



# *Deutsch-amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*

Deutsche–Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft  
von Illinois, Germanistic Society of America



# Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

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Jahrbuch

der

Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen  
Gesellschaft von Illinois

Herausgegeben von

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Jahrgang 1913

(Vol. XIII)

Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois

1608 Mallers Building, 5 S. Wabash Ave.

Chicago, Illinois

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FRED. KLEIN COMPANY  
CHICAGO, ILL.

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Carl Schurz, Memorandum  
Foundation, Dec.  
6.12.44

## Vorwort.

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Die überaus freundliche Aufnahme, welche die „Deutsch-amerikanischen Geschichtsblätter“ in ihrem neuen Gewande bei der amerikanischen wie der deutschen Kritik fanden, scheint uns die beste Rechtfertigung für die Umwandlung der Vierteljahresschrift in ein historisches Jahrbuch. Besonders einstimmig waren die Beurteiler in dem Hinweis auf den wissenschaftlichen Charakter des neuen Jahrbuchs. Der Herausgeber hofft, daß dem vorliegenden Bande, der wieder eine Reihe originaler Forschungen bringt, das gleiche Los zuteil werden möge.

Es wird die Leser des Jahrbuchs gewiß interessieren zu hören, daß unser Bemühen dem deutschen Anteil an der Geschichte Amerikas die gebührende Anerkennung zu verschaffen, nicht ohne Wirkung geblieben ist. Die Verfasser wie die Verleger von Schulbüchern für amerikanische Geschichte zeigen sich immer williger, den deutsch-amerikanischen Verdiensten um die Entwicklung dieses Landes gerecht zu werden, und es steht daher zu hoffen, daß in nicht allzuferner Zukunft unsere Kinder nicht nur von „Puritanern“ und „Kavalieren“, sondern endlich auch von Deutschen in den Schulen hören werden.

Von ganz besonderem Interesse wird es aber für die Leser des Jahrbuchs sein, daß die Forschung über Christoph von Graffenried ihre praktischen Früchte getragen hat. Angeregt durch die Festrede, die der Herausgeber des Jahrbuchs im Jahre 1910 in New Bern hielt und bestärkt durch die treffliche Arbeit von Dr. W. G. Lobb im letzten Bande des Jahrbuchs, wird demnächst in New Bern den deutschen Ansiedlern durch ihre Nachkommen ein Denkmal errichtet werden, dessen Kosten auf 20,000 Dollars veranschlagt sind.

J. G.



Therese Robinson  
nie von Jakob..

(Diese Unterschrift im Facsimile der Handschrift)

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THERESE ROBINSON  
(TALVJ).

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INTRODUCTION.

One of the most fascinating and difficult problems which confronts the student of American history is that of the rise and development of a higher national culture in America. The fact that it is closely interwoven with the question of the development of a uniform American nationality out of the various ethnic elements composing the American constitutes its peculiar complexity. What is called American national culture is, at the present day, not the product of the American people as a racial unity, but the result of the contributions made by the civilizations of the various ethnic elements which have met and mingled in this country. While it will remain the task of the future historian of American civilization to determine the share which each of these ethnic elements had in the process of forming a new composite culture, this work cannot be accomplished satisfactorily until a number of single detailed investigations have been made.

It is from this latter point of view that the following study of the life and work of Mrs. Robinson (Talvj) has been undertaken. A woman distinguished as a scholar and author, and representing as a member of the Goethe circle the highest type of German culture, enters America at a period when the higher civilization of this country is in the first stages of its making. German influence in the previous century had not been wanting, but it had been confined chiefly to Pennsylvania, where Philadelphia early became a center of culture, and to New York, where the first original writers of America, men like Irving, Cooper, and Bryant, had felt its stimulating touch. On the whole,



however, the higher intellectual life of America had been English in character, with a decided leaning, since the time of the Revolution, toward the French spirit. And so it remained until the second decade of the nineteenth century, when a group of talented men at Harvard inspired by Madame de Staël's book (1814), transferred the completion of their studies to Germany, and there discovered the wealth of German culture. Upon their return to America they began to implant consciously the best seeds of this culture into the rising civilization of the young republic.<sup>1</sup> With the thirties of the last century, American literature and philosophy, philology and historiography, — every branch, in fact, of intellectual activity, — began thus to show the influence of German cultural ideals.

While in the spheres just mentioned the value of this foreign impulse is today more or less recognized, it seems little known that in the field of American theology there was a similar movement. Inasmuch as the husband of the woman of whom this study is to treat was a leader in its inception, a word concerning it may be in place. Despite the fact that theology had been from the first the dominant force in America, it can justly be said that from the modern point of view it was utterly devoid of the scientific spirit. To be sure, among the theologians of the various denominations we find men of a great amount of learning; but theirs was not a productive scholarship. Proudly confident that truth had been established once for all by the fathers of the Reformation, they felt no need of an unremitting search after newer light. During a period of more than two centuries American theology did not produce a single work which could be considered a permanent contribution to theo-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Charles F. Richardson discussing this period, says in his excellent work *American Literature, 1607—1885*, that "it is a matter of important record which should not be forgotten by the student of American books, that the force of the newly revived Teutonic mind was directly felt in America simultaneously with its impact upon British thought. Germany and its philosophy and literature were not less known and not less highly esteemed in the United States than in England and Scotland during this period."

logy as a science.<sup>2</sup> So powerful, moreover, was the domination of the theological spirit in America, that it claimed control over all intellectual activity, and resisted every effort to introduce a cultural ideal which did not recognize theological supremacy.<sup>3</sup>

The first attempt at making a breach in this stronghold of the elder dogmatism was the Unitarian movement. A similar, although far less radical attempt at infusing new life into American theology, by bringing it into contact with the new philosophical and scientific spirit of Germany, was made by Professor Edward Robinson, the husband of Talvj. It was for this purpose that he founded, after his return from Germany in 1830, the *Biblical Repository*, afterwards known as the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the pages of which clearly reflect the influence of German culture in the theological field. It is a noteworthy fact that the first volumes of this periodical contain, aside from Robinson's and Moses Stuart's essays,<sup>4</sup> only contributions of German

<sup>2</sup> By theology as a science I mean, of course, historical theology in the widest sense of the word, for it is the only branch of theology or the science of religion to which the term "science" in the modern sense is applicable. The "Treatise on the Freedom of the Will" by Jonathan Edwards is not considered here because of its metaphysical character.

How keenly the lack of the scientific spirit in American theology was felt as late as 1840 may be seen from the following words of Theodore Parker: "It is only the Germans in this age who study theology or even the Bible, with the aid of enlightened and scientific criticism. There is not even a history of theology in our language. . . . For our ecclesiastical history we depend upon translations from Du Pin and Tillemont, or, more generally, on those from the German Mosheim or Gieseler." *The Dial*, vol. i, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Richardson, *American Literature*, vol. i, p. 119: "It is not easy in these days of the independence of the laity to estimate rightly the power of the ministers in early New England. Few Roman Catholic priests exercise a more potent control over their congregations than did these ministers and servants of the first churches of Boston, Salem, Plymouth, over their independent and democratic flock. Theoretically the minister was but one among the body of the church, practically he was a force in public affairs and in social order."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Richardson, *Am. Lit.* vol. i. p. 294: "The spirituality and the

scholars in translation. Thus great was still the dearth of theological scholarship in America at that time. And quite frankly one of the writers states: our American philosophy has continued essentially the same as in the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup>

While Talvj, as will be seen later, assisted her husband in this work, her chief interests lay, in the wider fields of human culture. In order to estimate correctly her contribution to the national civilization which was then gradually taking form, it may be well in this introductory chapter to give a brief survey of contemporary conditions of American cultivation. There are two main sources from which we may derive our knowledge of the degree to which the higher intellectual life had developed. One of these is to be found in contemporary American literature and in the status of such other expressions of the spirit of the times as higher education, music, art, etc.; the other in opinions of cultured foreigners, especially the Germans who during this period migrated to America in great numbers. Some of these newcomers were seeking this country as the Utopia of human freedom; others were filled with the hope of finding here an opportunity of taking part in the up-building of its civilization. For these latter Gustav Körner,<sup>6</sup> himself a man of academic training, is impelled by

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discreet liberalism of Schleiermacher and other Germans of kindred mind were beginning to be used as allies by the conservative Congregationalists of New England who, like Stuart, were not content to let 'German culture' be deemed the property of Emerson and Parker."

<sup>5</sup> Philip Schaf, "German Literature in America", *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. iv, p. 511.

<sup>6</sup> Gustav Koerner (1809—1896) came from the academic circles of Frankfurt a/M. and Heidelberg, and as a young man entered the activities of American life at its most significant period of development. His career in America is closely associated with the political and historical development of Illinois, as he was supreme judge in this state from 1845 to 1850, and lieutenant governor from 1852 to 1856. Beginning with Van Buren's presidential campaign, he took an active interest in each successive national election. He was es-

Gottfried Duden's<sup>7</sup> glowing but misleading reports of life in America to raise the questions, "How far has life in the American republic, especially in the new western states, developed in its intellectual and political phases?" and "What restrictions are the present defects of this development likely to lay upon the intellectual freedom of the cultivated immigrants?" He concludes these questions with the remark, "To him who is seeking merely a haven of release from the burdens of sustenance and physical oppression, these considerations, aside from arousing a slight interest, can have no especial significance; but he who is seeking a place in which to move and express himself freely, spiritually as well as physically, certainly must consider well every possible answer to these questions."<sup>8</sup> That

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pecially fitted for campaigning because of his ability to speak fluently in German, English, and French. Not only was he the most confidential advisor of Governor "Dick" Yates, but he was also consulted frequently by President Lincoln in regard to various highly important matters. As a lawyer he was eminently successful, a fact which was recognized by the University of Heidelberg when in 1832 this body conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. His entire life in America, to his very last year, was one of the most intense interest and activity in the land of his adoption. (Cf. Rattermann, vol. xi, p. 219 ff.)

<sup>7</sup> As early as 1824 Gottfried Duden had taken up a temporary abode about 80 miles from St. Louis. From here he wrote most attractive and alluring letters to his friends in Germany, and because of the respect in which he was held, both by virtue of his intellectuality and his political prominence in his fatherland, these letters had a very great influence. But unfortunately Duden was a man in whom theory did not grow out of practice, and theoretically he had found in America the Utopia for which he was seeking. Attracted by his favorable reports, in the hope of finding a land abounding in milk and honey, many highly cultured German families came to this country in 1832 to settle in the same spot which Duden had left, in a sudden access of disappointment, after a two years residence. After several years spent in America Koerner became impressed with the fact that many of Duden's reports were altogether incorrect and misleading, and this led him in 1834 to write and publish his pamphlet entitled, *Beleuchtung des Duden'schen Berichtes über die westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas. Von Amerika aus.* (Cf. Koerner, *Das deutsche Element*, p. 299 ff.)

<sup>8</sup> Koerner, *Beleuchtung des Duden'schen Berichtes*, 1834, p. 45.

men like Koerner came here with lofty patriotic intentions is usually overlooked by American historians, as it was frequently unappreciated by their American contemporaries. It was because America was to be their future home that these men were so deeply interested in getting a correct view of the entirety of American life, of its physical as well as its intellectual and cultural side. This very fact also makes the notes of German travelers, which upon first consideration might seem but hasty and superficial, of the greatest significance. The chief object of all these reports, whether by educated German residents or by travelers, was to give to future German emigrants the accurate knowledge they were seeking; and this despite a feeling on the part of many Americans that these men were spying upon them in order to be able to ridicule America upon their return to the Fatherland. That their attitude was keenly critical and their expressions boldly truthful is but natural, and argues neither against their hopefulness for America's future nor against their confidence in and respect for her achievements. The reports in almost all cases give evidence of the characteristically critical and scientific viewpoint of the cultured German. But before considering further the status of American culture as interpreted by these men, we may profitably consider what our contemporary American sources have to tell us on this subject.

Perhaps the one great obstacle which at first retarded the development of American culture and later frequently resulted in its misdirection, was lack of national unity. From the earliest period, the spirit of nationality had had to fight its way, stubbornly resisted all along its course, by local pride. The first breaking away from the bondage of sectionalism followed the extreme ardor of the times which immediately preceded final unification, and in consequence American literature began to assume as early as 1789 the appearance, at least, of a national literature. But the new-fledged aggressive Americanism was ignorant of the fact that it was impossible to create by conscious effort truly national poetry, music, or art. To this statement it must

be added that America, in her origin as well as in her literary standards, was provincial, not national. She declared her political independence of England, but at the same time continued to follow English models in almost every other regard. Only here and there was heard occasionally the voice of original poetry, as for instance, when Philip Freneau recognized the Indian as a fit subject for literary treatment.

Because, therefore, of its decidedly imitative character, it was not until the nineteenth century that American literature was considered with anything but indifference or even contempt by other countries. When this new era was ushered in, by Washington Irving and others, it came as the result of travel by American men of letters among the countries of Europe, and an honest effort on their part to imbibe the culture of the older civilizations. A natural and praiseworthy desire to create and possess a literature which should truly represent the nation began to take root and offered a strong incentive to write. However, while sharing in this desire for a wider national life, each section of the country retained its own peculiar characteristics and aims. This would have been very well had each of these sections still developed a literature national in its character, as, for instance, the German principalities and territories did during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, maintaining as it were, a unity in variety. But conjoined with this sectionalism was a local jealousy which made each section feel its own peculiar preeminence as a center of national culture. New England, surprising as it may seem, played at first a small rôle in the rise of national literature. She was greatly surpassed by the South and the Middle States. There was then, as there is now, a tendency to slight the work of the South and give Northern writers an undue prominence.<sup>9</sup> Yet

<sup>9</sup> Is it not strange," says the *Southern Literary Messenger* for 1847, "that men, claiming to be imbued with a spirit of nationality, should be able to show so plainly to foreigners how those things for whose absence they reproach us, cannot yet be reasonably expected from us, from the stage of progress in which we are, and yet forget both the philosophy and the candor which they recommend to the foreigner,

an impartial survey shows that the warm, imaginative, and romantic Southern nature has contributed most significantly to American literature. The failure of critics to allot due recognition to Southern influence may be due to her lack of any definite schools of writers. The history of Southern culture is largely a history of isolated careers. Had the South possessed the same advantages as New England, she would undoubtedly have achieved results that would have thrown all the weight of literary prestige on her side.<sup>10</sup> In the Middle States we find Philip Freneau from New Jersey and Charles Brockden Brown from Philadelphia, both of whom were without New England rivals. As late as 1846 Edgar Allan Poe claimed that the authors in New York City included one-fourth of all in America. Their influence, though seemingly silent, was extensive and decisive. From Irving's advent in 1807 to that of Longfellow and Emerson, New York was certainly entitled to the distinction of being a literary center. But with the founding of the *North American Review* in 1815 in Boston, a new spirit which greatly modified the narrowness and sternness of the old Puritanism entered New England.

The causes of this shifting of centers of culture is explained by the fact that the Southern temperament and the Southern mode of life fitted its men to excel in an era of oratory. When, however, the era changed to one of purely literary cultivation, intellectual supremacy, as is noted above, lay first with Philadelphia and later with New York.<sup>11</sup> Tom Moore

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and commit toward one portion of their own country a greater folly and injustice than the foreigner does to the whole.... and we do scorn that narrow-mindedness which regards Philadelphia, New York, and Boston as America."

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pancoast, *Introduction to American Literature*, p. 259.

<sup>11</sup> To the student of German American History I need not point out the large share which the cultured German element of Pennsylvania and New York had in developing the early leadership of Philadelphia and New York in matters of literature, music and science. Those who are less acquainted with this fact are referred to the following books and articles:

*Hallesche Nachrichten*, neuherausgegeben mit historischen Erläu-

said in 1840 that Philadelphia was the only place in America that could boast of a literary society. The cultural sceptre was all the more certain of award to the Middle Atlantic States from the fact that New England's genius was still, at this period, bound by religious prejudice. When the famous group of Boston writers broke the bonds, their work bore the stamp of a popular movement. This was undoubtedly due to an effort on the part of these men to give expression to the ideas and ideals of universality and liberality which many of them had imbibed in their study and travel in Europe, and especially in Germany. The most salient phase of the reaction against the stern Puritanical doctrines which held sway in New England for so long was, as has already been emphasized, the rise of Unitarianism. The effect of this movement on literature was remarkable, for it brought with it the assertion of individual opinions and freedom of thought. When Unitarianism finally took an organized form in 1815 it embodied in its creed, if it may be said to have a creed, the idea of wider culture. Channing, one of its greatest representatives, went to England and through Coleridge imbibed and brought back with him the "new life" which the latter had found in German thought and ideals. With Channing culture was religion. Through Unitarianism, then, we may say that the gates were opened to the intellectual impulses of Europe at a time when the mother nations were aglow with new ideas and philosophies. In 1817 Edward Everett returned from Germany inspired by the new great world of thought with which he had met. But New England, as well as the country at large, lacked the thousand beautiful associations of poetry, legend, and art that gave to European culture its magic. Longfellow, perhaps more than any

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terungen etc. von W. J. Mann und B. M. Schmucker, Allentown, Pa. 1886—95.

*Commissioner of Education's Report 1897—98. Commissioner of Education Report for 1901, vol. I.*

Frederick W. Wilkens, "Early influence of German Literature in America"; *Americana Germanica*, vol III., p. 103 ff.

H. A. Rattermann, Anfänge und Entwicklung der Musik in den Vereinigten Staaten. *Jahrbuch der deutsch-amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, vol. XII, p. 327 ff.



other native writer, felt the American need for the refining and cultivating influences that were so powerful in the Old World. A fortunate circumstance afforded him, very early in his career, the opportunity for study abroad, an opportunity which lasted for three years, and which was repeated later in his life. His *Hyperion* shows most decidedly of all his works, how deeply he was imbued with the German spirit. And with all his European culture and the expression he gave to it, he remained one of the most popular poets of America, certainly a powerful argument for the value of a universal culture in the development of a national culture.

Absolute self-knowledge, as Goethe remarks, is impossible for the individual as well as for a nation. It is here that the observation of the friendly critic becomes of the greatest value. While American scholars give us a fairly just view of conditions at that time, the detailed observations and criticisms of German students of American life, mentioned above, throw a light upon these conditions which is all the more interesting because it emanates from men representing the cultural ideals which were to become so powerful in America.

One of the criticisms which Americans frequently made upon themselves was that their cultural development as a nation was haltingly slow. Foreign students of American history attribute this belated social ripening to various causes. One on which all seem to be more or less agreed is the exaggerated emphasis placed upon business and its attendant profits. Koerner says that even a greater hindrance than the lack of racial unity or the defects in educational methods is the subordination of science to business. The former is pursued only in so far as it is an adjunct and servant to the latter. That merchants had no need for a liberal culture seemed to be a national axiom. Another explanation suggested by Koerner as partially responsible for this lack of cultural development was that America's early settlers in New England and elsewhere did not bring a literature or history with them, for they belonged for the most part to an oppressed people and, with the exception of a few learned clergymen, to a class possessed of little general education. They left their fatherland at a time when higher educa-

tion was quite generally the prerogative of the rich and powerful. Those, moreover, who did possess education and culture before coming to America, F. J. Grund<sup>12</sup> felt did not differ enough from their brothers in Europe to establish at once a new national character. The almost daily influx of immigrants and the hardships of pioneer life made the basis of liberal development, in early times transient and unstable, whereas the highest ideal of culture presupposes the production of such permanent values in literature, science, music, philosophy, and theology, as will be of benefit to the whole of civilized humanity.

At the root of the growth of such a culture lies education. The Americans were never lacking in the scholastic idea. One of the main motives back of Jefferson's action in establishing the University of Virginia was the hope of developing a national character by means of a cosmopolitan scheme of education.<sup>13</sup> As a foundation underlying all

<sup>12</sup> Franz Joseph Grund (1798—1863) came to America in 1825 or 1826. In 1833 he wrote a book entitled *Algebraic Problems*, from whose publication dates the introduction of algebra into the American High Schools. In addition to this book he also wrote a *Plain and Solid Geometry*, an *Elements of Astronomy*, a *Natural Philosophy*, and an *Advanced Mathematics*. After a ten years' residence in Boston preceded by a two years' residence in New York and Philadelphia, he wrote his *The Americans in their Moral, Social, and Political Relations*. In speaking of this book the *American Quarterly Review* for December 1837 said: "It does not seem to have been the intention of Mr. Grund to produce merely an amusing book, in which the piquant foibles and humorous peculiarities of society are marked and noted, nor does he appear in any way content with a superficial glance at things around him. . . . he writes with the serious purpose of disabusing the English public and of conveying true information of the country and people of the United States. The work contains abundance of information which, even to an American, would be eminently useful." For a period of over thirty years beginning about 1830, he was actively engaged in journalism. During Buchanan's administration he was consul at Havre. He is sometimes called the Schurz of the first half of the nineteenth century. Cf. Rattermann, vol. x. p. 70 ff.

<sup>13</sup> The idea of establishing a "federal university" for the purpose of "preparing the people of the United States for our new form of Government by an education adapted to the new and peculiar situation of our

subjects the scientific and critical point of view was to be introduced, the lack of which, as will be noticed later, seemed to German students one of the weaknesses in American education. His plans were like the preliminary drawings of a great artist. Even in their undeveloped state they indicated a remarkable appreciation of the university idea which had given western European education such superiority over all other of the world's systems. Jefferson's ideal was so thoroughly European that he even harbored for a time the idea of transplanting the entire teaching corps from the College of Geneva to America; for this faculty, which had become dissatisfied with its political environment, had written to him saying that they were willing to come to Virginia in a body if suitable arrangements could be made. This proposal (1794) was really the historical origin of his project for a great university, to be equipped with the best scientific talent that Europe could afford, which, strangely enough, Jefferson thought was at that time centered in Geneva.<sup>14</sup> He appealed to Washington, but the latter, who wished to carry out his own ideas of a federal university, opposed the plan. Jefferson laid the proposition also before the

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country" seems to go back to Dr. Benjamin Rush, the eminent scientist and surgeon-general in the Revolutionary army, who had studied at several European universities and who was a great admirer of German civilization. As early as 1788 he published in the *American Museum* an article entitled "A plan of federal university" in which he says: "Let one of the first acts of the new Congress be, to establish within the district to be allotted for them, a federal university, into which the youth of the United States shall be received in the colleges of their respective states. In this university let those branches of literature only be taught, which are calculated to prepare our youth for civil and public life. These branches should be taught by means of lectures."

Among the subjects to be taught at this university he mentions especially the German and French languages. He says: "The many excellent books which are written in both these languages, upon all subjects, more especially upon those which relate to the *advancement of national improvement of all kinds*, will render a knowledge of them an essential part of the education of a legislator of the United States."

<sup>14</sup> Cf. "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia" *U. S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 2, 1888, p. 45.*

state legislature but the practical Virginians thought the plan too expensive. However, the advanced ideas of the third president, although not fulfilled in this matter, had a quickening influence on Ticknor, a close personal friend, and through him upon the whole method of instruction at Harvard. Ticknor received a call to Virginia in 1820, but continued at Harvard until 1835, when his resignation was forced by stubborn opposition to just such reforms as would have reorganized the northern college in accordance with the principles of university education laid down by Jefferson.<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the chief point of weakness in American education at that time was the general disregard for scholarship by a democracy whose highest ideal seemed the accumulation of wealth. Dr. Brauns, a highly cultured German theologian who lived in America for years, says that very few if any of the American academies and universities were liberal enough to allow their professors to turn to the service of scientific research their talent, inclination, and independent thought<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the recompense given them was scarcely greater than that allowed a day-laborer.

Grund quotes and emphasizes the following statement<sup>17</sup> from an "Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools of the State of New York, 1835": "The main cause which retards the advancement of our educational system is the meager wage of the teachers. . . . . As long as the salary of a teacher is no higher than that of the manual laborer we cannot expect to attract scholars of talent and ability to our schools.

<sup>15</sup> The main points of Jefferson's plan for a university were: 1. There should be no prescribed curriculum laid down for all students. 2. Specialization should be introduced. 3. The elective system should be used. 4. Discipline should be reduced to a minimum. The reforms proposed by Ticknor were: 1. Students should be admitted even if they were not candidates for a degree. 2. The instruction should be divided into departments with a head of each department. 3. The elective system should be introduced. (Cf. U. S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 2).

<sup>16</sup> Brauns, *Ideen über die Auswanderung nach Amerika*, 1827, p. 686.

<sup>17</sup> Grund, *Die Amerikaner*, p. 121.

Low salaries have filled our schools with incompetent teachers whose methods have lowered the level of all knowledge to their own teaching." To the same effect Brauns quotes Bristed, a British scholar who came to America to study American resources and later became a citizen of the United States: "Wealth, that is truly the great social virtue even as poverty is an unpardonable sin. In no land of the earth must the poor scholar bow before the gates of wealth in more slavish humility than in our free and independent Republic."<sup>18</sup> Commenting on this, Brauns says, "Let not the scholar forget that farmers, manufacturers, and merchants are really the three main and privileged classes of American society."<sup>19</sup> In addition to pointing out that low salaries necessarily entailed a dearth of teachers Bristed, as well as our German critics, reminds us that those scholarly professors whom we do have in our schools have a limit placed on their time and energy by their great burden of purely routine duties.<sup>20</sup> One of Ticknor's great reforms was a division of the faculty into departments, with departmental heads, and sufficient assistants to make research and original production possible. This was one of his proposals that was most stubbornly resisted. In defending it Jefferson said, "Professorships must be subdivided from time to time as our means increase, until each professor shall have no more under his care than he can attend to with advantage to his pupils and ease to himself."<sup>21</sup>

Almost all foreign students of American education were agreed on the excellence of American elementary training. Brauns was especially impressed with the almost universal extension of the rudiments of education.<sup>22</sup> The middle schools, however, as Koerner remarked, were rather for the purpose of

<sup>18</sup> Brauns, *Ideen*, p. 697. Also Bristed, *Die Hilfsquellen der Vereinigten Staaten Amerikas*, Weimar 1819, p. 686.

<sup>19</sup> Brauns, *Ideen*, p. 697.

<sup>20</sup> Bristed, *Hilfsquellen*, p. 428.

<sup>21</sup> U. S. Bureau of Education, *Circular of Information No. 3*, p. 64.

<sup>22</sup> Brauns, *Ideen*, p. 433.

private gain than of popular instruction.<sup>23</sup> Parents, generally, were not yet impressed with the necessity of educating their children beyond the elementary grades. But, as Dr. De Wette, the brother of Professor Karl Beck of Harvard, said, after his visit to America in 1826, the American youths were wonderfully persevering and diligent. One of the chief expressions of this diligence was the zeal with which they took up the study of the German language and literature, very little opportunity for the pursuit of which was offered at the American universities. Even private tutors were not plentiful; and many students, therefore, took up the study by themselves with no other help than a dictionary and a few pieces of German literature, of which Goethe's and Schiller's works were perhaps the most popular. Imagine the American youth of today obtaining the rudiments of German through a translation of Wallenstein! Later this method was no longer necessary, for many of the professors at Andover, Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and elsewhere went to Germany and mastered the German language for purposes of instruction at home. It should be noted here that this zeal for acquiring German was prompted not by a mere hope of understanding its forms, but by an earnest desire to gain entrance to the treasures of German thought.

Another significant point to come under the notice of the German observers of American culture was what they considered a deplorable rarity of interest in science. While Grund did not deny the existence of a spirit of scientific inquiry, as Koerner came so near doing, he did say that it had few manifestations beyond the information contained in elementary texts.<sup>24</sup> The one science in which the Americans had made slightly more progress was mathematics, and he, probably better than any other foreign writer, could judge this because he had written several university texts in mathematics and other sciences. The Germans placed especial emphasis on science and scientific research, for to them science was eternal even as truth was eternal. "Monarchs may pro-

<sup>23</sup> Koerner, *Beleuchtung*, p. 46.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Grund, *Die Amerikaner*, 1837, p. 105.

fect the arts, republics must honor the sciences",<sup>25</sup> said Grund. The search for truth would alone establish, in their estimation, an enduring national prosperity. It cannot be denied that the stern, narrow views of the early American settlers in religion and politics retarded all progress in art and science, and this despite the great number of universities, colleges, and seminaries.<sup>26</sup> Brauns quotes Walsh,<sup>27</sup> an American scholar, as saying, "A liberal education under which a systematic grasp of science and classical literature is understood, is almost entirely lacking in America."<sup>28</sup> Aside from a few minor discoveries and inventions in physics and nautical technique, purely practical in nature, America had made no advance in the field of science.<sup>29</sup> This, at least, was the view of the more radical Koerner, who continued to say, "Indeed, I am not the first to be impressed by the lack of genuine scientific education, and the manifold pleasures which are brought about by the closer intercourse of highly cultured and educated men."<sup>30</sup>

If, as Grund says, imagination is the soul of artistic production, we have an explanation for the decided deficiency in America; for we do not need Koerner, nor Grund, nor Julius<sup>31</sup> to tell us of the neglect of the imagination in the American people. Even Cooper, as Koerner truly says, one of the best early American writers, and beside Longfellow, perhaps the most representative figure in American literature, excels only in description, and not in such work as requires an active and fer-

<sup>25</sup> Grund, *Die Amerikaner*, p. 80.

<sup>26</sup> Koerner, *Beleuchtung*, p. 51.

<sup>27</sup> Walsh was the original editor of the *American Register* in 1817—18. In 1827 he revived the *North American Review*, and continued as its editor until 1837.

<sup>28</sup> Brauns, *Ideen*, p. 685.

<sup>29</sup> Koerner, *Beleuchtung*, p. 47

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 47.

<sup>31</sup> N. H. Julius (1783—1862) a physician and student of sociology especially criminology. He made one of the first and most extensive statistical studies in criminology in America.

tile creative power.<sup>32</sup> This lack of imagination, Julius feels,<sup>33</sup> accounts for the almost cruel way in which the Americans have discarded the old musical and resonant Indian names of towns, rivers, and mountains, and substituted in their place the harsher sounding Roman, Grecian, German, English, and even Egyptian names. Besides a recognized lack of imagination Brauns discovers other causes which have retarded the development of art and literature. These he considers under four heads; first, the comparative ease with which wealth and prominence are attained through other channels than literature or art; second, the hardships of early settlement; third, our own Revolution; and fourth, the French Revolution, which inclined the Americans more toward a zeal for gain, military glory, and political fame, than to the less strenuous pleasures and benefits of literature and art. In addition to these causes, De Wette, with others, attributes the retardation of a nationally independent literature for America to the constant intercourse with Europe; or, as Grund puts it, to the fact that a gigantic conglomeration, such as America is, cannot produce a national literature.<sup>34</sup> Again, Brauns adds as a further cause a lack of concentration, due, he believes, to an overbalancing tendency toward newspapers, magazines, and political pamphlets.<sup>35</sup> As a people the Americans read more than any other nation in the world; indeed Grund goes so far as to say that the Americans read more books and magazines each year than the English, French, and Germans together.<sup>36</sup> John Bristed, after a careful study of American culture, remarks also on the shallowness of American writings which seemed, for the most part, confined to newspaper articles and political pamphlets.<sup>37</sup>

Concentration presupposes a calm philosophical point of view. The lack of this was more noticeable, probably, in America's historical productions than elsewhere in the field of

<sup>32</sup> Cooper was more highly esteemed in Germany than in America.

<sup>33</sup> Julius, *Nordamerikas sittliche Zustände*, 1834—36, p. 420.

<sup>34</sup> Grund, *Die Amerikaner*, p. 98.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Brauns, *Ideen*, p. 681 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Grund, *Die Amerikaner*, p. 104.

<sup>37</sup> Bristed *Die Hilfsquellen*, p. 685.



her literature. Led astray by hyper-enthusiastic patriotism, Americans inclined too much toward biographies. Even Jared Sparks and George Bancroft, two historians who deserve great praise, were unable to take a dispassionate view of America's historical development.—the only view, indeed, which is able to unite the life of the states with the course of human development. Up to 1837, in Grund's estimation, Marshal's *Biography of George Washington* was the best history of the United States.<sup>38</sup>

So far it would seem that this lack of imagination affected only the literary productions. Koerner's rather bold remark, however, that in the field of art the Americans were half barbarians,<sup>39</sup> reveals the fact that the lack of imagination extended beyond the realm of literature. As yet whatever America possessed of art was not original but of foreign adoption. There were, of course, individual artists but there was no artistic atmosphere, no collective "art-life."<sup>40</sup> Even the foremost of

<sup>38</sup> Grund, *Die Amerikaner*, p. 106. See also Pancoast, p. 253.

<sup>39</sup> Koerner, *Beleuchtung*, p. 52.

<sup>40</sup> The following passage from Henry James' "*A small Boy and others*" shows how he felt this lack of artistic atmosphere in America during his boyhood. Speaking of his hunger for art he says (p. 264 ff): "Wasn't the very bareness of the field itself moreover a challenge, in a degree, to design?..... Afterwards, on other ground and in richer air [in Europe] the challenge was in the fulness and not in the bareness of aspects, with their natural result of hunger appeased; exhibitions, illustrations abounded in Paris and London—the reflected image hung everywhere about; so that if there we daubed a-fresh and with more confidence it was not because no one but because every one did..... In Europe we knew there *was* Art; just as there were soldiers and lodgings and concierges and little boys in the street etc."

"The Düsseldorf school commanded the market, and I think of its exhibitions as firmly seated, going on from year to year..... No impression here, however, was half so momentous as that of the epoch-making masterpiece of Mr. Leutze, which showed us Washington crossing the Delaware."

Emanuel Leutze, the German-American painter, was born at Gmünd, Württemberg. He came to America in his early youth but returned to Germany in 1841 to study at Düsseldorf under K. F. Lessing. In 1859 he was called back to America by the federal government in order to decorate the Capitol at Washington.

early American painters such as Benj. West and J. S. Copley were more English than American in character. It is a significant fact that West's famous picture 'Death of General Wolfe' was painted in England. However, Grund believed that the Americans possessed sufficient talent both in drawing and painting to make a truly national art a future possibility.<sup>41</sup> That the Americans did not possess any real love or passion for true art, a fact which Koerner deplored, was due, no doubt, in large measure to the lack of the numerous galleries and collections of art treasures with which Europe was blessed. But despite this lack we must agree, I believe, with Koerner, when he says that if gloomy religious views retarded science they worked even more negatively against the development of art.<sup>42</sup> Music and painting were completely in the service of the church. If some art lover succeeded in transporting a work of art across the Atlantic, it received such a poor reception that the hope of arousing an interest which would create a demand for such work was shattered.

Closely allied with drawing and painting were music and the theater. The taste for music was slightly more developed than for tragedy and comedy, Grund tells us, but as yet there was no American talent. Indeed, Julius goes so far as to say that the Americans at that time were virtually lacking in the musical sense and in musical voices. Of this latter deficiency he says, "In the whole of America, during a visit of a year and a half, I heard a single beautiful native female voice, and among the men none at all."<sup>43</sup> The lack of a musical sense, he thinks, may be due to the fact that America was a composite nation and not a racial unit. He noticed the same lack in England, also a composite people in contrast to Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, strictly racial unities. The lack of musical voices, no doubt, could be attributed to frontier-life as well as to the climate and its almost inconceivably rapid changes. One decided hindrance to the development of the theater, as well as

<sup>41</sup> Grund, *Die Amerikaner*, p. 74.

<sup>42</sup> Koerner, *Beleuchtung*, p. 51.

<sup>43</sup> Julius, *Nordamerikas sittliche Zustände*, p. 419.

its hand-maiden music, was the stifling bonds of narrow orthodoxy which placed the enjoyment of the stage outside the pale of respectability. Many churches absolutely forbade attendance at dramatic performances of any description. Even at the present time we have not broken away entirely from the effects of this prejudice.

This, then, was the atmosphere into which Mrs. Robinson came in 1830, an atmosphere pregnant with possibilities and at the same time teeming with an intense desire to produce and establish a national culture. German influence, as we have noticed, was having a major share in the process of development. In the following chapters I shall attempt to trace the path of this influence as represented in Mrs. Robinson. I shall take up her works chronologically, in so far as that is consistent with their grouping in subject matter. At the same time I shall lay especial emphasis on the various individual productions most directly connected with contemporary American events or development. What Gustav Koerner says of the German element in America in general fits also Mrs. Robinson and thus forms a most appropriate close for this introductory chapter: "Eine deutsche Nation in der amerikanischen kann sie nicht sein, aber den reichen Inhalt ihres Gemütslebens, die Schätze ihrer Gedankenwelt kann sie im Kampfe für die politischen und allgemeinen menschlichen Interessen in die Wagschale werfen, und ihr Einfluss wird um so tiefer gehen, ein um so grösseres Feld der Beteiligung sich schaffen, je weniger tendenziös sie auftritt, je mehr sie aber zugleich an dem fest hält, was Deutschland der Welt Schönes und Grosses gegeben hat."<sup>44</sup>

## CHAPTER I.

### *Biography.*

The names of Franz Lieber, Karl Follen, Karl Beck, Franz Joseph Grund, Gustav Koerner, all men of commanding ability, have long since become a part of the history of their adopted country. Many more men whose life and works H. A. Ratter-

<sup>44</sup> Koerner, *Das deutsche Element*, p. 9.

mann has treated in his recent work *Biographicon und Dichter-Album*, will also eventually find a permanent place in the cultural if not the political history of America. To this list of German-Americans who have given to Americans not only an interpretation of the culture of their fatherland, but also the service of their talent and their personality should be added also the name of Mrs. Robinson.

It is indeed strange that this has not been recognized; for her field of labor was broad, her intellect keen, her attitude toward life truly sympathetic. From the commencement of her active career in 1830, to the year 1863, when she returned to Germany, she identified her energies and interests with those of the country of her husband, modestly taking a part in the cultural evolution of the young republic through a number of remarkable literary productions. At no time do we find her in the front ranks of radical reformers and reorganizers, but tactfully and unassumingly, rather, exerting that subtle influence for which women are best suited. Her method of making her personality felt was a particularly happy one, for at the time in which she lived—one of the most important in American History—current opinion in regard to conditions both political and social was in a comparatively plastic state, but none the less important. With politics she had nothing to do; for while most of her German contemporaries, coming directly from the excitement of political affairs in the fatherland, entered similar fields in America, she remained entirely outside of this field of activity. This is in part explained by the fact that she came from the quietness of the Goethe circle, which in a measure determined the character of her work in the land of her adoption. Goethe, it may be said, held aloof from the turmoil and intensity of the life about him, quietly spreading his influence through the brilliant men and women who were attracted to his intellectual court. This was especially true in his later life, during which time Mrs. Robinson became personally acquainted with him.

Grillparzer, who at that time visited Goethe, draws a very charming picture of her in his *Selbstbiographie*: "Toward evening," he writes, "I went to Goethe. I found quite

a large company gathered in the drawing room, awaiting the Herr Geheimrat. When I found among them a certain Hofrat Jakob or Jakobs with his daughter, young as she was beautiful, and beautiful as she was talented, the same who later entered upon a literary career under the name of Talvj, I lost my timidity, and in my conversation with this most amiable young woman, I almost forgot that I was at the home of Goethe."<sup>45</sup> The description of Heloise, drawn by Mrs. Robinson in her novel of the same name, presents a very good picture of herself and of the position she deemed suitable and becoming to women: "Now only did Heloise learn to know the charm of intellectual, inciting conversation, the invaluable advantage to be derived from hearing the interchange of ideas of superior minds. Heloise, eager for information and susceptible of improvement as she was, felt deeply grateful toward Isabella for this distinction. The conversation turned on subjects taken from divers departments, belles-lettres, philosophy, history, political economy, but above all the great questions of the day. On all these Heloise heard persons of mind give and defend their views. She herself, as was suitable to her youth was for the most part a listener."<sup>46</sup> Mrs. Robinson might have said, "to her youth and her sex"; for she felt very strongly the propriety of the tacit attitude of woman on many questions ordinarily considered as a part of a man's world.<sup>47</sup>

But, as we have said, her influence was none the less real for being quiet and unobtrusive. Despite the unpretentious nature of her work, no one, with the exception of Karl Follen, Franz Lieber and J. B. Stallo has so significantly brought out the two chief elements of the American nation, the English and the German. By her study of the folklore of the various nations and especially the Teutonic nations, she carried the American people into the inner life of the Germans, especially into "Das Gemütvolle". In her history of New England, written, according to her own introductory remarks, primarily for Ger-

<sup>45</sup> Grillparzer, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. xv, p. 145—4. Auflage.

