass migrations from German-speaking lands to the Americas. Acting on rumors of free land in the colonies, thousands of southwestern Germans made their way to England in 1709. Assuming that they were refugees from French incursions into the *Kurpfalz* (the Palatinate), Londoners provided what support they could to the "poor Palatines," a term that according to Otterness has been too easily accepted by historians ever since. In this book he seeks to more carefully trace the actual territorial origins of the group and discover how these disparate people with multiple identities eventually "became German" by leaving Germany.

The opening chapter outlines the situation in southwestern Germany in the early eighteenth century. Here Otterness makes especially good use of current genealogical research to graphically depict the points of origin for the 1709 migrants. One quickly observes that at least half of the "Palatines" were not from the *Kurpfalz* at all, but rather from several of the other numerous principalities that created the fractured map of Germany at that time. Thus the people who arrived in London that summer did not necessarily share a common identity. They were more likely to think of themselves as Badeners, Hessians, or of course Palatines than as "Germans." Chapters two and three describe the refugees' experiences in London as their hosts tried to figure out what to do with them. Otterness credits Daniel Defoe for constructing the commonly held notion of "poor Palatine refugees" fleeing persecution by Catholic forces. This label apparently was willingly adopted by the emigrants, who were seeking British charity and could hardly reveal their true role as opportunists looking for free land. This can be seen as the first step in the formation of a common identity.

The remaining four chapters trace the group's arrival in New York and their subsequent settlement of communities along the Hudson between 1710 and 1712. Conflicts with the colonial authorities and the ongoing desire to settle in their own Canaan led many of the group to relocate to the valleys of the Schoharie and, later,

the Mohawk. These were frontier communities far removed from the direct influence of the Crown, but still some "Palatines" would remain on the move, eventually establishing important communities in Pennsylvania and New Jersey and producing some of the most important figures in German-American history. Although much of this side of the migration is familiar to scholars, Otterness breathes new life into the narrative with his eye for detail and his ability to humanize the participants in this saga.

Scholarship on this era is always plagued by nomenclature problems: terms such as "Germany" and "German" are troublesome prior to 1871, although they are used as commonly understood cultural and regional descriptors. But in a book that wants to trace how different people first became Palatines and then eventually Germans, there should have been a more careful explanation of these terms. In the 1750s Benjamin Franklin is still referring to the settlers as "Palatine boors," but as early as 1724 Robert Livingston had complained about the bragging of the "High Germans." It would have been interesting and informative to see some reflection on the distinctions implied by these labels. Still, this is a compelling book; it is well researched and well written. For the sake of convenience, scholars will probably continue to refer to the 1709 migration as the "Palatine" exodus, but at least now there can be a greater appreciation of the complex dynamics that shaped this first episode of mass migration to the Americas.

Wabash College

J. Gregory Redding

Michael Zimmer's Diary: Ein deutsches Tagebuch aus dem Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg.

Edited by Jürgen Macha and Andrea Wolf. Sprachgeschichte des Deutschen in Nordamerika: Quellen und Studien/History of the German Language in America: Sources and Studies, vol. 1. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001. 214 pp. \$51.95.

This new series focusing on the linguistic history of German-speaking immigrants in North America grew out of collaborative research between scholars at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, represented by the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, and the Westphalian Wilhelms-Universität in Münster. The editors of the series are interested in publishing primary texts and documents representing the some 300 years of German language usage in the North American context as well as analyses of those texts. Texts, and to some degree commentary, will be in both original German and English translations to ensure broad dissemination.

The first volume in the new series is a bilingual edition of the Civil War diary of Palatine immigrant Michael Zimmer, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1846 and then volunteered for service in the Mexican War (1847-48). By the outbreak of the Civil War, Zimmer had married, had five children and was living in Burlington, Wisconsin. In September 1861, Zimmer enlisted in the "Burlington Rifles," Company E, Ninth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment, known as the "German Regiment." During his three-year period of enlistment the regiment was assigned to the trans-Mississippi Western Theater of operations, generally in southern Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas and

Indian Territory. At the end of his enlistment in the fall of 1864, Zimmer returned to Wisconsin. He died in Burlington in 1896.

The "war diary" itself exists in two versions, both donated by a granddaughter of the author to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1974. The first version is somewhat smaller in format than the second one and contains indications (corrections, words crossed out, incorrect dates, etc.) that lead the editors to believe that the larger format version is a transcription with corrections of the first diary. The contents of both diaries include approximately twenty pages describing—retrospectively—Zimmer's experiences as a soldier in the Mexican War. The Civil War diary begins on September 7, 1861, and ends with his return home on December 4, 1864.

The current edition of the diary presents a transcription of the presumed earlier version (smaller format) in German followed by a complete English translation. The translation is followed by a five-page glossary of terms in Zimmer's orthography with their largely English equivalents. Preceding the text itself are three introductory essays. The first by series co-editor Joseph Salmons is a brief English introduction to this volume. This is followed by a lengthy essay by the other co-editor of the series, Jürgen Macha, who discusses in German the historical context of the text and analyses the orthography and language usage from a variety of angles (dialect of the author, incorporation of both German and English orthographic principles, etc.). Of particular interest is a brief overview of the service of the Ninth Wisconsin by Richard Zeitlin, which provides a general context for Zimmer's personal account.

Given the idiosyncratic orthography of the German original, it is, of course, difficult if not impossible to assess the accuracy of the transcription of the German original text. The English translation on the other hand should have been carefully proof read by someone who is familiar with the type of vocabulary to be expected in a military diary in the American context. On pages 116-17 we read, "It took about three minutes until Sergeant von der Garth came with some men . . ." The original German reads on page 5 "es dauerthe kauhm 3 Minuthen da kahm der Sargent von der Garth mit etlichen Mann . . ." It appears obvious to this reader that what Zimmer describes is the arrival of the "sergeant of the guard" and not someone named "von der Garth." On page 118 we find the description of the removal of a soldier who had died as follows "two other men came with a bier, laid him on it and went away." This is a translation of the passage on page 6 "kahmen zwei andere mit einem Tragbahr legten ihn darauf und forth ging es." Normally, one would expect the dead soldier to be carried off on a "stretcher." One could also argue that the soldiers returned from New Orleans on a "steamship" and not a "steamboat" (119) although that does reflect Zimmer's usage of "Stimboth" (8). A grammatical error also occurs in this context. A clearly passive construction on page 8 "wier sollten in Nuoliz Distscharscht werden" ('we were supposed to be discharged in New Orleans') becomes "we should discharge in New Orleans."

Admittedly, these errors occur in the passages dealing with Zimmer's Mexican War experience. A careful reading of the Civil War portions might reveal many more errors. But given the record of one or two major translation errors per page, this edition is very problematic. The very first sentence of the translation of the diary actually omits the designation of Zimmer's company. The original German on page 2 has "hab ich Enlistet vor den Mexikanischen Krieg und wurde inn das 3 Aterlry Regiment Company A Cäpten Thaylor eingereit..." The translation on page 114

begins "I have enlisted for the Mexican War and joined the 3rd Artillery Company under Captain Thalor." I would have translated this as "I enlisted for the Mexican War and was assigned to Company A of the 3rd Artillery Regiment [commanded by] Captain Taylor." It seems to this reviewer that the name of the captain was more likely Taylor than Thalor—unless the editors actually checked military records to verify this.

Despite the problems with the translation, the purpose of the series and this volume is to provide documents for the history of German in America as well as scholarly analyses of those documents. That analysis is offered in a brief introductory essay written by Jürgen Macha and Andrea Wolf entitled "Entstehung, Überlieferung, Sprachform, Darstellungsart" (xiii-xxx). The essay correctly notes that Zimmer enlisted in "Kompanie A" (xxv) leading this reviewer to wonder whether either of the two series editors (Macha and Salmons) really checked the translation. The essay does, however, provide some detail on the influences of home dialect (*Vorderpfälzisch*) as well as mid-nineteenth-century orthographic practices on the spelling found in the German original. Macha and Wolf believe that Zimmer applied what he had learned about avoiding obvious dialect sounds in his spellings to the extent that he hyper-corrected words such as *Teppiche* 'carpete' to *Döpige* (98) by replacing consonants and creating umlauted vowels. As far as English terms, names and places names are concerned, Macha and Wolf believe that Zimmer attempted to render them according to German sound-letter correspondences so that, if read by a German, the actual American word would be produced as in *Hamboldt* or *Hambolt* (17; for the town of Humboldt, Kansas), which would correspond more to the American pronunciation when read out loud than the German pronunciation of the baron's actual name.

The original German diary text and this introductory essay save the volume. Despite the many shortcomings of the translation, the presentation of the original German and the study of orthographic habits of mid-nineteenth-century German immigrants is well served by this initial volume of the series. The actual day-by-day account of a German immigrant soldier, who served in two wars, is fascinating reading. For readers without the ability to work through the original German, however, the translation needs to be thoroughly reworked.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

The Americanization Process in the Second Generation: The German Lutheran Mathias Loy (1828-1915) Caught Between Adaptation and Repristinization.

By C. George Fry and Joel R. Kurz. Studies in Religious Leadership, vol. 2. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005. xvii + 366 pp. \$119.95.

A goodly proportion of the people who fueled western expansion in the nineteenth century were ethnic Germans. Many were Pennsylvania Germans, American-born, but clinging tenaciously to their language, culture and religious customs. Others were immigrants, often forced to emigrate by poverty or the burning desire to be a part of the American adventure, to go to a new land where they could be their own masters. The Lutheran pastor, theologian, author and educator Mathias Loy was the son of

such immigrants. His mother, Christiana Reaver, was a poorly educated but devout Lutheran "of the Swabian variety" from Württemberg; his father, Matthias, a not-so-devout Roman Catholic, was from Baden. He was forced to indenture himself to a cabinetmaker in order to pay his passage. Mathias Loy, fourth of seven children, was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1828.