<sup>46</sup> Talvj, *Heloise* chap. ix.

<sup>47</sup> The Germans more than any other nation perhaps felt that woman's sphere was in the home.

man readers, she introduced the Germans to the forces which lay at the foundation of the establishment of a free-thinking, free-acting nation, showing how internal forces of minor importance in themselves may accomplish all things when united and aimed at one goal.

Therese Albertine Louise von Jakob was born January 26, 1797, the youngest daughter of the political scientist and philosopher, Heinrich von Jakob. At the time of her birth, her father was professor of philosophy at the University of Halle. When Therese was nine years old Napoleon's devastations shook Germany like some great earthquake, and disorganized society. After the battle of Jena her father, in order to avoid army-service at a moment when his fatherland was under French dominion, accepted a call to a professorship in the University located at Charkow a small town in the southern part of Russia. The great period of European political unrest that drove her parent to this voluntary exile from Germany wrought an unusual and irresistible influence upon the daughter; an influence, doubtless, which made her love her native land far more intensely than would have been the case, had she grown to womanhood surrounded by naught but its tranquil culture. In 1840 she wrote a short autobiographical sketch for the *Brockhausische Conversations-Lexicon*, in which these words illustrate the awakening in her of "das deutsche Gefühl", together with what she considered its causes: "The strange, half-Asiatic, half-European circumstances about me exercised a decided influence upon me. They and the yoke of oppression under which Germany was then bending and laboring awoke in me, very early, a vivid and substantial recognition of my better self. As early as my eleventh year, I often wept for anger and grief over Germany's misfortune. Grief, indeed, was my first muse."<sup>48</sup> Nothing, it seemed in after years, had ever so thoroughly aroused her as the occasion when she heard, for the first time, the Russians discussing the terrible distress of the Germans. She heard nothing but scorn and mockery for Germany's misfortune, in fact for everything that was German. Her thoroughly aroused emotions found

<sup>48</sup> Talvj, *Gesammelte Novellen*, p. viii.

expression in poetry which in tone and meter resembled that of Schiller. Even as a child, she realized how much richer the German life was than the Slavic. She felt that a nation with such a past as Germany's would glow again in the rays of clear sunrise.

During her stay of three years in Charkow her education, so far as direct instruction was concerned, advanced slowly. In the university library, however, she found, among other books, Eschenburg's *Beispielsammlung* and the supplement to Sulzer's *Theorie der schönen Künste*. She copied both of these books, ponderous in material and dimensions as they are, in their entirety; a labor of stupendous proportions for an adult to say nothing of a twelve-year-old girl. But she was being mentally starved and no task seemed too great that would provide food to satisfy her intellectual cravings.

At the age of thirteen she accompanied her father to St. Petersburg, whither he had been called to aid in the revision of the Code of Criminal Laws. Here even the slight amount of instruction she had been receiving was cut off. In a measure, however, her more frequent intercourse with people and events made up for this loss; but the ardent longing never ceased. She tells us, "The inner desire remained, however, earnest and full of yearning after something which the life about me did not offer."<sup>40</sup> Her interest in and for Germany grew apace. She read zealously every possible scrap of information about it, devouring in particular all the German books she could get hold of, books which from time to time found their way into Russia through returning officers. In order to give assistance to the miserable German prisoners brought to Russia she sold her jewelry. Removed thus from the fatherland, it was only natural that she should form an exalted image of Germany which differed very radically from the reality. In later years, she held for a time firmly, almost stubbornly to her ideal; but at last, for her penetrating mind could not long be blinded to real conditions, she grew ashamed, laughed, and cast from her the romantic picture she had formed by much reading of Fouqué and Hoffmann. She so realized and appreciated, never-

<sup>40</sup> Talvj, *Gesammelte Novellen*, p. x.

theless, the depth, the richness, and the spiritual intensity of the German character. that even the final shattering of her ideal never brought with it a reaction of discouragement or despair. While in St. Petersburg she became extremely lonesome, and as a consequence unusually serious. This seriousness never left her, though at no time did it make her an uncomfortable or unwelcome member of any social gathering. It was the seriousness of a rich inner life whose expression was hemmed in and limited by external circumstances. None of the poems which she wrote at this time were published during her lifetime; in fact it is quite probable that she destroyed most of them, for inasmuch as they expressed her deepest and holiest emotions, to publish them would have been a profanation of her inmost soul. Several, however, were preserved. Among them the poem "Sehnsucht," written in 1813 and brought out after her death, expresses her longing to return to Germany. One verse reads as follows:

Ach, wird nie dies heisse Sehnen,  
 Nie der inn'ge Wunsch gestillt?  
 Was mein hoffend Herz erfüllt,  
 Wäre es nur ein eitel Wähnen?

In St. Petersburg she had greater opportunity to satisfy her craving to read. This, together with bits of conversation which she gathered from the crowds that thronged the streets, aroused in her a deep and abiding interest in popular poetry. She became so interested in Russian popular poetry that she would steal away to the horse-markets, and concealing herself near the crowds, would listen to their songs. In order to be able to understand them and appreciate them she began studying Russian, a pursuit which very shortly led to a study of Slavic history and the Slavic language, in order that she might be able to translate the poetry of the race. Upon her return to Germany her interest in languages expanded and she entered into a serious attempt to gain a mastery of the classical languages, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and English. Later she studied French and Spanish.

In 1816 she returned to Germany, and her dearest wish was thereby fulfilled. Her reintroduction to the



the real Germany, as we have said before, shattered her ideal but did not shake her love or faith. In this glow of happiness in her new environment, the first eight or ten years were the most prosperous of her life. She continued to write poetry and short stories. A peculiar unwillingness to publish her works asserted itself in rather an interesting way, for which her excessive modesty alone can account. Those of her first poems which she could be persuaded to share with the public came out under the name of Reseda. In 1821, for the sake a little "pin-money", and, if we may credit her own words, quite against her own inclination, she translated two of Sir Walter Scott's novels, *Old Mortality* and *Black Dwarf*. These were signed Ernst Berthold. In 1822, in the *Literarisches Konversationsblatt* appeared three articles of a critical nature, signed "Briefe eines Frauenzimmers". Finally, in 1825 she coined for herself a name which remained her nom-de-plume for the rest of her life. Using the initial letters of her full name, Therese Albertine Louise von Jakob, she coined the rather odd but attractive name Talvj, in which the j has its original function as an i. This name she first signed to a little book of three short stories, which she called *Psyche, Ein Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1825*. As late as 1840 she wrote to a relative, "I will not deny that I have a strong aversion to any publication whatsoever of my own productions. The fact, that I had never written under my own name, justified me, I felt, in separating all that pertained to Therese Robinson, formerly Therese von Jakob, entirely from Talvj. I see, however, that sooner or later the two names will be identified without my being able to prevent it, and so I prefer to let myself be known rather than be the subject of gossip in those 'Woman's Clubs'.<sup>50</sup> For a long time Talvj was thought to be a man. Especially after her interest in the American Indian became known, Mr. Talvj became a name of great concern in English literature and men fairly broke their heads to discover the owner of it.

In 1823, while Talvj was immersed in grief over the loss of a dearly beloved sister, the first sorrow in her life, her

<sup>50</sup> Loehner, *Beiträge für Geschichte und Völkerkunde*.

eye fortuitously fell upon a copy of Jakob Grimm's criticism of Servian folk song. It caught her attention and suggested a means to her by which she might lessen the sting of her sorrow. Hard work was ever a means to her of forgetting sorrow and distress. In speaking to Jakob Grimm of leaving Germany to take up her new home in America she said, "This sacrifice, too, belongs to the least which I am making, inasmuch as the literary activity into which I have thrown myself, in so far as it was productive, never meant anything more to me than a meager solace for bitter loss."<sup>51</sup> Her cousin said of her also, "My poor cousin finds her consolation for many distressing circumstances in such literary activity."<sup>52</sup> By the aid of the young Servian Wuk Stephan Karadschitsch and her own untiring effort and mental alertness she soon made good her decision to study Servian by achieving a sound working mastery of its forms. Into the very atmosphere of these strange national songs which seemed to possess a Grecian charm for her, she "lived, thought, and steeped herself."<sup>53</sup> Her work in this connection will be more amply touched upon hereafter; suffice it to say here, the work she accomplished with these songs won for her the life long friendship of Goethe, as well as that of Jakob Grimm and many other prominent literary men.

In the summer of 1826 Professor Edward Robinson came to Halle to study the language and literature of the Orient under Gesenius, through whom Halle's theological school had become the most famous in Germany. Roediger, an exceptional student in oriental languages first at Halle and later at Berlin, Tholuk the pietist, and others. His acquaintance in the home of Professor von Jakob led to friendship and ultimate marriage with Fräulein Therese, in August of 1828. A few words other than what has been said in the Introduction about Robinson will show not merely the significance of Talvj's relations with him but also the significance of German influence on America's great scholars. He was born in Southington, Con-

<sup>51</sup> *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. lxxvi p. 357.

<sup>52</sup> *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. lxxvi, p. 357.

<sup>53</sup> Franz von Löher, *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, den 9. und 10. Juni, 1870.

necticut in 1794, the son of a Congregational minister. As a youth he enjoyed a liberal education, which later he improved by much travel and study in other lands. Previous to his residence at the University of Halle in 1826, he had assisted Moses Stuart in publishing the second edition of the latter's Hebrew Grammar, and through Stuart had been appointed to an instructorship in Hebrew at Andover Seminary, where, in collaboration with his patron, he translated *Wiener's Grammar of the New Testament*; and alone, *Wahl's Clavis Philologica Novi Testamenti*. Then he went to Halle. At the time of his death he was recognized as the greatest authority in the field of Biblical Topography, having received, among other honors, a gold medal from the Royal Geographical Society of England.

His attitude toward research was in every way a counterpart of his wife's. The Reverend Thomas Skinner, who preached his funeral service, said of him, "No one's observation was more searching, minute, and accurate; he looked at everything in its bearing on the true, the useful, the good; he surveyed most exactly everything of real importance in the field which his mind was to traverse, instinctively rejecting what was of no consequence to his object, making the best use of everything which properly belonged to it. . . . His aim was not victory but truth. . . . He found in his family unusual sympathies with himself as a man of letters and intellectual pursuits. His wife was entirely competent to take the liveliest interest in his learned labors."<sup>54</sup> It is very significant of his character that during this first half of the nineteenth century he with others sought to become acquainted with the spirit of German thought and teaching. In the first part of the century it meant a great deal more for Americans to seek the German universities than it did later. It was not a fad; it was an honest pursuit of a higher intellectual life. And it was of great significance that even theologians began to visit the German universities, the seats of rationalism in religious thought and life. The necessity of an introduction of Germany's scholarship into America must have made a deep

<sup>54</sup> *The Evangelist*, Feb. 5, 1863.

impression upon Robinson, for upon his return, as we have seen, he began the publication of the *Biblical Repository*, which at once became the chief exponent of German theological and philosophical thought. His wife proved of the utmost assistance to him in interpreting and translating many of the German contributions to the magazine.

It was hard for Talvj to decide to leave Germany, for in so doing she was abandoning a circle of the highest culture and refinement, and circumstances in which she was able to pursue, unhampered, the studies she most enjoyed. In a letter to Jakob Grimm, in which she introduced Edward Robinson to him, she said, "I do not deny that it has cost me a long and bitter struggle, and that even now I think I have not overcome either the pain of separation from all that has been dear to me, or the pain over the loss of my beloved mother-tongue. . . . . it seems to me as if all that pertains to my fatherland is again as precious, since I have made my decision."<sup>55</sup> An awakening literary jealousy of her work, finding vent in literary criticism that was at times spiteful, did much, however, to reconcile her to leaving Germany. Some criticised her for not writing in Latin, claiming that the use of the vernacular detracted in a measure from the scholarliness of her work. Her intellectual strength, which gained not only the respect but also the admiration and approval of some of Germany's greatest men, aroused the envy of less gifted women. Loehner remarks: "The women said one could hear the scratch, scratch of her pen throughout the whole town; and this pen was in the hands of a young woman of less than thirty years, upon whom noted men even lavished approving words of praise."<sup>56</sup> The hopeless political conditions following the Wars of Liberation seemed, moreover, to annihilate all her hopes for Germany's future. Besides, the closest ties which bound her to her fatherland were broken by the death of her beloved parents; her father's in 1827 at Lauchstedt, her mother's in 1828 presumably at Halle. Although she became the wife of Edward Robinson in August, 1828, they did not go to America until to years later. During only a portion of these intervening

<sup>55</sup> *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. lxxvi p. 357.

two years they remained in Halle, for they spent an autumn in Switzerland, a winter in Paris, and a summer in Italy. In other ways, too, they were eventful. During the seven years preceding her coming to America she had lost a brother, a sister, and both parents. She felt her loss deeply when she said, "For seven years shock after shock has come to me, and even if I now possess new conditions of tenderest love, it seems, nevertheless, as if all of my memories lie buried."<sup>57</sup>

Her first home in America was in Andover, where Edward Robinson now occupied the chair of Biblical Literature at the Andover Seminary. She did not quickly adjust herself to her new surroundings for political and religious interests held sway in all companies; and she withdrew for a time to her own family circle and lived for it alone. Gradually, however, she began to find leisure again for literary investigation and soon, by her interest in America, in its industry, its history, its natives, its language, and its literature, she formed a link, as it were, between German and American culture. She brought from her native land the idea of universality, and in all the articles and reviews written during her life here, it was one which she emphasized prominently. She worked as few other writers have done for the adjustment of the two languages, German and English. Jakob Grimm foresaw her power to do this for in a letter written to her just before she sailed, he spoke of the valuable benefits to be derived from a more intimate relation to the English literature in which she would soon find herself. Unnoticed but with effect she labored always to inculcate respect for the German name in the new world; wherever she could she urged young Americans to study at the German universities; and she used her influence always to find for German fugitives, invariably men of education, positions as teachers.<sup>58</sup> With an interest and mental energy peculiar to her, she began very shortly after her arrival in America, a study of the Indian, transferring, as it were, her scientific investigation and study to the red race from the

<sup>57</sup> *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. lxxvi, p. 359.

<sup>58</sup> Franz von Löher, *Beilage z. A. Zeitung*.

<sup>58</sup> Idea from Löher.

Servian. She saw in the life and customs of all original peoples the seed of present growth and the plant of future development. She perceived behind the painted and savage exterior, the real man. She realized, as many of us do not, that in order to penetrate to the real motives and ambitions of a people, we must seek them in its language, for language is the outgrowth and development of the life of a people, and not a mere artificial commodity made to the order of its convenience or necessities.

In 1831 Edward Robinson established the *Biblical Repository*, to which during the first four years he was the chief contributor. Mrs. Robinson's first resumption of literary work took the form of contributions to this magazine. In speaking of her papers in the *Repository*, which were collected and translated by C. von Olberg in 1837, Jakob Grimm said, "It is a work which bears the stamp of strong fundamental knowledge."

In 1833 they moved to Boston, where she helped her husband with the publication of a *Lexicon of the Greek Testament*. Here she became acquainted with Karl Follen and his talented wife, to whom she has testified her gratitude for the inspiration of a renewed interest in philological studies. Her extensive linguistic ability made her peculiarly fitted to carry out a piece of work Follen had previously considered—the introduction of German popular poetry into America; and at his request she proceeded with the task, one as yet scarcely initiated, although Follen had already succeeded in getting Longfellow, John Quincy Adams, Bancroft, Prescott, Channing, Parker, and others interested in German philosophy and literature. Mrs. Robinson came as his great co-worker in extending this interest. From time to time her articles on "Popular Songs of the Teutonic Races" appeared in the *North American Review*, and in 1840 they were put into book form under the title of *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*.

In 1837, following her husband's appointment to the Union Theological Seminary in New York, she left her circle of friends at Boston. Immediately after entering upon this work at the new institution Robinson went on a tour of investigation

to Europe, Palestine, and Egypt, accompanied by his wife, who, however, remained in Hamburg, Leipzig, and Dresden. During her stay in Germany she published more works dealing with popular songs. With the knowledge, spirit, and keenness of a German professor, and the intuition and sympathy of a woman, she seemed to possess a peculiar aptitude for such studies as this. In the naiveté of primitive songs, she traced the life-springs of a nation. There is no question but that her already broad interest in mankind was broadened and enlarged through these studies, which in their scope touched upon the songs of France, Russia, Slavonia, Spain, Germany, Scandinavia, England, Scotland, and America. Through her critical essay on *Ossian not Genuine* in 1840, she brought to a close, at least for many years to come, the dispute over the genuineness of Macpherson's Ossian, which Samuel Johnson had done so much to intensify. Her essay called forth a storm of contradiction, which, however, was totally incapable of destroying its effectiveness.

Upon her husband's return from Palestine in 1840, Mrs. Robinson returned to America. Her home in New York became the rendezvous for educated people, where some of America's most famous literary men and women met in social intercourse. A few personal letters to Mrs. Robinson, found among the remnants of books and papers now in possession of her grandson Edward Robinson of New York, show that among others Bancroft, Bryant, Bayard Taylor, Olmstead, and Kohl were her frequent guests.<sup>59</sup> With such an able, though altogether modest, woman as hostess to the educated men and women of her day, we can easily realize the charm of conversation, the brilliancy of ideas exchanged, the unconscious and subtle influence of one great mind upon another which must have taken place within her walls; in winter at her New York residence, in summer at her picturesque seat among the Catskill mountains.

In her own intellectual history these acquaintanceships, some of them transient, others enduring, counted for much.

<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately a fire destroyed almost all of the manuscripts left by Mr. and Mrs. Robinson.

A friendship with Friederich von Raumer, the German historian, who visited her in her New York home in 1844, gave her the idea of entering the field of history. This idea was strengthened by Albert Gallatin and other of her friends in the city. It was just the time when a great movement was on foot to collect the sources of American history. The task appealed to her inclination to delve into national pasts. Societies for such study were being formed everywhere, and to one such of which Albert Gallatin was president, both Robinson and his wife belonged. As her share in the programs Mrs. Robinson wrote several historical sketches; among them was "Die Geschichte des Kapitän John Smith", which was published in 1847 in *Raumers Historisches Taschenbuch*. This same year appeared one of her principal works, a history of the colonization of New England from 1607 to 1692. Critics differ as to the significance of this latter production; but the gist of contemporary comment as gathered from newspapers and magazines of 1847, will be presented in a later chapter. Her literary-historical works were in many respects epoch making, even if her purely historical works were not. Duyckink says of them, "Her style is simple and she is unsurpassed and practical in her learned and scientific representation of such literary historical subjects as 'Popular Poetry of the Slavic Nations' etc. She also possesses the advantage of a finely poetic culture, which because of her love for the original makes it possible for her to translate with especial completeness into German or English verse."<sup>60</sup>

Her friendship with Washington Irving, which dated from 1846, inclined her again toward the field of poetry. Her development in this field of activity, however, does not stand out prominently. Her poetry, while it cannot be said to have detracted in any respect from the brilliancy of her work, cannot on the other hand be said to have added anything. Aside from her folk-songs, but fifteen poems have been published. These occupy a very small portion of the book entitled *Gesammelte Novellen*, published by her daughter after Talvj's death. We know from what she herself said or implied that

<sup>60</sup> *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, vol. ii, p. 169.



she destroyed many of her first efforts. Between the years 1826 and 1845 we find no poems at all; for 1845 we have a single verse, written in her daughter's album; while the next which appears in this small group of fifteen bears the date 1850. We cannot be sure that these poems in any way represent the sum total of her poetic work, but they are the only collection which has ever been published. We may perhaps conclude rightly, that poetry as such was in no way a congenial form of expression for her during her life in America until after her friendship with Irving and even after that time not an apt instrument. At this we cannot be surprised, however, if we consider the fact that hers was the philological and scientific type of mind, and not the philosophical and emotional type.

Aside from her original works during her life in America, she made several translations of the results of her husband's investigations. Among them, perhaps the two most important were *Neue biblische Forschungen in Palestine* and *Physische Geographie des heiligen Landes*. The latter was made, in 1865, amid greatly changed surroundings, for after the death of her husband in 1863 she returned to her beloved Germany where she spent the rest of her life. During these years she lived at various times in Berlin, Italy, Strassburg, Karlsruhe, and Hamburg. She died at the latter place on April 13, 1870; her body was brought to America and buried in New York.

Her circle of friends was large both in America and in Europe. In Germany it numbered K. L. W. Heyse, Franz Bopp, Wilhelm and Jakob Grimm, Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt, Friederich von Raumer, and Goethe; in America, Bayard Taylor, William Cullen Bryant, Frederick Olmstead, George Bancroft, J. C. Kohl, Washington Irving, Edward Everett, E. A. Duyckink, and Margaret Fuller; in Russia, Kaschin and Makarow; in Servia, Dawidowitsch and Miklosch; in Italy, Manzoni, Emiliani, Gindici, and Madame Ferrucci; in England, Carlyle. She always held a remarkable sway over youthful minds, both in inspiring them to definite literary productions, and in infusing into them a measure of her own ambition and energy. She was the inspiration behind

Hermann Kriege's *Die Väter der Republik*, his *George Washington*, *Thomas Payne*, *Benjamin Franklin* and *Thomas Jefferson*. Her husband was indebted to her for a large part of his knowledge of the German language and its literature. I feel I have not judged wrongly when I say that much of the work in the *Biblical Repository* during her husband's editorship may be attributed to her either directly or indirectly. And in all her books there is a wealth of thought expressed which seems to bear the stamp of her keenly scientific brain and sympathetically sensitive appreciation of all liberal and idealistic tendencies.

She was deeply religious, for, as Loehér says, "How could this truly strong spirit have lived and succeeded without a deep childlike faith in God and his providence?"<sup>61</sup> She objected to being considered "eine gelehrte Frau" only, for this was not the goal of her ambition. She strove to awaken love and confidence, to sympathize always where sympathy would avail, to help the needy and distressed, to be a wife to her husband and a mother to her children in the true sense. Hers was a nature entirely free from pettiness and untruth, a nature thoroughly feminine. She loved youth and was perfectly at home with young people. Unlike many women, she took a keen interest in the broader political movements in Germany and America. This interest, however, did not lead her at any time to assume an attitude which could be criticised as bold and unwomanly. Indeed, in almost every personal reference to her by contemporary critics the terms "modest" and "tender" appear. She knew a woman's place, and although endowed with unusual powers she held herself always within the boundaries of her worthy station.<sup>62</sup> A glimpse of her attitude

<sup>61</sup> Löher, Beiträge z. a. Zeitung.

<sup>62</sup> In the *Memorial History of the City of New York*, vol. 3, p. 494, Mrs. Robinson's name appears among the first signers of a circular addressed to the "Women of New York" and especially to those already engaged in preparing against the time of "Wounds and Sickness in the Army". It was the germ of the most important auxiliary to the medical department of the Union armies which the war created—The Sanitary Commission. She was also president of a "Women's Association for the care of Orphans".

toward her home and its duties draws us even more closely to her. It was a matter of pride with her that she never turned her attention to her writing or study until she had put her house in order for the day. A word of praise from her husband about her skill as a housewife meant more to her than any praise as a writer. But that he valued her literary skill we also know from what she herself says of him: "Robinson belongs, indeed quite fortunately to the few men who know how to appreciate a lively interest in art and science, even among women; and he would rather arouse my enthusiasm toward literary activity than hold me back from it."<sup>63</sup>

From a description on a passport granted to her in 1851 at the age of 54 years, we learn that she was five feet, one and one-half inches tall, had blue eyes, blond hair, and a fair complexion. Her husband was a man six feet tall, dark of hair and skin. Two children, Edward and Mary survived them. The former was an officer in the Civil War at the time of his father's death. He resigned his position, however, and accompanied his mother to Germany, where he filled the office of consul at Strassburg and Hamburg during the years 1865 to 1875. In the latter year he returned to America, and practiced law in New York City until his death in 1894. Two sons and one daughter at present represent the family, Edward Robinson of the firm of Ruggles and Robinson, Engineers, in New York City, and Hope Hobinson Hitchcock and Herman Robinson, who reside in the Berkshires of Massachusetts. Mary Robinson, Talvj's daughter died in New York City in 1906. She attained considerable prominence in music, being a composer as well as a finished pianist.

In all justice Mrs. Robinson may be called one of the most important writers of her sex. Goethe spoke of her as one "who had the heart of a woman, but the brain of a man."<sup>64</sup> Her daughter pays her a beautiful eulogy in the introduction to *Gesammelte Novellen*. In part she says, "The blessing of these characteristics—most loving mother and wife, most careful and cautious housewife—fell upon those who were nearest

<sup>63</sup> *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. lxxvi, p. 357.

<sup>64</sup> *Cyclopedia of British and American Authors*.

to her, those whose very existence was woven into hers. They knew best her warm loving heart, her conscientiousness, her stern feeling of duty, the entire lack of self-seeking in her nature. To them she disclosed her deeply religious sentiment, her reverence for God, and her complete resignation to His will in order to attain to man's highest effort. They knew, too, that the faults, from which naturally she was not free, were a part of her temperament and not her character, and that the shadows cast by these faults served only to intensify the light of her character. And they are the ones who have lost the most, and whose loss can never be replaced."<sup>65</sup>

## CHAPTER II.

### *Literary Activity Prior to Coming to America.*

It was not until Talvj's criticisms began to appear from time to time in the *Literarisches Conversationsblatt* that she really entered the literary field. These, as before, appeared anonymously, but under the general title "Briefe eines Frauenzimmers über einige neue Erscheinungen der Literatur." In the "Blätter" for 1822 there are three articles by her; and in them reference is made to preceding as well as the following articles. However, from the fact that as early as 1823 she became interested in Servian folk-songs, we may infer that after that date her ventures into the field of criticism were few.

Pustkuchen, a preacher and writer of the first half of the nineteenth century had attracted no inconsiderable attention by his captiously critical attitude toward Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*. The tone of hostility toward Goethe which pervaded his books, uniting a harsh judgment of both his personality and works, excited the resentment of a hero-worshipping public. Talvj's review of Pustkuchen's two works, "*Ueber Wilhelm Meisters Tagebuch vom Verfasser der Wanderjahre*, and *Ueber die Gedanken einer frommen Gräfin*, which had appeared in 1821 and 1822 respectively, shows a keen and just

<sup>65</sup> *Gesammelte Novellen*, Introduction, p. xxviii and xxix.

intellect. Her whole examination is conducted in the spirit of the eighteenth century essayists and reviewers who read into the meaning of the word 'criticism' a much fuller significance than we now ascribe to it; and she, like they, assumes in the duty of the critic two functions, one to separate the genuine from the non-genuine, as a second to judge or set a standard for the beautiful. It is unfortunate that Talvj's excursions into the department of literary criticisms were not more numerous after taking up her work in America, especially in view of the fact that so much of America's literature bore the stamp of a labored and artificial imitation. The check on such literature, naturally is just such broad-based literary criticism as that in which Talvj had exhibited her breadth of mind, acuteness, and good judgment. To illustrate, in introducing her critical review of *Ueber Wilhelm Meister Tagebuch* she says: "There appear among the expressions of this clever diary many which seem to me to be false, many distorted, and then, too, many which are significant." She adds, "Among all of them I find a truly ingenious connection and consequence of an excellent thinker, self-reliant almost to stubbornness sometimes."<sup>66</sup> She then proceeds to analyze the piece part by part. But she does not stop with mere analysis; she draws comparisons and makes suggestions. She evinces in a letter to Jakob Grimm a desire to be accorded just the sort of criticism she herself tries to give. She says among other things, ". . . in this case I wish to hear, fearlessly given, the voice of truth only."<sup>67</sup>

After discussing the weaknesses and deficiencies of Pustkuchen's book, Talvj turns to a consideration of its various merits. "How gladly," she says "I pass to the excellent, the new, and the beautiful, which form so predominant a part of this book." In such a criticism an author cannot feel that the view taken of his work by his critic has been colored by personal prejudice. It must appeal to him as the honest and unbiased opinion of an acute and trained intellect; instead of antagonizing, it must spur him on to greater effort. We are

<sup>66</sup> *Conversationsblatt*, No. 17, 1822.

<sup>67</sup> *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. lxxvi, p. 348.

told, or rather she tells us herself in her short autobiography, that she enjoyed this kind of work. It was a challenge to her ever-present inclination to investigate and to connect causes and effects.

In her review and criticism of *Ueber die Gedanken einer frommen Gräfin*, which appeared in No. 90 of the *Conversationsblatt* for 1822, she brings out very strongly a conviction which we find her maintaining throughout her life. Pustkuchen had expressed in this work a characteristically pessimistic sentiment: "Thus man torments himself to become religious and for his efforts wins nothing but empty illusion. . . . . My duty is eternal love and still I cannot attain to it." Talvj answers, "No one who recognizes the sublime happiness of inner faith will be able to read these gloomy words without deep seriousness and painful sadness. If they were true, if all our efforts and our strivings, if our deepest conclusions were in vain, if the right physician did not lend a willing ear to our burning desires, if we should have to wait until he came to us, in order to lead us through his grace, how insignificant, how depressing, how humiliating this human life would be."

In this criticism a chance but deeply serious allusion to herself as an "ungelehrtes Frauenzimmer" bears witness to her possession of a sense of unworthiness for the office of a literary arbiter. In a way the term 'ungelehrt' was true, for she lacked the formal preparation found within academic walls, and had enjoyed little even of a tutor's training. However, none but herself would have called her 'ungelehrt.' The scope of her interest was very wide, and her scholarship in each of her varied fields was far above the average. She speaks also of the 'limitations of her capabilities.' Because of this very consciousness of her limitations, what she says and the way she says it appear absolutely genuine, and in being genuine assume the character of the honest conviction of an unbiased mind trained to think for and through itself.

The third article in the *Conversationsblatt* for 1822 is a review of Grillparzer's *Das goldene Vlies*, in which the critical element is greatly outweighed by a resumé of the subject matter

—a rendition of the story in miniature. A few years later, in 1826, she met Grillparzer at the home of Goethe in Weimar.

The most important piece of work done by Talvj during this period, and indeed, according to the opinion of many, the most important literary achievement of her lifetime, was her *Volkslieder der Serben*. As early as 1756 a Dalmatian, by name Kacio-Miosic, made a collection of popular ballads of Slavonic peoples, analogous to that which Bishop Percy did for England and Scotland in 1765, when he published his *Reliques*. In 1814 Wuk Stephanovitsch Karadschitsch published a four volume collection at Leipzig, notable in that it inspired Jakob Grimm to give to the German people, in the version of a German poet, the first of these songs that they had read since the time of Herder. Through Jakob Grimm, moreover, Wuk Stephanovitsch was brought into friendly relation with Goethe, and was able to induce him, in turn, to entertain a lively interest in Slavonic poetry. Goethe published some of Wuk's translations, and some of Grimm's as well, in his *Kunst und Altertum*. Finally, Jakob Grimm's public recommendation of the Servian popular poetry, aroused the curiosity of Therese von Jakob, or Talvj, and she began the study of Servian, which, probably because of a strong foundation for it which she had in her knowledge of Russian, she mastered with unusual rapidity. By 1826 she had translated and published two volumes of *Volkslieder der Serben*. She had heard that Goethe was taking a decided interest in the Servian literature, and so she ventured, despite an almost overpowering timidity, to write to him and tell him of her proposed work. At the time she sent her first letter to him, she also sent a few of the songs she had already translated.<sup>68</sup> Goethe received her letter and translations in the most cordial manner, and from that time until the completion of her work she maintained a most interesting and profitable correspondence with him. Three times during the period, she met him personally at Weimar and discussed the work with him. It had always been Goethe's conviction that in order to arouse the proper atmosphere for the reception of popular poetry, the songs or poems must be

<sup>68</sup> April 12, 1824.

presented in a mass and not in isolated form. Only in this way, among so much of limitation, poverty, and superficiality could its accompanying richness, breadth, and depth be realized. It is no more fair to judge a nation by a few selections of popular songs than it is to judge an author by one or two of his works. The fact that Talvj was aiming to present her translations in this collected form pleased Goethe very much, and he encouraged her in most cordial phrases. In speaking of her work in *Kunst und Altertum* he said, "In this matter, as things now stand, nothing could be more pleasing than that a young woman of peculiar talent and fitness for handling the Slavonic language, acquired by a previous residence in Russia, should conclude to make a study of the Servian, devoting herself to this treasure of song with remarkable zeal. . . . She translates without external incentive, from an inner inclination and judgment. . . . and she will arrange in a volume as many of the poems as she needs in order to acquaint himself with this extraordinary poetry."<sup>69</sup> Goethe's approval was the spark of stimulation Talvj needed. Two motives lay back of her work, one was to lessen the sting of her grief over the recent death of a brother, and the other to please Goethe whom she loved above all poets.

Jakob Grimm criticised her work as being too much a germanizing of the Servian. When, at her request for his criticism, he sent her this statement, "I do not understand why much or all should be germanized, and I believe that our own language is weakened in the process,"<sup>70</sup> she replied with rather astonishing frankness; "Indeed, if the folk-songs do not belong among that which is to be germanized, why should the fables, so closely related to them, be translated? Whether poetry or prose, it is one and the same."<sup>71</sup> And again she says, "I cannot deny that my idea of a good translation does not harmonize with yours . . . . I find that the better we know a language, the less it occurs to us to translate it liter-

<sup>69</sup> *Kunst und Altertum*. Weimar Ed., vol. xli—xlii, p. 149.

<sup>70</sup> *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. lxxvi, p. 348.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 349.



ally.<sup>72</sup> In another reference to her translation she remarks that she has tried to make it as faithful as the entirely different spirit of the two languages will permit, often, for this reason, throwing it into a purely literal form. She has never allowed a simple or strong portrayal in the original to be changed or swallowed up by rhetorical adornment. Goethe studied the translations by both Grimm and Talvj, and then made the following statement: "Grimm's translation in its strict adherence to the original, was for him the most desirable. Inasmuch as he himself was not master of any Slavic dialect he, to a certain extent, approximated the original; thus only could he procure a sympathy for the word-order and rythm of the Servian songs. His aim was to lead back to the original text, but this more scholarly attitude was not a feasible one for the more general public, whose aim was appreciation rather than study. On the other hand, Talvj's more free and happy translation was able to make the most vigorous hero-legends and the tenderest love songs of this foreign nation the common property of Germany."<sup>73</sup>

In October of 1826 Talvj met Jakob Grimm in Cassel. His attitude toward her at first seemed to lack the enthusiasm which later marked it so strongly. Perhaps he who was then an authority in the field of folk-lore and myth had an apprehensive suspicion that hers was the work of a dilettante; and what seemed like a jealous impatience of her intrusion upon his interests was in reality the resentment of a highminded scholar for anything which obscured the truth. At any rate, his attitude latter became one of decided admiration for both the woman and her ability. This changed view-point was shown twice—once by his cordial expression of approbation when her work appeared, and again by the expression of a concrete act of kindness and deference. In 1837, when her husband set out upon his tour of investigation to Palestine, she returned to Germany, spending a part of the time during the next three years in Dresden. While here, Jakob Grimm unexpectedly paid her a visit and discussed his plan for a 'Wör-

<sup>72</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 349.

<sup>73</sup> R. Steig, *Goethe und die Brüder Grimm*, p. 180.

terbuch' with her, in regard to which he was even then on his way to Saxony.

A letter from Professor Jakob, a cousin of Talvj's, to Grimm contains this acknowledgment, "You introduced the Servian poems of my cousin to the public in such a friendly way."<sup>74</sup> Jakob Grimm's approval, no doubt, meant much, but Goethe's cordial and lively interest was really the chief factor in assuring to the book the instantaneous favor with which it met. I am thoroughly convinced that the book would, if left to rest upon its own merits, ultimately have attained to the same appreciation; but without such adventitious aid the process would have been a slow one. We must remember that Talvj was comparatively unknown in the field of literature, so that the name of the author was not 'open sesame' to popularity. She quite naturally wished to dedicate the book to Goethe. He accepted the compliment with pleasure, but did not feel competent to comply with her request that he write a preface; however he recommended it to the public through his *Kunst und Alterum*. The dedication took the form of three beautiful verses, the last of which is especially worth quotation:

Drum, hoher Meister, die zwiefach Dein eigen,  
Die Blätter reich ich Dir, und zage nicht!  
Dein Wink rief sie ermuthigend ans Licht.  
Vielleicht, dass Manchem ihre Räthsel schweigen,  
Dass unverstanden ihre Stimme spricht;  
Dein Beifall genügt und bürgt, sie offenbare  
So Dichtrisch-Schönes, wie das Menschlich-Wahre.

In speaking with Eckermann on January 18, 1825, Goethe said, "I rejoice over this intellectual woman in Halle, who has introduced us into the Servian world with a man's strength of mind. The poems are excellent! There are some among them which are worthy of being placed beside the 'Song of Songs,' and that means a great deal."<sup>75</sup>

In *Kunst und Alterum* we find the work mentioned as one of the three beautiful gifts to German poetic literature. In order of greatness, beauty, and worth Goethe mentions: *Ser-*

<sup>74</sup> *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. lxxvi, p. 362.

<sup>75</sup> *Gespräche mit Eckermann*. 1825.

*bische Lieder übersetzt von Talvj, Lettische Lieder von Rhesa and Frithiof durch Amalia von Helvig-Aus dem Schwedischen.* In another reference, again, she is mentioned with Jakob Grimm and Herr Gerhard. To no one of these three writers does Goethe give preeminence in this field. Wuk Stephano-vitsch and Kopitar both gave her valuable assistance by suggesting to her certain of those peculiarities of the Servian language for which none but a native-born could possess a real sympathy and appreciation. That the work met with the approbation not merely of both these Servian scholars, but of others as well, we may gather from a letter which she received from some of the young Servian students who were studying in Germany. What they wrote to her is of especial interest at the present time: "The Servian people, robbed of every interest in the activities and progress of the educated world, were long known among the nations blessed with a national culture, as a nation of slaves, often as a nation of robbers and murderers. To the bearers of Europe's civilization, the noble conceptions which nourished and inspired the Servians were unknown. Instead of favor the nation acquired disfavor, instead of sympathy, scorn. . . . . To you, O noble woman, and to your powerful mind belongs the honor of having secured for our people protection and refuge. . . . . You have heralded the worth of the occident. What a sublime feeling for you has sprung up in the hearts of a nation which has been placed on the stage of humanity not through its own material might, but through your ability and effort. Receive thanks, then, from us to whom your noble fatherland, Prussia, has so hospitably opened the doors of its educational institutions. Your worthy name shall be enrolled with respect and honor among the list of friends of that intellectual progress, which you are advancing so wisely."<sup>76</sup>

Talvj accomplished in part what Herder in his *Volkslieder* wished might yet be accomplished for the national poetry of the less civilized older peoples. As yet this poetry seemed veiled in darkness. Speaking of her work in this connection, Menzel said, "He has gathered together in two volumes the

<sup>76</sup> From an unpublished clipping found among her papers.

most excellent love and epic songs of that nation. If he has not given them to us with their whole natural atmosphere, still he has made us acquainted with the very kernel of an entirely peculiar folklore."<sup>17</sup> (Menzel was one of those who thought 'Talvj' was a man.) It was a surprise to the German people to be brought to realize that such a wealth and depth of feeling could exist in a nation which had always been looked upon as barbarian. Whatever Goethe had done previous to this was with isolated songs, and she, probably better than any one else, realized how impossible it was to arouse an interest and appreciation by means of isolated examples. The "Lamentation of Asan Aga," which he had translated some years before, had been received favorably, but it neither prepared the way for nor anticipated the unusual appreciation of Servian literature which followed the publication of Talvj's book. Menzel credited to 'Herr Talvj' a deep natural sympathy for this so-called barbarian people, which enabled him to give these songs the charms of Ossian and Homer.

In these unspoiled sons of nature the Germans were brought face to face with an old sacred strength and purity of heart little dreamed of. Through all their ferocious wildness there runs an almost incredible trace of mildness and tender honor. Theirs is the naive expression of a feeling not yet restrained by consciousness of civilization, or by the form of a stilted and artificial language. The Servian and New Greek songs bear some similarities, in as much as both peoples were on approximately the same plane of cultural development, and were for centuries neighbors and fellow-servants under the same tyranny.

A short history of the Servians, which successfully fulfills its design in creating an interest in the songs themselves, constitutes an introduction to the first volume. A comparison of Talvj's translation with a literal translation of one of the longer songs convinced both Goethe and Menzel that her versions moved with a swing and smoothness quite in accord with the original. Both were free from even the restraint of rhyme. Critics have said that Talvj's and Goethe's translations seem,

<sup>17</sup> *Literatur-Blatt*, No. 77, Sept. 26, 1826.

almost, to have been the work of one person. There is a naturalness about the shorter poems of love, longing, fidelity, and grief which effectually excludes all sentimentality. The charm of truly artless spontaneity as attractive as the charm of childish naivete hovers around the. The first volume contains fifty-four poems of the lyrical variety, followed by ten longer poems, or 'Romanzen,' depicting life within the family circle and on the field of battle. A peculiar characteristic marks all these longer poems; the mother and brother play a more important role, it seems, than the father. Blood relationship, again, as in all the earlier nations is a sacred tie. The volume closes with two long poems, of which one is built about the heroic figure of Marko, while the other culminates in the battle of Amselfeld. Marko is comparable to the German Siegfried, the Greek Achilles, the Scandinavian Baldur, the Ossian Oscar, and like them all succumbs to the irresistible power of fate.

After the appearance of the first volume in 1825, repeated complaints came that Talvj had not given to the public enough of the shorter, so-called female songs; and in the second volume which appeared in 1826, she attempted to satisfy this demand by the inclusion of ninety-two lyrics. Besides these, other additions to the second volume include thirteen longer poems, twelve legends and epics, another long Marko epic, and five scenes from the last insurrection of the Servians. It was currently believed that Talvj was acquainted with many more songs, and a third volume, which never appeared, was long and confidently awaited by many of her readers; but whether fear of offending the cultivated German ear with a presentation of nature in her natural garb as manifested in a primitive and natural people restrained her from further publications, I have not been able to ascertain. One of her critics suggested that as a possible reason.

Upon her arrival in Berlin, she was received as a writer of recognized ability. Her work had already revived Savigny's interest in Slavic poetry. On every hand she was met with praise and thanks. All this meant much to Talvj, but with this pleasure came keen sorrow, inasmuch as there no longer existed

any occasion for a continuance of her correspondence with Goethe. She says in one of her latest letters to him, "And I am brought to realize with the deepest regret and sorrow how this step (final publication) cuts loose every outer relation with you whom I have honored with all the strength of my soul since my earliest youth."<sup>18</sup> Her last letter to him bears her thanks for two beautiful medallions which Goethe, as we know from his *Tagebuch* of December 2, 1826, had sent her; medallions of the same kind which he shortly afterwards (1827) presented to Zelter and Grüner—a picture of the Grand Duke on one side and of Goethe and an eagle on the other.

And thus ended a chapter in Talvj's literary career which in many respects has no counterpart in her later life. Actuated in part by a desire to please Goethe, in part by a force of mind which one of her critics found comparable to that of a German professor, she had placed in German literature a monument to herself and to the Servian nation.

### CHAPTER III.

*The American Indian—Translation of Pickering's Indian Languages—Essay on the Original Inhabitants of North America.*

The Indian, always picturesque and interesting, has come to be considered the most romantic element in American history and early American life. He himself has not produced a literature, but his language, his legends, and his songs have been a study for scholars of various nations. In fact, the Indian had a great share in the development of the poetic interest in folk songs which reached such a height in Germany during the latter part of the eighteenth century, owing to the belief that the original poetry of primitive nations manifested the fundamental nature of man far more truly and powerfully than the poetry of cultivated nations. Moreover, the theory gained prominence that the Indians were the ten lost tribes, and in consequence there arose a deep interest in their origin, stimulating the study of their songs and legends.

<sup>18</sup> *Goethe Jahrbuch*, ix, p. 58.

The theory of the Hebraic origin of the savage races, however, useful as it was in a literary, philological, and ethnological interest in them, was, of course, without any scientific value. Many alternative and conflicting hypotheses concerning the various Indian dialects were advanced and in consequence there arose a radical disagreement as to the Indian language. To some it was harsh and altogether disagreeable; to others it was mellow, soft and sonorous. The character of the wilderness tribes, too, became a matter of great dispute. To some they were painted savages, cruel, revengeful, and absolutely devoid of a single genuinely human feeling; to others they were loyal, true, kind, and sincere. A remarkable fact, noticeable in a comparative reading of French, English, and German writers is that, generally speaking, the German attitude was more humane and lenient than that of the other nations. Indeed Duponceau, one of the greatest scholars of the Indian, sums up the attitude of nations other than German very well in the words, "But who cares for the poor American Indians? They are savages and barbarians and live in the woods; must not their languages be savage and barbarian like them?"<sup>79</sup> But of the Teutonic writers he remarks: "I must take this opportunity to express my astonishment at the great knowledge which the literati of Germany appear to possess of America and of the customs, manners, and languages of its original inhabitants. Strange that we should have to go to German universities to become acquainted with our own country." Before discussing Talvj's peculiar contributions to the subject it may be well to consider what, in general, had been done by the writers of various nations, and in particular by the Germans.

The endeavors of John Eliot, Roger Williams, Cadwallader Colden, Samuel Sagard, and Bryan Edwards to give the Indian language and legends stability and permanence by reducing them to writing must be acknowledged as a substantial effort toward a general dissemination of knowledge concerning such topics. Neither can we overlook the work of Baron de La Hontan, Jonathan Carver, Father Charlevoix, Colonel John

<sup>79</sup> *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. xii, p 367.

Gibson, Dr. Barton, Elias Boudinot and others. However, the real awakening of an interest in this huge task of preserving the fast disappearing tongues and folk-stories of the savages came through the Germans; and especially the German missionaries, whose great intimacy with the Indians, gained by the close contact of long years of residence among them, inspired a sympathy and understanding which set itself gladly to the labor of recording their language.

As early as 1688 we find in a letter of Pastorius, who studied and worked at the University of Altdorf before coming to America, an account of the Indians of Pennsylvania as he knew them. He said in part: "The Indians, or as I prefer to call them, the forest inhabitants of Pennsylvania, are large and for the most part very muscular. . . . Of an open mind, the speech is moderate and brief, but of decided worth. They can neither read nor write. Notwithstanding, they are inventive, sly, discreet, earnest, fearless, untiring, and alert, but always exact and honest in business transactions."<sup>80</sup> In the second letter is a list of some of the more common expressions and terms of Indian speech, with their German equivalents. Thus early the Germans made an attempt to become better acquainted with the Indians by means of a knowledge of their language.

The most significant work, with respect to their language and culture, however, was done about a century later by Zeisberger and,—more especially—by Heckewelder; and it was this which afforded Talvj much of her source material. It is true that Alexander von Humboldt and Dr. N. H. Julius also rendered her assistance by means of some original folk-lore which they had collected; but of all the sources mentioned by her, Heckewelder seems to have been the most significant. The great Moravian missionary first became an evangelist to the Indians in 1762, as an assistant to Christian Friedrich Post. This venture was not successful, however, and it was not until 1771 that he entered upon his actual career as an evangelist to them. In this year he began his labors as the assistant of the already well-known David Zeisberger, work-

<sup>80</sup> Goebel, "Zwei unbekante Briefe von Pastorius," *German American Annals*, August, 1904.



ing among the Moravian Indians, first in Pennsylvania and then in Ohio. Almost the entire period of his life from this time forward was filled with dealings with and for the Indians. Nor was his pen idle, active as he was as a teacher and proselyte. His book on the *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States*, appearing in 1819, caused a veritable uproar in the critical world for his attitude differed almost diametrically from that which the majority of writers before him had taken. Many of the judgments passed upon his volume were favorable; many, also, were scathingly condemnatory.

A few of the more prominent phases of Indian life and customs which Heckewelder brought out may be interesting as a background for Talvj's study; for many of her conclusions, although arrived at from an altogether different method of treatment, were similar. According to Heckewelder, the complaints which the Indians made against European ingratitude and injustice were long and dismal. They loved to repeat them and always did it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language whose force our polished idioms could seldom imitate. "Often", he said, "I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings until I felt ashamed of being a white man."<sup>81</sup> He heard one Indian remark, "I admit that there are good white men, but they bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest, for they rule. The white men are not like the Indians, who are only enemies while at war and are friends in peace. . . . They are not to be trusted."<sup>82</sup> This plaintive indignation Heckewelder found the more appealing from the fact that when the Indians first saw the white men, they considered them superior beings sent by the Great Spirit, and expected to be made happier by their coming. "And yet, for all their abuses," he quotes these injured people, "the white men would always be telling us of their great Book which God had given to them; they would persuade us that every man was good who believed in

<sup>81</sup> *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. xii, p. 76.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 80

what the book said, and every man was bad who did not believe in it. They told us a great many things which they said were written in the good Book, and wanted us to believe it all. We would probably have done so, if we had seen them practice what they pretended to believe and act according to the good words which they told us. . . . . They killed those who believed in their book as well as those who did not."<sup>83</sup>

Heckewelder did not deny the horrors and cruelty of the treatment which the Indians accorded their prisoners of war, but he denied that torture and death were as frequent as many of the writers had maintained.<sup>84</sup> Prisoners were generally adopted by the families of their conquerors in place of lost or deceased relatives or friends. Burning and torturing scarcely ever took place except when a nation had suffered great losses in war, or when wilful and deliberate murders of innocent women and children had occurred. The respect which the simple savages had for old age was remarkable. In a council no young man would presume to offer, unsolicited, one word of advice in the presence of his elders. This very respect, however, so laudable in itself, was sometimes carried to the extreme, and worked to the detriment of the Indians.

In their individual social relations, moreover, Heckewelder pointed out that the aborigines were not quarrelsome, and were always on their guard so as not to offend each other. When one supposed himself hurt or aggrieved by a word which had inadvertently fallen from the mouth of another, he would say to him, "Friend, you have caused me to become jealous of you." When the other explained and said he had no evil intentions all hard feeling ceased. They did not fight with each other, for they said fighting was only for dogs and beasts. The verdict of Boudinot is in full accord with this opinion. "To whom," says Boudinot, "should be attributed the evil passions, cruel practices, and vicious habits to which they are now changed, but to those who first set the example, laid the foundation, and then furnished the continual means for propagating and supporting the evil?"<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 188.

<sup>84</sup> See *Lawson's Journal*, p. 197.

<sup>85</sup> *Memoirs*, vol. xii, p. 331.

To the Indians the Almighty Creator was always present as an almost visible reality. With reverence they felt and acknowledged his supreme power. Much like the Greeks and Romans, they believed that lesser gods had charge over the elements. Combined with this worship was an ancestor-worship, which inspired each of them with a hope to rise to fame and glory,—a hope, however, which they could expect to realize only through submission and obedience. In illustration of this religion and of the superstitious and poetic nature of the Indians, Heckewelder's book contains, besides the accounts of savage life and customs, a great number of native legends and bits of supernatural lore.

In a criticism of Heckewelder's work the *North American Review* presented the following opinion, one characteristic of the prevalent attitude of the English and the Americans: "The range of thought of our Indian neighbors is extremely limited. Of abstract ideas they are almost wholly destitute. They have no sciences, and their religious notions are confused and circumscribed. They have but little property, less law, and no public offences. They soon forget the past, improvidently disregard the future, and waste their thoughts, when they do think upon the present. The character of all original languages must depend, more or less, upon the wants, means, and occupations, mental and physical, of the people who speak them, and we ought not to expect to find the complicated refinement of polished tongues, among those of our Indians."<sup>86</sup> There were, however, those already—a pitiful minority—who took issue with this sentiment. Duponceau, for example, said, "Alas! if the beauties of the Lenni Lenape language were found in the ancient Coptic or in some ante-diluvian Babylonish dialect, how would the learned of Europe be at work to display them in a variety of shapes and raise a thousand fanciful theories on that foundation! What superior wisdom, talents and knowledge would they not ascribe to the nations whose idioms were formed with so much skill and method!"<sup>87</sup>

This, then, was the state of critical opinion in America in

<sup>86</sup> *North American Review*, 1826, p. 79.

<sup>87</sup> *Memoirs*, vol. xii, p. 367.

regard to the Indians and their language, when Talvj became interested in the various dialects, and in aboriginal culture as manifested in their folk-lore. Her appearance served, in a measure, as a response to the appeal of B. H. Coates made in closing an address upon the "origin of the Indian" before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1834. "The occasion is tempting", he said, "to urge the cause of the unhappy aboriginals and must not be neglected. What are the inquiries of abstract research to the claims of living and suffering humanity? It is to woman that we can ever appeal for all that is generous in self-devotion and gentle and lovely in performance. You possess the power to guide and control public opinion. You mould the statesman and the warrior, and convert their cold and cruel calculations into plans of benevolence and humanity. Nothing but woman can bid the demon of avarice to pause in his career. It is to woman, therefore, that I address the cause of the unfortunate beings who have been the subject of this discourse, a race suffering from every ill that can be inflicted by the combined agency of the thirst for land and the thirst for gold. They are still the same people who were so long the faithful allies of Penn; the men who succeeded our ancestors and enabled them to form a state."<sup>88</sup>

The first work of Talvj in this new field was a translation into German of John Pickering's *Indian Languages of North America*, completed in 1834.<sup>89</sup> Her object in beginning this task was to make Pickering's manual more accessible to Germans than it would have been in its English form. She summed up the extent to which studies in the Indian tongues had progressed. In Bethlehem, the central point of the Herrenhuters, she said, there was a complete if small library of essays, dictionaries, etc. of various Indian dialects, written by missionaries of the brotherhood and put there to inform the younger members. Unfortunately the work of both Germans

<sup>88</sup> *Memoirs*, vol. iii, part ii.

<sup>89</sup> Pickering wrote this essay for Francis Lieber's *Encyclopaedia Americana*, an encyclopedia based on the *Brockhaus Conversations-Lexikon*. Duponceau was the great influence upon Pickering, while Duponceau in turn was influenced by Humboldt.

and Americans up to this time had fallen into obscurity. A significant step forward had been made when the American Philosophical Society of Sciences in Philadelphia turned their attention to this work in 1816. Massachusetts and Rhode Island followed in 1819. Many writers on the question had not seen anything worthy of study in the Indian language, but like Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt before her, she felt that in a knowledge of the connection of languages lay the key to the world's history.

The great difficulty, she continued, in learning the Indian language lay in the lack of harmony in the various orthographies used by the grammarians. Men of various nations represented sounds by symbols equivalent only in their respective languages; so that in order to form a conception of the pronunciation one had to refer constantly to the native language of the men who studied and wrote this literature. Herder had recognized another reason for difficulty, a difficulty which was found in a great many other primitive languages; the fact that the more life was inherent in a language, the less one thought of restraining it in letters; the more originally it expressed the unassorted sounds of nature, the less it was susceptible of reduction to written form. And it was almost beyond the power of a foreigner to form the sounds, let alone represent them by letters.<sup>90</sup> Rasles, who spent ten years among the Indians of North America, complained of the fact that, even with the greatest care and attention, he was often able to get only half a word. Chaumont, who spent fifty years among the Hurons, complained of their inexpressible accent. Pickering chose the pronunciation of the German letters as the simplest and most useful inasmuch as they were not radically different from the Spanish, Italian, Swedish, and Danish, and, as regards most vowels, agreed with the French. The English seemed built upon caprice more than principle, and so made a mass of superfluous letters necessary.

Pickering said that the original inhabitants of this land possessed a language different in its idioms from all the languages of the known world. Duponceau, who had made a study of all

<sup>90</sup> Herder, *Sämtliche Werke* (Suphan), vol. v.

the languages of America from Greenland to Cape Horn, had proved that the manifold forms of human speech which existed in the Eastern Hemisphere did not exist in the Western. One and the same system seemed to run through all of the Indian languages; however, the variations of the objects made it difficult for a knowledge of one to serve as an open gate to all. Duponceau used the term polysynthetic in speaking of the Indian languages.

A prejudice of long standing against the dialects of wild peoples blinded many of the students of language to the fact, which seemed established in Pickering's mind, that the native Americans had a language second to none in richness of idioms. Compare this view with the following of Lawson's,— "Their languages or tongues are so deficient that you cannot suppose that the Indian ever could express themselves in such a flight of stile as authors would have you believe. They are so far from it, that they are but just able to make one another understand what they talk about."<sup>91</sup> In trying to explain such a narrow and uninformed viewpoint, Pickering thought it might be due to a general failure to appreciate the fact that philosophy and science had little to do in the formation of a language. This explanation seems plausible, and indeed logical, in view of such statements as that made by one illiberal and superficial student of language, that the language of the Indians possessed no real grammatical forms because it was not inflected like the Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit. Consequently, judging from the standpoint of its usefulness in assisting in the development of abstract ideas, he gave it a low rank among languages. But the falsity of this criticism is apparent from a cursory examination of the inflectional power of various Indian parts of speech. *Mattatsch gluppiweque*, as Talvj tells us, is equivalent to the Latin "*nisi veneris*"—

*Matta negates* an adverb.

*tch* is the sign of futurity with which an adverb is inflected. *gluppiweque* is the second person, plural, present subjunctive of the verb.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Lawson, *An account of the Indian of North Carolina*, 1709.

<sup>92</sup> Pickering—*Indianische Sprachen Amerikas*—Talvj, p. 6.

Certainly these forms show a higher degree of inflection than the English, French, or German. It was with reason that Duponceau's study led him to conclude that, on the whole, the native American's language was rich in words and grammatical forms.

In the construction of their rules of syntax there seemed to exist among the savage dialects the greatest order, method, and regularity. Most of the so-called students of the Indian languages failed to go deep enough into their essential nature to give a fair decision. Heckewelder, the friend of Duponceau, was the first to call the attention of the public to this. At the time he was looked upon by critics as a benevolent ignoramus, and almost as a misrepresenter of a language he had studied for forty years, in the same way that Duponceau was considered an enthusiast whose feelings had run away with his judgment. Nevertheless, the statements of these two men are easily reinforced by conclusions drawn over a century before. The Indian apostle Eliot in 1666 spoke of the fact that the aborigines possessed the faculty of combining syllables to express various shades of meaning. Because of this system of polysynthesis, as Duponceau called it, logically their vocabulary would be boundless.<sup>93</sup> Roger Williams testified to the fact that the Indian language was not impoverished. In 1648, in describing a little English-Indian dictionary he was publishing, he said: "The English for every Indian word or sentence is in a straight line directly across from the Indian. At times there are two words for the same thing—for their language is extraordinarily rich, and they often have five and six words for one and the same thing."<sup>94</sup>

To an exact translation of this little book by Pickering, Talvj added a number of original notes, containing many interesting anecdotes and facts, besides explanations of the text itself. In these notes she gathered together the various philo-

<sup>93</sup> *Indianische Sprachen Amerikas*, p. 11.

<sup>94</sup> Zeisberger wrote a complete dictionary of the Iroquois language in three quarto volumes. The first from A to H is unfortunately lost, but the remainder, which is preserved, contains over eight hundred pages. This would show that the Indian languages are not so poor as is generally imagined.

logical explanations of all the greatest students of the Indian language,—Duponceau, Heckewelder, Zeisberger, Vater, Louis Cass, Charlevoix, and Roger Williams. The fifth note is especially interesting as illustrating the nature of Talvj's investigations. The Cherokees, at the time of her early residence in America, were becoming quite civilized, and in the process were offering an interesting field for a study of cultural development, especially in the origin and growth of a written language. She translated for her German readers a letter from Elias Boudinot, himself a Cherokee on his father's side, to W. Woodbridge, the editor of *Annals of Education*. In this letter the development of the alphabet was described, an alphabet whose simplicity and directness were such, as she said, that a child could learn to speak and read it within a few days. Its content is of unusual interest, while as a contribution to the history of languages it is very valuable.

Talvj's second work on the Indians dealt with their folklore and is contained in her book entitled *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*, a discussion of which is reserved until the chapter on "Popular Poetry." Her research work on this phase of Indian culture did not take the shape of a personal investigation among the Indians themselves, but rather that of a very thorough examination of all the available reports of the explorers, colonists, and missionaries of various nations. Among the sources thus probed were Heckewelder, Alexander von Humboldt, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Kranz, Julius, Martius, Carver, Williams, Dunne, and Charlevoix. Among other considerations, she confronted the same question which had confronted practically all other students of the private life of the red-men; why did they produce practically no poetry? Their life and customs possessed poetic elements, their language was, in a measure, well adapted to poetic expression, and their surroundings were romantic to a degree always picturesque and often sublime. Her conclusions with regard to this subject were peculiarly original. It must be admitted, she said, that of all uncivilized peoples the American Indians in their original condition stand out the most distinctively poetic. The African races are either rough barbarians, or harmless children unable



to approach the boundaries of an intellectual nonage. The uncivilized peoples of Asia, on the other hand, are enslaved by despotism; while the mountain dwellers and Nomads who alone are free bear a certain resemblance to the warlike Indians,—a resemblance, to be sure, modified by various local conditions. The nationality of the Indians seems to harmonize with their surroundings more than in the case of other uncivilized peoples. Their misdeeds appear rather the natural outgrowth of an immaturity of spiritual development than evidence of innate wickedness. Their religion is the religion of nature, wild, free, devoutly poetic—for they are pantheists, and invest God with the forms of natural surroundings in which they live.

That the mental life of the aborigines was undeveloped, she brought out clearly by the following analysis: The Indians classified all objects as animate and inanimate. Every animal had to them a soul and a claim to immortality. Yet while nature was the object of their reverence, still their belief in her powers was not materialism. Many of their superstitious sayings, handed down secretly from father to son, were without doubt as childish and absurd as the sayings of other uncivilized peoples, but many among them had also a wonderful depth and meaning. The Indians viewed the living world as a great body whose members were all subject to the same laws of birth and growth, endurance and release. The earth was to them a common mother, who carried within her the seed of all life, and from whom everything that existed received its first form. Thus was it decreed by the great and good spirit, the father of men, of animals, and of plants. The regions below the earth were still peopled with many lower races. The Delaware Indians would not eat a rabbit or a mole, for some soul might be contained therein, retarded in its development; and they would have no way of telling whether or not it was related to them. Their ancestors called the rattlesnake grandfather, and neither could be induced by any price to kill it themselves nor would they allow white men to slay it. This idea of their relationship to animals was shown in their tribe names, Wolf, Bear, Tortoise, Eagle. The superstitious

fear of the owl among some of the tribes, and the belief in the significance of the song and flight of certain birds came, no doubt, from the same source. Similar bonds connected them with the whole living world. Among many tribes even the stars were considered members of a family.

One of the features among the customs of the tribes which struck Talvj as being highly poetic was their tendency to use specific instead of general names. We will agree with her, I think, that poetry has been lost when descriptions become general and vague; the more specific and individual the terms of expression, the more graphic and clear the picture. With such a treasure of poetic material lying within the inmost nature of the Indians, she felt that strong counter-elements must have been at work to prevent the production of poetry and to make what they had produced in the way of songs and short stories so meager and uninteresting. The Indians to her were an example of a poetic temperament without poetic expression. Talvj cited with some exceptions in opinion the statement given by Abbé Clavigero of the poetry of the old Mexican Indians—a statement differing in many respects from the one ordinarily presented. "The language of the Aztecs", he said, "was bright, pure, and pleasing, full of pictures and recurrent images of the most attractive objects in nature, such as flowers, trees, and rivers." But the flattering hues of the Abbé's picture were dimmed by his failure to offer proof. Abbé Molina, again, described the poetry of the Araucana Indians in similarly glowing terms, but such descriptions, Talvj thought, were based on what the poetry of these tribes theoretically should have been, and not what it really was. In reality, Talvj felt that they were not poetic largely because they were a people in whom the passions were stronger than the imagination. Intense passions were never productive of poetry and, when filled with these passions, the Indians were fairly robbed of their human nature, and took on the aspect of a fiend. As to their skill in the use of metaphors, it was rather the outgrowth of their method of living than an outgrowth of the imagination. Their metaphors were taken immediately out of nature, in which they had more confidence than in the realm of the ab-

stract, the realm from which so many educated people obtain their metaphorical expressions. The innumerable traditions of the Indians did not show many traces of imagination.

The love for solitude which the Indians possessed seemed to spring from their love of independence and not from an inclination to cultivate the imagination. Only when they had cast off all bonds of companionship did they consider themselves absolutely free. Wilhelm von Humboldt told of a tribe in South America which possessed this trait to such an extent that even the children at times left their parents for four or five days, and wandered about in the forests, sustaining themselves by herbs and roots of trees. Thus deeply ingrained in their souls was the love of independence.

The Indians, again, continues Talvj, were by nature reserved and not at all prone to disclose their emotions, a fact which militated against the production of lyric poetry. Among themselves the redmen were not gloomy, secretive people, as they appeared to the white men. Before others they seemed to be completely absorbed in themselves and given up to melancholy. All who had had an opportunity of observing them when among their own people, and when not disturbed by suspicious fears, described them as extraordinarily talkative and cheerful, and full of a certain dry satirical wit. But Talvj doubts whether their talk was ever of a very sensible nature.

Still another element which, in Talvj's opinion, worked against the production of poetry, was the absence of the passion of love among the Indians; an absence as to which, however, she admits there was still some disagreement among writers. Generally speaking, the Indians undoubtedly were not demonstrative. A number of travelers agreed on the possession by the savages of a certain tender regard and affection for the children, but the general attitude toward the wife was one of indifference. Their friendships were based not so much on the principles of affection as on the principles of honor and duty. Talvj would not have us think that the Indians were incapable of the tenderer emotions, but they were not dominated by them. Perhaps this explains an apparent absence of jealousy among them. Two of the love songs which

she succeeded in obtaining through the kindness of Dr. Julius will suffice to show that the depth of feeling expressed is not great.

I.

Zwei Tage ist's nun, zwei Tage,  
Dass letzt ich Nahrung genommen,  
Zwei Tage nun, zwei Tage!

Für dich, für dich, mein Lieb  
Für dich, ist's, dass ich traure,  
Für dich, für dich, mein Lieb.

Die Fluth ist tief und breit,  
Auf der mein Lieb gesegelt,  
Die Fluth ist tief und breit!

Für dich ist's, dass ich traure,  
Für dich, für dich, mein Lieb!  
Für dich ist's, dass ich traure!<sup>95</sup>

II.

Wahrhaftig, ihn lieb ich allein,  
Dess Herz ist wie der süsse Saft,  
Der süsse Saft des Ahornsbaumes!  
Wahrhaftig, ihn lieb ich allein!<sup>96</sup>

Ihn lieb ich, ihn lieb ich, dessen Herz  
Verwandt ist dem Laube, dem Espenlaub,  
Dem Blatt das immer lebt und bebt,  
Wahrhaftig, ihn lieb ich allein!<sup>96</sup>

The musical element, we are told by Talvj, was lacking almost entirely in their songs; and this was granted even by the most enthusiastic advocates of the Indian language. Alexander von Humboldt, in speaking of the Carabeans, said that they spoke with great fluency, in a loud voice, and with a somewhat accented expression. This would give a slight poetical nature to their conversation. But their life was such, he continued, that their conversation did not seem to grow out of an overpowering emotion. Ambition was their motive force, not the

<sup>95</sup> Talvj, *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*, p. 123.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 123.

emotions. These, then, were some of the reasons set forth by Talvj as operating in restraint of poetic productions among the Indians.

There was, however, one form of poetic expression current among them besides their conversation, and that was their dancing. In marked contradistinction to that of other nations, as Talvj was especially qualified to judge from her extensive acquaintance with the folk-lore of many other peoples, the Indian dance was not merely a favorite pastime, but was a language expressive of the most intimate feelings. The dance was to the Indians what song was to other nations. The perfect abandon of their war-dance; the reverential tread of the sacrifice-dance; the slow movement of the peace-dance, gave perfect vent to their varying emotions. As accompaniment they sang single ejaculatory words, which the expressive movements of the dance rendered entirely intelligible. Talvj's appreciation of the poetry of the Indian dances was certainly an evidence of her German temperament,—a temperament which saw poetry in all harmony. To most students of the Indians their dances were grewsome and savage, an appeal to the lowest passions, and an expression of absolute barbarism. Charlevoix, who wrote a book about the Iroquois Indians, gave the general characteristics of their songs as wildness and pain. Their tones, he said, were monotonous and rigid. Yet the terror ascribed to the Indian war-songs must have lain in the method of singing them, for the words themselves do not strike terror to the reader. The following war-song of the Iroquois tribes will illustrate the mild character of the words.

Nun geh' ich, nun geh' ich zum freud'gen Geschäfte  
 O grosser Geist, erbarme dich mein,  
 Im freud'gen Geschäfte hab' Erbarmen mit mir!

Auf meinem Wege gieb gutes Glück,  
 Und habe Erbarmen, o grosser Geist,  
 Mit meinem freud'gen Geschäfte!<sup>97</sup>

In an interesting way Talvj describes the folk-lore of the Greenlanders and Eskimaux, who, although of apparently dif-

<sup>97</sup> Talvj, *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*, p. 119.

ferent origin, spoke a language of almost the same construction and character as that of the Indians. Their songs, like those of the Indians, had neither rhyme nor meter; they consisted of short irregular sentences, which were recited with a sort of rhythmic intonation. The funeral dirges of the Greenlanders were very similar to those of the Indians, especially the Sioux; perhaps not so much in content as in the manner of singing. She saw a truly poetic emotion evidenced as the mourners and friends, in tones of woe and sorrow, chanted the songs of bereavement, interrupted, as it were, after each sentence by a loud cry of grief from all present. It is upon the authority of Carver, whose travels among the Indians were very extensive, that Talvj traces the similarity between these northern dirges and those of the Sioux of the west. As to similarity of content the reader may judge for himself from a few verses of one of each nation's funeral dirges. Through Kranz, the famous Greenland traveler, Talvj was able to get a so-called Grönländische Leichenklage.

Wehe mir! dass ich deinen Sitz ansehen soll, der nun leer ist! Deine Mutter bemühet sich vergebens, dir die Kleider zu trocken!  
 Siehe meine Freude ist ins Finstere gegangen und in den Berg verkrochen!  
 Ehedem ging ich des Abends aus und freute mich! ich strengte meine Augen an und wartete auf dein Kommen!<sup>98</sup>

Compare with this the Indian Leichenklage of a mother at the grave of her little child.

O hätt'st du gelebt, mein Sohn, gelebt,  
 Bald hätte und wie! deine junge Hand  
 Den mächtigen Bogen spannen gelernt!

Verderben, mein Sohn, o hätt'st du gelebt,  
 Verderben hätten bald deine Pfeil'  
 Den Feinden uns'res Stammes gebracht.

Du hättest getrunken ihr Blut, ihr Blut,  
 Und hättest verzehret ihr Fleisch, ihr Fleisch,  
 Und Sklaven in Menge hätt'st du gemacht!<sup>99</sup> u. s. w.

<sup>99</sup> *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*, p. 120.

<sup>98</sup> *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*, p. 118.

The criticism made by many travelers of the absolute spiritual poverty of the Indians was very distasteful to Talvj. She felt that such a judgment was neither fair nor just, for most of the Indian tribes with which civilized people had come in contact had been warlike peoples, whose souls were deadened to all poetic feeling by their unequal struggle for existence against the white man. As she suggests, we have not judged the Indians under original or even normal conditions. Such a study was quite unusual. Among the innumerable accounts of the Indians prior to her time and even after her time, Indian culture as such was not considered. From the originality of her work in this hitherto unexplored field, I think, I may justly say that Talvj played an important part in creating an interest in America's original inhabitants among the Americans themselves.

It seems logical to infer that Longfellow received inspiration from her for his famous poem *Hiawatha*. This poetic interpretation of the Indians and their surroundings made by Talvj is the distinctive characteristic of Longfellow's poem. If one follows a reading of Talvj's essay with a reading of *Hiawatha*, he is struck at once by the feeling of an indefinable similarity. It cannot be attributed to any other cause than a similarity of poetic interpretation. Both put into their interpretation the romance of human existence and raise the Indians out of the state of animal savagery so commonly attributed to them.

A careful study of Longfellow's letters and journals, as published by Samuel Longfellow, does not reveal any direct mention of Talvj. In a letter written by Dr. N. W. Julius to Longfellow on May 28, 1838, the former says, "This day I had a long interesting letter from Mrs. Robinson [Talgj] who will pass some time in Dresden." This indicates that Longfellow knew Mrs. Robinson, at least in a literary way.<sup>100</sup> Another

<sup>100</sup> The following quotation from the review of her *Literature of the Slavic Nations* found in volume 37 of *Graham's Magazine* seems to indicate a literary acquaintanceship also: "Two or three poems relating to the desolate conditions of motherless orphans are introduced by a reference to a Danish ballad, which we trust that Longfellow will search after and translate."

indication which points toward his acquaintance with her was their mutual friendship with the family of Karl Follen. Longfellow knew Duponceau and Pickering also, as is indicated in a letter to his father dated October 25, 1840. The reference is in regard to a French article which the poet had written for the *North American Review* the preceding year. He says, "Mr. Duponceau of Philadelphia has read it; and wrote to Mr. Pickering to say that he liked it, and that I had taken the true ground." Besides these mutual literary friends Longfellow's enthusiasm for the German language and German romanticism suggests another bond of acquaintance between him and Talvj.

On June 22, 1854, he writes in his *Journal*, "I have at length hit upon a plan for a poem on the American Indian. It is to weave their beautiful traditions into a whole." And on September 19 he writes, "Working away with Tanner, Heckewelder, and sundry books about the Indian." *Hiawatha* appeared in 1855; Talvj's essay on Indian folk-lore in 1840. The precedence of her work is significant to the inference which I have drawn.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### *Studies in Popular Poetry.*

"Popular poetry is not the heritage of a few blessed individuals; by it is meant that general poetic productivity which pervades the mass of men as it pervades nature. Among the nations of Europe it is a dying plant; here and there a lonely relic is discovered among the rocks, preserved by the invigorating powers of the mountain air. But for the most part civilization has ruthlessly swept it from its path, and in the future we may expect to find merely dried specimens, preserved between two sheets of paper and securely guarded in a cabinet." This was Talvj's conception of popular poetry as she expressed it in the introduction to her study of "Slavic Popular Poetry" in the *North American Review* for 1846.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>101</sup> This idea is refuted by Professor Adolph Hauffen (Prag) in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, vol iv, (1894) p. 5 ff. "To-day we can speak of a dying out of popular poetry only in those districts and among those people where literary German poetry prevails.



Before we consider the service she rendered to the science of comparative literature and to the cause of human culture by this remarkable study, a brief review of the historical growth of interest in popular poetry may be in place. When old German folk-lore was at its height, there seemed to be no definite and sharp distinction between artistic and folk poetry, as there was no marked difference in the education of the various classes of people. The songs of the people were sung in city and village alike by all classes, carried from one place to another by wandering minstrels, or again printed on leaflets and distributed at the fairs or even on the streets. Such ballads or lyrics were named variously, according to the theme, "street songs", "peasant songs", "love songs", "shepherd songs", etc., but the idea of calling them popular or folk songs seems never to have occurred to anyone. Soon, however, with the introduction of Humanism and classical learning the nation became divided into two distinct classes, the one composed of those possessing a classical education, the other of those who did not. In the seventeenth century the breach became especially pronounced. The old popular songs were ignored by the learned scholars and everything that belonged to the unlearned masses fell into disfavor. From this time on until the time of Herder "Volk" stood for rabble.<sup>102</sup> The vernacular and the classical languages were strictly differentiated, and because of the supposed vulgarity of expression of the people the former was driven out of literature. The deadening theory of poetry as something purely formal, artistic, conventional, and didactic—a prerogative of the educated—grew apace.

From a literary-historical standpoint the erasure of this division line marks the beginning of the great folk song movement. At the head of the movement stood Michel Montaigne with his study of Brazilian songs, from which he concluded

<sup>102</sup> To Herder "Volk" meant the eternal source of all that was new and original. Today, largely through the influence of the French Revolution, the term has the added attribute of political. We are indebted to Herder for the word "Volkslied", a word which practically defies English translation. Cf. also Hildebrand, "Materialien zur Geschichte des deutschen Volkslieds," *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, vol. v.

that popular and purely natural poetry has a naive grace which compares favorably with the beauty of artificial poetry. An intense interest in some of the songs of the original inhabitants of America sprang up in Germany, the same song often appearing under various names. As remarked elsewhere, it was considered a great discovery when it was found that even the Indians had their poets. In England the impulse to recognize popular poetry came through Addison, who was the first to call attention to the old ballads; it was given further strength by the appearance of *Ossian*; and finally, in 1765, found its full expression in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. An acquaintance with the existence and merits of popular poetry, and a desire to collect it, were thus born in many lands at once; but the nurturing into full growth and fruitful significance of this appreciation became the task of Germany.

When the *Reliques* came into Germany, Lessing had already prepared the way by his words, "Poets are born under every sky, and poetic expression is not the property solely of cultivated peoples."<sup>102</sup> Opitz, Haller, Lessing, Hagedorn had each in turn called attention to the store of popular songs. The theory of its study, however, had not yet been developed fully enough to afford popular poetry complete recognition; the requisite atmosphere was still in the process of creation. During the eighteenth century, indeed, a shortlived distinction between natural and popular poetry was frequently advanced, especially by Klopstock and those of his school who scorned the "unpoetic rabble," but revered the "song of soulful nature." Into this pregnant atmosphere Percy's *Reliques* came. The effect was immediate and far-reaching. Ballad poetry was reborn, with Herder as its father; and his epoch-making work, *Volkslieder*,—for which, it is true, he had laid a foundation as early as 1770 and 1771 by his studies of Shakespeare, Ossian, and Oriental poetry,—appeared in 1778. In 1772 he had begun a diligent study of the *Reliques* which, his wife tells us, became one of his great sources of re-

<sup>102</sup> Erwin Kircher, "Geschichte des Volkslieds" *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, vol. iv. p. 6.

creation. Indeed, he regarded the songs of primitive peoples as a source of inspiration second only to his Bible. The following year stood out as a great mountain peak in German literature; Klopstock finished his epic the *Messiah*, Goethe published his *Götz*, Bürger produced his *Lenore*, and Herder wrote his essay on *Ossian and the Songs of Old Peoples*. This latter came almost like a revelation, and resulted immediately in a great flood of translations of various ballads from the *Reliques*, with a consequent dissemination of interest in this kind of poetry. But the most important pledge of Herder's interest in folk-lore was, as we have remarked, his *Volkslieder*, a work of incomparable influence upon the development of German literature, in that it caused a just valuation to be placed upon popular poetry. It has been called the greatest forerunner in modern times of the scientific and aesthetic development of Germany, because it recognized the deep inner emotions of the most remote peoples and respected their individuality; and because out of its romantic conception of folk lore was born the philology or the scientific study of folk languages. It pointed out that more than any other form of expression folk poetry was truly the voice of the people, beyond the powers of the individual, and the outgrowth of the dynamic strength of the whole unit.<sup>104</sup> Herder did not realize at this time that countless treasures of song lay concealed within the limits of Germany, awaiting the magic word which should awaken them into new life. A few years later, in 1805, the glad note of discovery was sounded by *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* which awakened an echo of a thousand tongues, and paved the way for Ludwig Uhland with his great work, *Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder* in 1844 and 1845. Thus far popular poetry had been studied from a cultural and æsthetic point of view and not by philological methods. As a cultural element it greatly influenced the poets of romanticism, Heine, Mörike and Eichendorff. With Uhland's critical edition the study of popular poetry became a

<sup>104</sup> Bürger expresses somewhat the same idea in his *Herzens-Erguss über Volkspoësie* written in 1775. He says in substance that all poetry should be popular in order to have the seal of perfection.

matter of scholarship and its great influence on poets seemed to stop.

Just twenty years before this Talvj had entered upon the study of popular poetry, and through her work with the *Volkslieder der Serben* had gained an enviable position among the scholars of Europe. Ten years later by a paper in the *Biblical Repository* on the "Historical View of Slavic Literature," she took her place among those who were beginning to introduce this kind of literature into America. This paper was followed in 1836 by a discussion of the "Popular Poetry of the Teutonic Nations" in the *North American Review*; in 1840 by the epoch-making work, *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*;<sup>108</sup> in 1842 by a paper on "Spanish Popular Poetry" again in the *North American Review*; in 1852 by an enlarged and revised book form of her early work on Slavic literature; in 1853 by an article on "French Poetry" in *Putnam's Magazine*; and in 1869 by a short sketch entitled "Die Kosaken und ihre historischen Lieder" in *Westermann's Monatshefte*.