At the age of fourteen, Loy's life changed dramatically. His mother died, and he was apprenticed to a printer. During his apprenticeship, two extremely important things happened to Loy: first, he became a strict Lutheran; second, he mastered the written German language and became a prolific author and translator. He studied first at Harrisburg Academy, and later studied for the ministry at the Lutheran seminary in Columbus, Ohio. Commencing his ministry in 1849, Loy began to deal with the challenge which is the focus of Fry and Kurz's book, i.e. resisting the Americanization of Lutheranism. Small, scattered settlements on the frontier had a tendency to facilitate the watering down and amalgamation of doctrine, due primarily to a lack of educated, well-trained clergy, but also from the economic necessity of sharing facilities and preachers. Loy was greatly influenced by conservative doctrines promulgated in the Missouri Synod, and also by a pastoral letter (*Hirtenbrief*) written in 1840 by a man named Grabau, which warned of the dangers of traveling preachers and unorthodox doctrine. Kurz and Fry detail Loy's career within the greater context of this struggle, and the book is organized around the myriad aspects of his career as a pastor, president of the Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States, educator and president of Capital University, Lutheran theologian, and family man. He was a prolific author on church doctrine, but also wrote homilies, hymnals and poetry. He was perhaps his era's greatest proponent of "Confessional" Lutheranism, that is, adherence to the "Unaltered Augsburg Confession" and the Book of Concord. Theologically, Loy looked backward to the halcyon days of the Reformation and, particularly, to those original writings in German as a font of authentic doctrine: the closer to Luther, the closer to the truth. Herein lies the concept of "Repristinization," a return to the "faith once delivered to the saints" and its rediscovery at the hands of Luther. Kurz and Fry make extensive use of citations from Loy's writings, and those of his contemporaries, one of whom mentions Loy as a prime example of "the apparent backwardness of Lutheran theology." Of the conflicts between doctrine and science which still annoy us today, Loy had precious little to say. He would not waste time debating "the Rock of Ages and the age of rocks." He also purposely kept civil affairs out of his theology, so as to protect it from worldliness, but advocated obedience to worldly authorities as having been ordained by God.

Loy's great legacy to Lutheranism is, in my opinion, twofold: 1) his dedication to unifying all the Lutheran synods in North America. He worked for decades to achieve unity of doctrine and organization, albeit with indifferent success, and 2) his dedication in translating many seminal Lutheran theological works from German and Latin into English.

All in all, the book is painstakingly researched and documented, particularly the sections on the history of Ohio Lutheranism and the disputes among the various synods. Loy was an extremely influential author and teacher. The authors hint that had he been interested in self-promotion, he might be as well known as a Henry Ward Beecher, or a D. L. Moody, whose intellectual equal he certainly was.

The book does contain a name index, but the addition of a subject index

would be useful. Any subsequent edition would profit from judicious copy editing, as numerous typographical errors, both in English and German, were somewhat annoying. However, the book is quite successful in shedding light on important disputes within nineteenth century American religious thought, and on the life of one of its principal protagonists, whether he wanted it that way or not.

William Woods University

Tom R. Schultz

Francis Lieber and the Culture of the Mind.

Edited by Charles R. Mack and Henry H. Lesesne. Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2005. 224 pp. \$39.95.

In their preface the editors note that the diverse contributions of Francis Lieber are currently "receiving a renaissance of interest" (xii). The volume itself is witness both to the breadth of Lieber's accomplishments and the depth of the renewed scholarly attention to his numerous contributions. There are fifteen articles, thirteen of which are distributed across six major sections, with usually two essays per section. A prologue and an epilogue round out the collection. The first provides an overview of Lieber's life; the second highlights Lieber as a German-American by looking at German-American relations during his lifetime. In addition, there is an "excursus" on Lieber's grave as well as sixteen pictures and illustrations of artifacts from Lieber's twenty-one-year tenure as a professor of history and political economy at South Carolina College, now the University of South Carolina.

The volume itself is a superbly edited and well-indexed edition of the proceedings of a symposium held in November 2001 at the University of South Carolina to celebrate that institution's bicentennial. Although Lieber himself appears to have been somewhat ambivalent about his many years in South Carolina, and despite the fact that his Union sympathies won him the enmity of many at the University for a period of time, the institution embraces him as one of its most distinguished faculty members, one worthy of commemorating during its Bicentennial Year.

Each of the six parts of the central section of the collection reflects a major area of Lieber's intellectual undertakings. They are: Slavery and the Constitution; The South and the Civil War; Thoughts on Armed Conflict; Hermeneutics and Linguistics; Practical Reason; and the Art of Living. All of the sections except the third contain two articles each. Significantly, the third, on "armed conflict," has an extra article. The first of the three in that grouping deals with the so-called "Lieber Code" and reflects Lieber's enduring influence on international law through his involvement in the formulation of rules of conduct governing armed conflict. The "Lieber Code," as it is known to this day, was originally issued as *General Orders 100* by President Lincoln during the American Civil War. It calls for a limitation of violence as a "military necessity" in the absence of any other rule.

Proceedings as a genre are often problematic. As they grow out of a singular perspective, i.e., the very specific context and thematic of the symposium or conference in question, they are, in general, rather narrow in scope. It is tempting to say that the current collection is Francis Lieber "with a Southern flair." The

collection finally makes little of Lieber's German-American heritage and likely makes more than it should of Lieber's years in South Carolina. Yet, perhaps because of Lieber's incredibly varied and broad base of interests, there is little which smacks of parochialism. The focus is on the University of South Carolina, but the field of vision is the world. Francis Lieber began life in Prussia. He fought in the Napoleonic Wars. He extended that love of freedom and independence to America. Philosophically, he was consistent throughout his life. Moreover, while there may be a renaissance of interest in Francis Lieber at present, he himself was always a Renaissance man in the best sense of the word. Lieber had an incredibly broad spectrum of interests, each of which he pursued with equal vigor, and each of which is reflected in some fashion in the current volume.

Loyola College in Maryland

Randall P. Donaldson

Before Memories Fade.

By Pearl Fichman. n.p.: Booksurge, 2005. 247 pp. \$20.99.

To say the least, portions of the life of Pearl Fichman, née Spiegel, were tumultuous. Like Alfred Gong and Paul Celan (whom she knew well and who is mentioned periodically), she was born in the German-Jewish community in Czernowitz in 1920. Her early years were relatively normal, given the general turbulence and uncertainties of that time and place. Like Celan and Gong, she survived the Nazi years in Eastern Europe, suffering privation, living in constant fear, and losing several friends and family members in the process. Hitler and Stalin were the clouds under which she lived and suffered.

The immediate postwar years were scarcely less hazardous, with Czernowitz becoming a Soviet city. She moved to Bucharest, only to experience the establishment of the communist regime in Rumania. Fichman's siblings had all immigrated to the United States prior to the war, and this to some extent facilitated her own attempts, and those of her aging parents, to emigrate as well. After surrealistic battles with bureaucracy she is finally successful; bribery, she learns, was no less necessary in Paris than it had been in Rumania. She remains in New York for only a couple of years, earning a master's degree in English at Columbia, meeting Eleanor Roosevelt, and—a leitmotif in her story—encountering (in this case unexpected) anti-Semitism.. She then departs for Israel, where she will marry Yuda Fichman, a childhood friend who went there shortly after the war. Here the narrative breaks off. We learn that life in Israel was not all she had hoped for, but are otherwise told only that she and her husband left the Promised Land for New York, where they settled and raised a family. (Yuda died in the fall of 2005.)

Roughly the first half of the book recounts the rich narrative inadequately summarized above. The second half returns to and fleshes out various episodes already briefly described or fleetingly alluded to. Here, as in the chronological narrative, Fichman tells a highly personal story. To be sure, there are occasional historical and geographical explanations to orient readers not familiar with the area and its history, but this is the story of Pearl and her friends. These include two familiar names—

Celan and his cousin Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger (a very promising poet who died in a camp)—and a large number whose names will not be encountered elsewhere. Some reappear throughout the narrative, other figures appear but once, such as the lonely old man who shares a train compartment with Fichman and tells her a poignant tale of love and renunciation.

The entire manuscript would have benefited from the eye and pen of a careful copy editor, but Fichman's riveting story deserves to be read. Those who do read it will not be disappointed. The book contains several illustrations, including a photograph of "Pearl's father in the Czernowitz ghetto," a man with an expression as sad as I have ever seen.

University of Cincinnati

Jerry Glenn

German Heritage Guide to the State of Ohio.

By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing, 2005. 88 pp. \$12.95.

Tolzmann follows up his 2003 *German Heritage Guide to the Greater Cincinnati Area* with this volume, which contextualizes that city within a state that is centrally located in the area of settlement known as the German Belt. According to the 1990 census, forty percent of Ohio residents claim some form of German ancestry. The influence of their forebears is felt throughout the state.

The layout of the book parallels that of the Cincinnati volume, beginning with a historical timeline of German settlement in Ohio. The first German immigrant to have some influence on the region was Johann Sodowsky, a Detroit-area trader who in 1728 set up an outpost that became known as Sandusky. Organized settlement began with the founding of Schoenbrunn in 1772 by the German Moravian missionary David Zeisberger. Other Moravian settlements were soon established. Tolzmann goes on to outline the various waves of German-speaking immigrants who settled in Ohio during the nineteenth century. Key moments include the arrival of the Thirtys and the Forty-Eighters—the displaced intellectuals and progressives who profoundly impacted American civic life—and the large numbers of German Catholics who fled Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s. In the twentieth century Tolzmann highlights the anti-German sentiment that many of Ohio's German-Americans experienced during the Great War. One result of the hysteria was the passage of the Ake Law in 1919, which banned the teaching of German language below the eighth grade. The Second World War brought further difficulties for Americans of German descent, but by the 1950s German Day celebrations were being celebrated across Ohio. The Bicentennial in 1976 engendered new interest in America's ethnic heritage and with it a broader appreciation for the contributions of German-speaking immigrants.

Chapter two provides short biographies of prominent Ohio citizens with Germanic heritage, ranging chronologically from Sodowsky and Zeisberger in the eighteenth century to contemporaries like Guy Stern and Robert Ward, who respectively were founding members of the Lessing Society and the Society for German-American Studies. Many of the names will be familiar only to scholars of

German-Americana, but some people—such as Jerry Springer, Jack Nicklaus, Clark Gable, and Doris Day (actual surname: Kappelhof)—are part of American popular culture.

The remaining three chapters are dedicated to places that are associated with Ohio's German heritage. Here are found brief descriptions of historical sites such as Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhutten, Zoar, and the German Village in Columbus, as well as references to the many towns and cities across Ohio that were shaped in varying degrees by German-speaking settlers. For those who wish to conduct further research, Tolzmann lists a selection of relevant libraries, museums, archives, and historical societies from every corner of the state.

As was the case with the Cincinnati guide, this volume does not attempt to be comprehensive. The historical timeline and the "Who's Who" are necessarily selective, but the chapter on notable heritage sites could have been more inclusive. For example, Cleveland's German tradition could have received more attention, as could the Amish and Mennonite communities that dot Ohio. The Sauder and AuGlaize historical villages—though less authentic than Zoar and Schoenbrunn—can nevertheless contribute to our understanding of life for early immigrants. These historical sites are at least referenced in the final chapter, which points readers toward opportunities for further exploration of Ohio's German heritage.

Wabash College

J. Gregory Redding

Americanization and Anti-Americanism: The German Encounter with American Culture After 1945.

Edited by Alexander Stephan. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005. 256 pp. \$60.00.

Americanization and Anti-Americanism are concepts applied so often and differently that they tend to become fuzzy. Alexander Stephan's collection refutes this development by questioning major interpretations of these concepts, mainly Americanization as cultural imperialism and Anti-Americanism as a reaction to it. The fifteen essays by eminent American and German scholars from history and culture studies show these concepts as too simplistic to describe the complex processes behind German encounters with American culture. The anthology focuses on the aesthetic dimension of German-American relations, analyzing cultural areas, general developments on the European level, and the socio-political framework.

Michael Ermarth shows how postwar Germany's delayed modernization and the lessons from the Hitler era clashed with American culture and politics, while Bernd Greiner describes how German students in the 1960s agreed with American protest movements and disagreed with U.S. foreign policy. In an argumentatively one-sided analysis, Russell A. Berman points out ideology, stereotypes and prejudices behind contemporary German anti-Americanism. Unfortunately, Berman reduces this concept to hostility against democratic capitalism and an over-generalized notion of anti-Semitism against an alleged Jewish dominance in U.S. politics. His hypothesis falls short since it is based on arguable interpretations of individual quotes

and does not distinguish between anti-Americanism and criticism of the American government. Furthermore, his analysis fails to consider other motives for German anti-Americanism.

The following contributions dig into the details of different sectors of culture. The rejection of Boogie-Woogie or Pop-Art as 'low brow' culture is the topic of Jost Hermand's study, with a narrow focus on cultural elites. Kaspar Maase, analyzing German broadcasting, deserves credit for directing the view beyond elite circles and pointing out that Americanization can be determined by the audience itself and driven by non-elites from below. Maase furthermore opens a promising perspective on anti-American imagery by reading it as a reflection of the social problems in Germany. Heide Fehrenbach provides an intriguing look into social-psychological processes with her study about the new construction of the race concept after World War II. By reducing race differences to the children of African-American soldiers with German women, Germans could reinterpret race issues as an American import. Sabine Hake stays more on the beaten path of social analysis by describing the complex interplay of ideology, culture, and identity during the Cold War. In his rich and detailed analysis, Thomas Elsaesser shows how German and American moviemakers influenced each other, partly showing surprising connections. Finally, David Bathrick's study about the "Americanization of the Holocaust" describes how social groups, artists and the media appropriated the historical event 'Holocaust.'

The section "European and Global Perspectives" successfully isolates basic structures of anti-Americanism beyond national cultures. Three articles excellently elaborate on different causes of anti-Americanism: Rob Kroes describes the identification of American culture with modernization while Volker R. Berghahn points to a European "superiority complex" and the failure to reach an alternative model to capitalism or communism. In a pointed analysis, Richard Pells counters the image of an "American popular culture" by showing its manifold non-American influences. Winfried Fluck's article about "self-Americanization" and "Americanization from below" contributes significantly to theoretical clarity when he criticizes the ignorance against the active role of the audience in adopting and adapting culture.

The last two essays by the political advisers Karsten D. Voigt and Bowman H. Miller are not connected to the rest of the volume; they emphasize the importance of German-American relations in the light of political considerations before the Iraq war in 2003.

The findings lead to corrections of some key concepts about Americanization and anti-Americanism: The term 'Americanization' has mostly been used to describe the spread of a global culture, not specifically an American one (cf. Pells; Fluck; Maase). Furthermore, Americanization is often more a matter of perception than factual developments (cf. Ermarth; Berghahn; Berman). The concept of cultural imperialism should be replaced by concepts of mutual influence between American and European culture (cf. Pells; Berghahn; Kroes; Elsaesser; Greiner), and the spread of popular culture can be explained by other causes than imperialism: democratic accessibility (cf. Fluck; Maase; Bathrick) and aesthetic appeal (cf. Maase; Fluck). Since the studies describe audiences as actively selecting cultural influences and adapting them to their regional culture, anti-Americanism can no longer be explained as a simple reaction to cultural imperialism (cf. Fluck; Fehrenbach; Maase; Hake; Berman). Important new knowledge most likely can be gained with Maase's approach to examining anti-

American imagery for its self-reflective function. The presented findings do not all provide new results, but they do give an excellent overview of the status quo of research on 'Americanization' and 'Anti-Americanism'. A few contributions show innovative analytical approaches and prove that some commonly used theoretical concepts must be redefined in order to grasp the complex, dynamic, and reciprocal processes involved in cultural relations.

University of Kansas

Jörg Meindl

The Day Book/Account Book of Alexander Mack, Jr. (1712-1803): Weaver, Brethren Elder, Apologist, and Chronicler in Early America.

Donald F. Durnbaugh and Edward E. Quinter, eds. Trans. Edward E. Quinter. *Sources and Documents of the Pennsylvania Germans XIV. Kutztown, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 2004. 194 pp. \$20.00.*

The Day Book/Account Book of Alexander Mack, Jr. (1712-1803): Weaver, Brethren Elder, Apologist, and Chronicler in Early America, translated from German by Edward E. Quinter, offers readers a window on life in eighteenth century colonial America. This multilayered work, edited by Donald F. Durnbaugh and Edward E. Quinter, helps us get to know Alexander Mack, Jr., a leader in the early Brethren Church. It also introduces us to eighteenth century American economics and traces connections between the Europe of Mack's birth and the infant United States, only a quarter-century old at his death. In spare notations of accounts and comments on neighbors, business associates, and family, Mack, Jr. has recorded life in the region of Pennsylvania that is now Lancaster County, and his *Day Book/Account Book* will be of great interest not only to scholars of colonial American and researchers of Brethren Church history, but also to anyone who delights to know details of the past.

Economic historians will be delighted with the light this work sheds on colonial systems of barter and exchange, for Alexander Mack, Jr., a weaver, recorded in his *Day Book/Account Book* what he produced in his shop, what he purchased and sold, who owed him money, and how much he owed to others, as well as details of the various economic arrangements he and his wife entered into with family, friends, and associates. As late as 1800, for example, Mack, Jr. reports income in a mix of British pounds and shillings and American dollars, and he records bartering arrangements that brought in produce in exchange for woven items. His notes attest, as well, to his wife's involvement in business. He records, for example, an arrangement between Elizabeth Mack and Philip Jacobs, in which Jacobs comes to reside in the Mack household and agrees to farm Mack land in exchange for half of the crops produced (91).

Mack, Jr. also compiled lists of members of the early Brethren Church and those of his acquaintance in the Ephrata Society. These are augmented by records of family births, baptisms and deaths; wills; and notes of church events, including the Love Feasts. The picture Mack, Jr. paints of early religious and family life is fascinating. Even more interesting is evidence of early church practice, including his mention of a

female elder, the wife of Brother Jacob Schneider, in the congregation at Schwarzenau in Germany.

More personally compelling are Mack, Jr.'s commentary on family life and friendship. He reports, for example, the death of Johannes Lay, who had come to stay with, and be nursed by, the Macks when it proved impossible for Mack, Jr. to hire someone to care for him. This is followed by details of the estate settlement, which involved bills for the doctor, the cost of medicine and other needs (including turpentine oil, olive oil, and a gallon of Madeira wine), and time Mack, Jr. lost from his work when he had to run errands on Lay's behalf. Ultimately Mack, Jr. also reports the cost of the coffin and the charges to translate and notarize the will. In 1772, Mack, Jr. began the practice of writing a poem on his birthday, and many of these are included in the *Day Book/Account Book*, making this work a memoir of personal religious faith. This work also records Mack, Jr.'s epitaph, which he wrote himself a year before his death.

Edward E. Quinter provides both transcription of the handwritten German-language *Day Book/Account Book* and translation into English, keeping, as much as was practical, the layout of Mack, Jr.'s text, with notations of page numbers from the original. A very useful "Translator's Note" discusses the language of the original work and informs the reader of the approach taken to translating Mack, Jr.'s writings and the minor formatting changes that were made.

Donald F. Durnbaugh's excellent though brief introduction to this work provides a context for understanding the *Day Book/Account Book*. Durnbaugh briefly discusses the Schwarzenau Brethren, the radical Pietist church Alexander Mack, Sr. helped to found, and describes the senior Mack's move to America with his sons and Mack, Jr.'s own spiritual evolution and connection to the Ephrata Society. Durnbaugh goes on to describe Mack, Jr.'s work as a writer, historian, weaver, and spiritual leader in the Brethren movement. Finally Durnbaugh discusses the volume of Mack, Jr.'s work and the insights offered by *Day Book/Account Book*. To assist the reader further, Durnbaugh has thoroughly annotated the *Day Book/Account Book*, contributing greatly to its accessibility and usefulness. Finally, this work includes an excellent index, compiled by Kate Mertes, which makes it much easier for the reader to find information in both the original German and in the English translation.

The reader may encounter some small difficulties with this text. For example, Quinter notes that several of Mack, Jr.'s entries were in English, and he has reproduced faithfully the original spelling and grammar of these entries. This last is somewhat jarring, for the reader goes without warning from modern English to eighteenth century language, and it would have been useful had the editors signaled the transition with a change of font. There are other challenges for the reader as well: several of the names are confusingly similar and thus, despite the aid of Durnbaugh's annotations, difficult to sort out. These are small issues, however.

In translating and editing *The Day Book/Account Book of Alexander Mack, Jr. (1712-1803): Weaver, Brethren Elder, Apologist, and Chronicler in Early America*, Durnbaugh and Quinter have made accessible a valuable primary text. Scholars from a variety of fields will appreciate their efforts.

The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary.

Edited by C. Richard Beam and Joshua R. Brown (vols. one and two)/Jennifer L. Trout (vols. three, four and five). Millersville, PA: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville University, 2004ff. Volume One: A, xliii + 164 pp., \$12.00. Volume Two: B, xli + 205 pp., \$12.00. Volume Three: C-D-E, xli + 213 pp., \$12.00. Volume Four: F-G, xli + 263 pp., \$12.00. Volume Five: H-I-J, xlv + 198 pp., \$12.00.

The long awaited and eagerly anticipated publication of Dick Beam's *Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary* began with the appearance of volume one in July 2004. Volumes three through four appeared during 2005 and volume five in January 2006. The publication of this dictionary truly represents over a half century of lexicographical research and painstaking study of the vocabulary of the Pennsylvania Dutch.