The work of native Americans in this field was at that time practically a negligible quantity. Longfellow felt the strength and power of the movement, but never gave any extensive expression to it. An article which he wrote for the *North American Review* on "Moral and Religious Poetry of Spain" could not, as may be inferred from the title, compare with the kind of work done in Germany and in later years by American scholars such as F. J. Child and F. B. Gummere.

A close investigation of Talvj's two larger works, *Charakteristik der Volkslieder* and *Literature of the Slavic Nations*, will reveal the character of her contributions, and the justice of the claim that they were truly cultural in nature. The *Literature of the Slavic Nations*, while it did not assume its present book form prior to 1852, originally appeared in the form of a rather lengthy paper in the *Biblical Repository* for 1834. In speaking of this article in the preface which he wrote for its

<sup>108</sup> "The simplicity of the ballads which Mrs. Robinson has so copiously translated," says *Graham's Magazine*, "will win many readers who take but little interest in intellectual history." Cf. *Graham's* vol. xxxvii, p. 66.

later expansion her husband said, "The essay was received with favor by the public; and awakened an interest in many minds, as laying open a new field of information, hitherto almost inaccessible to the English reader." An insistent request on the part of scholars and public libraries led to its recasting into book form. These requests undoubtedly growing out of the excessive meagerness of sources of information regarding Slavic literature represented a general anticipation that this contribution would come very close to presenting this literature as one great whole. Other studies had been made, but, for the most part, merely were sketches of separate phases.<sup>106</sup>

At the time Talvj wrote, the Slavic population amounted to nearly three times that of the United States. The gigantic strides of Russia, the fate of Poland, the cry of Pan Slavism that had recently resounded through Europe, had excited an intense interest in the Slavonic race throughout the civilized world. Thoughtful men often asked themselves whether the Slavic nations were yet to overflow the Germans of Western Europe as did the Celts, to form a new element of population with a new political and intellectual life. The mere consideration of such a possibility suggested the question, what was the nature of the moral and intellectual impulses, what the tendencies and spirit of these new men?

The literature of the Slavs had been studied and discussed in various ways and for various purposes. More or less critical ingenuity was manifested in all of the studies, and all possessed a certain element of thorough research; but until the appearance of Talvj's book no author had succeeded in presenting the results in a pleasing and thoroughly intelligible manner. In the words of the *Independent* for July 11, 1850, "It introduces the reader to a field of literary research which has long lain in comparative obscurity, but to which recent

<sup>106</sup> She herself called it merely an outline. The *North American Review* (vol. lxxi, p. 329 ff) in speaking of it said: "The outline is not only drawn with correctness and precision but the filling up is very thorough and satisfactory. . . . Even one who is a Slavic scholar by parentage and early education can recur with profit to this work for information concerning the literary character and pursuits of his countrymen."

political struggles have given a melancholy interest. . . . . All are eager to learn more of races, some of which, hitherto unknown almost in public affairs, have burst like a torrent upon the field of political strife, shaking Europe to its center, performing prodigies of valor, and exhibiting a degree of enthusiasm, energy, persistence, and tact, and an extent of resources almost unparalleled in the history of modern warfare."

In the details of her work Talvj showed an almost perfect knowledge of her subject matter. There were opportunities for difference in opinion as to certain theories of origin of the Slavic languages, as to certain viewpoints of predominance of the Russian branch over all other Slavic branches, and, without doubt, there was room for a decided variance with her treatment of the Polish people. But this was necessarily true in the case of a work worth while. Those who differed with her, and there were some, had seldom as good grounds for their views as she. The book first presented the theological background, and then considered in turn the political, philosophical, and literary history with a depth of investigation, vigor of analysis, and a comprehensiveness rarely exhibited in a study of this sort. "The volume is characterized by the extent and thoroughness of its investigation, its acute and judicious criticisms, its warm-hearted recognition of true poetry, even in an humble garb, and the forces and facility of its style," said *Harper's Magazine* which, with the *North American Review* was then perhaps the official organ of expression of the American public in literary matters.

Her treatment of the subject was divided into four parts, exclusive of an introduction in which the author gave briefly but concisely an historical sketch of the Slavs in regard to their origin, their mythology, their early language, and the various branches of their language. Part one was in a measure a continuance of the introduction, in that it gave a history of the old or church languages and literature, a literature over which scholars and philologists had never agreed, but which had ever afforded a tempting field of research. In parts two and three the Slavs were treated under two general divisions: the Eastern, embracing the Russians, the Illyrico-Servians, the

Croatians, the Slovenzi, and the Bulgarians; and the Western, embracing the Bohemians, the Slovaks, the Poles and the Vendes in Lusatia. The work gave some account of the characteristics which distinguished these different dialects, and traced their literature from its earliest period down to the time at which she wrote. She showed that the principal divisions of the Slavic literature were the Russian, the Bohemian, and the Polish; that the other branches of this great family possessed a literature of humbler pretensions, while some of them—like the Slovaks, who inhabited the northwestern part of Hungary—had little that deserved the name. The fourth part of the book dealt with the folk lore of the Slavic nations, and was perhaps the most interesting portion.

About twenty-five years before, Talvj had been the means of making known and appreciated the exquisite charm of Servian poetry throughout Europe. Now she again paid tribute and homage to its merit, which, as she showed, lay not in its studied elegance and careful polish, but in its unequalled simplicity and naturalness. She put it thus: "All that the other Slavic nations, or the Germans, or the Scotch, or the Spaniards possess of popular poetry can at the utmost be compared with the lyrical part of the Servian songs, called by them female songs, because they are sung only by females and youths; but the long extemporized epic compositions, by which a peasant bard sitting in a large circle of other peasants, in unpremeditated but perfectly regular and harmonious verse, celebrates the heroic deeds of their ancestors or contemporaries, has no parallel in the whole history of literature since the days of Homer."<sup>107</sup> It seemed to be the general consensus of opinion that this was the most interesting phase of her book, largely, as one New York paper remarked, because the specimens of poetry furnished by the author are remarkable for their freshness, purity, and energy of thought, and are rendered into graceful and well chosen English. The *Evening Post* also esteemed this portion of the book the most interesting. "The peculiar genius of this literature," it said, "is delineated in a skillful analysis and samples of the poems are given in Eng-

<sup>107</sup> Talvj, *Literature of the Slavic Nations*, p. 114.

lish preserving the peculiar rhythm, and, as far as may be, the verbal characteristics of the original. In these we seem to have a sort of key to the character of the race, and we rise from a perusal of these delightful pages with a feeling of closer acquaintance with the nations of the Slavic race." The force and ease with which she translated these poems was indeed remarkable, inasmuch as she was turning them into a language which was not her mother tongue, and which many hold to be one of the hardest of all languages to master. Her quick adaptation to the idioms of English is one of the strongest tributes to her keen intellect and her wonderful power of intellectual assimilation. She had been in this country only six years when she wrote the article for the *Biblical Repository*. Even in this article, which we may term the foundation of her book, there was very little which would make one conscious that the production was from a foreign-born hand. The *North American Review* spoke of this part of the book as a "precious gem, which gives brilliancy and animation to the whole." The woman's heart and hand were seen in it; the touch was tender and sympathetic, the very characteristics which caused Goethe to rejoice that the work with the Servian poetry, twenty-five years before, had fallen into the hands of a woman, who was at the same time a scholar in every sense of the world.

In considering Slavic popular poetry as a whole Talvj said that the poetry of the Slavic nation was wild, passionate, and tender; love and war were its common themes. The love expressed in the Slavic songs was the natural love of the human breast, from its most tender and spiritual affection to irrepressible sensuality. It was not the sophisticated love of civilization, it was the pure deep love of the unrestrained heart. The Slavs still followed the dictates of nature, and no artificial point of honor kept the hero from fleeing when he had met one stronger than himself. In its general tone the Slavic popular poetry was oriental. To enjoy it fully the reader had to let himself drift into an atmosphere of foreign views and prejudices. In this atmosphere all elements blended as one, the North and South, the East and West. "The suppleness of Asia and the energy of Europe, the passive fatalism of the



Turk and the active religion of the Christian, the revengeful spirit of the oppressed, and the child-like resignation of him who cheerfully submits, all these seeming contradictions find an expressive organ in the Slavic popular poetry."<sup>108</sup>

The interest in this work was widespread. In the St. Petersburg German paper for 1834, No. 227, I found a very interesting notice which was a reecho of the admiration expressed by some Servian scholars upon the appearance of her work with Servian folk lore.<sup>109</sup> "A ship from Boston has just arrived," this notice read, "bringing us this article from the pen of a highly esteemed German authoress. It is the same whom we have to thank for a translation of Servian folk songs published by Wuk Stephanowitsch Karadschitsch..... It was scarcely to be hoped that Mrs. Robinson, as such, would continue her interest in the Slavic world, now so far removed; but behold, here comes an essay to us, in which the writer gives information to her new countrymen and to learned England in regard to a race of people hardly known by name. With wonderful skill, using all the sources of information at hand, she has presented the relation of the various Slavic peoples, their languages and their dialects. Certainly every friend of the Slavs must thank her for this, but above all should the English be thankful, for whom she has illumined a new field, and in so doing rendered them a true service. We feel all the more moved to acquaint our readers with the existence of this work, inasmuch, as far as we know, only very few similar works have come to us in Russia."

The first publication of the book attracted an unusual interest, and it obtained almost at once the distinction of being the most thorough and complete, as well as the first analysis of Slavonic literature extant. How Goethe would have rejoiced over this work had he lived to see it! The *Evening Post* saw in it a "work of which we ought to be proud, as the production of one of the adopted daughters of our country, who, having acquired a reputation among the

<sup>108</sup> Talvj, *Slavic Literature*, p. 320.

<sup>109</sup> See chapter II.

authors of her native literature, now became engaged in adding to the riches of ours." The *North American Review* also recognized the volume as a valuable accession to our literature; and even the conservative English magazines spoke in most glowing terms of it.

From an earnest and thorough study of the songs of one branch of the Slavic nation, Talvj had thus added to her field of research the whole Slavic nation; and now she gradually extended her consideration to all the nations of Europe. Her *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*, which was published in 1840, occupies a unique place in comparative literature. "Not without hesitation," she said, "do I send these leaves out into the world. Above all I would not have them regarded as a collection of folk songs. The collection is altogether too incomplete for that. Nor would I have them regarded as an historical text book, for the background of many parts of the picture must of necessity be concealed in shadow. I would wish the volume, however insignificant, to be regarded solely as a contribution to cultural history."<sup>110</sup> By the phrase "concealed in shadow" she had reference to such obscure sections of national folk lore that of the Norwegians, concerning which she could find not a single publication of popular songs. Some of the older Saxon songs were omitted because they came to her notice too late.

Poetry is the natural language of the human race. Primitive peoples must needs use a form of expression which is at once creative, figurative, and imitative. The poetry of the earliest childhood of a people is like the speech of a stammering child. The people go into ecstasy over sensual pleasures just as a child does; and like a child they vent their grief and pain in loud and unrestrained lamentations. The more man comes under the dominion of external circumstances of government, civilization, and culture, the greater becomes the distance between life and poetry. His vocabulary develops until it gradually loses its imaginative and figurative qualities. The subjective gives way to the objective. But the origin of all speech, poetic, figurative, and subjunctive, remains at the basis

<sup>110</sup> Talvj, *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*, Vorwort.

of all languages of the world in spite of all refinement of thought and expression, in spite of all boundary lines of logic. It is quite probable that originally poetry, as the expression of the emotions, was once identical with song. If this be true, we must consider "song" as a term applied to a certain rhythmic raising and lowering of the voice, similar in measure to a chant. As one listens to a very young child sitting on the floor amusing himself with his blocks and other toys, entirely unconscious of his surroundings, the sounds which come to the listener certainly bear a resemblance to artless melody. Herder said that for a long time singing and speaking were one among the old races. In *Wilhelm Meister*, Goethe said, "Song is the first step in education; all else connects itself with it and is harmonized by it."<sup>111</sup>

Chamisso, in his investigations among primitive nations found that none of the peoples whom he visited were entirely ignorant of poetry and song. As the various peoples differed in their cultural development, so their songs differed also, varying from mere wild shrieks, as it seemed, to rhythmic and melodious intonations. These intonations seemed to represent the satisfaction of an inborn need. Wide difference in national character gave rise to nature-poetry and folk-poetry, which, despite their many contrasts, Talvj attributed to the same source. Very frequently folk poetry and national poetry are conceived as one and the same thing; which, however, in a strict sense is not true. Talvj draws the distinction very well when she says: "In the broad sense of the word all the poetic literature of a people was national; in a narrower sense only that poetry was national which dealt primarily with the peculiarities and conditions of nations to which the various so-called national poets belonged. The poets, not the people, produced this type of poetry. Shakespeare, Goethe, Victor Hugo were national poets. On the other hand, folk poetry was not always poetry which was read and sung by the common people, nor even necessarily a part of such poetry; for if this were the case, the Bible would be folk poetry."

Folk lore, whether in the form of songs or of fables, is

<sup>111</sup> Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, chap. i, Book II.

that production which, originating among a people in their internal and domestic relations has an influence in the development of this people. Folk songs are the common property of all,—for all had a hand in producing them. Storm in his *Immensee* has put a beautiful description of folk song into the mouth of Reinhardt: "They are not made, they grow, they fall from the air, they fly over the land like gossamers, here and there, and are sung in a thousand different places at the same time. In these songs we find our very own acts and sufferings; it is as if all of us had helped to make them, all working together." Talvj's own definition carries with it the same thought: "Whether they proceed from the past or present they are the blossoms of popular life born and nurtured by the care of the people, cherished by their joys, watered by their tears, and because of this are characteristic through and through of the great mass of a nation and its condition."<sup>112</sup>

In connection with this Talvj's theory regarding the relative age of the lyric and the epic is worthy of consideration; for although it is a theory not generally accepted, some of her views may help adjust rival explanations.—The oldest monuments of poetry are, as we know, epic in character. But in these very epics there are enough traces and evidences to lead one to say that back of the epic was the lyric. To put it more directly, the lyric embodies the present, the epic the past. Each new situation calls forth its expression, and the resulting songs are consequently not guarded within the strong box of script, but within the minds and hearts of the people themselves, principally of the women and youths. The epic is in reality a development of the lyric, or a sequence of it. As we look over the ballads of various primitive peoples we find, for example, of the songs before a battle, some that are bright and strong, filled with encouraging cheer for the warriors; some that are deeply pathetic, filled with the heartache of a sweetheart as she bids her lover farewell, or of a mother as she sends her son forth to serve his country. Always, however, we find even beneath the pathos an heroic recognition of necessity and duty. After the battle, there are songs of victory,

<sup>112</sup> Talvj, *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*, p. 11.

wildly ecstatic, or songs of defeat touchingly pathetic in their tone of resignation. And thus in countless instances the epic gives evidence of having developed from the lyric.<sup>113</sup>

In the three great collections of folk lore, Herder's, Arnim and Bretano's, and Talvj's, the last alone drew a sharp distinction between folk songs and popular songs, and so may be said to have succeeded better in depicting the cultural development of primitive peoples. Herder did not restrict himself to folk songs in his collection, probably because of a general indifference on the part of the public; Arnim and Brentano followed his example in their *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, probably for the same reason. So with other collections; for one reason or another they became popular and national in character.

In her *Charakteristik der Volkslieder* the author did not content herself with compiling great quantities of material at hand. She strove rather to study the material, and, by comparing it with the historic conditions of the people, to arrive at a clear view of the very essence of folk song; if possible, she wished even to recognize the historical development of the poetry of separate peoples, from its naive to its conscious state. The work was a real contribution to cultural history, for the author succeeded in showing how very close was the connection between the customs of a people and the peculiarities of its songs. She demonstrated that changes which took place in a people's mode of thinking and living could be found in its poetry.

The first division of the work contained four chapters devoted to a description of the folk songs of the Asiatic, Malayan, Polynesian, African, and the original Americans, all peoples who were more or less primitive. Talvj gave to a comparatively uninformed public a vast number of facts with regard to these nations; facts, which, for the most part, had hitherto been inaccessible. Her ingenuity combined these with examples of their poetry in a manner altogether pleasing, interesting and instructive. A quotation from *Blätter für Literarische Unterhaltung* expressed the appreciation and interest which

<sup>113</sup> Talvj, *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*, Introduction.

this division aroused in literary Europe. "We consider altogether excellent this latter description which, in all probability, is based on first hand knowledge of the author, and which shows how the Indian possesses no real talent for poetry as we should naturally expect, but rather, because of a predominant power of reason and a passionate ambition, seems capable of and inclined in the highest degree toward eloquence."<sup>114</sup>

The second division of the book, which dealt with European people, Talvj introduced by a chapter presenting the characteristics of Germanic folk lore. Especial attention was drawn to the family likenesses which, despite outward differences, existed among the traditional songs of all European peoples. In this way only could a repeated use of certain expressions, the repeated presence of the riddle, and the frequency of the question and answer form be accounted for. In the thoughts themselves marked similarities could be traced. For instance, almost all nations believed in the endurance of true love; in the power of inordinate grief to disturb the rest of the departed one; in divine destiny and justice.<sup>115</sup> She divided the Germanic peoples into three large groups; the Scandinavian, the German, and the British. The British fell under two heads, English and Scotch; the German, under German and Dutch; the Scanliavian under Icelandic, Faröish, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. The Norwegian and Swedish divisions were, much to the author's regret, left in an uncompleted state. Each division was prefaced by introductory remarks, historical, philological, and political in character, according as history, philology, or politics played an important role in the cultural development of the people under discussion. Talvj made use of every opportunity to compare the various poetical forms of the different peoples, and she combined with all her general discussions illustrative and characteristic songs. These three elements, introduction, dis-

<sup>114</sup> *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, Jan. 18, 1841.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. *Anhang zu Wilhelm Grimm's Uebersetzung der dänischen Heldenlieder*. In regard to this idea of likenesses Jakob Grimm said, "The divine, the spirit of poetry, is the same among all people and knows only one source."

cussion, and poetry, made the book what she wished it to be, a contribution to cultural history.

Some criticism was expressed of her treatment of German poetry, upon the ground that it was lacking both in material and in theory of development. One of her critics excused her partially on the ground of her long absence from Germany during early youth. There was a noticeable predominance of love lyrics. The popular German drinking songs were entirely lacking. It cannot be doubted that these songs are quite as really folk-productions as some of the Weihnachts-Lieder, and their absence from her collection is a genuine flaw in her work.

Her treatment of Scotch poetry was perhaps the best part of the book; for in addition to a perfect familiarity with her material, the author seemed to have a sincere love for this division of her subject. She herself said that there was no richer field in all Europe for the collector of folk songs than Scotland. Her statement of likenesses and differences between the English and the Scotch poetry is well worth any scholar's consideration. It is keen, searching, and well expressed.<sup>116</sup>

K. A. Varnhagen von Ense<sup>117</sup> saw in this book a revival of Herder's thoughts, extended and elevated, however, to fit the measure of an advanced knowledge. In another sense it seemed to him a new form of the *Wunderhorn*, raised out of German limitations into the field of all folk song. Open-mindedness, genuine sympathy, sane reason, comprehensive knowledge, and sound judgment had, he felt, given the author an unusual equipment for handling such a subject. Chance, moreover, assisted her by first affording her a residence in Russia during the most susceptible years of her life, and later by giving her a residence in America during years of more mature thought and sympathy, thus leading her into a more intimate knowledge of English and Scotch characteristics through her ever increasing mastery of the English language.

<sup>116</sup> *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*, p. 603.

<sup>117</sup> *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, No. 86, 1840.

Some critics felt that she had taken the idea of "Volkslieder" in too narrow a sense. She herself, however, had a compiler's natural sense of the necessity for selecting and choosing most carefully. Goethe warned the authors of the *Wunderhorn* against the sing-song of the Minnesingers, and the wretched commonness and flatness of the Meistersingers; and some of the omissions in Talvj's book may be due to the influence of such a warning, although it was never extended to her.

From the criticisms and comments which I have considered worthy of mention in this chapter, we may feel certain that Talvj's position in the literary world was now firmly established.

## CAPTER V.

### HISTORY OF THE COLONIZATION OF NEW ENGLAND FROM 1607-1698.

History of the Colonization of New England from 1607-1698.

American historiography is of comparatively recent origin. In her introduction to her *Colonisation von Neu England* Talvj states: "Throughout the whole eighteenth century here and everywhere else the spirit of historical research slumbered. Valuable documents lay dust covered in undisturbed rest in public archives or private libraries. Uninterpreted manuscripts served as wrapping paper." The catalog of writers who manifested any noteworthy interest in investigation and compilation is a brief one. One of the chief of them, Thomas Prince, gathered material with wonderful diligence and patience, and succeeded in presenting to the public a *Chronological History of New England* up to 1633. To Callender and Backus, minor names, we are also grateful for many original documents which in one way or another throw light upon the darkest periods of American history. Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, which appeared toward the close of the Revolution, should have been a mine of valuable historical materials, for as royal governor of Massachusetts the author had



access to the very authentic manuscript material; but unfortunately much that he had collected was lost or destroyed during the Stamp Act riots."

Amid this poverty of formal collections of facts or manuscripts, Talvj found four main sources of historical data upon New England; Cotton Mather's *Ecclesiastical History*, William Bradford's diary, John Winthrop's *History of New England*, and Edward Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Savior*. The first of these, known also as the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Talvj considered authentic, but very narrow in viewpoint. This history extends over the period between 1620 and 1698. It is regarded as the most important book produced in America during the seventeenth century. It has been suggested that as a history it was unsatisfactory because the author was too near events to be strictly impartial. His personal feelings perhaps unconsciously colored his judgments. In regard to facts he is charged with being careless and inaccurate. However, the work is indispensable to an understanding of New England history. The diary of William Bradford, governor of New England, was still in manuscript in 1847, and was not known except in fragments. Some fifty years later the manuscripts were collected and published. Much of the original material became a part of the church records of Plymouth through Nathaniel Morton, a nephew of Bradford. Morton also used many of Bradford's accounts in his *New Englands Memorial*, but many of the manuscripts were lost during the Revolution and have never been found. Until 1790 John Winthrop's *History of England* remained in manuscript form. Cotton Mather and Hubbard used it, the latter quoting much of it word for word without mentioning the source. In 1790 the part dealing with the history of Massachusetts was published under the title of *A Journal of the Transactions and Occurrences in the Settlement of Massachusetts*. Not until 1825 was Winthrop's entire collection given to the public. He was, in Talvj's estimation, the leader in the history of the period from 1630 to 1649. The chief value of Edward Johnson's history, which appeared in 1654, lay in the fact that the author was

a contemporary of the events which he described. However, its style was weak and difficult to read because of a rather absurd and artificial piety running through the whole. In 1658 it was plagiarized by Ferdinand Gorges and published as the work of Gorges' grandfather under the title, *America painted to Life, A True History*.

There were, of course, many lesser sources deserving of a brief mention. Those for Massachusetts comprise several small manuscripts by Edward Winslow; the personal letter of the vice-governor Thomas Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln, patroness of the colonies; manuscripts by Higginson, Wood, Welde, Lechford and Josselyn which recorded personal experiences; and Sir Ferdinand Gorges' *Brief Narration of the Original Undertaking and the Advancement of the Plantations*. The latter was valuable as showing an Englishman's theories and plans for American settlements. For the Indian Wars Mason, Underhill, Gardiner, and Vincent contributed much. The history of Providence and Rhode Island is based almost entirely on rather imperfect accounts of the first founders, Clark, Gorton, and Roger Williams, largely in the form of letters. Finally, for the settlement of Connecticut, with the exception of a very few letters, there was really no authentic contemporaneous account. The governmental chronicles and various church archives of later times furnished practically all of the historical information of this colony. *A General History of Connecticut*, published in London in 1781 was so unreliable that it was of little value as history. Talvj said of this book, "Nothing can be more characteristic of the sentiment against America then ruling in England, than this bungling piece of work which had its second edition the following year."

Talvj had a single criticism for all these sources: they lacked an independent viewpoint and a sense of detached historical perspective. English historians, on the other hand, she condemned for their lack of intimacy with American conditions and events, and their inability to grasp the spirit of what they recorded. Chalmers alone was an authority on New England. Neal's history was little more than a reorgan-

ization of Cotton Mather's, with greater purity of style. The prejudice against Americans was such as to make perverted and false statements more acceptable than facts, and thus many errors circulated by these careless early historians are, today, regarded as authentic facts. But these were not, in her mind, the most deplorable phases of early histories, whether English or American. Our so-called standard histories clothed the events of the formative days of our country in a mantle of myth and legend. The very criticisms of Talvj's history made at the outset by the *North American Review* gave evidence of the tendency to require of a history a novelistic style, in order that it might be popular with the masses. Unfortunately the truth did not always make a popular appeal to the masses, and as a consequence truth had been sacrificed for the sake of popularity in a large number of our historical writings. Even Bancroft, who was generally considered the standard American historian, wrote, it is claimed, "most cautiously, with the greatest dread of the slightest admission, and with intense straining to make out a perfect case."<sup>118</sup> Why, it might well be asked did not Talvj translate Bancroft for her German readers, instead of undertaking to write a history herself? As I see it, the answer lies in this fact: no American history told the truth as gleaned entirely from original sources and as evolved out of a clear unbiased view of these sources.

Talvj was almost a century ahead of her time in her scientific investigation and use of original sources in these pictures of early colonial history. Only within recent years have the many sad deficiencies in American historical writings begun to be generally felt. Of late, through the almost universal dissemination and improvement of public libraries, the multiplied opportunities of gaining access to old pamphlets and original evidences of all sorts, American scholarship has everywhere been aroused to a desire for a clearer knowledge and a more tangible grasp of events upon this continent.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Fischer, *Myth Making Process in Histories of the U. S.*, p. 68.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. *Proceedings of American Philosophical Society*, vol. li, p. 54. Truth is winning over fiction, as may be seen from some of the recent historical writings. The names of some of Sydney G. Fischer's works

A brief comparison of Talvj's history with Bancroft's will show how in some respects hers fulfilled even a greater mission than his. First of all, Bancroft, as an American writing for an American public, wrote from an American viewpoint, while Talvj, a German-American writing for a German public, chose a German viewpoint. We may characterize the difference between these two positions as a difference between a fervid patriotism and a calm, scientific interest, which made an unbiased search among original sources for materials which should present all sides of the historical situations, the side of the unsuccessful, as well as of the successful. In the second place, Bancroft's work was not as concentrated as Talvj's, inasmuch as it encompassed a much greater space and period of time. In comparison with his history she called hers "a single room of a whole big house."<sup>120</sup> Naturally, since the German viewpoint would, in many instances, be different from that of an enthusiastic American, a German would dwell on the smaller details more than an American. To all appearances America was advancing by leaps and bounds, fairly striding through the fields of industrial and political development. It was only logical that an American historian should pay little or no attention to many of the small and, to him, insignificant details in the early years of colonization. It was only logical that a foreigner with a keenly scientific and wide-awake mind should, after the first surprise at such rapid advancement, seek its causes in the details of early establish-

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are significant. (Mr. Fischer is a writer and lawyer of considerable prominence in Philadelphia 1856—) We find above his name such titles as these: *True Benjamin Franklin*; *The True William Penn*; *The True History of the American Revolution*; *The True Daniel Webster*, etc. Mr. Fischer says in regard to this realization of the importance of truth in historical writings, "Within the last two years, in writing a life of Daniel Webster, I had occasion to examine the original evidence of our history from the war of 1812 to the Compromise of 1850, and I found that it had substantially been used in our histories of that period. There was no ignoring of it or concealment of it such as I had found when I investigated the original evidence of the Revolution."

<sup>120</sup> *Colonisation von New England*, p. xiii.

ment and development. An American's enthusiasm does not in any way deprecate his ability; it is merely a reflex of the life and development about him. This reflex could not exist in a foreigner. The fact that Talvj admired Bancroft and his work led her to consider many of his views very carefully, and in many instances the two agreed. Yet, with her decided leaning toward the great historian, she remained independent in her judgments; and in some instances, again, the two writers seemed to be almost diametrically opposed. In speaking of Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Francis J. Grund said, "Bancroft's history seems on the whole to have fallen short of its purpose—it lacks a philosophical and calm view which should put the life of the states into accord with the general tone of humanity."<sup>121</sup>

Another great point of difference between Talvj's history and Bancroft's was in the distribution of emphasis. Talvj laid great emphasis on settlements, dwelling at length on customs and religious views, and the development of law and order out of the inner life and character of the colonists. Bancroft, on the other hand, perhaps because of the greater scope of his work, set forth monumental figures in the early history of New England, and focused the minor developments in these. The former's was a history of colonial spirit rather than of colonial activity. It contained the elements of a "Kulturgeschichte", a form of history as yet undeveloped.

But the question naturally arises, why did she write this history for German readers? In spite of an almost perfect mastery of English style, she always felt more at home with the German language, and as a consequence the greater part of the work was written in German. This fact, however, would not stamp her work as written for German readers. It is undoubtedly true that, although she wrote from a point of view whose chief consideration was the interest in America and the knowledge of American affairs which then existed in Germany, she sincerely hoped that her work would find readers on both sides of the Atlantic, and was by no means unmindful of a possible American audience. There were many

<sup>121</sup> Francis J. Grund, *Die Amerikaner*, p. 106.

Americans who read the German fluently, and whose ever-increasing interest in German ideals and methods had already shown that they considered the tongue no barrier to an understanding of a new work of learning. But in the main, as she herself consciously asserted, her ambition was to interest the Teutonic race in the land which was destined to become yearly the home of more and more of its children. She felt that intimate relations must in time grow up between the Germans of the Fatherland and those of the New World; and inasmuch as conditions in the two countries were so different, she believed a knowledge of America necessary in order that Germany might the better and more readily adjust herself to the demands of this new relationship. She realized the significance of the rôle America was playing in the world's history, and she wanted the Germans to realize this significance in terms of early development. Before Talvj, Ebeling and Kufahl were the only Germans who had made a study of the colonial United States. At the time they wrote many of the main sources were still hidden, and furthermore they lacked personal knowledge of the locality, the people, and the institutions about which they wrote. Both, like Bancroft, included a field of far greater scope in time and place. Already, however, so considerable an interest was being manifested in Germany about America's history, that a history from the pen of a German-American was tacitly demanded. Nothing bears better witness to Talvj's hope of bringing about an understanding between the two nations than her copious notes which made many expressions and view-points clear to the foreign reader, and prevented in advance the confusion which often arose out of misunderstanding.

The task of the historian was not small, as Talvj realized. His task it was to give the reader a clear view not merely of salient events, but of details which, seeming in themselves cumbrously trivial, assumed the greatest significance when the proper relation to their far-reaching consequences was shown. In doing this, Talvj showed exceptional skill. Her viewpoint as we have before intimated, was larger than that of the ordinary historian of political events, for her work

involved a consideration of social development in which private, public, religious, moral, individual, and general relations entered. Her treatment of the subject matter was of such specific and concrete nature that the situations portrayed bore the stamp of truth and reality to the reader.

She portrayed the Puritans justly and impartially.<sup>122</sup> A pride in the Puritan fathers had grown up, especially in New England, which stifled all recognition of other forces back of American progress. Again, America was becoming a great nation; she was trying hard to develop a national culture, and nothing was more natural than that, in this conscious effort, she should be blinded to all but present achievement. To lose sight of humble beginnings and to credit failure and success impartially is a natural consequence of ill-restrained enthusiasm in any new project whose development and progress are rapid. A careful reading of Talvj's history will show very plainly why an American national culture did not develop during the early days of settlement. Many highly cultured men and women came to America but they alone could not exert decided humanitarian influence; likewise pioneer life did not in itself present the conditions in which to develop a native culture. For a people to exchange the surroundings of a highly developed civilization for the less advanced or primitive cultural environment of a new country, always involves an abasement of ideals. "Despondency, homesickness, and a general lowering of all the higher aspirations and ideals seems the inevitable result until the psychic transformation has taken place, from which the energetic personality emerges with a

<sup>122</sup> Prof. C. E. Stowe of Cincinnati said, "We have read no work which on the whole appears to us to give so accurate a picture of the Puritan character as that of Talvj. It is just, discriminating, disposed to commend and not fearing to censure. The author is in a good position to develop the subject according to its real merit. . . . She stands in the attitude of a spectator, yet with enough of interest in the scene and of sympathy with it to give a lively and glowing picture of it." (It refers to the task of giving this picture). For complete criticism by Stowe see *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 7, p. 91—108, 1850.

resolution to create a new world of his own out of new surroundings." <sup>123</sup>

Hard, unyielding primitive conditions of life and sustenance left the early settlers neither time nor inclination for the development of music, art, literature, or even religion. Later, when the time and inclination came, as life became less strenuous, America was forced to seek the seeds of culture without herself. What culture the pioneers brought with them had been destroyed by the harshness of nature and the seeds had not been planted in their descendants forcefully enough to warrant their development without external aid. Talvj's treatment of the Puritans makes us feel the force of this truth in such a way that, while we continue to admire the virtues and the courage of the New England fathers just as much as before, we begin at the same time to investigate other sources of national culture. The Puritans did not even have time to develop a religion. They fought to maintain certain forms of worship, but religion as such was swallowed up in the struggle.

In a number of personal letters Talvj presented a glimpse into the household of an English Puritan family, which afforded the best and most vivid "Sittenbild" of the times. One could not fail to realize that these early settlers were as cruel and stubborn as nature herself. Back of the establishment of many of the colonies lay the attempt to force certain individuals to a strict adherence to many customs, barbarian almost in their simplicity and crudity. Infringement of personal liberty was found on every hand. With a strict regard for truth Talvj did not see the mildness in the laws of the Puritans which almost all other writers of history extolled. True, they made no attempt to base their institutions on any of the bloody decrees of the darkest period of the middle ages; but the fact was lost sight of that many of these bloody decrees, found in the laws of European nations, would be empty and meaningless on the statute books of the Puritan settlers. As Talvj said, in the wilderness of America there was not even the possibility of many of the crimes found

<sup>123</sup> Goebel, *Annual Report of American Historical Association for 1909*, p. 188.



among the kingdoms of Europe. Want of provision for the punishment of impossible crimes is no evidence of mildness. The infringement of personal liberty, certainly, was not a mark of mildness to be extolled. The Puritans were not a free people. The stocks, branding, ducking, whipping, and other equally harsh forms of punishment stared them in the face for the slightest offence. It was an offence to wear certain forms of head dress and hair dress; certain kinds of clothes were forbidden; smoking and chewing were forbidden; the celebration of Christmas or Easter was a serious offence. There was even an ordinance against the use of the word saint as a part of the name of a town. If such acts were considered an offence, one can easily see what must have been the attitude toward offences which we would consider real. But this harshness, as Talvj pointed out, was only a reflex of the times in which tolerance was considered indifference.

To explain this intolerance and to temper the judgment toward the Puritans, which might otherwise seem too harsh, she worked out very carefully a background of religious intolerance in England which drove men and women into the wilderness of America in order to worship as their conscience dictated. Her account comprehended the whole development of the protestant spirit which led to the emigration, showing what influence the ideas and ideals of other countries had in hastening it. She demonstrated the connection of this bit of local history with world history by giving it a cultural background, not a statistical one. Step by step she traced the growth of discontent, the growth of suppression of individual freedom of thought and action, the gradual growth of royal dominance over the very souls of the subjects. With influences of similar nature pouring in from all sides she showed how this discontent finally became the bomb of revolution and evolution. Having completed this background, she showed how the process of development went on logically to the history of the first settlers in New England. The very nature of their separation anticipated intolerance after coming to this country. The material which Talvj used was

not new, nor was her handling of it entirely original, but she collected into one book a network of facts which, though related, had not seemed so, because they had to be sought in a number of widely scattered sources.

Talvj's treatment of the Puritans showed plainly democracy was not an original condition, as so many enthusiastic American writers claimed. The primary object of the first settlers in coming to America was to replant the Church of England in America, instituting in the process a few changes from the prescribed ritual. Their whole energy seemed to be directed toward establishing new congregations, and each new one in turn was greeted with great rejoicing. There was no democratic spirit to be found in these various congregations, what happened in one happened in all. Excommunication in New England during the seventeenth century was not less serious than the papal excommunication. Only those who were church members and who subscribed to all the ordinances of the church had a voice in the government; the colonists were swayed by a limited monarchy, with the church as the monarch. Out of the very necessities of primitive life the democracy developed in America from an original theocracy. From a representative church assembly the step to a representative state assembly was not great. At first an aristocracy threatened but the trials and hardships of pioneer life gave birth to democratic tendencies which could not be quelled. "Thus early," Talvj said, "began the democratic tendencies of the people, the natural product of a wilderness and a condition in which physical strength was at a premium."<sup>124</sup> The church did not exist because of the state, but the state because of the church, and if the state attained to a complete democracy it was only due to the fact that the constitution of the Puritan church, in as far as democracy harmonized with theocracy, was democratic. This view was quite different from that ordinarily expressed—that the origin of our democracy was in the Puritan church.

Another and valuable feature of Talvj's book was her estimate of the Indian. On the whole, as we have remarked

<sup>124</sup> Talvj, *Colonisation von Neu England*, p. 225.

before, it was generous and charitable. While she did not try to excuse the Indian for his blood curdling acts of cruelty, she sought for and, in many cases, found definite causes for such cruelty. Beneath the cruelty which caused many travelers and writers to class him as a beast, she found the man, with a man's feelings and a man's honor. Over and over again she showed that the first relations between the whites and the redmen were friendly, that the redmen venerated the whites and believed that through them great happiness would come; and that gradually, as their simple dream failed to come true, suspicion was aroused. They began to feel that the white man was not dealing honestly with them, but was slowly and surely dispossessing them of what was theirs by the natural right of original occupation. When this dispossession reached the form of slavery, a crime which the Indians hated above all others, their passions were thoroughly roused, and then many of their acts were bestial in the highest degree. She did not minimize Indian treachery, but described it quite as vividly as the treachery of the whites toward the Indians. We sometimes feel the Indian cared less for a human life than he did for that of one of the wild animals of the forest, but the white man earned the title to the same indifference by the manner in which he dealt with the savages. In most cases, as Talvj pointed out, the savage was pursuing the one and only law of life known to him, self-preservation. That the same could hardly be said for the white man, she illustrated by an incident first related by Hutchinson. During the war with the Indians in 1637, after surprising them in their fortifications, Mason set fire to a wigwam. The blaze, spreading rapidly among the dry underbrush, burned the inmates out like so many rats. Escape was absolutely impossible. The few who did escape the flames fell into the hands of the English as prisoners. Later, in the division of prisoners a dispute arose over the ownership of four women. In order to settle the dispute the four women were executed. As Hutchinson said, "The cleverness as well as the morality of this act can well be questioned."

Talvj's chapter on the conversion of the Indians is

worthy of especial attention, because the failure of the Indians to embrace the Christian religion has given rise to many of the harshest condemnations of their character. The chief cause of this failure, as she saw it, was the fact that too many of the missionaries did not know the Indian language. One need only glance over the accounts of the Indians as given us by travelers, to realize at once that the successful missionaries were those who knew their language and who thus could enter into their real thoughts and feelings. Many of the German missionaries, as well as John Eliot, Roger Williams, and Pierson owed their success to having learned the language before attempting to convert the Indians. The success of one Daniel Gookin's sons in training helpers for missionary work among the Indians themselves, struck a decided blow at the theory advanced by so many that these native Americans were incapable of culture. As early as 1664 the Indians were taught to read and write English and some were even sent to Harvard to be trained in theology. As John Eliot said; "The Indians must become men, that is, they must be civilized before they can become Christians."<sup>125</sup> But the civilizing of the Indians seemed almost a hopeless task. Talvj realized it was hard to point out a cause for this. There was no justice in saying that they were incapable of civilization and culture, at least as far as innate traits of character were concerned. It is true that Roger Williams, after having loved the Indians, grew to hate them, and applied to them the terms envious, revengeful, treacherous, and deceitful. But Talvj added this in her note, "Truly his judgment in this respect changed only after the influence of the whites, especially their liquor, had ruined the Indians."<sup>126</sup> It would seem that the advent of the white man was as a breath of poison to the Indians. Nothing in the culture and civilized life of the whites attracted the savages but the cultivation of the fields. Double gain alone seemed to move them. In order to explain this attitude as well as to offer an apology for her lengthy discussion of the Indians Talvj said: "If we have

<sup>125</sup> *Colonisation von Neu England*, p. 424.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 416.

been too minute for many readers in recounting a condition of the Indians whose meager traces seem scarcely to warrant it a place in history, we would offer the excuse that we believed we could answer the seemingly unanswerable assertion, that the Indians were incapable of civilization. We believed this could be done by a simple presentation of certain remarkable accomplishments of a few individuals during the short period of twenty-five years. The assertion in question arose during the eighteenth century and the present age gladly repeats it. It is certain that from Eliot's time to the present not a single earnest effort was made to elevate the condition of the savages. The demoralized tribes of the east, sunken almost into a state of bestiality, no longer afford an opportunity for such effort. But the numerous tribes of the west, wild, barbaric, and degenerated by the influence of self-seeking, bartering or arrogant whites, offer a rich field to the missionaries of the Christian world. These Indians are not yet brutalized. The force of love can reclaim them."<sup>127</sup>

Another evidence that the history is cultural is the part the "Volk" plays throughout. Again and again we are brought to realize the importance of this "Volksgeist." This is brought out very definitely in the account of the movement toward democracy within the colony. The movement itself is as subtle and intangible as this popular spirit which so many have tried to define without success. But despite its subtlety and intangibility it contains the germ of freedom which later grew into the American Revolution. The Germans, more than all other nations, seemed to appreciate the power of this "Volksgeist"; we may not say that they laid an undue emphasis upon it when we look at present day Germany and consider that the force which made it what it is was born from the same "Volksgeist". Besides this term, she uses such expressions as "Volksgeist", "Grimm des Volkes", "Herzen des Volkes", "Volksaberglauben" and others. All of these are terms found in cultural histories, but represent as well circumstances of unbounded significance to the political and industrial development of a country. The word "Volks-

<sup>127</sup> *Colonisation von Neu England*, p. 430.

geist" in particular has been interpreted by the enthusiastic American as meaning "sovereign will of the people", and too often, also has become the mere slogan of the demagogue. Her view of the sovereign will of the people stood in rather bold opposition to Bancroft's, but was, I believe, the deeper and clearer interpretation of a German in such matters. She said, "The sovereign will of the people is seldom anything else than the blind feeling of an ignorant and passionate mob."<sup>128</sup> Bancroft, on the other hand, looked upon it almost as upon something sacred. However, Talvj's viewpoint did not prevent her seeing in the very passion of the mob the germs of democracy and freedom. It was merely that she would handle this passion in a more careful way, so that it might not become a rebellion.

Still another chapter in her history which reads like a chapter in a cultural history is the last entitled, "The tone and spirit of the colonies." It is a chapter so worth the reading that a brief summary of it may not seem out of place—The pestilence of the body which prevailed was not so deadly as the diseased spirit of the people which led to the saying that the devil in person was in their midst. The belief in witchcraft seized the people like a convulsion. Neither the advance of science nor the revelation of the reformation had allayed the idea of a living personal devil. Becker and Thomasius in Germany had not yet brought forth victorious weapons against this belief. When the Puritans left England, superstition was at its height, and certainly life in the American wilderness with its accompanying terrors and dangers did not offer any cultural conditions which might remove these superstitions. Superstitious fancies rather found nourishment on every hand. God was angry and heaven had to be appeased, and this could be accomplished only through prayer, fasting, and penance. When, however, in an ecstatic moment of prayer, one or another seemed by his gestures and actions to be beside himself, he was immediately considered to be under the influence of the devil.

At one time, Talvj tells us, there existed in the colonies,

<sup>128</sup> *Colonisation von New England*, p. 453.

a veritable mad-house where for days the 'possessed' raved and howled. The whole village was thrown into the most intense excitement and assembled to witness the work of the devil. As prayers and fasting availed nothing, a frightful state of affairs ensued. Superstition made it possible to give vent to personal jealousy and hatred and with this as the real motive many innocent victims suffered tortures and even death. These persecutions were enough to drive the accused mad and so they really seemed to justify the accusation. Talvj's recital of the imprisonments, trials, and punishments is most vivid and impressive, but at the same time it may be said that her treatment of the situation is that of the dispassionate scientist. Most historians either omit the portrayal of this condition of affairs, or, if they discuss it, make only superficial observations. But it ought not to be ignored for, better than anything else, this outbreak of religious perversion explains many extraordinary events and movements in the early history of America, as well as in our present time.

As may have been gathered from even the brief remarks which have been made, the heaviness of her style might offer a basis for criticism; and, indeed, the *North American Review* did point this out as a defect. The justification of her solid and weighty prose seems to me, however, to be plain; for her style is an inevitable consequence both of the purpose of historical narration as well as of the point of view of the author. One can scarcely expect a history to possess the vigorous style so much a necessity of successful writings of fiction. The question arises, is the student of history to be amused or informed? The details which were so largely responsible for the criticism were necessary to her development of the subject, for as she said, "As in physical so in political bodies, little things have developed to maturity quite as remarkably, as great things."<sup>129</sup>

The *North American Review* considered both the German language and the subject matter which she chose rather too unwieldy for the production of an attractive history. In comparing her style with Bancroft's it said, "Talgj's style is not

<sup>129</sup> *Colonisation von New England*, Introduction xiv.

more vivacious or epigrammatic than that of her countrymen in general; it is somewhat tedious, hardly fresh enough, either of fact or disquisition to justify its length for an American reader. Bancroft's success is due to a vigorous imagination and a crisp nervous style. It reveals startling and brilliant pictures, being a work of genius rather than laborious detail."<sup>120</sup> In the face of the critic's national bias and his limited knowledge of German, such a criticism hardly seems fair; nor was it voiced by the nation for whom she wrote. In a *Bücherschau* for 1851 the following statement gives evidence of the very favorable reception of her history in Germany: "Her style is simple, but vivid and warm, and where the circumstance demands, not without force and emphasis." But that not all American critics took the attitude of the *North American Review* is shown by the following extract from a clipping of one of the contemporary New York papers: "The style of this history is always clear and forcible, and men and things are brought into distinct relief. Without exaggerating the Puritans, it does them justice, and while treating them in a friendly and sympathetic spirit, it betrays no sense of hereditary obligation to set their virtues too strongly forth. The author has examined what she saw with German industry and thoroughness. Not only ought it be read by Germans in Germany but also the Germans here, and all the Americans who can read German."

Talvj's own judgments, whenever they occur, are clear, pointed, reasonable, and sound. While often diametrically opposed to those of American historians, they are never antagonistic in temper. She has always stood firmly upon her own convictions, and given expression to them in the most direct manner. In 1852 William Hazlitt, recognizing how great a store house of historical information this work was, edited a translation of it into the English language. The translation does not by any means do the original justice, as can readily be inferred from the following article found in the *International Magazine* for 1852, "Mrs Robinson who left New York several months ago to visit her relations in

<sup>120</sup> *North American Review*, vol. lxix.



Germany writes from Berlin to the Athenaeum under date of Feb. 2, 'A work appeared in London last summer with the following title: Talvj's History of the Colonization of America, edited by Wm. Hazlitt in two volumes. It seems proper to state that the original work was written under favorable circumstances in Germany and published in Germany. It treated only of the colonization of New England and that only stood on its title page. The above English publication, therefore, is a mere translation, and it was made without the consent or knowledge of the author. The very title is a misnomer; all references to authorities are omitted; and the whole work teems with errors, not only of the press, but also of translation,—the latter such as could have been made by no person well acquainted with the German and English tongues. For the work in this form, therefore, the author can be in no sense whatever responsible."<sup>121</sup>

This is exceedingly unfortunate, for the original is probably one of the best source books of early Colonial history in American literature to-day.

## CHAPTER VI.

### Miscellaneous Essays.

With a view, probably, of diffusing among her German countrymen a knowledge of America that would otherwise have been possessed only by the cultivated, Talvj wrote articles for several of the most popular German magazines of the time, giving interesting bits of description of places she visited, as well as charming pictures of early American life. In one of these papers, which will be considered at some length later, we have, so far as I have been able to discover, the only direct expression of her views regarding slavery. In a contribution to the *North American Review* she had described Russian slavery, but in this German paper she expressed her view regarding the curse of slavery to America. With the same desire to awaken in America an interest in Europe, because only in mutual exchange of interests did she feel that

<sup>121</sup> *International Monthly Magazine*, vol. v, p. 556, 1852.

the highest development of either was possible, she wrote for several of the leading American magazines of the time; among them, besides the aforementioned *North American Review*, *Putnam's*, *Sargent's* and the *Atlantic Monthly*. Not only is the versatility of the writer shown in the wide scope of subjects treated, but the German idea of universality, so definite a purpose of her life, is also brought out by her effort to combine German and American culture.

For the most part I shall touch upon these articles very briefly. Of the eight which appeared in the American magazines, all, with the exception of the one printed in *Sargent's*, are accessible to any who may care to read them. Of *Sargent's Magazine*, however, only six issues were published between the years 1843 and 1846; and after a long search I found in the Chicago Public Library the number which contained Talvj's article on "Goethe's Loves", a subject of obvious interest. Several of the longer essays which appeared in the *North American Review* and *Biblical Repository* appeared in book form later, and have already been discussed. Four of the seven dealt with Popular Poetry of the Teutonic, Slavic, Spanish, and French nations respectively and are reserved for discussion in the chapter on Popular Poetry, which furnishes a comprehensive view of all her work upon that subject. The other three articles were: "The Household of Charlemagne" in the *North American Review* for 1855; "Russian Slavery" in the *North American Review* for 1856; and "Dr. Faustus" in the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1858.

"The Household of Charlemagne" was called forth by a review of two German histories expressive of the first zeal on the part of national historians to clear up the comparative darkness of their early history. Recognizing the peculiar charm of a close observation of the private life and individual habits of a truly great man, Talvj confined her remarks entirely to the private life of Charlemagne, and this she presented in an exceedingly interesting manner. So far as I know, there is no other similar discussion in the English language of this phase of the great monarch's life. Its chief value lay in the fact that it stripped off, partially, the cloak of myth

and legend in which many were wont to clothe this monumental figure of history.

There is no doubt that the article on "Russian Slavery" was called forth by the situation in the United States. As will be seen later in this chapter, Talvj did not come out as a militant abolitionist, although her views as expressed in one of her papers indicate that she was one of its most bitter opponents. That she made a thorough investigation of the question of servitude, both white and black, is evidenced throughout both articles. While she did not draw parallels between Russian and American slavery, for each in itself was an independent institution, a burning hatred for its effects and principles pervaded the article. In the main it was a history of the development of serfdom in Russia, pointing out how liberty among the working classes diminished little by little until even the mere remnant of it disappeared. She concluded with the only reference to negro slavery throughout the whole discussion, in expressing her opinion that Russian slavery was superior to negro slavery, since even under its worst iniquities moral relations were more respected.

The "Dr. Faustus," article, which appeared in 1858, set forth the legend of Faust as well as its historical background. An interest in Germany and its culture had been growing constantly since 1840. Goethe had at once appealed to the Americans as one of the foremost of writers and thinkers, and his "Faust" was arousing the greatest enthusiasm, so that this article met a demand which was felt if not voiced.

Turning now to Talvj's German magazine articles, we find them appearing as follows: 1845, "Aus der Geschichte der ersten Ansiedelungen in den Vereinigten Staaten", *Raumers Taschenbuch*; 1856, "Ausflug nach Virginien," *Westermanns Monatshefte*; 1858, "Anna Louisa Karschin," *Westermanns*; 1860, "Die weissen Berge von Neu Hampshire", *Aus der Fremde*; 1860, "Die Shaker," *Westermanns*; 1861, "Die Fälle des Ottawas", *Westermanns*; 1861, "Deutsche Schriftstellerinnen bis vor 100 Jahren," *Raumers Taschenbuch*; 1869, "Die Kosaken und ihre historischen Lieder," *Westermanns*.

The first of these articles may be somewhat specifically termed a critical biography of Captain John Smith, whose name and story have become a veritable national legend. It was a forerunner of her history of New England, which appeared in 1847, and bore the same stamp of thorough investigation of original sources. The history of Virginia could not be better given anywhere. The romantic element in the settlement of the old Dominion colony was brought out with remarkable skill. No new and startling facts appeared, but the old were presented with such a novel and instinctive grasp of causal sequence and significant interrelation, that they were lighted up by a remarkable vividness and interest and the reader was scarcely conscious of reading history as such. Naturally, in a work of this sort, her love of investigation of the Indian and his history found much satisfaction, for the name of John Smith is inseparably associated with that of the Indian King of Virginia, Powhatan, and his heroic daughter, Pocahontas, to whose intervention his life is so customarily ascribed. To Germany, then intensely interested in America and things American, this bit of early history must have been most welcome. For the student of American history today it contains valuable source material.

The next article, "Ausflug nach Virginien," was perhaps the most interesting and most valuable of them all. It was characteristic of the woman that her views regarding slavery, an institution which she hated with all her strength, should have made their first modest, if positive appearance, in a literary work so retired from American notice as a bit of travel description in a German magazine, and in the German language. She was always keenly interested in political and social situations both in Germany and America, but never felt that the expression of opinion upon them, with the immediate purpose of reform, was becoming to a woman. It is therefore only by a scrupulous study of her works that we find, here and there, concealed under cover of novel or history, certain of her expressions of sentiment that, from their force, were intrinsically worthy of broadcast publication.

With impartial and fearless judgment she struck at the

cause of conditions in the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century. As she was not a native of either north or south, and as she loved her adopted country deeply and truly, her view was clear and unobstructed by prejudice. "A dark cloud hangs over the inner conditions of this land," she said. "The haughty presumption and blinded selfishness of the South have conjured forth this cloud; the narrow greed for money of the North and the cowardly fear of the specter of disruption of the Union have inactively watched it arise without making any plans for protection. And now it hangs over our heads black and foreboding, threatening to break every minute. It is incomprehensible how carelessly and indifferently the North has looked upon the presumption of the South for years."<sup>132</sup> Opposed to slavery as she was, she did not approve the methods of some of the abolitionists, as is evidenced by her remark, "offended by the passionate cry of rage of the abolitionist party and aroused by their demands for an immediate and unconditional surrender of all their property rights, they began to view 'our own peculiar institution' of slavery from another viewpoint; indeed, they began to nurse and pamper it."<sup>133</sup> Such extremists tried to set up the argument that the slave could appreciate freedom only through having once been a slave, just as the Spartans taught the Helots to appreciate the vices of drunkenness by making them all drunk. Again, the Christians of the South attempted to defend slavery on a religious basis, saying that it was the only means of bringing these ignorant untaught Africans into the light of the gospels. This, as Talvj commented, was a horrible mockery, when one considered that legal marriage was forbidden to negroes in certain parts of the South, and that in South Carolina, at least, the laws forbade them to read the Bible for themselves. She pointed out that a view not uncommonly given utterance, that slavery was a natural condition of the laborer, and freedom, of the owner of the land, was indicative of a terrible state of affairs in a country based on principles of democracy. The disgraceful assault upon Sumner, the

*Westermann's Monatshefte*, Oct. 1856—Mch. 1857, p. 376.

<sup>133</sup> *Westermann's* Oct. 1856—Mch. 1857, p. 377.

senator from Massachusetts, by Brooks, the senator from South Carolina, following Sumner's eloquent attack upon the Kansas affair and Butler's part in it, was, in her estimation, one of the chief of the incidents which finally awakened the North to action. The half-hearted concern of the free states in regard to slavery, as well as to the presumption of the South, could in no wise find an excuse in her eyes. That the chains of the cursed institution had stifled progress was a fact patent on every hand as she travelled through Virginia; yet slavery found its defenders and advocates. Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin had, from a cultural standpoint, long since outstripped the southern states. The most primitive methods of travel were still in use in the South; bridges across streams, if there were any at all, consisted of tree trunks; the houses and hotels were crude and lacking in ordinary comforts; nature alone seemed at its best. "Like a destructive mildew slavery lay upon the land's success; like a treacherous cancer it gnawed upon its otherwise healthy body."<sup>184</sup> To her this blight was no longer a question of politics, but one of Christianity and humanity. Yet these sentiments, partisan and heartfelt as they were, were interwoven with admirable literary skill into what purported to be a purely descriptive sketch.

Interested as she was in America and its development, she could not see merely the external conditions and objects which came in turn to her notice as she traveled from place to place. When in Washington she did not fail to attend meetings of the Senate; and her descriptions of the more important members of that body must have been most interesting to her German readers. Nineteen years before this, at a time when some of America's greatest orators were at their height, she had attended sessions of the same deliberative assembly, to hear very different discussions, for then the tariff, the national finances, and the right of nullification were problems which called forth bursts of oratory and eloquence. Now for the most part, the higher flights of oratory were lacking, but the eloquence called forth by the vital questions of right

<sup>184</sup> *Westermann's*, 1856—57, p. 637.

and wrong was deep and sincere, and in her mind greater than the polished speech of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun. The men who debated these questions were greater statesmen than the men of nineteen years before.

Impartial, unbiased writers, such as she, were needed in America at this time more than ever, and as suggested, it was America's misfortune that Talvj modestly held her views so completely in the background.

A second biography in this group was that of Anna Louise Karschin, a victim of unfortunate circumstances who produced verses which received the commendation of Lessing. The career of this woman afforded one of the most remarkable and characteristic pictures of the times, and a rather extended treatment of the life of her mother, which Talvj included, justified itself in that it afforded a true portrait of a middle class character of the times. This 'Natur-Dichterin', the 'German Sapho', as Sulzer called her, could only be criticised justly in the light of her time and her environment. Talvj did not in any way attempt to exaggerate the general estimate placed upon her worth, and I feel convinced that the subject appealed to her less from the standpoint of the woman and her genius than as affording an excellent opportunity to mirror the life of the first and second quarters of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the character of the woman was presented in a most vivid, interesting, and passionate manner.

In her article upon the "White Mountains of New Hampshire", Talvj gave some very interesting descriptions of provincial life as well as of scenery, and showed how the hard, unyielding granite mountains were reflected in the narrow conservatism of the inhabitants of this state.

A Sunday with the Shakers at Hancock, Pennsylvania, formed the basis for an interesting sketch of the rather fanatic and intellectually stultifying belief then so dominant in certain parts of Pennsylvania. She seemed to have the knack of describing just those details which added to the realism and interest of situations and conditions.

Her article on "Die Fälle des Ottawas" again gave her opportunity to satisfy her inclination toward historical nar-

rative; she dealt for the once not with the history of American colonization, but rather with a phase of the struggle between the English and French.

Quite naturally she was interested in the German women who had previously contributed to literature. The article on "Germany's Women Authors up to a Century Ago" was replete with much valuable information. Except in choice of material and facts, however, very little chance was given for original judgment in this paper.

As late as 1869, a year before her death, she once more found expression for her life-long interest in popular poetry in an essay entitled, "Die Kosaken und ihre historischen Lieder." In all of her work in the field of folk-song she showed the keenest appreciation and sympathy with the natural birth and unconscious development of poetry. While the interests of her life were varied and her efforts were invariably successful, her one supreme concern was still the study of popular poetry and its bearing on the culture of civilization. This last article, unimportant as it was, would have completed the cycle of activity in the study of the ballad and related forms which she had begun forty-four years before with the work on Serbian folk-lore, and would thus have formed the most appropriate close of a life dedicated chiefly to that subject.

The variety of material dealt with in these magazine articles is a tacit witness to the wide interests of Talvj and the comprehensive scope of her mind. She never manufactured literature, but wrote for her love of expression and investigation. This love for the work left an invariable mark upon the style of her production: an intimacy which attracted Germans and Americans alike.

One point of great interest,—probably of even greater interest to her American than her German readers,—was her detailed explanation of many names of places, rivers, and houses—names which at this remote period of time frequently seem to us so extremely odd as to defy explanation. All too often nowadays, if we cannot find an explanation for a name, we disregard all possibility of legendary or real sentiment which may have been attached to the name, and manufacture



a new name or appropriate one from another country. Yet a study of original names is tantamount to a study of history, for invariably, as Talvj often unconsciously demonstrated, the name is intimately connected with some bit of local or personal history. In the early years of this country personal element played an important rôle in the development of our political as well as our cultural history. It was by means of little details such as these, that she succeeded in making her papers very readable as well as valuable sources of information. The American need not dread to read her German articles, for the subject matter and her method of treatment have given them an incisive briskness which Americans claim to be lacking in ordinary German prose. Unfortunately the German articles are not accessible for general reading. However, she has drawn such splendid pictures of American life in the earlier years of the republic, in her book called "The Exiles", that a translation of the magazine articles is not warranted. The question of slavery is settled forever, and excellent and sound as her views of this vital question are, they fill their place in the literature on the subject in their original German form.

## CHAPTER VII.

*A Study of the Ossian Question with especial emphasis on Macpherson's Ossian.*

At the time when the cry "Back to Nature" was resounding through all Europe, when artificiality was giving way to spontaneity, when the emotions were assuming their place as a guide to right living, when the poetry of primitive peoples was being studied as a means to the revivifying of formal literature, when the vague and sentimental deism of Rousseau was swaying the minds of many, James Macpherson startled the literary world with his songs of Ossian. An interest in the Scottish Highlanders was already well established, for they seemed the exemplars of a natural mode of existence, unrestrained and unaffected by an artificial civilization. They were still children of nature, and a wild nature at that. In

order better to understand the situation that gave rise to Talvj's discussion, it will be well to give a brief survey of the so-called *Ossian* question, which has been more or less actively discussed and disputed for more than a century.

In 1759, when James Macpherson was at the Spa of Moffat in the capacity of a traveling tutor, he struck up an acquaintance with the author John Home. When Home expressed an interest in Highland poetry, Macpherson told him that he possessed several specimens of this traditional poetry. Not knowing a word of Gaelic, Home suggested that Macpherson choose one poem and turn it into English prose. Macpherson reluctantly consented, and chose for translation the "Death of Oscar" and several smaller poems. The delighted Home, showed them to several learned friends, and finally gave them to Dr. Hugh Blair, a famous theologian and literary critic. The latter, becoming enthusiastic, sent for Macpherson and begging him to translate all he had in his possession. Macpherson refused, saying that he could not do justice to the spirit of the poems and that he feared an unfavorable reception of them. Finally Blair prevailed upon him, and Macpherson translated some sixteen pieces. These were published in Edinburgh in 1760 under the title *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language*. Blair wrote the preface. The book was immediately successful. David Hume, Horace Walpole, William Shenstone, and Thomas Gray were all enthusiastic and eagerly demanded further details of Gaelic poetry. Blair was convinced that an old epic composed by Ossian, the blind son of Fingal, lay hidden somewhere, and wrote to London proposing that a subscription be raised to encourage Macpherson to make a search for it. Macpherson at first shrank from the proposed task, but in the end he could not resist Blair's zeal and enthusiasm, and when £100 was raised to defray expenses he accepted the commission. He knew what he was expected to find. In September of 1760 he began his journey, going through the shires of Perth and Argyle to Inverness, thence to Skye and the Hebrides, while later he extended his inves-

tigations to the coast of Argyleshire and the Island of Mull; picking up Mss. here and there, and committing to paper some oral recitations. In 1761 he returned to Edinburgh and, settling near Blair, began to translate. Ten months later his book, *Fingal*, appeared. Unfortunately, his Mss. as well as the copies of songs taken from oral recitation disappeared entirely, so that his own word, to which his personal morals did not give a very redoubtable backing, remained the only testament to the genuineness of his sources. His reference to what he had found was always ambiguous. Johnson, a member of the East India Company, and others urged him to strengthen his assertions by a publication of the originals, but in vain. Fear that a comparison would reveal the forged nature of much of his so-called translations, was the verdict of ninety-nine out of a hundred men. Suspicion as to their authenticity was fanned into a flame, and fierce disputes arose, in the course of which Samuel Johnson almost came to blows with Macpherson. Walpole's summary of the quarrel was that Macpherson was a bully and Johnson a brute. Hume, who at the beginning was one of the most ardent believers in Macpherson, changed his attitude to one of equally ardent condemnation.

While Macpherson is still believed to be an impostor, England does not now take Dr. Johnson's extreme view that every one of the so-called poems of Ossian was forged. That there was some genuine Gaelic ballad poetry was proved by the Highland Society of Edinburgh which sent a commission, in 1797, to inquire into the nature and authenticity of Ossianic literature. The result of this investigation was not very satisfactory for, as published in 1805, they reached the general conclusion that Ossian poetry of an impressive and striking character was to be found generally and in great abundance in the Highlands, but thus far no one had unearthed a poem similar in title or tenor to Macpherson's publication. It was impossible, the report decided, to determine how far Macpherson had taken liberties in supplying connections and adding to or shortening certain incidents, refining language, etc. Subsequent researches by Scottish antiquaries have had little better success. One manuscript of consequence was found,

*The Dean of Lismore's Book*, which was dated 1512 to 1529. This dispute over the authenticity of Ossian certainly had one great result in that it led directly to researches into the antiquities of the Kelts, Teutons, and Slavs.

So much, then, for a brief survey of the situation in England. In no land was *Ossian* greeted with such general and unbounded enthusiasm as in Germany. Wilhelm Scherer said, "Addison had already directed attention to the English ballad poetry and Klopstock, Gleim, and others had profited by his example. Bishop Percy's collection of English ballads was, therefore, received with general rapture in Germany, and the sentimental heroic poetry of Celtic origin, which Macpherson published under the name of Ossian was greeted with enthusiastic applause by a race of poets full of sentiment and war-like sympathies."<sup>188</sup> There were two reasons for this enthusiastic reception. In the first place, it had long been the belief that the Celtic and Germanic nations had one and the same origin, the Celtic, perhaps, being the more ancient; Ossian then was the long hoped for German Homer. In the second place, it seemed as if this ancient bard was truly the voice of nature, the representation of primitive man unadorned. Up to this time all that poetic feeling had to feed upon and to satisfy its longings,—aside from the classics, of course,—was the works of such writers as Boileau and Batteux. Two years before, in 1762, an incomplete translation of Shakespeare had come to Germany and had commanded immediate attention. It is a matter of small wonder, then, that when Ossian appeared in Germany in 1764, it received such an enthusiastic welcome, for it meant satisfaction for a long felt want.

The number of writers whose productions assumed an Ossianic hue, or the number of discussions and translations of Macpherson's work, would indicate the extent of the new Celtic interest. Translation followed translation, Talvj tells us in her introduction; Denis, Harold, Petersen, Rhode, Schubert, Jung, Huber, Stollberg, all claimed German origin for

<sup>188</sup> Scherer, *A History of German Literature*, translated by Conybeare, vol. ii, p. 56.

this bard of nature. Klopstock, Herder, and Goethe came forward as enthusiasts for him; indeed "the best and the noblest of the nation called him their favorite poet." Klopstock and Herder never doubted the authenticity of the poems. Herder, the father of the 'Volksposie' movement in Germany, based many of his theories in regard to popular poetry upon the songs of Ossian. He spoke of him as the "man I have sought." Klopstock in his enthusiasm cried out, "Thou, too, Ossian, wert swallowed up in oblivion; but thou hast been restored to thy position; behold thee now before us, the equal and challenger of Homer the Greek."<sup>130</sup> Goethe, in his first glow of appreciation derived great inspiration from the songs for his *Werthers Leiden*, but in his later years, in the light of scientific investigation of Germany's own past, which destroyed the old belief in a mutual origin of the Celtic and Germanic nations, he became thoroughly convinced that these songs were not genuine.

The enthusiasm did not stop in Germany, for Italy, Spain, France, and even Poland and Holland had their eras of Ossianic literature. In the meantime the dispute raged blindly in England. From the controversy there, the seed of suspicion was slowly and surely carried across the waters to the continent, and in turn new disputes and investigations arose which finally worked against the popularity of Ossian as a piece of original literature. Within a short time it was generally accepted that Macpherson had not translated the songs of Ossian but had cleverly, and, it must be admitted, with considerable genius, collected and arbitrarily fitted together a number of unrelated short fragments. To the whole he had imparted the tone and effect of a connected narrative. Macpherson's great and unpardonable sin, as Talvj saw it, lay not in the publication of his *Ossian*, but in imposing himself upon the public as a translator instead of an author. As the latter, considering the tendency of his mind, he might have occupied a most honorable and significant position in the history of literature, for as Saintsbury said, "The imposture of Macpherson is more interesting as a matter of tendency than of

<sup>130</sup> Moulton, *Library of Literary Criticism*, vol. iv.

essence. The world wanted romance; it wanted the Celtic vague."<sup>137</sup>

During the same year in which Talvj's *Die Unächtheit der Lieder Ossians und des Macpherson'schen Ossian insbesondere* was published, her *Charakteristik der Volkslieder* also appeared; whether written earlier or later is of small moment. From that part of the *Charakteristik* dealing with Scottish folklore we realize how rich she considered the field of Scottish poetry. This interest, together with her unquenchable thirst for truth, brought into play both the knowledge she had gained from a study of the German interpretation of the question and from a study of the English. This included all the research that had been going on since 1797, as was evident from the sources she cited in her discussion.

In the manner characteristic of her studies in popular poetry, Talvj introduced her *Ossian* discussion by giving her readers an historical survey of the primeval period in Scotland, and of Scotland's early relations with Ireland. The relation between these countries, she said, became closer by intermarriage and education until, as early as the thirteenth century, the Irish language changed from a court language into a common language among the inhabitants of the Scottish lowlands. The Gaelic remained in the mountains and on the islands.

Following the historical background was a brief resumé of the quarrel, beginning with Hume's first suspicions aroused immediately upon the publication of *Ossian* in 1760 and 1761; Talvj next presented her German readers with arguments against the antiquity of Macpherson's Ossianic poetry. She admitted the presence of anachronisms in popular poetry, due to the fact that it was the product of various times and various authors, but never, she declared, could the anachronisms of an historical personage who sang of events either immediate, recent or contemporary, be justified. The *Ossian* of the third century certainly must have known that his father was not Cuchullin's contemporary, for Cuchullin died in the second century. He must have known also that neither in Scot-

<sup>137</sup> *Social England*, vol. v, p. 262.

land nor Ireland were there "castles and moss covered towers"<sup>138</sup> in the third century. Stone came into general use only shortly before the English invasion in the twelfth century. These and other anachronisms, according to Talvj, made it seem almost impossible that Macpherson's Ossian should ever have been looked upon as possessing historical accuracy.

Without denying verbal transmission of legend and history, Talvj pointed out that the transmission of some twenty thousand lines, together with the main facts in the history of five generations, became a second weighty argument against the genuineness of the work.

A third argument was the question of the language itself. Some of the greatest Gaelic and Irish scholars before Macpherson had been unable to interpret the Erse dialect, and Macpherson did not profess to be a great scholar. To attempt to prove the genuineness of the songs of Ossian by means of manuscripts found in recent centuries was to deny the constant flux of language from one period to another. "Traditional folk-songs," said Talvj, "are in this sense comparable to ships, which are ever being repaired with new wood, until in the end scarcely a single part in them is exactly the same as it was originally."<sup>139</sup> To pick out the original from the interpolations was the work of an expert philologist; and Macpherson himself said that it was very difficult for him, on many occasions, to translate the Gaelic. Macpherson's Ossianic manuscript, what there was of it, was in modern Gaelic, and not in the Gaelic of the third century. Furthermore, Macpherson's Ossianic manuscripts, when compared with productions of the earliest times, showed clearly that both content and form were not what they purported to be. The verse of the undisputed MSS. seemed uniformly to consist of fifteen to sixteen syllables, with a caesura in the middle, and with the first division rhyming with the last; the verse of Macpherson's original songs, however, occurred nowhere in the oldest historical Gaelic documents. The variance in content was equally obvious.

<sup>138</sup> Talvj, *Ossian*, p. 48.

<sup>139</sup> Talvj, *Ossian*, p. 54.

Talvj did not attempt to disprove that Finn remained for centuries the central figure of Gaelic legend. "Just as Arthur and his round-table for the Britons and later for all the western peoples, Dietrich and his heroes for the Germans, Charlemagne and his peers for the Franks and Spaniards, Wladimir and his 'Bojaren,' Lasar and his 'Woiwoden' for the Russians and Servians, Dschanger and his twelve warriors for the Kalmucks, Finn and his followers remained for the Gaels the central point of the great cycle of legend which imbedded itself, with all its peculiarities, in the various localities of the country."<sup>140</sup>

The original Irish Ossian documents displayed a language which was always simple; similies and metaphors were not frequent. The action as well as the language of Macpherson's *Ossian* was refined to such an extent that even the superficial student of popular legend realized an unnatural nicety. The heroes in the original Ossian fragments were quite as noble as those of Macpherson, even if they were less shadowy and more the creatures of human passions; the women were quite as beautiful and charming, even if less refined and polished. The characters of the original bore the stamp of their time. "Folklore is often rough and harsh, but it is always fresh, direct, sensual, and artistic," said Talvj, and for this very reason the sublime and pure speech, the commanding character of Macpherson's *Ossian* argued against its genuineness.

The Highlanders were a credulous people and intensely proud of their nation. This patriotism had blinded them to the fact that the home of Ossian was Ireland. There was scarcely a song found among the Highlands that did not have its original counterpart, written or traditional, somewhere in Ireland. In earlier years, it was realized that, from a literary viewpoint, Scotland was entirely dependent upon Ireland. If a Gael wanted to learn more than warfare, he went to Ireland, where, even amid war and bloodshed science flourished in the convents and monasteries. After the English invasion it is not at all improbable that the Scotch attendants of the Irish princes carried the songs back to their homes.

<sup>140</sup> Talvj, *Ossian*, p. 67.



For the sake of argument Talvj granted that Macpherson might have possessed some old Erse manuscripts that served him as originals. But with this supposition four questions arose at once: Were the manuscripts really from a single period of antiquity? Was the language Erse? Was it Ossianic poetry? Was Macpherson able to decipher it? Nothing in the nature of this kind of manuscript was found among his papers. A repeated reference, however, was made to a Gaelic manuscript in the possession of the family of Clanronald. It was said that Macpherson secured this manuscript, but what developed from it was not known. All Highland poetical composition of certain periods was written in Irish Gaelic. The folksingers imitated this as best they could in dialect. The Erse language was regarded as a dialect of the Irish-Gaelic. As far as Talvj could discover it had never been written or printed prior to 1754, when a minister by the name of Macfarlane used the Erse in a popular appeal. With the Reformation the Highland's dependence on Ireland ceased, and in 1684 a Gaelic version of the Psalms was made in Scotland, Latin letters being used. And so, if Macpherson possessed old manuscripts these would have been Irish-Gaelic. He himself admitted once that he could not read an Irish manuscript of the fourteenth century which was shown to him; yet according to O'Reilly it was not unusual for Irish scholars of even slight training to decipher fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts.

From these arguments against the possibility that Macpherson had been a translator of Gaelic, Talvj proceeded to prove that in all probability he was himself the clever author of Ossian. Undoubtedly, at first, he had no idea of going so far with the work as he did. Choosing the third century as the background in which to give his fancy free rein, was a clever method of arousing the attention of the public to extraordinary themes. Another ingenious stroke of Macpherson's was that he gave to all the poems of his first publication an apparent authenticity, as for example in the case of his great epic *Fingal*. This was based on the "Song of Magnus the Great." His "Schlacht von Lora" was based on "Ergons Landung" etc. In his second publication, however, very few if any had any basis of author-

ity. The success of the first volume probably made him feel that a second would be quite as generally accepted, on the reputation of the first, even if he did not take the added precaution of giving it an authentic basis.

Literary forgery such as Macpherson's was not at all an unheard-of thing in England. Lauder before Macpherson, and Chatterton, contemporary with him, were both forgers. The former made Latin verses which he gave to the public as the original of Milton. The latter composed poems which for a time he made the public believe to be productions of the fifteenth century. But, said Talvj, "Such an artistic assertion, such hoods, lies, misrepresentations, and unfounded assertions, such a hodge-podge of historical events, had never before appeared in the history of any land, and this it is which despite all his fame as a poetic genius will ever be the constant reproof to Macpherson."<sup>141</sup>

In one very important point Macpherson was not farsighted enough in his cleverness; he left out the element of religion almost completely. In all of the Ossianic poetry of both Ireland and Scotland there is a great intermixture of religious feeling, even of Christian religion; yet in substitution for it he introduced only a species of mythology of the supernatural. Whatever critical or general approbation was given to this spirit world was a clear tribute to Macpherson's genius, for not a hint of it was discernible in the Gaelic folk-songs.

The history of how, in the face of an unceasing insistence upon the publication of the original documents, Macpherson still delayed, making excuse after excuse until finally, when he did present them, the critics felt firmly convinced that they were Gaelic translations of his own English, and poor translations at that, is known to all who followed this question with any degree of thoroughness. Sir Walter Scott, among many others, had no doubt whatever that Macpherson himself had translated his own English, making good use of his innate feeling for the form and style of the old Scotch bards. "I am compelled to admit," he said, "that incalculably the greater part of the English *Ossian* must be ascribed to Macpherson him-

<sup>141</sup> Talvj, *Ossian*, p. 110.

self, and that the whole introduction, the notes, etc., are an absolute tissue of forgeries."<sup>142</sup> "In the translation of Homer," he again remarked, "he lost his advantage . . . . A tartan plaid did not fit his old Greek friend."<sup>143</sup> The success of his *Ossian* misled him into believing that he could master the style of Homer; he was a man whom talent led astray.

In closing her discussion, Talvj presented a concise account of Gaelic folklore in Scotland in her own time. She pointed out that, as such, it was fast disappearing, and unless the most strenuous effort were made to preserve what fragments were yet available, this treasure of song and poetry would be irrevocably lost like the great mass of primitive folklore had been.

This, then, was the contribution which Talvj made to the discussion concerning the authenticity of Macpherson's *Ossian*. No one in England or Germany was more qualified to end the dispute; for since the time of Herder no scholar had possessed so comprehensive and deep a knowledge of folksong as she, not even Wilhelm Grimm. The disputes in Great Britain had become mere sectional squabbles with England on one side, entirely ignorant of the nature of the *Volklied*, and Scotland on the other, entirely carried away by a blind and false patriotism. Lacking scientific basis for the arguments, these squabbles became so petty and involved that their solution seemed almost impossible. At this juncture, viewing the whole situation calmly and without bias, in the light of the discovery of Germany's own past, and of the new vision revealed by the old Norse folklore and, what is even more significant, in the light of the knowledge which she herself had brought before the world by unearthing the very springs of a living poetry among the Slavic nations, Talvj took up the discussion. The result of her work was a triumph not only for her but for truth, for the disputes in both England and Germany came to an end. It is only within very recent years that Saunders and Smart have again taken up the question. But a careful investigation of their work merely reveals the fact that as early as 1840

<sup>142</sup> Lockhart, *Life of Scott*.

<sup>143</sup> Talvj, *Ossian*, p. 110.

Talvj had access to practically all of the material which is to be obtained even at the present day; and she used it more scientifically.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Her Novels.*

In the early part of the eighteenth century questions of the relation of life to moral standards became objects of popular consideration, and a new interest awoke in everyday existence. Those who had once attended merely to external circumstances in human affairs came more and more to investigate the inner thoughts and feelings of man. Out of this subjective tendency of the age was evolved a new psychology and a new morality. In the family, as Richardson showed in his *Pamela*, lay new motivations and new conflicts; and problems of the family are a prominent, if not a dominant, factor in literature to the present day. The women characters lost their stereotyped character and became, according to David Swing,<sup>144</sup> the white ribbon that binds together the truths gathered in the fields of science, religion, and politics. This Talvj illustrated in her *Heloise*.

The tendency to introspection led, as we know, to the melancholy romance of passion of which Goethe's *Werthers Leiden* was the foremost example. The whole period is sometimes characterized as the '*Empfindsame Werther-Zeitalter*'.<sup>145</sup> This introspection was a marked characteristic in Talvj's novels and short stories, whose common theme was a sensitive heart brought into conflict with the rough world, and frequently overcome by the struggle. This romantic tone was maintained even in her last novel, *Fünfzehn Jahre*, (1868) in which she developed a nature almost antipodally removed from the realistic creations of the later nineteenth century. Again and again, especially in her short stories, her characters were embodiments of that vagrant, self-centered romanticism which, following its own free inclinations, wandered inevitably into

<sup>144</sup> *Modern Eloquence*, vol. ix.