The first volume leads off with an overview of the history of lexicography of Pennsylvania German beginning with Haldemann's 1872 *Pennsylvania Dutch: A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English*. This is followed by a longer essay on the orthographic practice of the dictionary. Following the tradition of Albert Buffington and Preston Barba, Beam employs the principles of Standard German orthography with modifications based in part on the spellings of Marcus Lambert and American usage. Beam believes that Pennsylvania German deserves an orthography that "reflects its German roots as well as its American homeland" (vii). For instance, the sound represented by German *j* and English *y* follows the English usage, whereas most consonants and vowels are spelled as they would be in German (e.g., PG *yaage* vs. Ger *jagen* 'to hunt'). Following the guide to spelling is an overview of the pronunciation of Pennsylvania German as reflected in the orthography and word accent.

The format of the lexical entries is also explained. The typical entry includes grammatical information, English translation, etymology, source(s), contextual sentences, usage in sayings and the like. The sources for the entries receive a special overview. Beam uses both oral interviews with speakers of Pennsylvania German as well as published materials and also the resources of earlier dictionaries of the language. His personal recollections of eight decades add a personal flavor to the dictionary. He has included field work in Canada among the Old Order Mennonites and been as far west as Missouri and Wisconsin to collect data. The introductory material concludes with an extensive list of abbreviations used in the dictionary and a bibliography of some 150 items of use for the study of Pennsylvania German lexicography. Following the actual lexical entries is a brief description of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies at Millersville, Pennsylvania, and the editors of the dictionary. Volumes two through five follow this basic format and present the nearly identical front and back matter of the dictionary. This is perhaps too repetitive but does allow the reader to readily find the necessary assistance when using any of the volumes.

A typical entry is that of *Grundsau* (4:131). We learn that this feminine noun has the plural form *Grundsei* and that it means 'groundhog, woodchuck' in English. This basic information is followed by five contextual sentences with sources, for instance "Ferall as mer nau wees, saagt die Grundsau uns der naegschde Winder velleicht was fer Wedder as es gebt's Friehtyaahr" "For all that we know now, the groundhog tells as the next winter perhaps what kind of weather we will have in the spring"

(Pumpnickel Bill, August 16, 1926). Synonyms are also listed at the end of the entry (*Dax*, *Grunddax* and also *Grunddaxkitz*). The main entry for *Grundsau* is followed by entries for *Grundsaudaag*, *Grundsauhauns*, *Grundsauhund*, *Grundsauloch*, and *Grundsaulotsch* as well as *Grundseiloch*, *Grundseilotschversammlung*, *Grundseimunet*, *Grundsau-Schitz* and finally *Grundsei-Yaeger*. While this reviewer cannot say with absolute certainty that no other word exists in Pennsylvania Dutch based on this term for ground hog, the thoroughness of the presentation and the number of cited examples do appear to offer a comprehensive overview of the vocabulary.

The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary is a monumental achievement and will be the basis for all further research on the language. We look forward to the remaining volumes beginning with the letter K and wish the principal editor many more productive years.

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William D. Keel

The Amish Schools of Indiana: Faith in Education.

By Stephen Bowers Harroff. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2004. 210 pp. \$34.95.

Anyone familiar with the history of the Amish people is probably aware of the plethora of great scholarly works on the culture and the language of this very tight-knit, religious group. Stephen Harroff's study is not an exception and should, indeed, be added to this list. In his book, the author sheds light on how the Old Order Amish have been successful in running their own parochial schools in Indiana. Based on observations, interviews, and substitute teaching in Amish schools in Indiana, Harroff presents a comprehensive description of the educational practices of the Indiana Old Order Amish. Page by page he captures the readers' interest in this topic by making everyday schooling come to life through welcoming readers to be observers in school themselves and even participate in classes. Harroff's text is a vivid account of the Indiana Old Order Amish parochial schools, and at the same time he effectively adds factual references. Harroff is very careful in not revealing people's identities when depicting the lives of the students, their teachers, and the community members, by changing the names of persons or references to schools (preface: ix). Harroff's inclusion of many pictures of Old Order Amish people, schools, school scenes, classrooms, and school-related documents such as a graduation announcement (159) complement his fascinating volume on the Amish schools of Indiana.

In his preface Harroff states that his personal interest based on family history played a major role in compiling the study on Amish schools of Indiana. In his introduction, he further underscores this by brilliantly detailing his first-hand experience as a substitute teacher in an Old Order Amish school on several occasions. In chapter one he provides an extensive overview of the Indiana Amish Schools from the beginning in 1948 through 2002, by way of discussing charts and the factors relevant for the continuing growth of the Amish parochial schools since the nineties. Chapter two covers the topic of Old Order Amish parochial school buildings and their physical setting. Here Harroff details the various designs and sizes of these

buildings, providing several photographs. Chapter three is devoted to Amish pupils. One of the main points Harroff makes concerns the way pupils dress for school, emphasizing that with this dress "they are always in community" and "this style of dress is part of the church Ordnung" (45). The reader is informed about the mode of transportation pupils use to get to school, such as an open pony cart, or busses available through the local public school system. Harroff discusses at length the selection of books that are available to Indiana Amish pupils according to Amish beliefs and opinions. Amish school libraries are often "room libraries" (50) located in each classroom and mainly contain books for assignments such as encyclopedias. According to Harroff there are characteristics typical of pupils in the Indiana Amish schools (53-55), like having a "keen sense of hearing, developed [...] because this is still an oral society" (53). In the fourth chapter the reader learns about the different qualities and the demeanor considered important to be employed as an Amish teacher. Low pay, however, seems to be one of the problems Indiana Amish schools face in attracting and retaining teachers. Harroff ends this chapter by profiling a first- and second-grade teacher. Chapters five through seven concentrate on the Old Order Amish educational methods. Like many Amish, the Amish parochial schools of Indiana provide formal education through eighth grade, whereby several grades are usually housed in one classroom. Harroff shows the approach to teaching by the Old Order Amish of Indiana, focusing on one Amish school. He uses ample examples to illustrate this. Harroff's descriptions invite the reader to enter the classrooms from grades one through eight whether by participating, for example, in arithmetic and English in the lower grades, or by sitting in class in history, German, reading, and math in the higher grades. Chapter eight concentrates on Amish teacher education. Harroff argues "the Amish attitude toward education must be understood from historical perspectives" (119). He extensively talks about various instructional pamphlets, readings, and teacher's manuals critical for beginning teachers. He states that there are opportunities for continuing education for experienced teachers, for example through a monthly periodical, entitled *Blackboard Bulletin* (126), which is published for Amish schoolteachers and parents.

Potential difficulties occurring in the school environment, and the Amish approach to problematic issues and discipline, are discussed in chapter nine. Respectful behavior, cheating, learning not to speak out, unruly behavior on the playground, modernity in textbooks, and teaching learning-disabled children are some of the sensitive problems taken on by Harroff.

The topic of chapter ten, Harroff's final chapter, centers around the Indiana Amish community interaction and points out the centrality of faith and religious practice, where the school "is the focal point of many community events" (150). Gatherings such as the annual workday before school opens in August, the annual Christmas program and graduation, bad events such as weather-related emergencies, and even birthday surprises are occasions the whole Amish community partakes in wholeheartedly.

Harroff concludes his work by focusing on the Indiana Amish schools in the twenty-first century. Expansion is a crucial factor that the Old Order Amish parochial school movement in Indiana has been and will be facing in the coming years, paralleling the growth in other Amish settlements. However, Harroff notes that growth presents difficulties which must be dealt with adequately; issues the

Amish parochial schools must speak to include the high expense to Amish parents whose children attend the Amish parochial school and the question of employing and retaining skilled teachers and substitutes. An appendix comprises a detailed description of a typical day in an Amish parochial school. A notable bibliography relating to Amish society and schools and an index complete Harroff's publication.

The Amish Schools of Indiana: Faith in Education, is a very valuable contribution to the understanding of Amish education. It will interest dialectologists, sociologists, historians, and religious and school educators alike, and surely should not be missed by anyone seriously engaged in the field of German Studies.

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Gabriele Lunte

To the Latest Posterity: Pennsylvania-German Family Registers in the Fraktur Tradition.

By Corinne and Russell Earnest. Kutztown, PA: Volume XXXVII of the Annual Volume Series by The Pennsylvania German Society, 2003. 153 pp. \$45.00.

Several years ago, my mother cleaned out my grandparents' attic as they moved into an assisted living apartment. One room of her house now has several stacks of pictures, albums, letters, and assorted other family mementos. Despite our personal interest in genealogy, and my professional background in both teaching family history research and building genealogical databases for anthropological research, neither of us has managed to start sorting through those piles. Part of the reason that we have not tackled this job is because we do not have a detached standard for determining what is truly valuable and what is inconsequential. In the new book *To the Latest Posterity: Pennsylvania-German Family Registers in the Fraktur Tradition*, Corinne and Russell Earnest use their considerable expertise in German folk tradition to argue that Fraktur family records are indeed truly valuable and often underappreciated.

To the Latest Posterity takes its name from the subtitle of the first American family history record and the title illustrates one of the main themes of the book. In contrast to European family records, which look to the past to connect individuals to upper class traditions and heraldry, the American family register records the new family for the future. The European origins of the families are rarely listed. The registers often appear to have been commissioned by members of a family after the death of a parent or spouse, and lists two or three generations after immigration. In this way, the families want to be remembered, not revered. Therefore, the Fraktur family register represents a uniquely German-American tradition. The important overarching conclusion is that immigration to America changed the perspective of the colonists, and this change is reflected in their folk art and family documents.

The Earnests show that German-American families invested in family registers to make sure that they were preserved for posterity. The documents were either printed on professional presses (such as the press at Ephrata) or written in Fraktur script by traveling scribes, showing investment of what often had to be meager income. These brightly decorated illustrations, recalling the illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages, were usually neither symbolic nor representative of the family members

listed. The Earnests support Mennonite historian Amos Hoover's hypothesis that the decorations were reminders that these papers were important and should be kept by their descendants. This idea is supported by the safekeeping of the registers with or in the family Bible.

This book will be of interest to many audiences. Scholars of American History will appreciate the entire book. The Prologue, chapter one (*Perspectives on Family Registers*) and chapter three (*Comparisons of Pennsylvania-German and New England Family Registers*) will be especially interesting to these readers. Readers interested in Fraktur, and American folk art in general, will concentrate on chapter two, *Pennsylvania-German Family Registers and the Fraktur Tradition*. In this section, the authors point out that family registers are an underappreciated form of fracture. As an aside, I study Amish and Mennonite cemeteries, and I believe that Fraktur tombstones go similarly unnoticed.

A family that finds a Fraktur register in the piles of albums taken from a family attic will use the book to understand the importance of their document. Chapter four, *Texts on Pennsylvania-German Family Registers*, will be of particular interest to people who want to see what kinds of information are typical on family registers. In Appendix C, simply labeled *Glossary*, the Earnests give a very valuable German to English translation of the most common words and phrases found on these papers, and in German language family history documents in general. There is also an English glossary of words used in the text; this would have been easier to find and use if it had been provided in a separate appendix instead of included in Appendix C. The other appendices list known scribes and a short timeline of Fraktur family registers. It would have been helpful for the lay reader to also have a Fraktur alphabet, as many of us have as a valuable part of our reference material when studying early German-American documents.

The heart of *To the Latest Posterity* lies in the extensive final chapter (five), *Forms of Pennsylvania-German Family Registers*, which reviews the different types of Pennsylvania German family registers and puts them in context. In this segment, the authors break down these documents into six types that vary in how much printed versus handwritten fill they include, whether they were found in Bibles, and if they were single or multiple pages. These differences appear to reflect differences in access to professional presses and scribes, the time they were made, wealth, and personal preference. This section is a very nice complement to other works on Fraktur documents, including the Earnests' other works (e.g. Earnest and Earnest 1999; Earnest and Earnest 1997), and several other more descriptive Fraktur books, including David Luthy's *Amish Folk Artist Barbara Ebersol* (1995).

One of the most interesting aspects of these registers is the use of Fraktur and Roman script and typefaces, and the use of English versus German language. Language use in communities is a large part of identity in Anabaptist groups (Johnson-Weiner 1997), and it is interesting that many of these registers were printed in English while the families were still speaking German in church and probably at home. Fraktur lettering was not restricted to German language, although in the early documents English or Native American words on German Fraktur documents usually were set in Roman typeface. The time in which these were created clearly influenced the language used, and early family registers were more likely to be in German than later ones. But it is clear that the families had to make a choice between German and

English. Were they looking to a future in which their descendants would only speak or read English? Did the language reflect the intended audience, with the German ones being meant only for family, and the English toward a larger sphere of influence? The authors often mention the issue of language, but stop short of analyzing it.

Genealogists should not pick up this book assuming that they will find a complete listing of all known Fraktur family registers. Instead, the volume puts the genre of Fraktur family registers in historic and cultural perspective, and gives the family historian the tools for understanding their document. The color plates and many black and white figures are used to illustrate their points, but they did not attempt to catalog all family registers. (I would have appreciated it, though, if all of the color plates were large enough to be read; several were reproduced very small.) Indeed, I was interested to see how many of these registers are found in private collections, and the authors' estimate of the number still undiscovered in family collections. Hopefully, as families such as mine sort through family papers, more of these will be found and preserved again "to the latest posterity."

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German-Jewish Identities in America.

Edited by Christoph Mauch and Joseph Salmons. Madison: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2003. 171 pp. \$29.95.

The face of U.S. American culture is characterized not by a singular and homogenous group, but rather by the assimilation of a myriad of cultures, religions, and ethnicities. One of the groups that arrived throughout the nineteenth century and influenced the shaping of America while developing its own religious, secular, and ethnic identity was German-Jewish immigrants. Their historical legacy was the topic of a conference on *German-Jewish Identities in America* at the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in October 2000. This multidisciplinary conference brought together a wide assortment of academic fields, from film and linguistics to literary and cultural studies. The selected essays in this publication reflect the character and purpose of the gathering.

The first essay by Henry Feingold examines the endurance of nineteenth century German Jewry in America. While Feingold touches on the eastern Jewish immigration in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, he focuses on the milieu of German Jews in America. He suggests that German-Jewish ability to integrate tradition with a new culture—while retaining identity, religion, and group aesthetics—was a mark of success. In Feingold's estimation however, this cultural symbiosis foreshadowed a negative development and he questions whether the successful synthesis of German Jewry with American culture set the stage for the erosion of Judaism in America.

Specific in-depth investigations of the integration of the German-Jewish community in the United States, through the creation of social and relief organizations, are addressed by Anke Ortlepp, Tobias Brinkmann and Cornila Wilhelm. Ortlepp's essay focuses on the Jewish charities of Milwaukee from 1850-1914. Of particular interest is her treatment of the Jewish concept of charitable assistance and its role in

the creation and evolution of relief associations. She illustrates the successfulness of Jewish relief societies in coping with changes in the rapidly evolving society as well as the activity of Jewish women's welfare organizations. Brinkmann examines the Jewish community of Chicago prior to 1880. He argues that factors of assimilation led to an evolution of the Jewish community and not necessarily to its collapse. He cites the development the Reform movement in the American atmosphere of political and religious freedom as a catalyst for the separation of the Jewish community into different *Gemeinden*, each with varying traditional or Reform philosophies. Wilhelm examines the creation, successes and shortcomings of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith from 1843 to 1914. She connects the formation of group identity, moral consciousness and civic responsibility to the amalgamation of modern Judaism with the rights guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence. Although the B'nai B'rith struggled with the arrival of the first waves of eastern European immigrant Jews, it proved to have a lasting influence on the Jewish civic identity in the United States.

The next three chapters of this book address the contribution of German and American Jews to science and entertainment. Mitchell B. Hart provides an interesting discussion on Franz Boas. He brings out the problematic relationship Boas had to his own ethnicity and identity. An important nuance is the discussion of Boas's contribution to the field of anthropology. Harley Erdman reminds his readers of the many successful writers and entertainers of Jewish background. He focuses on the German-Jewish element in the American entertainment industry beginning from the 1890s to the World War II era. His argument alludes to the synthesis of Jewish cultural life and production with American mainstream culture. Tomas Kovach's essay on Alfred Uhry's *Last Night in Ballyhoo* examines the play and representation of a German-Jewish family in Atlanta. He summarizes the development, acceptance, and rejection of the Jewish community. Kovach interprets Uhry's play as a significant portrayal of the rift between the host culture and the Jewish element.

The final two essays by Monika S. Schmid and Manfred Kirchheimer discuss the effects of National Socialism on German-Jewish identity. Schmid examines the extent to which Nazi persecution of Jews resulted in the rejection of German identity and language. Her linguistic data suggest that there is a correlation between the negative feeling towards Germany and German and the loss of linguistic competency. Schmid draws a connection between the lack of linguistic accuracy and the rejection of German identity. Kirchheimer narrative takes his readers on a walk through his life and evolution of his own identity. His retrospective retreat highlights the struggle that arises when the homeland is laden with a terrible historic era.

This collection of nine essays delivers, both to the layman and the specialist, interesting discussions on the development and shaping of Jewish identity. By examining the overarching theme of German-Jewish contribution and its legacy in America, the authors deliver a collection of important research that addresses a multidisciplinary audience. In a broader cultural context, the essays collectively illustrate the struggle German Jews experienced, as a collective community and as individuals, in perpetuating, embracing and rejecting their own identity in a new homeland and host culture. The various approaches do much to enrich and broaden

the scope of Jewish studies, and at the same time propose areas for more exhaustive investigations.

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One of the 999 About to Be Forgotten: The Memoirs of Carl Barus 1865-1935. *Selected and Edited by Axel W.-O. Schmidt.* New York, Erfurt: AWOS Publishing, 2005. 317 pp. €18.00.

One of the great pleasures inherent in the discipline of German-American Studies is the multifold aspect of its applications. That is, one need not restrict an interest in the field to just a single dimension (e.g. fine arts, as opposed to politics, religion, or business and industry). How enjoyable and rewarding it is, then, when figures come to our attention who have made significant contributions across the wide spectrum of German-American and even greater American culture, in fields superficially unrelated to each other yet bound by their common reflection upon the character of an entire ethnic group.

Such a case study may be encountered via the recently published *Memoirs of Carl Barus*, an autobiographical text which although recommended for publication in 1938—three years after the death of Barus—ultimately rested in obscurity until it was found by the editor, Axel W.-O. Schmidt, in 2002. The irony and appropriateness of the title is lost neither upon the editor nor the informed reader: in a 1926 address given at a large dinner in his honor, Barus opined that out of every 1,000 men, only one is called to perform glorious works of science, before stating deliberately that he was destined to fall among the 999 whose existence takes place “simply to make the illustrious one, in whom they culminate, possible” (240). Selfless though the comment is, it is certainly not true in this instance; even a cursory examination reveals that Barus stood head-and-shoulders above the vast majority of his peers in both intellectual capacity and academic output.

Born in 1856 in Cincinnati to German immigrant parents, Barus clearly grew up strongly influenced by the emerging German culture of the city. Music in particular played a major role, due to his father’s pioneering efforts as a prominent musician and choral leader; throughout the early chapters Barus painstakingly lists the many accomplishments of his father regarding both Cincinnati and, later, Indianapolis German musical evolution. One cannot fail to appreciate the obvious great respect Barus held for his father and his musical legacy, although it is equally evident that he is hardly a dispassionate observer, stating at one point that “almost single handed father had carried the musical tastes of Cincinnati upward from a rather humble cultural plane to an appreciation of classical music” (69), also citing an 1868 rift in the local *Männerchor* as the cause of a decline in the senior Barus’s influence in Cincinnati music circles and “excessive intellectual labor and the worry and anxiety and excitement which invariably attended it” (54) as the cause of a nervous breakdown a year or two later. Cynical about his own aptitude for musical performance, the younger Barus nevertheless took joy in writing musical scores later in life; one of his most important works, “March to Pembroke Hall,” is reproduced by the editor

in sheet music form in an appendix, while a performance of the song on compact disc also is made available free of charge to readers who choose to mail in a voucher located at the front of the book.

Barus portrays himself early in the memoirs as a capricious youth, prone to games and tricks that, on more than a few occasions, turned into life lessons when they went astray. Although he claimed to have no particular preference in his pre-high school studies, at approximately age 13 a visit to a chemistry lab and the gift of a small microscope from his father helped awaken an interest in the natural sciences that formed the backdrop to the rest of his life. After finishing his studies at Cincinnati's Woodward High School—graduating in the same class with future President William Howard Taft—Barus held out little hope for higher education, yet on the advice of an old friend he enrolled at Columbia University and began what he termed “a remarkable exodus of scientifically minded young people from Cincinnati, none of whom were permanently to return” (73). Over time Barus more than justified the faith placed in him by his parents and friends, serving with considerable distinction in prominent positions such as a physicist of the U.S. Geological Survey, professor of meteorology at the U.S. Weather Bureau and physics professor at the Smithsonian Institute, and the dean of graduate studies at Brown University. A wide range of scholarship—ultimately encompassing some 350 monographs and articles—further enhanced Barus's status as a preeminent man of science and letters and helped pave the way for numerous honors and awards received for meritorious distinction.