<sup>145</sup> *Mielke*.

wrong paths. Through the favor of external circumstances conjoined often with the pure love of a good woman, they were brought back from the very brink of self-destruction into the sane, well-ordered atmosphere of practical activity from which they had wandered. This was especially shown in *Life's Discipline*, *Ein Bild aus seiner Zeit*, *Der Lauf der Welt*, and others. In *Das vergebliche Opfer* the development was entirely subjective, and in every way displayed the influence of romanticism.

It is significant that out of eleven productions, generally classed as novels, eight were novelets, that form of German narration which, while corresponding in many respects to the English short story, in many others stands midway between it and the novel. As a literary form it was undoubtedly much better calculated to appeal to the popular taste than the German *Roman*, but whether Talvj consciously adopted it for this reason or not, is unknown. At any rate, she was not a novel writer in the ordinary sense of the word 'novel'; while as a writer of sketches, especially those with a romantic coloring, she was decidedly successful. The following quotation from a New York newspaper of 1851 expresses the sentiment I have in mind in regard to her works in this field: "The tales of Talvj will not charm the simpering Miss of the boarding school. They will be pronounced uninteresting in the drawing room of fashion. But in the domestic circle, where intellect is admired and purity is revered, where knowledge and virtue are sought in the book that is to entertain the family group, these truthful tales of the human heart will be more than welcomed as guests, will be loved as friends." The names of the characters in Talvj's books will undoubtedly be forgotten by her readers, as will the characters themselves, but the moral will continue to exist either as an example or as a warning. The tragedy of life, as she showed us, lies not within the realm of the tangible, but rather within that of the spirit. Jealousy played an important part in her representations of life, sometimes prevailing, sometimes vanquished by reason and by the steadfastness of a woman's devotion,—the latter a prominent element in almost all of her works of this nature.

All of her novels were written in German; four, at least, have been translated into English. The fact that *Heloise* passed through three English editions in one year testified strongly to the general acceptance of her work by American readers. *Die Auswanderer* also had several English editions, appearing first under the title of *The Exiles*, and later as *Woodhill*. It would of course have been preposterous to expect that her works, psychological as they were, should attain great popularity; and if popularity be measured by circulation, her novels fell far short of it. Although lacking a wide appeal, they possess a depth and truth in the portrayal of characters and situations which should insure for them a lasting existence in literature. One of the New York papers in speaking of her works said, "They possess a classic simplicity of style and clearness, and of refinement of presentation. They are true pearls of literature in the field of novel writing."<sup>146</sup>

Her novels fall into four divisions. In the first are six short tales which her daughter, Mary, published after Talvj's death, under the title of *Gesammelte Novellen* and two, *Maria Barcozzy* and *Kurmark und Kaukasus*, which I was unable to find. The second division is represented by *Heloise*, the third by *Fünfzehn Jahre* and the fourth by her most important novel, *Die Auswanderer*. I shall discuss them in this order, with especial emphasis on the last.

The tales contained in the book, *Gesammelte Novellen*, represented, in a certain measure, the beginning and the end of a long literary career. Nearly a half century elapsed between the first story, "Die Rache," written in 1820, and the last, "Ein Bild aus seiner Zeit," written in 1868. The author herself realized that several of the earlier ones bore, too plainly, the stamp of youth, and intended to reconstruct them; but death overtook her before she accomplished this task.

The characters, as Talvj herself said, are "not ideal characters, such as the heart creates out of immature poetic fancy; they are human beings whom I portray—truly human in their sins and their virtues. The reader will seldom wonder about

<sup>146</sup> *New Yorker Belletristisches Journal*.

them, but perhaps he will sympathize with them and love them. It is not the force of an exterior fate which will attract the reader's attention for a time; their peculiar characteristics, their feelings, their reason, their hatred and their love, their insight and their deceptions, these traits form the attractive features. Not external but internal necessity leads the characters on to their happiness, or their misery." This last sentence particularly expresses the whole underlying thought of her stories—"in each human breast rests the power over one's own destiny."

Of all her novels *Die Auswanderer* was perhaps of greatest interest to her American readers, because it dealt with America and Americans. Before entering upon a discussion it may be well to consider briefly certain works of another author which were similar in nature to Talvj's *Die Auswanderer*. As early as 1828 Charles Sealsfield saw the influence of European politics upon America and expressed this in *The Americans as They Are*. During the year 1823 he made an extended trip through the southern and western parts of the United States. In 1824 he was active in Jackson's campaign for the presidency; and in 1825 he took part in the Harrisburg convention, whose proceedings he later depicted vividly. In 1825 he made another trip south, passing through parts of Illinois and Indiana on his way to New Orleans. The two books which were the outgrowth of this tour, the one just mentioned and *Lebensbilder in der westlichen Hemisphäre*, are exceedingly valuable as cultural-historical studies.<sup>147</sup> His works are among the few American historical novels that are true to life, because written by one unrestrained by prejudice or political or social connection. He gave a photograph of Americanism in all its details, national and moral, public and private, spiritual and material, religious and political. Until the beginning of the fifties his books were eagerly read. With the establishment of the Republican party a great change in attitude toward the past swept over the whole

<sup>147</sup> Sealsfield was the founder of a school of romance in German literature, known as the "Exotische Culturroman". This school gave great impetus to realism in Germany and may be considered a stepping stone to the "Zeitroman" of Gutzkow. See *Americana Germania*, vol. i.

country, and America began to forget her own origin. Now the importance of a past culture and history is being recognized more and more, and these early pictures of Americans and American life are being brought forth for reconsideration.

Just at the time when the political and social change of the early fifties began to sweep over the country, we see a rival to Sealsfield in Talvj. There are no other novelists of this period worthy of being classed with these two writers. Both were German, yet both loved America impartially. Franz von Löher placed Talvj above Sealsfield, despite a statement that Sealsfield was the "greatest American stylist." "No one," said Löher, "has ever penetrated so deeply into the real American thought and feeling, which contain just as much of the bizarre as of the charming." To him Sealsfield's portrayals seem overdrawn and clouded in comparison with Talvj's clear, naive truth. This statement is slightly unfair, inasmuch as the subject matter is treated from a different viewpoint. Talvj penetrated into the secret recesses of American thought; Sealsfield observed more superficially, and portrayed what he saw. The two supplement each other, and together supply a unique contribution to American literature. Some other writers on phases of this early life are Buckingham, Dwight, Thwaite, Trollope, Martineau and Margaret Fuller, but none of them have given us such vivid pictures as Sealsfield and Talvj. Their descriptions are in the nature of impressions gained through travel, and a reading of them gives one a feeling of better acquaintance with his American ancestors, and an insight into the existence of forces working for or against a national culture. In this Talvj succeeded better than Sealsfield, and I would, therefore, place her first in this particular field of American literature.

Let us turn now to a consideration of *Die Auswanderer*, which appeared in 1852. Judged as a connected tale, it has many faults of technique; but as a series of sketches it is above criticism. Talvj would have us consider it in this light, for in her introduction she said: "I do not aim to give a full picture of North America to my readers, but rather only detached pictures out of American life, as they have appeared to



me during the experience of many years."<sup>148</sup> She purposely omitted politics, for in her estimation they were outside of the sphere of a true woman. Some of the characters are drawn so vividly and with such startling adherence to reality that they seem to be real personages. To those, however, who voice this impression she answers that individual truth is not always personal truth. None of the characters are portrayals of definite persons, none of the situations are descriptions of actual occurrences. A calm quiet tone pervades her scenes. Even sketches which picture intense moments of pain and suffering are characterized by quietness and restraint.

A brief consideration of the beginning of the story will suffice to show the trend of the book and to suggest its development. A wealthy German girl, an orphan, comes of age and inherits her property. In an interview with her guardian, she announces her intention of proceeding at once to America with her lover, Franz Hubert. She has succeeded in obtaining Hubert's release from prison, where he had been thrown for a political offense, only on condition that they should emigrate to the United States.<sup>149</sup> Neither Hubert nor Klothilde, the heroine, are temperamentally fitted for the trials and hardships to be encountered in settling in a new country. Types of the highest culture, they little realize what it will mean to live the life of a pioneer in the midst of primitive conditions. Klothilde's guardian, who is himself desirous of marrying her, uses all his power to dissuade her from taking this step, but in vain. She joins her lover at Bremen, expecting to be married before stepping upon the ship. But as the ship in which they are to sail for America is on the point of departure and all is hurry and bustle, the lovers have no time for the marriage service, for Klothilde will not rush through the sacred ceremony as one rushes through a meal while the coach waits at the door. As there is no pastor on board, they are obliged to postpone the ceremony until they reach the New World. The destination of the voyage is New Orleans. When near the coast of Florida the ship takes fire and nearly all on board

<sup>148</sup> Talvj, *Die Auswanderer*, Vorwort.

<sup>149</sup> Talvj, *The Exiles*, chap. vi.

perish, either in the burning vessel, or through the sinking of the overcrowded row boats. Only one boatload of passengers escapes, and, after being driven about on the ocean for days, with tortures beyond human endurance, it reaches the shores of Florida. Klothilde is among the rescued. Hubert would have been also, but at the last moment he had rushed back to secure Klothilde's property, and when he returned the boat was crowded. Insane with fear and excitement, one of the men already in the boat beats him back with an oar, and Klothilde sees him disappear into the gaping jaws of a huge wave. The boat gains the land with its occupants more dead than alive. Alonzo Castleton, the planter to whose home Klothilde is carried, gives her hospitality and care during a terrible illness of three months, during which a kind Providence robs her of consciousness. After her recovery she realizes the necessity of supporting herself. All of her property has been sacrificed; the house in New York, through which her money had been sent to America, has failed and she is penniless. Through Alonzo, she obtains a situation as teacher of German and music in a private family at Charleston. The household scenes here are admirably drawn, and the two sisters, Virginia and Sarah, are especially well done. Virginia's fiery Spanish blood makes her daring enough to run off with an adventurer, to bid defiance to her relatives, and outwit the keenest of them. In the pages of an undisguised romance, the part Virginia's temperament plays in uniting Klothilde and the miraculously saved Hubert would be acceptable; but the boldness with which the author binds together the threads of the theme, constitute the weakness of the work as a novel.

The first volume of the story ends with Klothilde's recognition of Hubert and her subsequent marriage to him. The second volume is taken up largely with their trials and difficulties in making a home of their own. Klothilde and Hubert have many things to tell each other, and it is in these conversations that the author so skillfully works in her German ideals. At last the two are settled at Woodhill, a beautiful New England village. Here, on the very eve of Klothilde's becoming a mother, Hubert is ruthlessly snatched from her,

the victim of a duel which is the outgrowth of jealousy caused by his former relations with Virginia. The young mother cannot withstand the shock of a second parting and dies.

One of the most successful portions of the book deals with Klothilde's life with the Castletons. Sarah is the exact opposite of her dashing sister. She is pious, after a fashion dear to the heart of Cotton Mather, with whom, indeed, she is able to claim relationship. Her library is thus described: "In the middle of the plain white marble mantel-piece lay an enormous Bible, bound in velvet and gold, and concentrating in its outer garment, as it were, all the splendor which otherwise was carefully avoided in the whole room; on both sides of this stood, in tasteful and regular groups, some smaller books, mostly memoirs of pious missionaries, Doddridge's *Rise and Progress*, Hannah More's *Practical Piety*, Melville's *Bible Thoughts*, and several other books of the kind. On the toilet table lay another Bible, smaller in size and plainer in dress. This was obviously meant for reading, the large one only to reverence."<sup>152</sup> Almost the first question Sarah puts to Klothilde is, "How many hours daily do you spend in prayer, Miss Osten?" "I would wish you," she continued, "to look upon this humble chamber as the haven to which the Lord has brought you to learn to praise his Almighty name even for the storms by which he has shattered the slight vessel of your earthly happiness." All of her conversation is in this strain, sincere beyond all doubt, but stamped by the narrowness of formal orthodoxy. The following excerpt shows the lifelessness of such a faith: "Klothilde approached Sarah's table, and opened the Bible at the mark which she had left in it. She wished to see what part of the Holy Scriptures had exerted such a strangely soothing influence over her, after her heart had just been pained by her conversation about her sister's dangerous course, her father's indifference, and the early loss of her mother. She saw with astonishment that Sarah had just been reading the twelfth chapter of Joshua, the record of the great warrior's victory, which contains a topographical description of the

conquered land and the names of the thirty-one vanquished Kings. And yet in reading it, she looked as attentive as if she were reading the Sermon on the Mount, or some other immediate outpouring of the Spirit. Klothilde did not know that Sarah made it a rule to read the Bible through in order, from beginning to end, at her morning and evening devotions, and only at other times allowed her heart the luxury of drinking in its favorite portions. And are there not among her brethren in the church many most estimable families, where the genealogies and the reports of the bloodiest atrocities of the degenerate people of God, serve just as much for an introduction to family prayer as other parts of the Bible, because it might appear like sinfully despising the Word of God to pass over these and certain other portions, at the readings of which the mistress of the house, at least, would prefer not to have her daughters and young maid-servants."

Sarah was so overwhelmingly pious that, when difficulty occurred in getting help, she thought it right to pray that God would send them "a very good servant-girl." She knew a lady who prayed for an excellent girl, and "lo and behold! the next morning the Lord sent her an uncommonly able girl from New Hampshire." This girl was a real blessing in the house. She cooked, baked excellent bread, washed and ironed, helped wash and dress the children, and took two of them to church with her." But her pious mistress was not able to keep her, for a still more pious lady offered her a quarter of a dollar a week more!

Another admirable bit of satire in character portrayal is contained in the following: "Besides the question about the restoration of the Jews, Mrs. Gardiner had another favorite subject, upon which she liked to turn the conversation and gather different opinions. It was this: What had become of the ten lost tribes of Israel? Mrs. Weller, with whom she often used to discuss the subject, adhered firmly to the old view, that they are to be found in the North American Indians. But for Mrs. Gardiner, who had inherited from her ancestor, the celebrated Dr. Cotton Mather, an unconquerable repugnance to the filthy, stiff-necked race of Indians, it being, as it were,

in her blood, this origin was far too good for them, and although she did not acknowledge it, she was inwardly much more inclined to put faith in the old theory which Hubbard, the historian mentions as a possible one, namely that this brood was begotten by Satan himself, during his banishment, when he took a couple of witches with him for company. The ten lost tribes, she believed with other learned persons, to have been discovered in Persia among the Nestorians, or rather among the ancient Chaldeans, for she was of the firm opinion that these two nations were one and the same, and could not refrain from some doubts of the Orthodoxy of those scholars who rejected this arbitrary supposition . . . . There was another point in which the two ladies differed that threatened sometimes to have more serious consequences. It was the question whether the Sabbath commenced on Sunday at sunrise or on Saturday at Sunset."<sup>150</sup>

Mrs. Weller, who was born in Connecticut, was of the latter opinion, so that in her home the housework of the week had to be finished before sunset on Saturday—a requirement which, in view of the demands of her four children, and the lack of help, often wrought upon her a considerable hardship. It was the duty of the eldest little daughter to gather the children's toys and lock them up in the cupboard until Monday morning. Even the two-year old baby dared not murmur. If it were winter they might listen to the parents' stories of their own childhood and at times interrupt them with laughter or with questions. This description is continued in a most attractive way. With others, it portrays a domestic life piteously misled by the narrow teachings of a senseless orthodoxy.

The quiet home scenes in Richard Castleton's home suddenly change into a picture of terrible storm. Virginia, growing more and more restless and irritable under the secret of her love, vents her ill humor on her slave, Phyllis. With malice in her heart, the latter dashes to pieces the picture of her mother, Virginia's dearest treasure. The subsequent whipping

<sup>150</sup> Talvj, *The Exiles*, chap. x, part 1.

of the slave and the successful attempt to bribe her back into good humor by gratifying a material desire, give Talvj a chance to express her views upon the slavery question. "Klothilde sighed deeply. For the first time she saw clearly how terrible a curse the condition of slavery was to mankind. Abuse of the body, infringement of personal liberty, exorbitant demands of work—what are all these compared with the degradation of one's finer sensibilities, with the humiliation of self-respect, with the very deadening of all desire to be free and masters of one's own soul."

Talvj did not approve of the methods of many of the abolition leaders, but this did not mean she opposed abolition. Her attitude is clearly brought out in this story of *The Exiles*. Nothing in Uncle Tom's Cabin had a greater abolitionist tendency than many of her views expressed by Bergmann. But her method was altogether innocent of the antagonistic sting which she so severely condemned in others.

Another great movement which she did not overlook was the emancipation of woman. In one of Klothilde's conversations with Mrs. Gardiner she answers, in Goethe's spirit the question, "What language, Miss Osten, do you think was first spoken in the world?" "I have no idea, such learned investigations we German women gladly leave to our philological students." The American woman was clamoring for an equal position with men not only in educational but in political matters as well. Hubert's reply to Klothilde's complaint over an act of discourtesy well deserves a repetition in the twentieth century—"It may be, at least I know, her behavior made it right for me to keep my seat undisturbed." The movement was then in its earliest stages, and was calling forth little more than ridicule.

Both Sealsfield and Talvj were struck by the emptiness of the "Young Ladies' Seminary" type of education. Talvj said: "The advantage of a regular school education is recognized among all classes of society to such an extent that the young girls whose instruction in youth was necessarily neglected because of the poverty of the parents, often engage in domestic

service for some years, in order to get a little money with which to attend a 'Young Ladies' Academy' for one or two years.<sup>151</sup> And thus they obtain a higher education!" Frequently, as she pointed out, the result was arrogance on the part of the daughter which often inspired a refusal to recognize her ignorant mother; or, on the other hand, the mother's empty pride in her daughter's wonderful achievements. Sealsfield said about the same subject: "Now to make a passing remark, this is the manner and fashion in which our mushroom aristocracy is formed. A couple of daughters are sent to a fashionable school. On their return home, they attract with their companions a few dozen young coxcombs, and their daughters' glory naturally reflects on the good papa and the dear mamma."<sup>152</sup>

Where Sealsfield remarked upon the emphasis placed on money, Talvj remarked upon that placed on birth. She said: "The Germans notice with a secret smile what immeasurable worth this son of a democratic republic places upon noble origin and family relationship. A longer residence in America should teach them that no nation on earth places more value on excellent birth and bonds of relationship than the democratic Americans."<sup>153</sup> Sealsfield, on the other hand, said: "No nation in the universe has so stiff an appearance as ours, and especially our good families; for thank Heavens! our middling classes, the real nation, know nothing of it. But our aristocracy—that is, those who would like to be it—if it depended on them our popular independence would soon be destroyed. The man who has a hundred thousand dollars will not condescend to look at one who has fifty thousand, and the latter is as arrogant toward him who has only ten thousand. You are just as respectable as you are heavy."<sup>154</sup>

Conditions in America in regard to music, art, poetry, and religion were impartially considered by her, not as inviting superficial criticism, but as one offering explanation for

<sup>151</sup> Talvj, *The Exiles*, chap. iv, part 2.

<sup>152</sup> Sealsfield, *Sketches of American Society*, p. 7.

<sup>153</sup> Talvj, *The Exiles*, chap. iv, part 2.

<sup>154</sup> Sealsfield, *Sketches of American Society*, p. 74.

the slow advance of general refinement. The practical trend of American affairs, the material interests of the whole nation, made the American spirit less ready to receive the influences of culture than the German. Did Francke have a material motive in founding his orphans' asylum in Halle? Have the great academies of science and art in Germany been evolved out of worldly motives? And yet Talvj doubted this general opinion, for she did not feel that a painting need be less beautiful when painted to fulfill an order than if produced by inner feeling. The development of art and literature in America was hindered, in part, she said, by national self-love, which made the country wish to stand in the front rank and dictate to her neighbors, and partly by the absence of true criticism. A lack of discrimination and a senseless enthusiasm for everything written crippled and retarded the development of poetry. Architecture in America already showed great promise, which Talvj recognized and praised. She believed, however, that speculative philosophy, so fertile in Europe, could never become national in America. A group in Boston were pursuing it under the form of Transcendentalism, but for philosophy to be popular nationally seemed to her out of the question. It was not practical, not useful—the great slogan of the American nation. And, said Talvj, "It lies in the very nature of things that a democratic republic in itself cannot be an especial promotor of the fine arts and science . . . . but this will not prevent the true genius blazing a path for himself."<sup>155</sup>

With such descriptions and observations Talvj wove a story of charm and interest. Truth to life, clearly reflective of actual experience, is so evident that one must needs believe in the character without having seen any even faintly similar. Her pictures are not merely hard, accurate reproductions; they are photographs, enriched and vitalized by feeling and sentiment. The power of her keen observation and her individuality of expression are constantly seen. Her style is simple and unstudied, clear and readable.

<sup>155</sup> Talvj, *The Exiles*, chap. iv, part 2.



## CONCLUSION.

As one considers the works of Talvj in their entirety, a very simple and logical division suggests itself, namely: scientific and aesthetic. Under the latter head may be grouped her poetry, comparatively insignificant in bulk, and her novels; under the former all her other writings, for the most part either purely historical, or—to use a term especially applicable to her work in popular poetry—cultural historical.

For a young nation, lacking a long period of historical development, it is not hard to realize how significant a really scientific treatment of the events of early settlement was. Mute evidence to the fact that previous to the Revolution America possessed practically no historical literature is furnished by the poverty of material covering this period. The long chronicles and records of events and dates cannot be viewed as the organized product of historical research, and, as has been pointed out in a previous chapter, their very authenticity is doubtful. Into a nation lacking historical sense, Talvj came as the representative of a country where the historical viewpoint was paramount. She had absorbed the influence of that whole period in which the present, gropingly trying to bring itself into communication with the classical past, discovered that changed and progressive condition of life made a union with bygone ages impossible, and thus became conscious of a brilliant future. The time was instinct with a desire to embrace the whole cycle of development and the culmination of this desire was the historical viewpoint. In her whole historical method we may trace the influence of Herder's and Humboldt's views concerning history. I mention the names of these two authors, because Herder's view of history was very thoroughly developed by Humboldt, especially in the latter's essay *Ueber die Aufgabe eines Geschichtsschreibers*. Herder regarded the whole development of the world as historical. Lamprecht has expressed this point of view very well when he says, "As the Greeks developed art, the Romans law, so each nation in turn will develop other sides of life until the cycle of culture is complete and God's purpose is accom-

plished."<sup>186</sup> With this idea as a basis, Humboldt defined the task of the historian as representing, simply and sincerely, what had happened. The events of the past are evident to our senses, through their results, only in part; the rest must be arrived at by a process of analysis and reasoning. What appears is dissociated, out of its proper relation, and isolated; the real truth of what has happened rests upon the discovery of these invisible parts which, joined with the visible, will make the whole apparent and tangible. And this work of juncture, said Humboldt, was the task of the historian. That Talvj derived much help and inspiration from both of these great representatives of German culture is evidenced by her effort to act upon this very idea. This is especially well illustrated in the last chapter of her history. From the saliency of resulting events we appreciate more clearly that causes were hidden during this period of unrest at the close of the seventeenth century. Her success in combining the scattered facts of chance records into a related unity, thereby achieving a communication in which Humboldt says the historian is like the poet, in my judgment, makes Talvj's treatment of this phase of American history stand out conspicuously above that of any of her contemporaries. Her tracing of the inner history of religious evolutions, for example, shows how an idea strove and grew until it won for itself an existence in reality. Her work here is a sound illustration of Humboldt's principles that in all that happens there rules an underlying idea not immediately perceivable, but clearly recognizable in the occurrences. Again, in her *History of John Smith*, she embodies both Herder's and Humboldt's belief, that the spirit of humanity is the spirit of the world. By making her *History of John Smith* an intensive study of the History of Virginia she showed how great individuals are more likely to be the results of great political movements than the causes of them. She thus, of course, anticipated a method of historical presentation which today is very popular.

Turning now to the consideration of the other sphere of her scientific writing, her books upon folk lore, we see her

<sup>186</sup> Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. viii, p. 323.

again embodying the idea of the three great scholars, Herder, Goethe and Grimm. Herder's aim was to penetrate to the innermost nature of man by a study of his folk songs. His interest was not the interest of the abstract scholar or collector, but a vivid practical desire to implant the fundamental principles of human nature into the culture of his times, thereby furthering its development. Goethe and Grimm both held this view and each in his own way influenced German culture by the results of his studies in the ballad and popular poetry. Talvj's actual purpose with her *Charakteristik der Volkslieder* was not to undertake a scientific examination of popular poetry, but rather to place emphasis upon poetry as a natural expression, and as a simple safeguard against the danger of ultra-refinement and artificiality, which even then seemed to be making itself felt in America. By introducing Herder's<sup>157</sup> great point of view she opened the eyes of Americans to that source of human culture which had saved Germany from the disastrous effects of artificiality.

Through Goethe and Grimm, Talvj received her first inspiration to study popular poetry. This inspiration became an earnest purpose which carried her father into the field than most of her predecessors, and than any of her contemporaries. She did not follow Grimm's steps into philological research, but she was as great an enthusiast as he in collecting old songs. Herder had hoped for a German Percy, who, like the good English Bishop would discover and gather together a similarly rich harvest of old songs. In a measure she fulfilled his hope. Her treatment was original in that she made these songs the basis for a cultural history, first giving the significance to it by prefixing a political-historical setting. Again, her work was original in that she undertook to explain the importance of folk lore, pointing out that as the natural expression of a

<sup>157</sup> In a short biographical sketch of Mrs. Robinson the *International Magazine* for 1850 and 51 says of this book: "This is a work of a most comprehensive character and fills up a deficiency which was constantly becoming more apparent in the direction opened by Herder." The highest praise of the book and its author's ability follows. vol. i, p. 306.

primitive people it was important for literature and for national culture.

In her aesthetic works she shows the influence of movements and tendencies rather than personages. In tone and meter her poetry bore a great similarity to Schiller's; but it hardly seems profitable to pause upon it longer than to point out this fact. In her novels, however, which reflect the in-toward romanticism, then in its wholesome and promising youth, made her work worthy of greater attention. *The Exiles*, written in 1852, gives poetic expression to the great contemporary tendency in Germany, and indeed in all Europe, to seek freedom of thought and action. It is remarkable in itself as well as significant that her work alone among America's writers gave artistic expression through the pages of a novel to this great contemporary movement, one of whose immediate results was the immigration of 1848. It is significant also that she should have caused her heroine to be cast upon the coast of Florida instead of New England, that the German thoughts and ideals embodied in Klothilde should have been implanted first of all in the home of southern aristocracy, thence slowly wending their way northward. A narrow and provincial pride in the Puritan fathers had kept people from realizing that the real seat of culture was then in the South and that this was the most fertile field in which to develop new ideals.

How successfully Talvj transmitted these cultural influences to the American people can as yet be gauged only indirectly, by a logical inference from its value and the impressionability of the public to whom it was presented, for critical estimates of her work in American magazines and newspapers were few.<sup>158</sup> The lack of them is by no means due to any want of appreciation of her services by American editors, but to the undeveloped state of literary criticism in this country at that early period. The crudity and inadequacy of this department of national literature was but natural in a country

<sup>158</sup> The following American magazines contain critical notices and reviews: *North American Review*, *Harper's Monthly*, *International Monthly*, *Graham's Magazine* and *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

placing more emphasis on quantity than on quality of literary out-put, and, while frankly imitating English and French masters in all its performances, had not yet realized its potential value. The development of criticism was hampered, moreover, by the fact that America's energy was being consumed in an effort to readjust, and to establish a firm basis for government, —that its cultural forces were being consumed by the harshness and difficulties of material existence. In general, we know from the journals and diaries of some of America's most highly cultured men, that German ideals and thought exerted a marked influence upon them. Furthermore, we may infer from Talvj's personal acquaintance with many of these men that she helped exert this influence. First in Boston and then in New York, her home, we are told, was the frequent center of social gatherings. Her membership and her highly-appreciated work in the New York Historical Society bespeak a recognition of her scholarly attainments; and as her historical presentations were always calm, scientific investigations we know certainly that to some Americans, at least, she was interpreting the German point of view. The ready acceptance of her papers on the part of the leading American magazines indicates, also, a very substantial recognition of her ability.

Recognition was also accorded her by contemporary New York newspapers at the various times her works appeared. Upon the publication of *Heloise* in 1851, a number of flattering comments appeared. The hope was invariably expressed that more books might follow from the pen of the author of *Heloise*. Through this book, one American newspaper remarked, Talvj brought to many the atmosphere of Russian life; a service of especial interest and timeliness at a moment when translations of many Russian stories were being disseminated both in Germany and America. A new work by Talvj, as another paper expressed it, was an event which could not fail to attract considerable attention, and was not likely to be overlooked by her numerous and intelligent circle of readers.

Critics were well agreed as to the significance of her treatise

upon the *Literature of the Slavic Nations*. To be credited with having supplied a noted deficiency in English, American, and even German scholarship, as one New York paper did, is unusual praise, and carries with it a recognition of her ability and keen intellect. The *London Athaeneum* of 1850 speaks of this work in the following terms: "This is an American publication, by, we believe, a German lady settled in that country. It has no pretensions to profound learning; but as it treats in a light and and popular manner a subject on which English readers have very scanty means of obtaining information, it will not fail of a welcome. Indeed we know of no book in our own language which gives anything like so complete, and attractive an epitome of the great Slavonic nations North and South."<sup>150</sup> In this work she entered a field rarely trodden even by those scholars in Germany who push their researches into regions which the mass of philologists never think of exploring. Still another significant statement discovered in one of the newspaper comments related to the translation she made of her own work, *Life's Discipline*, in 1851. "Talvj is teaching us," said this article, "to appreciate the Hungarians in spite of the *North American*." This would imply a somewhat active interest in the Hungarians and their history just about this time. May it not have been this very interest that led her to translate a book which so artistically but faithfully portrays Hungarian history and political intrigue?

An unfortunate feature in regard to these criticisms, which are pitifully meager and lacking in detail, is that they are accessible only in the shape of clippings, to which the names of the respective newspapers and magazines have not been attached. One, recognizable by its type, is from the *New Yorker Belletristisches Journal*, a German weekly of the highest literary standing. Another, as we know from a slight reference made in the course of the discussion is from some theological paper. During these years many of the theological publications, in the east especially, presented reviews, criticisms, and even productions of high literary merit. Criticisms of secular productions were at that time of perhaps greater

<sup>150</sup> *London Athaeneum*, 1850, p. 1069.

frequency and ſignificance than they have ſince been, for today magazines of this nature are inclined to treat only thoſe works which bear directly on theological ſubjects.

From the critical reſources available, unſatisfactory as they are, is evident that in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century, Talvj fulfilled a great ſervice to American culture as a diſſeminator and interpreter of the culture of a nation which has always been recognized as diſtinctive for its univerſality. The miſſion of the German-Americans to the future civilization of America, is, we may ſay, to preſerve and cultivate the beſt of their inheritance in muſic, literature, art, religion, and philoſophy, in order that each individual may become the higheſt poſſible exponent of German ideals and principles. Through the Germans a healthy ſentiment has been infused into a ſort of Puritan aſcetiſm, and German ideals have tempered materialiſm and regenerated orthodoxy by repreſenting humanity and religion as one. This, too, we may ſay, was Talvj's miſſion in America; to bring the New World into the higher ſpheres of human life by uniting the beſt German ſpirit with the beſt of American ſpirit, in the hope of eſtabliſhing on this ſide of the Atlantic, a truly national culture, worthy to rank with the culture of the older nations beyond the ſeas.

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APPENDIX.

The following is a list of her works arranged with regard to their publication.

- Gedichte—signed Reseda. Theodor Hell's Abendzeitung.....1820  
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*The Exiles, New York .....	1853
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\*Die weissen Berge in Neu Hampshire—Zeitschrift aus der Fremde. Nos. 30—32 .....1860

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\*Deutschlands Schriftstellerinnen bis vor 100 Jahren—Raumer's Historisches Taschenbuch. Brockhaus, Leipzig.....1861

Physische Geographie des heiligen Landes. Aus dem Nachlass des Prof. Robinson—Vorrede von Talvj.....1865

\*Fünfzehn Jahre. Brockhaus, Leipzig .....1868

\*Die Kosaken und ihre historischen Lieder. Westermann's No. 59..1869

..Ein Bild aus seiner Zeit. Westermann's Nos. 69—72.....1870

\*Gesammelte Novellen. Edited by her daughter.....1874

\* \* \*

The following personal notes are of interest, perhaps, because of their authors:

New York, Nov. 1, 1858.

My dear Mr. Robinson:—

My wife is not well enough to come into town and attend your party on Wednesday evening, though she is rather on the mending hand. I do not often pass the night in town but hope to be able to do so on that occasion. . . . . My wife desired me to express to you her love and her regrets.

I am dear Madam,

truly yours,

W. C. Bryant.

\* \* \*

New York, Nov. 1, 1858.

Mr. Olmstead regrets that a previous engagement will prevent his acceptance of Mrs. Robinson's kind invitation for Wednesday evening next.

\* \* \*

New York, January 9, 1850.

My dear Mrs. Robinson:

Mrs. Bancroft, who isn't very well this morning, begs me to write to you that for tomorrow evening she has two engagements of rather

\*Books I have been able to obtain.

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long standing . . . . It is particularly a source of regret to us, as nothing would be more agreeable to us than to visit you and Mr. R. in the social friendly manner you propose.

I remain,

Dear Mrs. Robinson,

Very truly yours,

George Bancroft.

\* \* \*

New York, July 25, 1854.

Dear Madam:—I shall be most happy to avail myself of your kind invitation to take tea with you this evening.

Very sincerely yours,

Bayard Taylor.



The Explorer-Statue in New Rochelle, N. Y.

Jakob Leisler.<sup>1</sup>

Von Albert J. W. Kern, Jamaica, N. Y.

In der Kolonialgeschichte New Yorks treten drei Kraftmensen in den Vordergrund der Bühne, die Gouverneure Minuit (Minnewit), Stuyvesant und Jakob Leisler. Zwei davon, Minuit und Leisler entstammen deutscher Erde. Minuit wurde zu Wesel am Rhein, Leisler zu Frankfurt am Main geboren.

Es dürfte wohl auf den ersten Blick auffallen, zwei Deutsche so hervorragende Posten in einer fremden Kolonie bekleiden zu sehen. New York ist aber bekanntlich vor gerade dreihundert Jahren von den Holländern als New Amsterdam gegründet worden und Holland gehörte bis zum „Westphälischen Frieden“, 1648, zum deutschen Reich. Beide gingen also nicht ins Ausland, sondern in die Kolonie eines damals noch deutschen Landes.

Ueber keinen der New Yorker Gouverneure ist ein reicheres Quellenmaterial vorhanden als über Leisler, keiner aber ist, von der Parteien Haß verwirrt, so entsetzt auf uns gekommen als dieser malerischste und kraftvollste Held im kolonialen Amerika. Aus bescheidenen Verhältnissen zur höchsten Staffel des Staates emporsteigend, fiel er ein Opfer der ungezügelmten Rachsucht übermächtiger Feinde.

Jakob Leisler, ums Jahr 1640 in der alten Reichsstadt Frankfurt a. M. geboren, verlebte seine Kinderjahre noch im Elend

<sup>1</sup> Der vorliegende Aufsatz bildet die Weiterausführung der Festrede, die der Verfasser am 23. April 1911 im City Hall Park, New York, gehalten hat. Es war dies anlässlich der Pflanzung zweier Eichen, die der Bürgermeister und Stadtrat von Frankfurt am Main der Stadt New York zum Geschenk machte. Die Veranstalter der Feier waren die Vereinigten Deutschen Gesellschaften der Stadt New York. Der Urheber des Gedankens, Leisler so zu ehren und Eichen aus Frankfurt a. M. kommen zu lassen und sie in die amerikanische Erde nahe der Stelle zu pflanzen, wo er seinen Geist aushauchte, ist Hermann Leitmann, Delegat der V. d. G. — Die Festrede kam am 5. August 1911 in der „Internationalen Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik“ (begründet von Friedrich Althoff), Berlin, zum Abdruck.

des dreißigjährigen Krieges. Wann er Frankfurt verließ, wissen wir nicht, wohl aber, daß er sich im Frühjahr 1660 nach Amerika einschiffte. Seinen Namen finden wir nämlich unter dem 27. April 1660 in der Schiffsliste<sup>2</sup> der „Otter“ als Soldat im Dienste der holländisch-westindischen Kompagnie verzeichnet, die von Amsterdam am 1. Mai nach Neu-Niederland absegelte. Er wird wohl gegen Juli des Jahres 1660 angekommen sein.

New York, Stadt und Staat, war damals noch eine holländische Kolonie, die Stadt hieß „Neu-Amsterdam“, der Staat „Neu-Niederland“. Vier Jahre später, September 1664, wurde sie durch einen Handstreich, dem der holländische Gouverneur Stuyvesant keinen Widerstand entgegen zu setzen vermochte, zu einer englischen Provinz gemacht und von König Karl II. seinem Bruder, dem Herzog Jakob von York, zum Lehen geschenkt, der Staat und Stadt seinem Namen nach in New York umtaufte.

Frei nun vom holländischen Militärdienst, widmete Leisler sich dem Geschäftsleben. Den kaufmännischen Instinkt, das geht aus seiner darauffolgenden Tätigkeit aufs glänzendste hervor, scheint ihm sein Heimatsort, die freie Reichsstadt Frankfurt a. M., in reichem Maße mit auf den Weg gegeben zu haben. In Albany zuerst, dem damals am weitesten nach Norden vorgeschobenen Posten, trieb er Pelz- und Tauschhandel, in New York, wo er sich bald darauf dauernd niederließ, entwickelte er eine umfassende Betriebsamkeit auf verschiedenen Zweigen kaufmännischer Unternehmungsmöglichkeit. Was er in Albany begonnen, setzte er fort, wurde später Großkaufmann, Rheder und führte im Austausch gegen Kolonialprodukte europäische Waren und Landesprodukte ein. Die Einfuhr von Weinen gegen Pelze scheint besonders einträglich gewesen zu sein.

Bald nach seiner Ankunft in New York heiratete er die Witwe des reichen Kaufmanns Van der Veen, Elsie, einer gebornen Thymer-Jansen, die den aristokratischen und einflußreichen Kreisen angehörte. Sie war eine Verwandte der „Van Cortlandts, Vanhards, Philipps“, der späteren Todfeinde Leislers. Tüchtig und

<sup>2</sup> In dieser Schiffsliste ist sein Name „Jacob Lohseler, von Frankfurt“ geschrieben. In anderen Urkunden und Handschriften finden wir die folgenden Schreibweisen: Leisler, Laisler, Leifeler, Lahseler, Lanster, Lestler.



erfolgreich in allen seinen Unternehmungen, wurde Leisler bald reich und angesehen. Schon am 5. September 1664 gehörte Leisler zu den 92 „besten Bürgern“, die als Vertreter der Einwohner von Neu-Niederland eine Remonstrance an den Gouverneur erließen. Unter der neuen Regierung wurde er einer der sechs Steuereinnahmer (Tax Commissioners). Als solcher schätzte er sich am 1. Februar 1674 selbst auf 15,000 Goldgulden ein und zahlte eine jährliche Steuer von 1060 Gulden. — Van Cortlandt zahlte nach derselben Einschätzungsliste Steuern aus 45,000 Gulden, Philippen aus 80,000, De Beyster aus 15,000 Gulden. — In einem Prozeß, den er gegen einen Albanyer Geistlichen im Jahre 1676 anstrebte, mußte er als Sicherheit eine Summe von 5000 Pfund Sterling hinterlegen.

Als weitfichtiger Kaufmann machte er 1678 eine Geschäftsreise nach Europa. Daß er ziemlich viel Bargeld bei sich geführt haben muß, geht daraus hervor, daß, als das Schiff, auf dem er sich befand, türkischen Seeräubern in die Hände fiel, er sich loskaufen konnte, andere seiner Mitreisenden aber erst befreit wurden, nachdem der Staat die Lösegelder aufgebracht hatte.