The Memoirs of Carl Barus is divided into three sections. The introductory materials include an editor's Foreword which effectively encapsulates the accomplishments of Barus and their significance; a brief timeline of the life of Barus follows that in outline format. The autobiography itself, at 270 pages, is for the most part a well-composed work that holds the attention of the reader, particularly in the early sections concerning his formative years and the role that family played in his life, not least with regard to several siblings who died in youth of what are accepted with resignation as frequent and usually fatal illnesses of the time (such as diphtheria and scarlet fever). The final section, as an appendix, includes a reproduction of the cover page of the aforementioned sheet music for “March to Pembroke Hall” and the musical script itself, as well as a bibliography featuring abbreviations used for scientific publications and organizations, cited in a following extensive directory of Barus's writings which provides valuable insight into the extent to which he excelled in his labor. Unfortunately, though, the editor does not include a name, place, or subject index at the end of the book, always a welcome addition in a work of such broad scope and diversity.

Within the body of the work, Barus writes with an appealing modesty about his accomplishments and utilizes a cleverly dry sense of humor that blends well with his informal authorial style. Attention to detail cuts both ways within the text: the early chapters paint a particularly vivid portrait of Cincinnati's German community in general and the Over the Rhine district specifically from the 1850s to the 1880s, featuring precise accounts of people, places, and events (such as references to the Know-Nothing movement and its efforts at anti-immigrant agitation, and the impact of the Civil War and Abraham Lincoln's death) which had a tangible effect upon Barus and, by extension, the local German populace as a whole. On the other hand,

Barus's penchant for detail becomes cumbersome toward the end of the work, when extensive passages related to the sciences and his work in the field ("Early Physical Meteorology in the U.S. Weather Bureau," "Early Work on the Coronas of Cloudy Condensation") inevitably attain a level of tedium to the lay reader. Given the emphasis upon precision, somewhat disconcerting are several fundamental errors in spelling and/or name recitation. To cite one prominent example, Barus refers to Cincinnati's Miami & Erie Canal—the "Rhine" in the Over the Rhine appellation—both incorrectly and incompletely as the "Eric Canal" (39). Consequently one wishes for some editor's notes that might point out such inaccuracies for the uninformed reader; alas, there are none to be found anywhere within the book.

These shortcomings aside, *The Memoirs of Carl Barus* is eminently enjoyable and a worthy addition to the body of first-person narrative recently made available to both scholarly researchers and common readers and set within the German-American community during its most important epoch. When all is said and done, the prominent scientist, author, and music scribe reflects well through his autobiography a fundamental tenet he learned in youth from his beloved father: "A clever man with a knack easily fulfills these two roles of teacher and student, while he coaches someone else as an expert" (25).

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Timothy J. Holian

Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections.

Edited by Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. xi + 351 pp. \$75.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper.

This is a fascinating exploration of the encounters between Germans and Native Americans, both real and imagined. It traces the strong German enthusiasm for things Indian back to the late eighteenth century, when the myth of a special affinity between Germans and Indians was first articulated in novels, plays, and other literary sources. Susan Zantop's introduction makes clear that the fiction of Karl May was central to the myth of a "German-Indian brotherhood." One hundred million copies of May's works have been sold and his perpetual bestseller status helped to nourish a culture industry that to this day pushes the idea of a special German-Indian affinity. Yet May's meteoric rise did not happen in a vacuum. More than a thousand titles of Indian fiction were published in Imperial Germany between 1875 and 1900.

Germans and Indians showcases essays from a wide range of disciplines, including Native American Studies, anthropology, history, American Studies and German Studies. Two Native American voices, works of fiction by Emma Lee Warrior and Louise Erdrich, frame these contributions. The volume originated in a 1999 Dartmouth College conference, "Germans and Indians/Indians and Germans: Cultural Encounters across Three Centuries." Its editors, Colin G. Calloway, chair of Native American studies, as well as Gerd Gemünden and Susanne Zantop, professors of German and comparative literature, organized the conference.

Christian F. Feest's comparative introductory essay "Germany's Indians in a European Perspective" argues that other Europeans express similar enthusiasm for

Native American culture. Yet at the same time, and in a somewhat contradictory fashion, Feest points to a larger scholarly interest in Indians and more intense publication activity in Germany. This helped perpetuate the persistent belief in a special affinity with Native Americans that many Germans express up to this day.

Colin G. Calloway's essay "Historical Encounters across Five Centuries," provides a *tour de force* through the history of German-Native American relations. One might quibble with some of Calloway's interpretations, such as his critical assessment of the Moravians or the work of the Swiss Benedictine Martin Marty at Standing Rock. Yet, the author makes a larger point that "relations between Indian people and German people seem to have been not much different from those between Indians and other groups of Europeans" (77). Calloway thus shows that the relations between Germans and Native Americans stemmed from specific historical circumstances and thus varied greatly. They spanned the full range of possibilities from friendly cooperation to bitter enmity.

Calloway not only provides a useful summary of the history of German-Native American encounters in the New World, but he also explores the experiences of Native Americans in Germany. As early as 1720 Indians were put on display as show objects in German cities, later followed by circus performers. More recently, a number of them came to Germany as servicemen during the two World Wars and the Cold War.

In "Close Encounters" Zantop coins the phrase "Indianthusiasm" to describe the strong interest that German society has continually shown for Native American culture. "Playing Indian" continues to be a popular pastime. Every spring, up to five thousand Germans descend on Radebeul, a small town just outside of Dresden, to play *Indianer* at the Karl May Festival. These German hobbyists, who dress up in homemade Native American costumes and reenact the fantasy of German-Indian brotherhood at *Indianerclubs*, live in teepees, take Native American names, and participate in Powwows. Contributions by Hartmut Lutz, Marta Carlson, and Katrin Sieg explore the worlds of Germans who have adopted Native American culture as a way of life.

Gerd Gemünden's essay "Between Karl May and Karl Marx: The DEFA *Indianerfilme*," takes a close-up look at East Germany's answer to the cycle of popular Karl May movies that was launched by Harald Reinl's adaptation of *Der Schatz im Silbersee* in 1962. Gemünden finds that the East German DEFA films effectively copied elements of the Western. In 1966 the first DEFA Western, *Die Söhne der Großen Bärin*, appeared. It was based on an internationally acclaimed series of children's books by Lieselotte Welskopf-Henrich, who also wrote the screenplay. Gemünden emphasizes that "The exclusive focus on Native Americans was at the time without parallel in film history." This approach "allowed for a historical accuracy that most Hollywood films lacked" (245).

One thing is clear: Germans will continue to be drawn to Indians. In 2002, *Der Schuh des Manitu*, a madcap Sauerkraut Western spoof that held nothing sacred, broke all box-office records in Germany and Austria. This parody of the *Indianerfilme* of the 1960s, a reworking of May's *Der Schatz im Silbersee*, sold twelve million tickets, making it the most successful German film of all time.

Lúcia Sá's essay "Germans and Indians in South America: Ethnography and the Idea of Text" in *Myth: A New Symposium* (Bloomington, IN: 2002) focuses attention

on the surprising role of pioneer German anthropologists in the development of Brazilian literature. Sá points to the manifold links between German ethnography and Brazilian Indians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She studies the work of Curt Unkel Nimuendajú, Theodor Koch-Grünberg, and Konrad Theodor Preuss who followed in Alexander von Humboldt's footsteps and left an important legacy of recording and examining Native American texts in Brazil. Sá's essay points to a shortcoming of *Germans and Indians*, the lack of a contribution on the rich German ethnographic and anthropological tradition, which discusses all those like Franz Boas, who went to America to explore tribal histories and native traditions.

Germans and Indians is an ambitious interdisciplinary endeavor that provides an excellent basis for further innovative research into this neglected field. This valuable collection is an excellent starting point for students of the German-Indian encounter.

Indiana University

Heiko Mühr

German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective.

Edited by Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute/University of Wisconsin Press. 2003. 380 pp. \$29.95.

Approaching the history of German-speaking immigrants to the United States as well as their descendants from a comparative vantage point is the principal aim of this volume of essays. The contributions stem from an April 1997 conference held at Texas A&M University with the support of the German Historical Institute in Washington, D. C. The anthology is dedicated to the memory of German historian Willi Paul Adams, who was a conference participant and is also a contributor to this volume. His untimely death in 2002 marked the end of a career "as a resourceful, untiring mediator between American historians on both sides of the Atlantic" (ix).

After writing off most immigration research prior to 1960 as "filiopietistic," the editors devote considerable attention in their introduction to those who write about immigration history, noting that most often the more recent researchers—as determined by surname—are members of the ethnic group they are investigating. To avoid this dilemma, the editors state that they wished to have contributors whose names are not obviously German. They were also interested in having both senior and junior scholars, thus offering diversity of both nationality and generation. The introduction then provides an overview of the variety of comparative approaches in the twelve individual contributions: four dealing with religious diversity; two on agricultural patterns and rural society; four on politics and ethnic identity; and two on war and national identity. The editors conclude that the hoped for diversity in the contributors reveals "in most areas, however, including theory, methodology, topics, questions asked, approaches, and usually even the language of publication, German and American historians of German immigration and ethnicity are remarkably similar" (xxi).

Of the four essays dealing with religion (Reinhard Doerries "Immigrants and the Church"; Anne Hündgen "Northwest Germans in Ohio"; Tobias Brinkmann

"German Jews in Chicago"; Kathleen Neils Conzen "German Catholics"; [all titles shortened]), only Brinkmann tackles a subject where new insights are gained. He explores the complexity of identity as German and Jew in Chicago and the emergence of Reform Judaism and its relationship to the Germanization vs. Americanization of Judaism in America.

John Gjerde's essay on "Labor and Family in the Midwest" is also nothing particularly new. However, his partners in the section on agriculture, Myron Gutman et al. "Land Use on the Great Plains," examines in detailed fashion some 400 counties stretching from the Rocky Mountains to the Missouri River Valley and from Canada to Texas. While this group of researchers readily admit they cannot claim that ethnicity explains land use, they note that German ethnicity dwarfs all other ethnic ancestries in the counties studied (152; based on 1910 and 1990 census data). In their conclusions, they find that all things being equal "counties with a large German presence . . . were slightly more likely to crop their farmland than counties dominated by other ethnic populations" (163). In addition to maintaining small family farms and planting a diversity of crops, the researchers also found that such counties with German ancestry had more cattle, dairy cattle, and swine per acre than counties with other ethnic profiles (168). The conclusion of this essay is "that German ethnic settlement mattered for agricultural production both at the onset and end of the twentieth century in the American Great Plains" (168).

With regard to politics, both Michael De Bats ("German and Irish Political Engagement") and Walter Kamphoefner ("German and Irish Big City Mayors") compare German and Irish experiences and come largely to the same conclusions. DeBats finds that "the Germans and the Irish participated in politics at about the same level and exhibited in their voting behavior about the same degree of partisan unity" (214), while Kamphoefner concludes "comparative profiles of the Irish and Germans who were elected big city mayors show more similarities than differences. Adams's essay investigates the political careers of two immigrant politicians during the period prior to 1880: Lorenz Brentano and Peter Victor Deuster. Adams finds that although both congressmen were readily identified as representatives of the German ethnic group, they "fully accepted the rules of the established political game. They did not go to Washington as ambassadors of an ethnic group or as single issue advocates" (271). Paul Fessler compares the issue of bilingual education using the German experience of the nineteenth century and the Spanish experience of the current times. Despite the massive efforts to promote instruction both in German and of German, Fessler notes that this did not stop the second and third generations from assimilating to the dominant English culture. This lesson is one that should be applied to the current debate. He finds "bilingual education should not be used as a threat that could balkanize American society" (290).

Wolfgang Helbich offers a sobering assessment of the experience of Union soldiers of German origin during the Civil War. He is hesitant to reach any overarching generalizations, but based on the some fifty soldiers studied, he concludes that "ethnicity in various forms, no doubt often based on hearsay prejudice, but mainly in the shape of perceived, experienced, and mostly resented cultural differences, played a major and often underestimated role in the U.S. military (324). He questions the Americanization of the German soldier that many believe occurred as a result of the Civil War experience. The anthology concludes with Michael Wala's examination of

the revival of ethnic identity in the period after World War I and the influence of the Weimar government on that revival.

The essays in this volume range from politics to religion and from the battlefield to the wheat field. It is definitely a collection of essays with something for anyone and everyone interested in German-American Studies. As the editors point out, "a comparative perspective, replacing or at least adding to single focus work on one ethnic group, can disprove (or confirm) traditional views on ethnic groups, single out unique features, ... identify what is part of the cultural baggage, ... and what must be attributed to other influences" (xviii). The editors even concede that the disparaged filiofetists cannot avoid comparison in their ethnic studies.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

Albert Bloch: Caricaturist, Social Critic, and Translator of Karl Kraus.

By Werner Mohr. Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press, 2003. 206 pp. \$26.50.

Albert Bloch was a remarkably talented individual. He was a gifted artist, a better writer than he was ever willing to admit, and a keen observer of the human condition. He had influential friends in both Germany and the United States and close ties to Franz Marc, Wassily Kandinsky, and other "leading exponents of German modernism" (55). And then there's the "Discovery of Karl Kraus" (title of Chapter 14, 145–161), which ultimately turned into a passionate advocacy of Kraus' work. But throughout his life Bloch remained almost obsessively modest about his own talents, which has meant scholarly assessment of his accomplishments has tended to focus almost solely on his affiliation with the Blue Rider group in Munich.

Mohr seeks to deliver a comprehensive and balanced account of Bloch's life and work while appraising the full extent of Karl Kraus' influence, and he is in a unique position to do so. The current monograph is an expanded and revised version of Mohr's 1994 doctoral dissertation at the University of Kansas, in which he is able to incorporate significant new material, largely with the aid of Bloch's widow. Moreover, Mohr's work is one piece of a larger undertaking by the Max Kade Center at the University of Kansas to reevaluate and better appreciate the extensive accomplishments of a remarkable German-American. The volume is in many ways the indirect result of a decade-long project on Bloch by a number of noted scholars and a repository for a wealth of information.

There are seventeen chapters divided among three sections. The first section provides a biographical introduction; the second an exposition of Bloch's artistic and literary work; and the third describes the impact of Karl Kraus on Bloch. In addition, Mohr provides a preface, a conclusion, and a thorough name index. Each chapter ends with scholarly notes, and fifty-seven of Bloch's caricatures are scattered among the pages, making the entire volume both informative and attractive.

Finally, however, Mohr's monograph is disappointing. Despite significant additional material and fascinating subject matter, the whole is difficult to read. In tone and structure it is still a dissertation. Seventeen chapters over fewer than 200 pages break up the presentation unnecessarily; and the extensive notes at the end

of each chapter, although extremely helpful from a scholarly point of view, further fragment the discussion. Moreover, there is little distillation of the incredible array of new and interesting facts and a singular lack of analysis. Emblematic of the difficulty is the degree to which the conclusion reads like an introduction; it outlines what the author aims to accomplish. The depth and scope of material presented is impressive, and Bloch's illustrations are fascinating. The volume has much to offer. Unfortunately, it also fails to realize much of its potential.

Loyola College in Maryland

Randall P. Donaldson

A Lost American Dream: Civil War Letters (1862/63) of Immigrant Theodor Heinrich Brandes in Historical Contexts.

By Antonius Holtmann. Translated by Eberhard Reichmann. Publications of the Max Kade German-American Center, vol. 15. Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center & Indiana German Heritage Society, 2005. vi + 102 pp. \$14.00.

It is historically well documented that ethnic troops played a huge role in the American Civil War. For many Irish, German, and other immigrants, service in the Union army was a means of cementing their relationship to their adoptive country, and a means of putting their feet on the road to the "American Dream." Theodor Heinrich Brandes, an immigrant from Ochtrup, Westphalia, was only one such man, a private soldier in Company D, 83rd Indiana Infantry. However, in the eyes of author Antonius Holtmann, Brandes stands as an example of a specific type of soldier whose service has received scant recognition, and much of that of a negative nature:

Heinrich Brandes was one of those disrespected and despised by many—a voluntary substitute for a draftee. His letters and his dying offer a glimpse on alternatives to the bloody Civil War, its consequences and celebrated heroism, and also on the question of alternatives for a commemoration that does not cover up monstrous crimes, does not reduce political antagonism to exemplary fighting and suffering, victory and defeat, and does not relativize the differing liberty claims of the North and the South (1).

In looking at the life and service of Heinrich Brandes, Holtmann sets the stage well, by thoroughly describing the circumstances—cultural, economic and political—under which Brandes was born and raised. Brandes stood almost no chance to inherit the tenancy of his family's farm, as he was a second son (he was, in fact, a twin, but born second). We do know is that he is listed as a "laborer" which meant, most likely, that he did migrant farm work, traveling yearly to Holland to earn money to help support his family in Ochtrup. The 1840s was a particularly difficult decade for farmers. Farm prices were depressed, and throughout Europe there were several years of devastating crop failure, particularly with regard to potatoes and cereal grains. Brandes's uncle Everhard had already emigrated in 1847, and good reports of America most likely helped facilitate Heinrich Brandes's decision to leave Prussia. In

1853, with a satisfactory service letter from the army, a certificate of good character from his parish priest, and a document discharging him from Prussian citizenship, Brandes set sail to join his uncle in Oldenburg, Indiana.

Holtmann discusses at some length about the founding and history of Oldenburg, as well as what is known about Brandes' time there and his time living in Cincinnati. The following section speaks of the political disputes about slavery versus free labor, prevailing attitudes of German Democrats leading up to the war in relation to the constitutionality of secession. Holtmann may not be definite as to why Brandes decided to fight for the Union, but he is clear about what Brandes did not fight for. According to Holtmann, he did not fight for the Union's political goals, or to free African-Americans in slavery. Brandes fought, according to Holtmann, for his American dream: to live peacefully and to take care of his family. In his letters Brandes says time and again that he just wants the war to be over, so he can see his family and make a life with them. In a letter from his brother, ironically dated about a month after Brandes's death, we find that he has been thinking of returning to Germany.

The Brandes letters span a nine-month period from November 1862 to June 1863, just a few days before he died in a military hospital. These are very typical soldiers letters, detailing the common experiences of military life in the Civil War before the advent of military censors. Brandes describes his feelings and experiences clearly, namely that the war was a "humbug," the food and water were bad, the army doctors were bad, he hadn't been paid, the officers were getting rich, and that there was no mail from home (not surprisingly so, since his phonetic spelling of English made his address exceedingly difficult to decipher). However, he also describes the campaigns and battles in which he fought, from Arkansas Post to Vicksburg, repeatedly writing that he always called upon the Holy Trinity to save him. Like thousands of others, he died not of wounds, but rather of disease contracted in the field. In a statement sworn by one of his comrades, Brandes died of "brain fever and swelled feet" contracted at the siege of Vicksburg. While lying in the hospital, Brandes displayed the classic attitude of a "short-timer." As in other letters, he mentions just how much time he has left on his hitch and how much he wants to come home. His feelings and longings are expressed in Holtmann's original German title: *Für ganz America gehe ich nicht wieder bei die Solldaten* ("For all of America, I won't go with the soldiers again.").

Antonius Holtmann has done an admirable job in tracing the life story of Theodor Heinrich Brandes through archives and public records. It is clear, too, that he has done fairly extensive research into the world in which Brandes lived and died. He was quite fortunate in finding Brandes' letters in such good condition and that in spite of his poor spelling, Brandes wrote a very clear *Kurrentschrift* (German *Running Hand* penmanship)—such is quite often not the case. The intentionally misspelled translation of the first letter does give one a feel for how Brandes' writing might have looked to an educated speaker of German, but I wish a German transcription of all the original letters had been included, perhaps in an appendix. The maps, charts, and other illustrations were well chosen and instructive, and the bibliography is a good starting point for anyone wishing to do further research about the life of a common soldier in the Vicksburg campaign. Credit must also be given to Eberhard Reichmann for a translation that is both clear and easy to read. The fact that this book is intended

for a more general audience does not detract from its potential usefulness to the more serious scholar.

William Woods University

Tom R. Schultz



Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, Selected Media, and Dissertations

Dolores J. Hoyt and Giles R. Hoyt in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the Society for German-American Studies.

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The Bibliographic Committee wishes to thank the IUPUI University Library for its generous cooperation. The Bibliography includes references to books, articles, dissertations and selected media relating to the experience of German-speaking people in North America and their descendants.

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Yearbook of German-American Studies
Five-Year Index: Volumes 36-40 (2001-2005)
Articles, Review Essays, and Book Reviews

This five-year index encompasses volumes 36-40 of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* from 2001-2005. It supplements the twenty-year index contained in volume 35 (2000) and follows the format of that comprehensive index. The first section is an alphabetical listing by author of all articles published during the five-year period, including those published in the second supplemental issue of the Yearbook that appeared in 2006. This is followed by a separate listing for bibliographical and review essays. A third section contains books reviewed, alphabetized by authors or editors of books. In the fourth section, we have included the historical text, translation and commentary published in the first supplemental issue in 2003. An alphabetical index of authors of book reviews together with co-authors of regular articles follows. The final section of this index is a topical index covering both articles and book reviews, utilizing the topical index of the three earlier published indexes (1985, 1992, and 2000) as its basis.