Zurückgekommen ernannte ihn der damalige Gouverneur Dongan im Jahre 1683 zum Mitglied des Admiralitätsrates. Seit langem war er Hauptmann einer der sechs Kompagnien der Bürgergarde und Ältester der reformierten Kirche.

Bezeichnend für seine religiöse Ueberzeugung und seine edle Gefinnung ist die Tatsache, daß er den aus Frankreich vertriebenen Hugenotten mit Rat und Tat zu Hilfe kam, einzelnen Vertriebenen die Ueberfahrtsfelder bezahlte, andern Land schenkte oder zu mäßigen Ansiedlungspreisen abtrat. Das Städtchen New Rochelle, am Long Island Sund, im heutigen Westchester Bezirk, einem der Sammelpunkte der Hugenotten in Amerika, verdankt Leisler hauptsächlich seinen Aufschwung.

Um zu einem vollen Verständnis der Vorgänge in dem damaligen New York und der Tätigkeit Leislers in politischer Beziehung vorzudringen, wäre es nötig einen Rückblick auf die Kolonialgeschichte der englischen Siedlungen entlang dem Atlantischen Ozean und der französischen in Kanada zu werfen. Auch sollte man die Entwicklungsgeschichte der holländischen Kolonie von Stufe zu Stufe kennen. Ueberdies müßte man versuchen die treibenden

Kräfte verstehen zu lernen, die zu jener Zeit in der Geschichte Englands, Frankreichs und Hollands am Werke waren. Es muß indes genügen nur die bedeutendsten Vorgänge und ihre Ergebnisse herauszuholen.

Leislers Zeit litt noch unter den Nachwirkungen der Reformation und Gegenreformation, zeigte aber schon politische und wirtschaftliche Konfliktansätze, wie sie erst viel später zum Austrag kamen. Protestantischer Glauben, Gewissensfreiheit entflammte die Gemüter der Bevölkerung New Yorks zum Widerstand gegen katholische Tyrannei und Engherzigkeit; wirtschaftliche Klassenherrschaft zerrte Leisler aufs Schaffot. Die „glorreiche“ englische Revolution vom Jahre 1688 war nicht die Ursache selbst, sondern nur der zündende Funken, der ins Pulverfaß schlug.

Wie schon mitgeteilt, fiel die holländische Kolonie im Jahre 1664 und dann endgiltig, den 19. Februar 1674, nach dem Frieden von Westminster, in Englands Hände. Von 1674 an sodann bis 1686 bildete New York eine in sich abgeschlossene englische Kolonie unter einem englischen Gouverneur. In diesem Jahre aber verlor New York seine Selbständigkeit und wurde mit den New England Kolonien und New Jersey zu einer Einheit zusammengeworfen. An die Spitze dieser so vereinigten Siedlungen wurde, unter dem Titel General-Gouverneur, der Landvogt Andros berufen, der niemand Rechenschaft abzulegen verpflichtet war, als seinem König und Herrn. Er nahm seinen Sitz in Boston. Zur Leitung der Staatsgeschäfte in New York ernannte er als seinen Bevollmächtigten unter ihm den Leutnant-Gouverneur Nicholson. Ausgerüstet mit unbeschränkter Vollmacht hatte dieser in New York wie jener in Boston die Gesetzgebung, das Besteuerungsrecht, das Gericht, und alle anderen obrigkeitlichen Rechte und Befugnisse zur freien Verfügung. Ausschreitungen von Seiten verworfener Unterbeamten war damit Tür und Tor geöffnet.

Noch schlimmer als die Gewalttätigkeiten der häufig wechselnden Gouverneure lasteten auf dem Volke die Bedrückungen und Anmaßungen einer kleinen Kaste von Großgrundbesitzern, der Patrizier New Yorks. Sie waren die Nachkommen jener feudalen holländischen „Patroons“ (Unternehmern), denen die holländisch-westindische Kompagnie weite Länderstrecken zum Geschenk ge-

macht hatte, da sie 50 oder mehr Arbeiter zur Einwanderung in die Kolonien veranlaßten. Ein solcher Großgrundbesitzer, ein Freiherr im feudalen Sinn des Wortes, war nicht nur Eigentümer des Bodens, sondern auch unumschränkter politischer Herrscher. Er hielt Gericht, gab Gesetze und Verordnungen, handhabte alles mit freier Hand, was ihm zu handhaben gutdünkte. Zu Leislors Zeiten war der Grundbesitz des Staates New York in den Händen von nur wenigen Familien, den Van Cortlandts, Bayards, Philippses, Livingstons. Einen Kleinbauernstand mit eigenen Hufen gab es nicht, wohl aber zeigten sich in New York Anfänge eines dritten Standes, der Handwerker und kleinen Geschäftsleute. Im Grunde konnte man also zu dieser Zeit nur von Unternehmern und besitzlosen Arbeitern sprechen. Daß diese Unternehmer „die Patroons“, bei allen ihren Maßnahmen zuerst ihre eigenen Interessen ins Auge faßten und für ihre Arbeiter wenig übrig hatten, im Gegenteil sie rechtlich und wirtschaftlich unterdrückten, läßt sich am Ende menschlich begreifen. Wenn sie aber fortfuhren von Jahr zu Jahr rücksichtsloser zu werden, mußte diese Vergewaltigung früher oder später zu einem unheilbaren Konflikt führen.

Diese unhaltbaren Zustände hielten auch an, als die holländische Kolonie in englische Hände überging, als kraft des gewährten Freibriefs ein englischer Gouverneur und ein von der Krone gewählter Staatsrat die Geschäfte der Kolonie zu leiten hatten. Denn der jeweilige Gouverneur, nur zu oft ein bankrotter englischer Baron, drinn den Einflüssen des Geldes nicht abgeneigt, schlug als Mitglieder zum Staatsrat nur Namen aus jenen Patrizierfamilien vor, von denen eben die Sprache war. So behielten also diese die Ämter und die Zügel der Verwaltung in ihrer Hand. Die Kaste der Van Cortlandts, Bayards etc. blieb nach wie vor die Macht im Staate. Der Gouverneur war, wie sich herausstellte, gewöhnlich ihr gefügiges Werkzeug und nur dem Namen nach der Landvogt.

Zu der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedrückung gesellte sich eine religiöse. Die Einwohner New Yorks, zum größten Teil Holländer, dann Deutsche, französische Hugenotten, gehörten fast ausschließlich dem Protestantismus an. Sie waren ihres Glaubens halber herübergekommen in die überseeische neue Welt und

hofften hier, frei von jeder Bevormundung, nur der Stimme ihres Gewissens folgend, leben zu können. Nicholson<sup>4</sup> aber, der Vizegouverneur der Kolonie, obgleich in der episkopalischen (d. h. der englischen) Staatskirche erzogen, neigte zum Katholizismus hin. Die Zeichen an der Wand nicht verstehend, nahm er keine Rücksicht auf die Gefühle der Mehrzahl derer, über die er zu herrschen berufen war. Seine offenen und geheimen Pläne zielten auf die Ausrottung des Protestantismus in New York und die Einführung des Katholizismus ab, das war die Ansicht fast aller. Bei ihm im Fort wohnte ein katholischer Priester, katholische Soldaten bildeten seine Leibgarde. Das demonstrative Erscheinen mehrerer Jesuitenpriester aus Montreal in New York in Ordenstracht, die beabsichtigte Errichtung einer Jesuiten-Hochschule (College), die Begünstigung katholischer Einwanderer u. s. w. zeigten deutlich die Richtlinien an, nach denen vorzugehen er entschlossen war. Das Volk wurde argwöhnisch und fürchtete um die Zukunft.

Noch ist zum Verständnis der nun rasch aufeinander folgenden Ereignisse ein Ausblick nötig auf die politische Konstellation der hier in Frage kommenden europäischen Staaten. England rang mit Frankreich um die Weltherrschaft. Zu Leiskers Zeit schien der Kampf zu Gunsten Frankreichs entschieden. (Und doch bedeutete, wie sich später herausstellte, gerade das Jahr 1689 einen empfindlichen Rückgang in Frankreichs Geschichte). Ludwig XIV. hatte in Amerika unermessliche Strecken Landes an sich gerissen. „Neu-Frankreich“ erstreckte sich vom St. Lorenzstrom über die großen Seen in weitem Bogen bis zum Unterlauf des Mississippi und zu dem nach ihm benannten Louisiana.

Die religiösen Kämpfe waren noch nicht zur Ruhe gekommen, die Fürsten verstanden damals noch nicht Religion von Politik zu trennen. Die Gegenreformation hatte bereits eingesetzt. Güterberaubung, Feuer und Schwert, Dragonaden, Verbannung waren die Mittel, die Reformation des vorausgegangenen Jahrhunderts zu vernichten. Die Neuausbrüche der Protestantensfolgen in Frankreich und die Ankunft Hunderter von Hugenotten, die die beispiellosen Grausamkeiten des irrego-

<sup>4</sup> Als Hauptquelle benutzte ich hier wie später: O'Callaghan's Docum. History of New York II, p. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 147, 15, 19, 26 u. s. w. bis p. 250.

leiteten Ludwig am eigenen Leibe verspürt hatten, gerade in jenen Tagen in New York (New Rochelle, so genannt zum Andenken an den Hauptsitz der französischen Hugenotten in Frankreich, La Rochelle), ließen das Schlimmste befürchten, wenn es dem katholischen König gelänge, die Oberhand in Amerika zu erringen. Und wie nahe lag die Annahme und wie leicht schien sein Erfolg, waren doch die englischen Kolonien, die nur den schmalen Küstensaum dem atlantischen Ozean entlang einnahmen, von Norden und Westen her mit einem Gürtel französischer Forts umklammert! Es waren erregte, bewegte Zeiten! Was wird der Morgen bringen?

Und zu den drohenden Zeichen auf der Erde gesellten sich Zeichen vom Himmel. Seit Wochen schon färbte ein „fürchterlicher“ Komet blutrot den westlichen Abendhimmel!

Da starb Karl II. 1685. Sein Bruder, der Herzog von York und Lehensherr von New York, bestieg als Jakob II. den englischen Thron. Zum Katholizismus übergetreten, von jesuitischen Weichtvätern beeinflusst, wurde er ein bigotter, gewalttätiger Monarch, hart und hartnäckig bis zum Unverstand. Seine fanatischen Verordnungen, namentlich das Befetzen der höchsten Stellen im Staat mit Katholiken, beleidigte das protestantische England aufs Tiefste. Man schritt zu bewaffnetem Widerstand. An allen Ecken und Enden brachen beim Bekanntwerden der Pläne des Königs Aufstände aus. Eine allgemeine Revolution war im Anzug. Es blieb ihm nichts übrig als die Flucht. Verlassen von allen, rettete er sich nach Frankreich, wo ihn der Todfeind des englischen Volkes und des Protestantismus, Ludwig XIV., mit offenen Armen aufnahm, derselbe Ludwig, der wenige Jahre vorher durch die Aufhebung des Edikts von Nantes Hunderttausende von Hugenotten aus dem Lande jagte.

Diese Nachricht versetzte die Bevölkerung aufs neue in Schrecken. Daß Jakob den französischen König zum Kriege gegen England und damit auch gegen die Kolonien aufreizen werde, daran zweifelte niemand mehr. Die wildesten Gerüchte über Jakobs und Ludwigs gemeinschaftliche Pläne fanden gläubige Hörer. Man sah im Geist schon eine französische Flotte im Hafen von New York, sah auf dem Landwege den gefürchteten Frontenac mit seinen französischen Kanadiern und den ihm verbundenen

Indianern gegen Staat und Stadt vorrücken. Und Gouverneur Nicholson in New York drohte mit einer zweiten „Bluthochzeit“. Ein Gerücht jagte das andere.

Jakob flüchtete zu Ende des Jahres 1688. Aber erst gegen das Frühjahr — der Schiffsverkehr war damals langsam und schwerfällig, auch hatte England zu sehr mit sich selbst zu tun, um an die Kolonien zu denken — drang das Gerücht von der Flucht Jakobs in die amerikanischen Kolonien. Fast zu gleicher Zeit kam die Kunde von der Landung des Prinzen Wilhelm von Oranien, des Statthalters der Niederlande, des Neffen und Schwiegersohnes Jakobs, zu Torbay in England und von der Uebertragung der Krone von Seiten des Parlaments auf den Oranier und seine Gattin Maria, Jakobs ältester, protestantischer Tochter, zu gleichem Recht (13. Februar 1689). Welcher Umschlag der Gefühle! Freude, grenzenlose Freude durchglühte die Gemüther des Volkes. Maria und Wilhelm waren Protestanten, Wilhelm einer der ihren. Drei Viertel der Einwohner New Yorks waren ja Nachkommen der Holländer. Doch das Bangen, daß Wilhelm am Ende dem allmächtigen Ludwig nicht gewachsen sei, bildete den schweren Wehmütstropfen im Becher der Freude. Ungewißheit über den möglichen Ausgang hing wie eine schwarze Wolke über dem sonst freudig gestimmten Volke. Die Erregung stieg zur Fieberhitze.

Noch waren keine amtlichen Nachrichten aus England eingetroffen. Die gewalttätigen Kreaturen Jakobs II. herrschten nach wie vor. Noch führten sie die Regierung in seinem Namen und seinem Geiste weiter. Daß Jakob vom Parlament der Krone für verlustig erklärt und Wilhelm an seiner Stelle zum König von England erwählt sei, wurde von Nicholson und seinen Räten, den Bayards, Van Cortlands etc., aufs bestimmteste verneint; auch drohten sie denjenigen mit körperlichen Strafen und brandmarkten sie als Hochverräther, die dem neuen Könige zujubelten. Diesem unerträglichen Zustande mußte ein Ende gemacht werden, koste es was es wolle. Zum ersten Male seit Bestehen der englischen Kolonien in Amerika durchzitterte ein Gedanke nur die Seelen aller Protestanten. Ob in Virginien, ob in Massachusetts, ob in Plymouth, New Jersey, New York: die geglaubten Aufschläge der Feinde mußten zurückgeschlagen werden. Noch ging man freilich

nicht gemeinschaftlich vor. Jede Kolonie ergriff, unabhängig von der anderen, die ihr gut dünkenden Maßregeln. Aber die Vorgänge im einen Staat ermutigten die Kolonisten im anderen zu ähnlichen Schritten. Boston wies den Weg. Wie ein Mann erhob sich dort das Volk gegen den General-Gouverneur Andros. Ohne ihm Gelegenheit zur Verteidigung zu geben, warf man ihn ins Gefängnis und schickte ihn bald darauf, April 1689, nach England zurück. Bradstreet, der früher oberste Beamte der Kolonie Massachusetts, wurde an seiner Stelle zum Gouverneur erwählt.

Nicht minder rasch vollzog sich der Regierungswechsel in New York. Ermuntert durch die blutlose Revolution und die Erfolge in Boston, und aufs Neue gereizt durch das Gerücht, daß Nicholson gedroht habe, die Stadt am folgenden Sonntag (den 2. Juni) an allen vier Ecken anzuzünden, rotteten sich die erregten Bürger zusammen, zogen vor das Fort und das Rathhaus, wo der Gouverneur mit Bayard, Van Cortlandt in Beratung war und verlangten und erhielten die Schlüssel zum Fort. Auf's Heftigste bedroht, fühlte sich Gouverneur Nicholson nicht mehr sicher und verließ in einem unbewachten Augenblick in Nacht und Nebel die Stadt, 3. Juni 1689. Wahrscheinlich flüchtete er sich auf das Schiff, das der frühere Gouverneur Dongan seit mehreren Wochen im Hafen von New York in der Nähe des Forts für ihn bereit gehalten hatte. Bald darauf tauchte er in London auf.

Stadt und Staat New York war jetzt ohne Regierung. Ohne Haupt aber, das fühlte ein jeder, konnte das junge Gemeinwesen in diesen verworrenen Zeiten nicht gedeihen. So trat die Bürgerschaft (d. h. die große Mehrzahl, denn die Großgrundbesitzer mit ihren Getreuen hielten sich fern oder flüchteten nach Albany) zu einer Beratung zusammen und erwählte einen Sicherheitsausschuß (Committee of Safety), dem sie die einstweilige Leitung der Verwaltungs- und Regierungsgeschäfte übertrug. Wer aber sollte an die Spitze treten? Ein Mann nur vermochte Wandel zu schaffen, der mit den Bestrebungen und Interessen der aufstrebenden Kolonie aufs innigste verwachsen war und die besten Eigenschaften in sich vereinigte: Charakter, Entschlossenheit, Tatkraft, ein Mann, der die Forderungen des Augenblicks verstand, die Liebe und das Vertrauen seiner Mitbürger in vollem Maße besaß, ein Mann auch der im Gebrauch der Waffen, in der Erteilung

von Befehlen nicht ungeübt war. Instinktiv erkannte das Volk in diesem psychologischen Augenblick seinen Retter. Die Bevölkerung bestand, wie schon angegeben, zumeist aus Holländern, sodann Deutschen, französischen Hugonotten, Engländern und Irländern: **Leisler, der Deutsche** wurde zum Führer erwählt.

Am 8. Juni ernannte ihn der Sicherheitsausschuß zum Kommandanten des Forts und der Stadt, um während der Abwesenheit eines königlichen Vertreters die Interessen ihrer Majestäten des Königs Wilhelm und der Königin Maria („on behalfe of their Majesties“) zu wahren. Unterzeichnet ist dieses Dokument von zehn Männern des Sicherheitsausschusses. In einer späteren Versammlung, am 16. August, übertrug ihm dieselbe Körperschaft auch den Oberbefehl über die Truppen des Staates zur ordnungsmäßigen Ausübung der obrigkeitlichen Befugnisse (wörtlich: „for the orderly way to direct all necessary matter touching the ruling and ordering of the inhabitants of the Province“) zusammen mit einer Reihe von Verwaltungsverpflichtungen. So war es nur ein Schritt weiter, wenn man ihn bald darauf mit der Gesamtverwaltung der ganzen Kolonie betraute. Es war dies um so notwendiger, als da und dort im Staate Zustände eintraten, die das sichere Eingreifen einer kräftigen Hand erheischten und da England sich nicht beeilte, die lange erwarteten Verfügungen zu treffen oder einen Gouverneur mit der Regierung zu beauftragen.

Zaudernd nur nahm Leisler an. Er war sich der Schwere der Zeit und der Verantwortlichkeit der Aufgabe voll bewußt, das geht aus vielen seiner Äußerungen hervor. Uebrigens war er bescheiden und mit Glücksgütern reich gesegnet. Äußere Ehren, Glanz und Prunk galten ihm nichts. Doch sein Gewissen mahnte ihn zu handeln, die Pflicht rief. Er durfte, er konnte nicht ablehnen.

Er fühlte, er folge einer inneren Stimme, handele er doch im Interesse nicht seiner selbst, sondern seiner bedrückten Mitbürger, der protestantischen Religion und des neuen Königspaars. So betrachtete er es darum als seine erste und höchste Pflicht, nachdem der katholische Jakob gestürzt, dem neuen Herrscher, dem vom englischen Parlament als rechtskräftig eingesetzten protestantischen



Wilhelm III. von Oranien und seiner gleichberechtigten Gemahlin, der ältesten Tochter Jakobs, der eigentlichen Kronerbin, die Treue zu schwören, das Fort zu halten, es umzutausen, es aus einem Fort Jakob (James) zu einem Fort Wilhelm (William) zu machen, Stadt und Provinz bis zur Ankunft entweder eines neuen Gouverneurs oder anderer Verfügungen aus England zu verwalten.

Als eine weitere Aufgabe erkannte er die Notwendigkeit der Entfernung aller papistischen Beamten, die noch von Jakobs Regierung her im Amte verblieben. Mit dem Falle Jakobs fallen auch die von ihm durch die Gouverneure Dongan, Andros und Nicholson eingesetzten Angestellten, das war der Grundsatz, nach dem er handelte. Er forderte daher alle solche, die es bis jetzt nicht getan auf, ihre Stellungen sofort niederzulegen und den Mayor der Stadt New York oder einen Richter davon zu verständigen. Zu diesem Vorgehen war Leisler besonders durch die Gewalttätigkeiten des Hafensollektors Plowman gezwungen, der im Bunde mit einigen anderen offene Partei nahm für die gestürzte Regierung Jakobs.

Sodann galt es der Kette von Mißbräuchen, die im Verlauf der Jahre in der Provinz eingerissen, ein Ende zu machen. Die Vorrechte der privilegierten Klasse, der Großgrundbesitzer, der Nachkommen der feudalen „Patroone“ waren ins Unerträgliche gestiegen. Bekümmerte sich doch diese Klasse niemals um das Wohl und die Ehre der Kolonie, sondern nur um ihren Gewinn und ihre eigenen Vortheile. Es galt die Vorrechte dieser einzudämmen und den Stand der Handwerker, Kleinkaufleute, jenen Stand, den man später den „Dritten“ nannte, zu heben, ihm zu einem menschenwürdigen Dasein zu verhelfen und ihm die Türen zu öffnen zur Mitwirkung an der Regierung. Unter Jakob und den früheren Regierungen hatte das Volk nur Lasten zu tragen aber keine Rechte. Es mußte Steuern zahlen, durfte aber kein Wort mitreden, wie die Steuern aufzutreiben noch wie sie verwendet werden sollten.

Da setzte Leisler ein. Nachdem er am 11. Juni eine Ergebenheitsadresse an das neue Herrscherpaar abgesandt und am 22. Juni eine öffentliche Guldigungsfeier für sie in New York und Albany veranstaltet, ordnete er Neuwahlen für die erledigten

Stellen des Bürgermeisters und des Stadtrats in beiden Städten an. Nach Leisler verwirkte der bisherige erste Beamte der Stadt New York, van Courtlandt, sein Amt, weil er sich weigerte an der Guldigungsfeier zu Ehren der Thronbesteigung des Königs und der Königin teilzunehmen. An Stelle von Van Courtlands wurden von den Bürgern Peter De la Røye als Mayor erwählt. Unter den erwählten Stadträten (Aldermen) finden wir auch den deutschen Namen Weber; unter den Staatsräten Leislers einen Nachkommen von Wilhelm Beekman,<sup>2</sup> Gerhard (Gerardus) Beekman; Wilhelms Vater Heinrich (Henry) Beekman stammt bekanntlich aus Berge, Deutschland. In seiner Eigenschaft als Kommandant des Forts und der Stadt bestätigt Leisler die neu erwählten Beamten und ermahnt sie im Sinne ihrer Erwählung und der Anordnungen des Sicherheitsausschusses zu handeln. Interessant ist vielleicht noch zu bemerken, daß dies die erste öffentliche Wahl städtischer Beamten war, die in der New Yorker Geschichte verzeichnet ist. Bis daher und auch später wieder bis zum Jahre 1834 wurde der Bürgermeister nicht vom Volke erwählt, sondern vom Gouverneur ernannt.

Wichtiger noch in seinen Folgen, unwälzender im Charakter, dauernder im Bestand war seine nächste Tat, die Anordnung einer Wahl von Volksvertretern, die er als Volksversammlung (Assemply) zur Mitwirkung an der Gesetzgebung, der Steuererhebung, der Ernennung von Staatsbeamten und zur Regelung anderer staatlicher Verfügungen von Zeit zu Zeit nach New York berief. Mit diesem Akt erst wurde die Grundlage geschaffen zu einem demokratischen Gemeinwesen. Bisher machte der vom König oder dem Herzog von York ernannte Gouverneur unter Mitberatung der 9 Staatsräte die Gesetze des Landes, bisher erhob dieser die Steuern, wie und wann es ihm beliebte. Leisler verschaffte dem Volkswillen sein Recht. Der Satz, der hundert

<sup>2</sup> William Beekman, der am 27. Mai 1647 in New Amsterdam landete, brachte einige deutsche Familien mit sich, die er am östlichen Ufer des Hudson, 90 Meilen oberhalb New Amsterdam ansiedelte. Er gab der Niederlassung den Namen „Alhinebed“ zu Ehren des deutschen Rheins und der ersten Silbe seines Namens „Wek-Beel“. Vergl. dagegen Cronau, der in seiner Geschichte „Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens“ (p. 115) Alhinebed von Rhein und Wach ableitet, als ob der Hudson bei Alhinebed das Wäldlein Rhein sei.

Jahre später zum Schlagwort und Kriegsgeschrei wurde: „Keine Besteuerung ohne Vertretung“ (No taxation without representation) erhielt unter Leislers Verwaltung schon Form und Gestalt. Näheres über die Folgen und Wirkung dieses Zugeständnisses später in einem anderen Zusammenhang.

Wenn er auch das Gerichtswesen umgestaltete, neue Richter berief, den feudalen Herren die Gerichtshoheit, die Steuererhebung und die Steuereintreibung, die Polizeigewalt entriß, ihrer Willkürherrschaft da und dort heilsame Schranken entgegengesetzte und auf der anderen Seite immer und überall besonnene Rücksicht auf die unteren Klassen der Bevölkerung nahm, ihre Leiden mitfühlte, ihre Beschwerden anhörte; wenn er zugleich all dies als ein feinen königlichen Majestäten treu ergebener Diener tat, wenn er Sonderinteressen auszumerzen, alle Rechte gesetzlich zu regeln versuchte, wenn er für seine Mitbürger eine verfassungsmäßige Mitwirkung an den Staatsgeschäften anstrebte, so steht Leisler in der Geschichte der Kolonie da als der erste, der dem Volke seinen Anteil an der Gesetzgebung und den Regierungsgeschäften gesichert und das Problem zu lösen gesucht hat, eine monarchische Gewalt, als deren Bevollmächtigter er sich fühlte, mit der politischen Freiheit des Volkes zu vereinen.

Das Wort „als deren Bevollmächtigter er sich fühlte“, muß betont werden, weil seine Gegner, die Van Courtlandts, Bayards, Philippses die Rechtmäßigkeit seiner Amtshandlungen in Frage stellten, da er wohl vom Volke, oder wie sie sich verächtlich auszudrücken liebten, vom „Rabble“ erwählt, nicht aber vom König ernannt oder bestätigt sei. Seiner Ansicht nach und der seiner Freunde, hatte er wirklich die Vollmacht erhalten, die Regierung im Namen des Königs weiterzuführen, den Oberbefehl über die Truppen der Provinz zu übernehmen und einen Rat von neun Mitgliedern zu ernennen. Am 10. Dezember 1689 wurde ihm nämlich ein königliches Handschreiben überbracht mit der Aufschrift: „An unsern Leutnant-Gouverneur oder in seiner Abwesenheit an denjenigen, der zurzeit in der Provinz New York für die Aufrechthaltung des Friedens und der Beobachtung der Gesetze Sorge trägt“.

Wer anders konnte damit gemeint sein als Leisler? Nicholson war entflohen, Leisler war derjenige, der zurzeit für

die Beobachtung der Geseze Sorge trug. Es bestand so für ihn nicht der geringste Zweifel, daß er, der seit sechs Monaten der amtierende Gouverneur de facto war, es nun auch de jure sei. Unbeschadet der Berunglimpfungen und Verdächtigungen seiner Feinde fuhr er darum fort, die Regierungsgeschäfte in Uebereinstimmung mit seinem Staatsrat nach bestem Wissen und Können zu erledigen. Vom 10. Dezember 1689 an legte er sich den Titel Leutnant Gouverneur bei. Am darauffolgenden Sonntag nahm er seinen Sitz in der Kirche im Gouverneursstuhl ein.

Dieses seit Monaten mit Ungeduld erwartete königliche Schreiben — es trägt das Datum: London, den 30. Juli 1689 — hatte eine doppelte Wirkung: Stärkung der Sache bei seinen Freunden, verschärftes Wühlen bei seinen Feinden. Zunächst gab es jeder seiner bisherigen Amtshandlungen den Stempel königlicher Bestätigung. Sodann benahm es den Aengstlichen, die bislang Bedenken hegten über die Gesezmäßigkeit seiner Stellung, den letzten Zweifel. Man anerkannte ihn und seine Beamten nun fast überall im Staate, von New York bis hinauf zum Mohawkthal, bis Schenectady. Die dortigen Siedler hatten ja besonderen Grund mit Leisler zufrieden zu sein, da er sie in jeder Weise schützte und ihnen das Recht zurückgab ihr eigenes Getreide zu mahlen, ein Recht das ihnen die früheren Gouverneure entzogen hatten. Die Beziehungen zu den anderen Kolonien, die schon von dem Tage an, als er den Oberbefehl über die Truppen New Yorks übernahm, äußerst freundlicher Natur waren, wurden womöglich noch herzlicher. Trefflich tun dies die zahlreichen Briefe dar, die uns noch von den Gouverneuren und Staatssekretären von Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, Delaware, Virginien, Vermudas und Barbados<sup>4</sup> erhalten sind; trefflich auch Leislers Antworten darauf und die Mitteilungen, die er zum Verständnis der Zustände und Vorgänge in New York den anderen Staaten schriftlich übermittelte. Selbst seine Gegner schienen sich nunmehr mit der Tatsache seiner Anerkennung abfinden zu wollen.

Ehe wir indes den Faden der Erzählung weiter spinnen, muß noch auf einen Vorgang zurückgegriffen werden, der sich vier Wochen vor Eintreffen des königlichen Schreibens in Albany abspielte

<sup>4</sup> Documentary History of New York II pp. 3 bis 178, zu viele Briefe um hier einzeln aufgezählt werden zu können.

und der uns Einblicke gestattet in das Treiben seiner Feinde und in ihre Auffassung und Darstellung der Verhältnisse. Dorthin hatten sich die Bayards, die Van Courtlands u. s. w. geflüchtet, als Leisler die Zügel der Regierung in die Hand nahm. Dort hatten sie eine Gegenregierung in ihrem Sinne eingerichtet und obgleich sie im Grunde ihres Herzens Anhänger und Verteidiger von Andros und König Jakob II. waren, hatten sie, um den Schein zu bewahren und um Leisler den Wind aus den Segeln zu nehmen, dem neuen Königspaar die Schuldigung nicht ver sagt, aber den Gedanken festgehalten, daß sie als Mitglieder des von Nicholson eingesetzten Rates in dessen Abwesenheit, ohne dazu besonders beauftragt worden zu sein, die selbstverständlichen Leiter der Geschäfte des Staates seien. Nachdem sie dann, nicht ohne Geschick, Zwietracht in die Gemüther der Bürger nicht nur in Albany, sondern auch in den umliegenden neuengländischen Provinzen zu säen versuchten, nachdem Bayard<sup>5</sup> in seiner Eigenschaft als früherer Milizenoberst, trotzdem er sich dieses Ranges durch seine Flucht begeben hatte, zwei seiner ihm untergebenen Hauptleuten, Abram De Beyster und John De Bruyn, aufforderte, Leisler den Gehorsam zu verweigern, da glaubte Leisler die Zeit gekommen, die ihm vom Volke übertragene Autorität auch im oberen Teile des Staates zur Geltung bringen, den Widerstand in Albany brechen und die Gegenregierung niedertwerfen zu müssen. Leider nahm er die Ausführung des Planes nicht selbst in die Hand, sondern übertrug sie dem Staatssekretär, seinem späteren Schwiegersohn<sup>6</sup> Jakob Milborne, einem Mann tapferer mit der Zunge als mit dem Schwert. Unter offenbar vollständiger Verkennung der Machtmittel der Bayards und Van Courtlands, erschien er am 9. November 1689 mit einem lächerlich kleinen Häuflein Soldaten vor Albany. Die Feinde, von seinem Kommen in Kenntniß gesetzt, empfangen ihn aufs Beste vorbereitet. Da sie einen Zusammenstoß, wenn möglich vermeiden wollten, gestatteten sie Milborne einige Reden auf dem Rathhaus und öffentlichen Plätzen zu halten, erlaubten auch seinen Leuten den Eintritt in die Stadt. Doch machten weder seine Beredsamkeit über die Notwendigkeit einer Neuwahl der Beamten und einer allgemeinen Neuordnung der

<sup>5</sup> D. S. II. p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Docum. History II. pp. 64 bis 74. und Docum. Hist. II. p. 250.

Dinge, noch seine Soldaten den gewünschten Eindruck. Und seine Forderung mit Gewalt durchzusetzen und einen Angriff auf das Fort zu wagen, daran konnte er nicht denken, angesichts des ihm an Zahl weit überlegenen Feindes, umsomehr als auch die gegen ihn aufgeregten Indianer der Umgebung eine drohende Haltung annahmen. Außerstande etwas auszurichten, verließ er Albany am 15. November. Die Blöße, die sich Leisler in diesem Unternehmen gegeben, schädigte ihn später sehr.

Wie schon zu Ende des vorigen Abschnittes mitgeteilt, trat mit dem Bekanntwerden des königlichen Schreibens eine anscheinende Einstellung der Feindseligkeiten zwischen Albany und New York ein. Auf der Oberfläche herrschte für den Augenblick wenigstens vollkommene Ruhe. Aber unter dem Schleier erkünstelten Nachgebens arbeiteten seine Feinde nach wie vor, und, wie es sich später herausstellte, jetzt erst recht an seinem Untergang. Drei Monate lang wußten sie ihre aufrührerischen Pläne zu verbergen. War es um Leisler zu täuschen, ihn in falsche Sicherheit zu wiegen? Da, Mitte Januar 1690, taucht Bayard plötzlich wieder in New York auf. Eine schwere Krankheit seines Sohnes<sup>7</sup> — die Familie war in New York verblieben — gab er als Vorwand seines Kommens an. Merkwürdigerweise erschien Stephan Van Courtlandt und William Nicolls mit ihm auf dem Plan. Der wahre Grund ihrer Rückkehr sollte bald klar werden: Am 17. Januar wurde Leisler von auswärts gedungenen Begelagerern in meuchelmörderischer Weise bei hellem Tage auf offener Straße überfallen! Nur das Eingreifen einiger rasch hinzugekommener Freunde rettete ihm das Leben. Bayard wurde daraufhin verhaftet, wegen Anstiftung zum Aufruhr und Verbreitung gemeiner Lügen vor Gericht gestellt und zum Tode verurteilt.<sup>8</sup>

Krankheit heuchelnd und in feiger Weise die Schuld auf andere wälzend, sandte er einige Tage darauf, rasch nacheinander, zwei Bittschriften an — man beachte den Titel — den „Ehrenwerten Jakob Leisler, Lieutenant Gouverneur der Provinz New York“, (to the Honorable Jacob Leisler, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of New York), in denen er mit Beteuerung seiner tiefsten Ergebenheit und der Versicherung unwandelbarer Treue um Ver-

<sup>7</sup> Docum. History II. p. 38. p. 232.

<sup>8</sup> Docum. History II. p. 34. u. p. 232.

gebung für seine Blindheit und Torheit bittet. Und Leisler, der gerade, offene Charakter, der diese geheuchelten Worte als vom Herzen kommend wählte, ließ Gnade vor Recht ergehen und wandelte die Todesstrafe in einfache Freiheitsentziehung um, die im übrigen recht milde gewesen sein muß. Denn es wird berichtet, daß man ihn nur zwei Tage lang in hartem Gefängnis bei Brot und Wasser schmachten ließ, ihm aber dann gestattete seine Mahlzeiten von auswärts zu beziehen. War dieser noble Akt indes staatsklug? Leisler wird manchmal der kleine Cromwell genannt. Wäre Cromwell mit einem Bayard ähnlich verfahren?

Mit dem Erzrädelsführer hinter dem Gefängnisgitter, konnte Leisler von nun an seine ganze Zeit den Staats- und städtischen Geschäften widmen. Weit entfernt selbstherrlich vorzugehen, wie ihm seine Gegner vorwarfen, sah er eine erprießliche Tätigkeit nur darin, daß er das Volk zur Mitverwaltung heranzog. Er wurde so der erste Demokrat des Staates New York. Ein Staatsrat war bereits erwählt. Diesem zur Seite schuf er einen Landtag<sup>9</sup> (Assembly), der aus Vertretern aller Bezirke des Staates bestand. Auf Anfang April und später wieder auf September berief er diese vom Volke erwählten Abgeordneten behufs Erhebung von Steuern und Aushebung von Soldaten und Erledigung anderer staatlichen Angelegenheiten zu längerer Beratung zusammen. Er errichtet mehrere Gerichtshöfe an Stelle der alten, regelt die Verhältnisse in Ulster County und besonders in Albany,<sup>10</sup> dessen Fort sich ohne Blutvergießen ergibt, tritt mit den Indianern<sup>11</sup> der Provinz in freundschaftliche Beziehungen, ordnet verschiedene Neuwahlen<sup>12</sup> an, ernennt Steuereinnehmer, trifft Bestimmungen in Betreff des Zollhauses, vereidigt Beamte, baut das Fort William um,<sup>13</sup> beschneidet die Sonderrechte der großen

<sup>9</sup> Doc. Hist. II p. 158 u. 181. 201.

<sup>10</sup> Doc. Hist. II. p. 127.

<sup>11</sup> Doc. Hist. II. 136. 138.

<sup>12</sup> Doc. Hist. II. p. 159.

<sup>13</sup> Unter dem Datum: 26. Juni 1689 schreibt Nathan Gold, der mit James Fitch im Auftrag der „General Assembly“ von Connecticut, die New Yorker Verhältnisse beaugenscheinigte, daß das Fort unter Nicholson verfallen, das aufgelagerte Pulver wertlos und die Kanonen unbrauchbar seien, Doc. History II, 10 u. 11. Leisler nahm einen gründ-

Grundbesitzer, ihre Gerichtsgewalt und Schatzungsgerechtfame: kurz sein nimmer müder Geist greift ein, stärkend und ordnend, in alle wichtigen Akte des Staatslebens. Und immer ist ihm die Richtschnur seines Handelns Recht und Wohlfahrt des Gemeinwesens.

Aber nicht nur beschränkte er sich auf die inneren Angelegenheiten der Kolonie New York, seine Tätigkeit griff über die Grenzen des Staates hinaus. Wie gefürchtet, hatte Ludwig XIV. auf Anstiften Jakobs II. dem neuen König Wilhelm III. von England den Krieg erklärt. Als er darauf seine gierigen Hände auch nach den englischen Kolonien in Amerika ausstreckte und dem Grafen Frontenac, dem energischen Oberbefehlshaber der französischen Truppen in Canada, den Befehl erteilte, unverzüglich gegen New England und New York vorzugehen,<sup>14</sup> da erkannte Leisler, daß die allen Kolonien drohende gemeinschaftliche Gefahr ein gemeinschaftliches Zusammengehen fordere. So lud er die kolonialen Regierungen zu gemeinsamer Beratung in seine Hauptstadt ein. Die Gouverneure nahmen an, und in der ersten Maiwoche des Jahres 1690 traten ihre Vertreter — Virginien und Maryland ließen sich entschuldigen — zum ersten Kongreß der Kolonien in New York zusammen. Ein denkwürdiges Ereignis!

Die Lage war ernst. Frontenac hatte bereits an drei weit auseinander liegenden Stellen des englischen Gebietes Einfälle gemacht, ein Dorf in Maine, eines in New Hampshire geplündert, Schenectady<sup>15</sup> in New York in Asche gelegt und die meisten Be-

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stehen Umbau vor und setzte durch die Anlage von Batteriewerken, deren Flanken sich dem Hudson und dem East River zuwandten, die Feste in besten Verteidigungszustand. Die Kanonen, sechs an der Zahl, konnten so von den hohen Erdwällen aus beide Flüsse bestreichen. — Von der Form der Befestigungswerke hieß das Volk die Bastion: „Leislers Halbmond.“ Noch heute führt sie den Namen Batterie „Batterh.“ Im europäischen Volksmunde wurde die Feste ein „Kastell,“ der Platz darum der „Kastell-Garten,“ im Munde der Einwanderer der „Kessel-Garten“ genannt. Docum. History II p. 137.

<sup>14</sup> Näheres über Ludwig XIV. Pläne u. Frontenac's Auftrag siehe Francis Parkman; Count Frontenac p. 187 u. f. w.

<sup>15</sup> Parkman: Frontenac p. 212 bis 234 u. Docum. History II, pp. 41 bis 44 u. wieder 87, 102, 103, 118, 137.



wohner erschlagen. Wie konnte dem Vordringen Frontenacs Einhalt geboten, wie die Macht Frankreichs in Amerika gebrochen werden? Die Plänklerverteidigungen entlang den Grenzsiedlungen konnten gegenüber Angriffen wohlgeübter Soldaten zu keinem Erfolg führen. Wie, wenn man den Schauplatz des Kampfes in das Lager des Feindes verlegte?