William D. Keel, Editor

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1. Anderson, Timothy G. 2001. "On the Pre-Migration Social and Economic Experience of Nineteenth-Century German Immigrants." 36: 91-108.
2. Arend, Angelika. 2002. "'Es tut so gut zu lieben und ganz wieder Mensch zu sein!': Some Comments on Else Seel's Love Poetry." 37: 135-48.
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12. Dillinger, Johannes. 2002. "Town Meeting Republics: Early Modern Communities in America and Germany." 37: 25-39.
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16. Hertel, Christiane. 2003. "The Nineteenth-Century Schiller Cult: Centennials, Monuments, and *Tableaux Vivants*." 38: 155-205.
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23. Johnson-Weiner, Karen M. "Teaching Identity: German Language Instruction in Old Order Schools." Supplemental Issue 2: 13-26.
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25. Katritzky, Linde. 2002. "Johann Gottfried Seume's Expedition with the Hessians to America, 1781-83." 37: 41-61.
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35. Menze, Ernest A. 2001. "Benjamin Franklin Seen with German Eyes: Selective Co-optations by German Authors." 36: 29-46.
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SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

BYLAWS

Article I. Name and Purpose

1. The name of this Society shall be the Society for German-American Studies.
2. The purpose of this Society shall be:
 - 2.1. To engage in and promote interest in the study of the history, literature, linguistics, folklore, genealogy, theater, music and other creative art forms of the German element in the Americas.
 - 2.2. To produce, present, and publish research findings and educational materials of the same as a public service.
 - 2.3. To assist researchers, teachers and students.
 - 2.4. To improve cross-cultural relations between the German-speaking countries and the Americas.

Article II. Membership

1. Membership in the Society shall be open to all persons and organizations interested in German-American Studies.
2. Application for membership shall be made in the manner prescribed by the Membership Committee.
3. If any person being a member of the Society shall at any time be guilty of an act which is prejudicial to the Society, or to the purpose for which it was formed, such person shall be notified of his/her right to submit a written explanation of such acts within thirty days after formal notification. If the clarification is not acceptable to the Executive Committee, then at its discretion the individual's membership can be terminated.

Article III. Officers

1. Except as otherwise required by law or provided by these Bylaws, the entire control of the Society and its affairs and property shall be vested in its Executive Committee as trustees.
2. The Executive Committee consists of the elected officers of the Society and the editors of its publications.
3. The term of office in the Society shall be for two years.
4. Officers are elected at the annual meeting.
5. The officers of the Society shall be president, first vice president, second vice president, secretary, and treasurer, all of whom are members of the Society, and are elected at the annual meeting of the members, and shall hold office for two years.
6. The duties of the officers are as follows:
 - 6.1. The president shall perform the function as the official spokesman of the Society, serve as chair of the Executive Committee, and preside over the annual meeting.
 - 6.2. The first vice president shall maintain the procedures for the annual meetings, and coordinate the annual meeting schedule.
 - 6.3. The second vice president shall coordinate the annual awards for outstanding achievement in the field of German-American Studies.
 - 6.4. The secretary shall function as the secretary of the annual meetings, and will also be the coordinator of all membership drives of the Society.
 - 6.5. The treasurer shall keep the financial records of the Society, and shall present an annual report at the annual meeting to the membership.
7. The resignation of any officer shall be tendered to the Executive Committee.
8. If any vacancy should occur the Executive Committee shall elect a member of the Society to fill such vacancy for the unexpired term of the person whom he or she replaces.
9. No organization shall serve as a member of the Executive Committee.
10. No officer shall receive directly or indirectly any salary, compensation, or emolument from the Society. The Society may, however, pay compensation to employees or agents who are not members of the Society.

Article IV. Meetings

1. The Society shall hold an annual meeting and symposium.
2. The Executive Committee shall meet at the annual meeting.
3. A quorum of any meeting of this Society shall constitute a majority of the members present.

Article V. Order of Business and Parliamentary Procedures

1. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the authority followed for parliamentary procedures at all meetings of the Society.
2. The order of business at any meeting of the members of the Society shall be as follows:
 - 2.1. Call to order
 - 2.2. Reading of minutes of the last meeting
 - 2.3. Reports of officers
 - 2.4. Reports of committees
 - 2.5. Unfinished business
 - 2.6. Communications
 - 2.7. Election and installation of officers
 - 2.8. General business
 - 2.9. Adjournment
3. The order of business at any meeting may be changed by a vote of the majority of the members present. A motion to change the order of business shall not be debatable.

Article VI. Dues and Finances

1. The annual dues of all members are on a calendar-year basis payable in advance by 31 January. Non-payment of dues will result in a cancellation of membership.
2. The funds of the Society shall be deposited or kept with a bank or trust company. Such funds shall be disbursed upon order of such officers as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee.
3. The fiscal year shall be from January through December.
4. The amount of dues and assessments shall be set by a vote of the membership at the annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose.

Article VIII. Nominations and Elections

1. The Executive Committee shall appoint an Election Committee. It is this Committee's duty to conduct the election of the officers.
2. The Election Committee shall not consist of persons who have been nominated for an office.
3. Election of officers will be at the annual meeting during the general business meeting of the membership.
4. All officers shall take office on 1 June of the year in which they were elected.

Article IX. Affiliates

1. The Executive Committee shall determine regulations pertaining to affiliate membership in the Society.
2. The Executive Committee shall have sole discretion, subject to these Bylaws, in authorizing the approval of affiliates of the Society.

Article X. Committees

1. The Executive Committee consists of the elected officers and editors of the Society.
2. The Executive Committee shall supervise the affairs of the Society and regulate its internal economy, approve expenditures and commitments, act for and carry out the established policies of the Society, and report to the membership through the president at its annual meeting. Four members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum.
3. Except as otherwise provided by these Bylaws, the president shall annually designate committees other than the Executive Committee and the Election Committee, and at the time of the appointment shall designate their chairpersons.

Article XI. Publications

1. The official publications of the Society are its quarterly *Newsletter* and its annual *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.
2. The editors of SGAS publications shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.
3. Copyright in all publications of the Society is held by the Society for German-American Studies.

Article XII. Amendments

Alterations or amendments to these Bylaws shall be considered at any meeting of the members of the Society and become effective if a majority of the members present at such meeting, either present in person, or by mail ballot, vote in favor of such change in the Bylaws, provided that notice of the proposed amendment has been mailed by the secretary to the members of the Society with provision for voting by secret mail ballot.

Article XIII. Dissolution

Upon the dissolution of the Society, the Executive Committee shall, after paying or making provision for the payment of all of the liabilities of the Society, dispose of all of the assets of the Society exclusively for the purposes of the Society in such manner, or to such organization or organizations organized and operated exclusively for charitable, educational, religious or scientific purposes as shall at the time qualify as an exempt organization or organizations under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (or the corresponding provision of any future United States Revenue Law), as the Executive Committee shall determine.



Society for German-American Studies

Publication Fund Policy

Publication Fund

Thanks to the foresight of the Executive Committee and the generosity of numerous individual contributors, the **Karl J. R. Arndt Publication Fund**, begun in the tricentennial year 1983, has now reached its goal of a principal balance of a minimum of \$100,000. The annual interest yield from this principal shall be allocated during the following calendar year for publication subsidies upon recommendation of the Publication Committee and with the approval of the Executive Committee. At the beginning of each calendar year, the Treasurer shall report to the Executive Committee and the Publication Committee the total amount of interest income earned by the Publication Fund during the preceding twelve-month period. This amount shall be available for publication subsidies, unless needed to support publication of the Society's *Yearbook*. Unallocated interest will be added to the principal at the end of a given calendar year.

Application

Individual members of the Society for German-American Studies in good standing may apply for a publication subsidy to be awarded during a given calendar year by submitting a letter of application to the chair of the Publication Committee by January 31 of that year. A complete application shall consist of:

- a letter requesting a publication subsidy;
- curriculum vitae of the author;
- table of contents and abstract of the book;
- documentation of the publication costs to be borne by the author; and
- three (3) letters of support from colleagues.

Publication subsidies will be considered for book-length manuscripts which adhere to the scholarly purposes of the Society for German-American Studies as described in the front matter of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*:

. . . the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in North America. This includes coverage of the

immigrants and their descendants from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other German-speaking areas of Europe.

Amount of Award and Conditions of Repayment

Awards will be announced at the Annual Symposium. The amount of an individual award shall not exceed \$2,000 or 50% of the publication cost to be borne by the author, whichever is less. In the event that the author's book realizes a profit, the subsidy shall be repaid proportionate to its percentage of the publication cost borne by the author until repaid in full. Appropriate acknowledgment of the support must appear in the front matter of the publication.

Publication Committee

The three-member Publication Committee will normally be chaired by the editor of the Society's *Yearbook*. The president of the Society will annually appoint the two additional members of the committee, including at least one member not holding a position on the Executive Committee for that year.

Adopted: 21 October 2000, Frankenmuth, Michigan

Effective Date: 1 January 2001

Publication Committee

Chair: William Keel, University of Kansas
Helmut J. Schmeller, Fort Hays State University
Jerry Glenn, University of Cincinnati

Society for German-American Studies

Research Fund Policy

Thanks to the generosity of an anonymous donor, the Society for German-American Studies has established the **Albert Bernard Faust Research Fund**. The Research Fund provides financial support for scholars conducting research in the field of German-American Studies as defined by the Society.

The Research Fund is managed by the Treasurer of the Society. The amount available for recipients in any given year depends on the annual earnings of the fund. The maximum amount to be awarded in a calendar year will be \$500, with one award made annually and announced at the Society's Annual Symposium.

A three-person committee administers the Research Fund, reviews applications, and makes recommendations to the Society's Executive Committee for final action. The Research Committee consists of the chair (normally the editor of the Society's *Newsletter*), and two additional members; one selected from the Society's Executive Committee, and one selected from the membership at large.

Members of the Society for German-American Studies, especially younger scholars establishing their research programs, are encouraged to apply for financial support for the following research-related activities in the field of German-American Studies:

- travel expenses necessary for scholarly research, including domestic and international travel;
- expenses connected to xeroxing, storing and organization of data, and other office expenses connected to scholarly research;
- expenses related to the preparation of a book manuscript for publication or another means of disseminating the results of one's research (e.g., CD-ROM);
- expenses related to the preparation of a scholarly exhibit.

Applicants should submit the following to chair of the committee by the end of January in a given calendar year for consideration of support during that year:

- a current curriculum vitae;

- a description of the project indicating its importance to German-American Studies;
- two letters of support.

Adopted: 21 October 2000, Frankenmuth, Michigan

Effective Date: 1 January 2001

SGAS Research Committee

Chair: La Vern Rippley, Saint Olaf College
Gerhard Weiss, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities
Adolf Schroeder, University of Missouri