Frontenacs Stützpunkte waren vor allem die zwei befestigten kanadischen Städte Quebec und Montreal. Wie, wenn man versuchte, sich dieser zu bemächtigen? Ein kühner, ein verwegener Plan! Die Entfernungen waren weit, die Wege schlecht. Doch kaum war der Gedanke angeregt, schritt man zu Beschlüssen. Die puritanischen Heiligen New Englands sahen in dem Plan Gottes Finger und erachteten es als eine Sünde, an dem Erfolge zu zweifeln. Montreal sollte zu Land auf dem Wege über Albany, dem See Champlain entlang, Quebec mit einer Flotte um Nova Scotia herum den Saint Lawrence hinauf, erreicht werden. Nachdem die Abgeordneten in einem Vertrag die Zahl der von den einzelnen Kolonien zu stellenden Truppen bestimmt hatten<sup>16</sup> — New York 400, Plymouth 60, Massachusetts 160, Connecticut 135, East New Jersey 50, die Iroquois-Indianer 1820 — nachdem man Leisler das Recht eingeräumt den Oberbefehlshaber zu Land, und Massachusetts den Flottenführer zu ernennen, schritt man zur Ausführung. Leisler glaubte in seinem Schwiegersohn Jakob Milborne den rechten Mann gefunden zu haben. Aber Connecticut widersprach. Um des lieben Friedens willen gab Leisler nach. So betraute man John Winthrop von Connecticut mit der Expedition zu Lande, William Bhipps aus Massachusetts mit der zu Wasser.

Beide Unternehmungen verliefen unglücklich. Bhipps mit einem Geschwader von 32 Schiffen und 2200 Mann, darunter drei Kanonenbooten mit 36 Geschützen, sechs Steinschleudermaschinen (Bitteraroes) und 270 Mann aus New York, erreichten zwar Quebec, wurde aber schon beim ersten Angriff aufs entschiedenste zurückgeschlagen. Winthrop kehrte auf halbem Wege wieder um. Bhipps, ein Dilettant im Kriegshandwerk, überschätzte seine Fähig-

<sup>16</sup> Docum. Histoch II. p. 142 bis 146 und wieder II. p. 109; Francis Parkmann: Count Frontenac pp. 206 u. 237.

keit. Winthrop, ein zweideutiger Charakter,<sup>17</sup> stand, wie es sich später herausstellte, mit Leislers Feinden im Briefwechsel und unternahm diesen Zug als ein Scheinmanöver, um Leisler zu täuschen. Massachusetts und Plymouth hielten ihre Truppen zurück unter dem Vorgeben,<sup>18</sup> daß sie dieselben an ihren östlichen Grenzen und in Maine und New Hampshire gegen die sie dort bedrohenden Franzosen benötigten. Mangel an Lebensmitteln, Uneinigkeit im eigenen Lager, Krankheit, Sturm und Wetter taten das übrige.

Der Zusammenbruch<sup>19</sup> dieser beiden Unternehmungen wirkte niederschmetternd. Auf Leisler, den Urheber des Kongresses, schob man die Schuld. Und doch war der Plan der genialste der ganzen Kolonialzeit. Siebzig Jahre später, als ein anderer, General James Wolfe, Quebec genommen, fiel mit Quebec auch Kanada. „Wie anders säet der Mensch, und wie anders läßt das Schicksal ihn ernten.“

In dieser Zeit von widerlichen Fehlschlägen berichten die uns überlieferten Dokumente nur von einer glücklichen Aktion. Und diese vollzog sich unter Leislers persönlicher Leitung. Was man früher vermutete, geschah. Nicht nur versuchte Ludwig XIV. die englischen Kolonien von Norden her zu überfallen, er sandte auch Schiffe in den Hafen von New York. Als 6 derselben in der unteren Bai erschienen, fing er sie ein, ließ sie seekriegsrechtlich wegnehmen und als Seebeute öffentlich versteigern.

Die Freude über diesen Erfolg vermochte indes den Unmut über das Mißlingen der kanadischen Unternehmungen nicht zu verschweigen. Beide verschlangen ungeheure Geldsummen. Die Kolonisten hatten durch neue Steueraufgaben dafür aufzukommen. Wie verstanden seine Feinde — den Bayards, Von Courtlands,

<sup>17</sup> Docum. History II. p. 170 u. Francis Parkman: Count Frontenac pp. 236 bis 261.

<sup>18</sup> Docum. History II. p. 146 u. 153.

<sup>19</sup> Parkman: Frontenac pp. 262 bis 285. Phipps verließ den Hafen von Boston am 8. August und kam am 15. Okt. vor Quebec an. Am 16. Okt. erster Angriff. Am 22. Okt. zog er sich zurück; Ankunft in Boston mit einem Teil seiner Flotte Ende November 1690. Vergleiche Palfrey: New England IV, 51 u. f. w.

Philippes hatte sich nach geraumer Zeit auch Robert Livingston,<sup>20</sup> der Besitzer von Livingston Manor, angeschlossen — die Sachlage auszunützen. Auf's neue richteten sie ihre vergifteten Pfeile gegen ihn. Diesmal mit anscheinendem Grund, diesmal nicht ohne Erfolg. Denn wer zahlt Kriegssteuern gern, namentlich wenn die Kosten dem Aufwand von Kräften nicht entsprechen. Diese Fehlschläge bilden den bedenklichen Wendepunkt im Leben Leislers.

In Wahrheit galten die Angriffe freilich nicht dem Anreger des Planes, nicht dem Gouverneur Leisler, sie galten dem Manne Leisler, der sie, wie sie glaubten, in ihren angestammten Rechten schädigte. Mit Leisler vermochten die Von Courtlands, Bayards, Livingstons nichts auszurichten. Er war kein Strohmann in ihren Händen, keine Puppe. Er mußte beseitigt werden. Alles mußte in Hinsicht auf diesen Plan eingestellt werden. Vor nichts scheuten sie zurück. Die edelsten Beweggründe wurden verdächtigt, die patriotischen Unternehmungen, die er mit Gott für König und Volk gewagt, zu Anklagepunkten gegen ihn umgeschmiedet.

Die Gelegenheit war günstig. Das Schicksal schien ihrem teuflischen Vorhaben entgegenkommen zu wollen. Am 30. Januar 1691 erschien im Hafen von New York Richard Ingoldsbj<sup>21</sup> mit der Nachricht, daß König Wilhelm III. einen neuen Gouverneur in der Person des Obersten Slaughter ernannt habe, daß dieser sich auf dem Wege nach New York befinde, er aber unterdessen als sein Stellvertreter die Zügel der Regierung in die Hand zu nehmen beauftragt sei. Wie gelegen kam Leislers Gegnern diese Kunde. Sofort suchten sie Ingoldsbj an Bord seines Schiffes auf und unterließen nichts, Leisler in den schwärzesten Farben zu zeichnen. Die Kolonie stehe am Rande des Abgrundes, eine sofortige Uebernahme des Forts und der Verwaltung nur könne die Provinz vor völligem Untergang retten.

Leisler kam Ingoldsbj<sup>22</sup> freundlich entgegen, stellte ihm sein eigenes Haus zur Verfügung und wies seinen Offizieren und

<sup>20</sup> Livingston war es, der Winthrop gegen Leisler aufreizte, u. der in Connecticut u. Massachusetts nichts ungeschehen ließ, um Leisler zu verleumben, Doc. Hist. II. p. 100, 103, 105, 114, 121, 127, 170.

<sup>21</sup> Doc. History p. 181—186 p. 232 (Hier wird Ingoldsbj's Ankunft als am 31. Januar 1691 angegeben).

<sup>22</sup> Docum. History II. p. 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 193.

Mannschaften Quartiere in der Stadt an. Ingoldsbys aber, schon unter dem Einfluß der Gegner, die nunmehr alle Minen sprengten und alle Künste ihrer Arglist in Bewegung setzten, verlangte das Fort zu seiner Wohnung, obgleich sein einfaches Offizierspatent keinerlei Andeutung von solchem Rechte enthielt. Leisler erwiderte auf Ingoldsbys's Ansinnen, daß er bereit sei, das Fort zu übergeben, sobald er den Wunsch des Königs schriftlich erfahre. Ingoldsbys konnte eine Vollmacht nicht vorweisen. Was konnte also Leisler als treuer Diener seines königlichen Herrn anders tun als ihm die Uebergabe verweigern? Was bürgte dafür, daß Ingoldsbys nicht ein verkappter Spion Jakobs sei?

In dem, was nun folgte, gehen die Berichte der Augenzeugen weit auseinander. Ingoldsbys soll Gewalt gebraucht haben und zum Sturm auf die Feste vorgeschritten sein. Schüsse fielen. Ein Neger soll getötet worden sein.

Das genügte. Ob wahr oder nicht wahr, das war eine Handhabe für die Feinde. Ohne Autorität von irgend einer Seite zu haben, organisierten sich mehrere unter ihnen als „Seiner Majestät Staatsrat“ (Their Majesties' Council). Leisler verweigerte, das war das Urteil des Staatsrats, einem königlichen Offizier den Gehorsam — das stempelten sie als Hochverrat. Ein Neger wurde erschossen — Leisler war ein Mörder.<sup>23</sup>

Als Slougher<sup>24</sup> der mit Vollmacht versehene neue Gouverneur zwei Tage darauf, am 19. März 1691 ankam, war Leislers Schicksal schon fast entschieden. Es bedurfte nur noch der Formalität eines Kriminalverfahrens und der Unterschrift des Gouverneurs. Slougher, den übereinstimmenden Zeugnissen seiner Zeitgenossen nach, ein liebedlicher, herabgekommener Mensch, den Einflüssen des Geldes und des Weins zugänglich, war ein williges Werkzeug in ihren Händen. Was bereits beschlossen, geschah. Leisler mit seinem Schwiegersohn Milborne und einigen seiner Räte wurden verhaftet und vor ein zu diesem Zweck zusammengesetztes außerordentliches Gericht gestellt. Wer waren die Ankläger? Die Van Courtlandts, Bayards, Philipps, Livingstons. Wer die Richter?

<sup>23</sup> Docum. History II. p. 232.

<sup>24</sup> Docum. History II. p. 202, 203; 211, 217. 232.

Dieselben und ihre bezahlten Freunde, darunter Joseph Dudley,<sup>25</sup> der Anhänger von Andros, der mit diesem beim Ausbruch der Revolution in Boston ins Gefängnis geworfen worden war. Und der Urteilspruch? Todesstrafe wegen Hochverrats und Mords.

<sup>25</sup> Ueber den „Oberrichter Dudley“ fällt Palfrey, *New England III*, 585 u. 586 das folgende Urteil: Among the oppressors, he it was whom the people found it hardest to forgive. If Andros... and others were tyrants and extortioners, at all events they were strangers; they had not been preying on their own kinsmen. But this man was a son of a brave old emigrant Governor; he had been bred by the Faculty of Harvard College.... Confided in, enriched, caressed from youth to middle life by his native colony beyond any other man of his time, he had been pampered into a power, which, as soon as the opportunity was presented, he used for the grievous humiliation and distress of his generous friends. That he had not brought them (die Massachusetts Colonie) to utter ruin seemed to have been owing to no want of resolute purpose on his part to advance himself as the congenial instrument of a despot. Diese Charakterstizze gibt Palfrey nicht hinsichtlich Leislers u. der *New Yorker* Gesandnisse, sondern im Anschluß an Dudleys Umtriebe in *New England*. Ein direktes Zeugnis über Dudley im Fall Leisler gibt Increase Wather (der Vater von Cotton Wather). Bekanntlich war Increase Wather, der Präsident vom Harvard College, während der „glorreichen Revolution“ außerordentlicher Gesandter der *New England Staaten* am englischen Hofe. Als solcher erwarb er sich die Freundschaft hervorragender Staatsmänner u. Glieder des englischen Parlaments, besonders auch des Grafen von Bellemont, des späteren Gouverneurs von *New York*. Einige Jahre nach der Hinrichtung schreibt er an Dudley (siehe *Documentary History II*, p. 250): “I am afraid that the guilt of innocent blood is still crying in the ears of the Lord against you. I mean the blood of Leisler and Milborne. My Lord Bellemont said to me, that he was one of the committee of Parliament who examined the matter (siehe weiter unten): and that those men were not only murdered, but barbarously murdered. However the murdered men have been cleared by the King, Lords, and Commons. It is out of my province to be a judge in things of this nature. Nevertheless, considering what the proper judges, who have had an impartial hearing of the case, have said, and what the gentlemen who drew up a bill for taking off the attainder from those poor men, have written to me about it, I think you ought, for your family's sake, as well as for your own, to lay that matter to heart, and consider whether you ought not to pray as Psalms 51, 16. Beim Nachschlagen des Psalmes finde ich die Worte: “Deliver me from bloodguiltiness, o God!”

Konnte man von einem so zusammengesetzten Tribunal etwas anders erwarten? Und Slaughter berichtet nach England, daß der Gerichtshof aus „Gentlemen“ bestand, die unparteiisch untersuchten und persönlich in keiner Weise in die Wirren der letzten Jahre verwickelt gewesen waren.

Nicht also begründeten sie ihren Richterspruch auf die Rechtmäßigkeit oder Unrechtmäßigkeit seiner zweijährigen Regierung, nicht machten sie diese zum Gegenstand der Anklage, sondern sie zogen einzig und allein nur die wenigen Tage seit Ingoldsbys Ankunft in das Bereich ihrer Untersuchung. Daß Leisler und Milborne es ablehnten, sich vor solcher Obrigkeit zu verteidigen und sich darauf beschränkten, die Gültigkeit des aus seinen Erzfeinden bestehenden Richterkollegiums zu bestreiten, zeigt sie in ihrer stolzen Größe.

Noch zögerte Slaughter<sup>26</sup> das Urteil zu unterzeichnen. Er wollte erst die Bestätigung des Königs einholen. Ein Aufschieben aber bedeutete für die Bayards, die Livingstons ein mögliches Durchkreuzen des Planes. Das mußte unter allen Umständen vereitelt werden. Sie hatten Ursache mit der Vollstreckung des Urteils zu eilen, zumal das Volk anfang unruhig zu werden. Wie wenn in diesem kritischen Augenblick ein Führer hervorträte, der die erregten Volksmassen zum bewaffneten Widerstand gegen Slaughter und seinen sogenannten Staatsrat aufreizte! Sie kannten das Bedenkliche ihrer Lage. In wenigen Stunden wäre Leisler ein freier Mann gewesen. Die Stunde drängte; rasch mußte hier gehandelt werden. Sie wußten auch wie Slaughter beizukommen. Sie kannten seine Gier nach Geld, seine Schwäche für starke Getränke. Am 15. Mai veranstalteten sie ihm zu Ehren ein Gastmahl — nach andern war es ein Hochzeitsfest, zu dem er geladen. Frei floß der Wein, Slaughter soll ihm kräftig zugesprochen haben. Im Festestaumel dann, als der Wein seine Wirkung getan, bestimmten sie ihn, das Todesurteil gegen Leisler und Milborne zu unterzeichnen.<sup>27</sup>

Vor Tagesgrauen noch ließen sie auf Leislers eigenem Grund

<sup>26</sup> Docum. History II. p. 216, 217.

<sup>27</sup> Zwei Monate darauf, am 25. Juli 1691 nahm Slaughter ein plötzliches Ende. Das Volksurteil sah darin die Strafe für den an Leisler begangenen Justizmord. Docum. Hist. II. II. 219 u. 233 u. 234.

und Boden an der Ecke der heutigen Frankfurt Straße, nicht weit von der Stelle, wo wir die „Frankfurter“ Eichen in den City Hall Park verpflanzten, zwei Galgen errichteten. Früh am Morgen dann, dem 16./26. Mai 1691, einem häßlichen, naßkalten Samstag, noch ehe Sloughter zu sich gekommen, wurden beide zur Richtstätte geführt.

Wie der entscheidende Augenblick herannahte, hielt Leisler von dem Schaffot aus noch eine Ansprache<sup>28</sup> an Freund und Feind, in der er die gegen ihn vorgebrachten Beschuldigungen mit edlem Anstand zurückwies und erklärte: Zum Ruhm (Glory) der protestantischen Religion, des Königs und der Königin, und zur Stärkung (strengthening) der Provinz gegen feindliche Angriffe, — die Hauptgedanken seien hier in wenigen Sätzen zusammengezogen — habe ich den mir von der Mehrheit des Volkes gewordenen Auftrag übernommen, da kein anderer gewillt war, es zu tun. Wohl wurden, ohne daß ich es wußte und oft gegen meinen ausdrücklichen Willen, Fehler begangen, wofür ich Gott nur die Personen gegen die gesündigt wurde, um Verzeihung bitte. In diesem letzten Augenblick hege ich nur einen Wunsch, daß mit meinem Dahingehen auch aller Haß und alle Eifersucht begraben werde und eine Hoffnung, daß Zwietracht nie wieder ihr Haupt in New York erheben und nur der Geist der Einigkeit alle kommenden Geschlechter beseelen möge. Nachdem er dann den Segen Gottes auf alle herabgesleht, nachdem er noch seine Frau und Kinder dem Wohlwollen des Gemeinwesens empfohlen, endigte er mit diesen Worten: „Unser Herr und Meister litt so viel in dieser Welt, warum soll nicht auch ich ein bißchen leiden.“ Auf die Feinde hinweisend, bat er: „Vater, vergib ihnen, denn sie wissen nicht, was sie tun.“ Und dann sich umwendend gegen seinen Schwiegersohn, sagte er: „Ich werde nun dahin gehen, aber warum mußt auch du sterben? Du warst doch nur ein Diener unserer großen Sache.“ Als dann der Henker ihm das Tuch über den Kopf gelegt, schloß er mit ruhiger Stimme: „Ich bin bereit, ich bin bereit.“ Durch Strang und Schwert vom Leben zum Tode gebracht, wurde er gehängt zuerst und dann geköpft.

So endete eine edle Seele, ein Märtyrer für die Sache des

<sup>28</sup> Documentary History II p. 213, 214 and 215; The dying speech of Leisler.

Volkes, ein Vorkämpfer für die unveräußerlichen Menschenrechte, ein gläubiger Christ. Verstümmelt und verscharrt haben sie seinen Körper dort unter dem Schatten des heutigen New Yorker Rathauses. Sein Geist lebt weiter. Der Same, den er gesät und mit seinem Blute gedüngt, ging auf. Drei Menschenalter später führte der zweite Kolonialkongreß die Sonne der Freiheit herauf.

Ein Schlußwort noch: Vier Jahre später, 1695,<sup>29</sup> stieß das englische Parlament und die Regierung, die auf Bitten von Leislers stolzem Sohne Jakob Leisler jr. und seinem späteren Schwiegersohn Abraham Gouverneur eine Untersuchung über seine Verwaltung und die Vorgänge in New York angeordnet hatte, das Urteil um, rechtfertigte ihn in jeder Weise, verfügte die Herausgabe des beschlagnahmten Vermögens an seine Erben und die Zurückerstattung der Geldsummen, die Leisler während seiner Verwaltung dem Staat, als Ebbe in der Kasse war, aus seinen Privatmitteln vorgehoffen. Der Regierungsbefund besagt überdies ausdrücklich, daß das königliche Schreiben vom 30. Juli 1690 (siehe oben) als Bestätigung Leislers in seinem ihm vom Volke übertragenen Amt aufzufassen gewesen sei, daß er darum durchaus im Recht war, wenn er die Uebergabe des Forts an Ingoldsby verweigerte, da dieser keinerlei Autorität zu einer solchen Aufforderung hatte, und daß es im Gegenteil seine Pflicht war, das Fort für ihre Majestäten bis zur Ankunft des rechtmäßig ernannten Gouverneurs Slaughter zu halten. Slaughter kam am 19. März im Hafen von New York an; am 20. März in der Frühe übergab ihm Leisler das Fort.

Einer der Untersuchungsbeamten des Parlaments war der Earl of Bellomont<sup>30</sup> (siehe oben den Brief von Increase Mather an Dudley). Als er im Jahre 1698 zum Gouverneur der Provinz New York ernannt wurde, war eine seiner ersten Amtshandlungen dem barbarisch gemordeten Leisler und seiner ihn überlebenden Familie, so viel in seiner Macht lag, Gerechtigkeit widerfahren zu lassen. Er ordnete sofort die Ausgrabung der Gebeine Leislers an. Zu mittlernächtlicher Stunde, unter großer Beteiligung des Volkes, bestattete man ihn dann in geweihter Erde in der reformierten Kirche in „Garden Street“, dem heutigen Exchange Place.

<sup>29</sup> Docum. History II. pp. 249 u. 250.

<sup>30</sup> Docum. History II. p. 250.



Er selbst gab ihm an der Spitze einer Truppe Soldaten das Ehrengelocke.

Fehlt so dem erschütternden Drama nicht der versöhnende Zug der endlich siegenden Macht der Gerechtigkeit, so muß es befremdend erscheinen, daß das Bild des Mannes in so unglaublicher Verzerrung auf uns gekommen.

Und doch darf man den Grund auch dafür nicht weitab suchen. War es ein Unglück für den Lebenden, daß er eine übermächtige Partei sich zum Feinde gemacht hatte, so war es „ein Unglück für den Toten, daß ihn dieser Feind überlebte und seine Geschichte schrieb.“ Die Leislerschen Gedanken, die Leislersche Auffassung von einer demokratischen Regierung hatten zu tiefe Wurzeln geschlagen, als daß sie mit dem Begräumen des Schöpfers und Bannerträgers hätten aus der Welt geschafft werden können. Wie einst zur Zeit der Hohenstaufen die Parteikämpfe der Bürger unter den Namen „Ghibellinen und Welfen“ zum Ausdruck kamen, so standen in New York die Leislerianer auf ein halbes Jahrhundert hinaus den Antileislerianern gegenüber.

Drum galt es weiter zu kämpfen und den Geist Leislers nach und nach abzutöten. So erschien das häßliche Pamphlet: „A modest and impartial narrative of the great oppressions that the inhabitants of New York lye under by the extravagant proceedings of Jacob Leisler and his accomplices.“ Und dann wieder in 1698: „A letter from a gentleman of the City of New York to another, concerning the troubles which hapened in that province in the time of the late happy Revolution.“ Beide Machwerke machten es sich zur Aufgabe die Triebfeder seines Handelns zu verdrehen und Leisler als einen ehrgeizigen, unwissenden und ungebildeten Bauern darzustellen.

Schlimmer aber, weil von viel anhaltenderer Wirkung, war die erste in englischer Sprache geschriebene Geschichte New Yorks. Der Verfasser dieses Buches, ein junger Rechtsbessener, ein Hausfreund der Aristokratenfamilie, Smith, war der Sohn eines antileislerschen Richters und Schwiegersohn eines Livingston!<sup>81</sup>

<sup>81</sup> The Cadwallader Golden letters (1759) an seinen Sohn: „Smith has not been informed of some things, of other things he

Was Wunder, wenn die Geschichte Leislers zu einer Anklageschrift gegen ihn und zu einer Seligsprechung seiner Feinde wurde. Als Anwalt der feudalen Klasse handelte es sich bei Smith nicht darum, Leislers Verwaltung vorurteilsfrei darzustellen, sondern um den Beweis zu erbringen, daß seine aristokratischen Klienten durchaus gesetzlich vorgingen, wenn sie seine Verurteilung und Hinrichtung forderten, da Leisler, ein fanatischer Katholikenhasser und ungebildeter Abenteurer, sich ohne Befugnis zum Verdränger (usurper) der rechtmäßigen Staatsgewalt und zum allmächtigen Diktator aufgeworfen habe. Unter fecker Ausnützung aller anscheinend gegen Leisler sprechenden und mit gewissenloser Auslassung aller für ihn zeugenden Handlungen, stellt dieser advocatus diaboli die Geschichte geradezu auf den Kopf!

Um seinem Machwerk den Schein der Wahrscheinlichkeit zu verleihen, stellt er sich als einen ehrlichen Sucher nach Wahrheit hin und erklärt gleich in seiner Vorrede zu der Geschichte der Provinz New York, in der „Leislers Rebellion“ zum Abdruck kam, daß, soweit er gefunden, die bisherige Geschichte der amerikanischen Kolonien mit Ausnahme weniger Dokumente von Massachusetts und Virginia, nichts anders als eine „Zusammentragung von Fälschungen und schlimmer als gar nichts sei. Daß dies ganz besonders in der Provinz New York zutrefte, werde aus seiner Erzählung unwiderleglich hervorgehen. — Er meint hier in erster Linie die Holländer, deren Sprache er übrigens gar nicht verstand; wie schon angeführt, ist seine Schrift die erste in englischer Sprache erschienene Geschichte der Provinz New York. Bezeichnend für Smith! Er, der Erzgeschichtsverdreher, um Zeitgenossen und Nachwelt zu täuschen, um die wahren Beweggründe der Livingstons, Bayards, Van Cortlands zu verbergen, beschuldigt alle anderen amerikanischen Geschichtsschreiber der Fälschung.

Und dieses Werk Smiths behauptete das Feld auf Generationen hinaus, ging von einem Geschichtsbuch kritiklos aufs andere über und spukt heute noch in den meisten Schulgeschichtsbüchern. Ja es fand noch neulich seinen Weg bis in die Spalten einer hiesigen deutschen Zeitung!

Erst die Neuzeit hat allmählich einer gerechteren Beurteilung

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has been misinformed and I wish I could not add that some things he has willfully misrepresented.

Leislers Platz gemacht. Erst durch den Sammlerfleiß O'Callaghan's um die Mitte des letzten Jahrhunderts und die 1868 veröffentlichten Sammlungen der New Yorker historischen Gesellschaft trat ein Umschwung zu Gunsten Leislers ein. Der Herausgeber der „Documentary History des Staates New York,“ O'Callaghan, dem es gelang mehr als 250 Quartseiten Originalakte über die Leislerische Verwaltung zusammenzufinden, war es besonders, der den ehrlichen Namen und den guten Ruf Leislers wiederherstellte.

Dank ihm, dank den andern Sammlungen, dank auch der Arbeiten von Charles F. Hoffman und Friedrich Kapp ergreifen heute alle wissenschaftlich geschulten Geschichtsschreiber Leislers Partei. Und wenn sich auch manche noch nicht zu einem aus vollen Herzen kommenden Lobgesang auf den ersten vom Volke erwählten Governor, der New York die erste Volksregierung gegeben, aufzuschwingen vermögen, so fühlen sie doch, daß Leislers Regierung einen Markstein bildete in der Geschichte nicht nur der Provinz New York, sondern aller Kolonien, einen Markstein, der die Periode des Feudalismus nach rückwärts abschloß und vorwärts die Morgenröte einer neuen Zeit heraufführte.

Kein Monument, kein Straßename gemahnt die New Yorker Bevölkerung an ihren einstigen höchsten Staatsbeamten. „Die Vereinigten deutschen Gesellschaften der Stadt New York“ entledigten sich daher einer Ehrenpflicht, wenn sie ihm am 23. April 1911 ihre Anerkennung zollten und zwei junge Eichen, die der Bürgermeister und Stadtrat von Frankfurt am Main, dem Geburtsort Leislers, ihnen, der Stadt New York und dem Volk der Vereinigten Staaten in so sinniger Weise zum Geschenk gemacht, als Leisler-Eichen in die amerikanische Erde nahe der Stelle im City Hall Park pflanzten, wo die schimpfliche Szene der Hinrichtung Leislers und Milbornes stattfand. Die Eichen scheinen feste Wurzeln gefaßt zu haben. Mögen sie wachsen und gedeihen und unsere Enkel noch in den spätesten Jahrhunderten daran erinnern, daß einer der ihren die Geschicke der Colonie New York in einer der kritischsten Perioden ihres Bestehens geleitet, daß als unheilswangere Gewitter das junge Gemeinwesen zu gefährden drohten, Leisler einer Eiche gleich, den Stürmen entgegentrete,

und wenn er auch schließlich unterlag, doch den Grund legte zu dem freiheitlichen Bau, der das alte Europa mit Staunen und Bewunderung erfüllt. Wohl der Nachkommenschaft, die das Verdienst der Ahnen zu werten weiß.

Wenn ich mit diesen Worten meine Leislerrede beschloß und meinem Bedauern Ausdruck verlieh, daß bis damals kein Denkmal an den wackeren Leisler erinnere, so trifft dies heute, nach 24 Jahren, schon nicht mehr zu. Unsere Feier wirkte in doppelter Weise anregend. Das Bekanntwerden unserer Ehrung erinnerte die Bürger von New Rochelle an ihre Pflicht. Zwei Frauen gebührt der Ruhm die Sache aufgenommen zu haben: Frau Montgomery Schuyler, ein Nachkomme Leislers in der 8. Generation und Fräulein Katherine J. Clinton Carville. Schon nach kurzer Zeit gelang es ihnen, ihre Mitbürger für die Errichtung eines Leisler-Monuments zu begeistern. In dem Bildhauer Solon S. Borglum fanden sie einen vortrefflichen Künstler. Schnell ging er an die Arbeit, und schon am 25. Juni 1913 konnte das Denkmal enthüllt werden. Robert Livingston<sup>22</sup> Schuyler, ein Sohn von Frau Montgomery Schuyler und Professor der Geschichte an der Columbia Universität, hielt dabei die Festrede. Dort in New Rochelle, am Long Island Sund, steht es nun in majestätischer Größe da: die malerische Haltung, der

<sup>22</sup> Als bemerkenswerte Tatsache sei in diesem Zusammenhang noch darauf hingewiesen, daß Professor Robert Livingston Schuyler ein direkter Nachkomme von Leisler (in der 9. Generation) und Robert Livingston, dem ersten Besitzer des Livingston Manor ist, demselben Livingston, der mit Bayard das Todesurteil Leislers herbeiführte. Der Nachkomme beider war daher in keiner beneidenswerten Lage, als ihm die Aufgabe zufiel, bei der Enthüllung des Leislerdenkmals die Festrede zu halten. Unumwunden brandmarkt er darin die Aristokratenstippe — ohne indes den Namen seines Ahnen Robert Livingston zu nennen —, die vor nichts zurückschrecken, wenn sie ihre Macht bedroht sehen. Eine Stelle seiner bedeutungsvollen Rede sei wörtlich angeführt: "Of course Leisler was assailed and vilified by his enemies. This is the fate of popular leaders. That he could have been falsely accused of tyrannical corruption and evil life was to be expected... But it has shocked me to find that the historians, whose special duty it is to be unbiased and fair-minded, writing centuries after the event, have based their accounts of Leisler on the partisan testimony of his bitterest personal enemies." (Siehe oben „William Smith“ und andere.)

trozige, lebhaftes Blick, die kräftige, knorrige Gestalt, das ist der Führer des Volkes, das ist Leisler, wie er lebte und lebte.

Und noch ein anderes Denkmal ist ihm seit der Pflanzung unserer Eichen geworden. William D. Bates, angeregt durch unsere Feier (siehe seine Bemerkung auf Seite 237), sah in Leisler einen begeisternden Gegenstand für eine historische Tragödie. Auch dieses Werk — es enthält 248 Seiten — ist letzten Sommer der Öffentlichkeit übergeben worden. Leisler ist trefflich wiedergegeben, auch die meisten der Nebencharaktere sind historisch ziemlich richtig. Nur Johanna Livingston ist eine Erfindung des Dichters. Der 1. Akt spielt in Bowling Green am 21. Mai 1689; der 2. an einem Herbstmorgen 1689; der 3. im Fort am 19. März 1691, dem Tag der Ankunft Slaughter's; der 4. in Bayard's Haus und in Leisler's Heim am Morgen seiner Hinrichtung. Ein Epilog in dem Garten Van Cortlands im Herbst 1695 beschließt das Drama. Bates ist ein warmer Verteidiger Leisler's; das Drama ist würdig an einem deutschen Tag aufgeführt zu werden.

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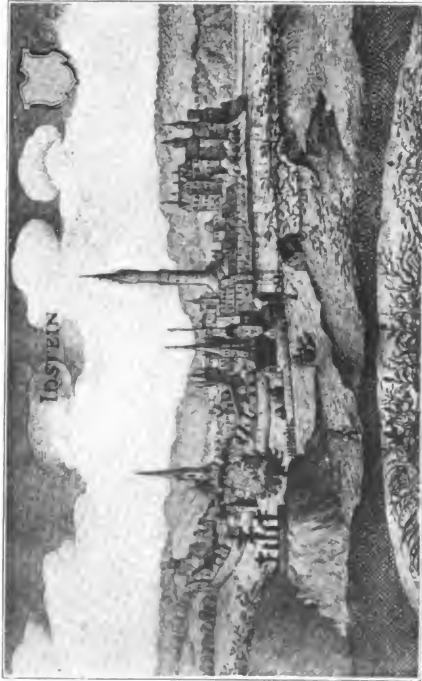
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Idstein im Januar, Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein des Malerischen Ziergartenes in früheren Jahren.

**Neue Dokumente zur Geschichte der Massenauswanderung im  
Jahre 1709.**

Herausgegeben von Julius Goebel.

Wie die Briefe deutscher Auswanderer aus dem Jahre 1709, die ich im letzten Bande des Jahrbuchs veröffentlichte, so verdanke ich auch die nachstehenden wichtigen Schriftstücke der gütigen Vermittlung von Herrn Dr. Wagner, dem verdienten Direktor des Königlichen Staatsarchivs in Wiesbaden. Auch diese Schriftstücke stammen aus alten nassauischen Landen: dem Fürstentum Nassau-Weilburg, der Niedergrafschaft Katzenelnbogen und der Gemeinschaft Nassau. Und wie sie die große Verbreitung des Auswanderungsfiebers noch weiter bezeugen, so erzählen sie im Wesentlichen die gleiche Geschichte wie jene Briefe. Wieder hören wir von der Armut und Not der Gedrückten, denen die Kunde von der wunderbaren „Insel“ überm Meere wie eine Rettungsbotschaft kommt, und wieder sehen wir, wie die Regierungen der kleinen Fürstentümer durch Verbote und Androhung strenger Strafen den Wegzug ihrer Leibeigenen zu verhindern suchen.

Von ganz besonderem geschichtlichem Werte ist das erste Schriftstück, das Protokoll über das Verhör, dem in Weilburg eine Anzahl der Auswanderer unterworfen wurden. Aus den Antworten der schlichten Leute geht zunächst die wichtige Tatsache zweifellos hervor, daß der erste Anstoß zur Massenauswanderung auf das Treiben englischer Agenten zurückzuführen ist. Es steht nun fest, daß der englische Gesandte in Frankfurt am Main Leute aus verschiedenen Ortschaften bei sich gesehen und sie beraten hat, daß er ihnen ferner ein Schreiben mitgegeben und das Buch über Carolina, wahrscheinlich Kocherthals „Ausführlich und Umständlicher Bericht von der berühmten Landschaft Carolina“, das in Frankfurt erschienen war, unter sie ausgeteilt hat. Und was dieser Vertreter Englands in Frankfurt getan hat, das haben englische Gesandte und Agenten in der Pfalz und anderswo ohne Zweifel ebenfalls gemacht.



Wir erinnern uns, daß das englische Parlament, durch die Opposition gegen die Massenzuwanderung der sogenannten „Pfälzer“ gedrängt, am 15. Januar 1710 ein Untersuchungskomitee ernannte, das den Zweck hatte festzustellen: upon what invitation or encouragement the Palatines came over, and what moneys were expended in bringing them over and by whom.<sup>1</sup> Der Bericht, den dieses Komitee am 14. April 1711 vorlegte, erwähnt die Tatsache, daß Bücher und Schriften (papers) in der Pfalz verbreitet wurden, um die Leute zur Auswanderung zu bewegen, allein er vermeidet es anzugeben, wer die Verbreitung der Schriften besorgte. Auch der Frankfurter Gesandte, ein Mr. Davenant, erscheint in dem Berichte. Es wird von ihm gesagt, daß er den Pfälzer Auswanderern „Pässe, Geldunterstützung und Empfehlungen“ verweigert habe aus Furcht den Kurfürsten von der Pfalz damit zu beleidigen, daß er sich aber an seine Regierung gewandt habe um zu erfahren, was der Wille der Königin in dieser Angelegenheit sei und wie er sich zu verhalten habe. Darauf sei ihm durch den Staatssekretär Boyle der Bescheid geworden, daß, so angenehm es der Königin auch sei, wenn sich die armen Leute in ihren Besitzungen niederlassen wollten, sie doch in keiner Weise ihre Zustimmung geben könne, daß Herr Davenant in öffentlicher Weise (in any public way) durch Geld oder Pässe die Untertanen des Kurfürsten ermuntere, ihr Land ohne dessen Zustimmung zu verlassen.

Herr Davenant verstand den schlauen Wink und besorgte nun, wie die Aussagen der Auswanderer beweisen, heimlich und indirekt, was er öffentlich nicht tun durfte. Im Hinblick auf das furchtbare Schicksal, das Tausende der armen Leute, die auf diese Weise zur Auswanderung verlockt wurden, später traf, erscheint die Doppelzüngigkeit und Treulosigkeit der englischen Diplomatie in um so grellerem Lichte.

Aus unserem Protokoll geht übrigens auch hervor, daß neben den englischen Agenten noch andere Personen die Auswanderungslust schürten. So hören wir von zwei aus Amerika Zurückgekehrte, von denen der eine, aus dem Darinstädtischen stammend, über 30 Jahre in Pennsylvanien oder Carolina gewohnt haben soll und

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York, Vol. III, p. 1724.

herausgezogen sei, um mehr Leute zu holen. Ob wir es hier mit fogenannten Neuländern oder Seelenverkäufern zu tun haben oder nicht, läßt sich natürlich nicht feststellen.

Schließlich gibt das Verhör die interessantesten Einblicke nicht nur in die wirtschaftliche Lage der Armen, sondern auch in die Art und Weise wie die Auswanderungslust um sich greift, ja in die Seelenverfassung des tief erregten Volkes überhaupt.

Zu den übrigen Schriftstücken ist wenig zu bemerken; sie zeigen uns, welche Mittel die verschiedenen kleinen Regierungen ergriffen, um der Massenauswanderung Einhalt zu tun. Zu diesen Mitteln gehört auch der Brief aus Leyden (No. VIII), der durch die Schilderung der Lage, in der sich die armen, in Rotterdam Gestrandeten befanden, abschreckend auf die Daheimgebliebenen wirken will. Leider fehlt dem Briefe die Unterschrift, so daß sich nicht bestimmt feststellen läßt, wie weit und durch wen er von England her inspiriert worden war. Denn daß dies der Fall war, ergibt sich schon daraus, daß der englische Gesandte Dayrall darin als barmherziger Tugendheld erscheint, während die deutschen Auswanderer als leichtgläubige Narren hingestellt werden, die sich von falschen Gerüchten hätten verleiten lassen. Da wir jetzt aus dem oben besprochenen Verhör wissen, von wem diese „falschen Gerüchte“ in Deutschland verbreitet wurden, so kann man nur über die kaltblütige Verlogenheit staunen, mit der man die Verantwortung für das Schicksal der Armen von sich abschütteln wollte.

## I.

Abtschrift.

An alle Beambte, Unteramt, Oberamt, Mehrenberg, Gleiberg, Süttenberg, Kirchheim, Reichelsheim.

Unseren

Als dem eußerlichen Verlauf und theils würcklichem befinden nach sich einige Unterthanen des Landes zusammen thun und mit dem nichtigen Bornehmen, nach der Insel Pensilvania sich zu begeben, das ihrige zum Verkauf außbieten sollen; So wird Euch Rahmens und auf gnädigsten befehl des Hochgebohrnen Unfers gnädigsten graffen und Herrn Hochgräflichen Excellenz hiermit alles Ernstes befohlen, nicht nur dorauß zu sehen, daß zu solchem Ende keine leuthe in dem Euch anvertrauten . . . Amt sich also

weilers zusamen rottiren, das ihrige verkaufen und davon gehen dörffen, sondern ein solches durch angelegtes Hochverpöntes Verbot im Kauff und Verkauff euffersten fleißes zu behindern, daß mit solcherley Vorkschub, das ohnbegründete dessein nicht befördert werde. Wornach Ihr Euch also zu achten. Und Wir . . .

Weilburg, den 24. May 1709.

Fragen worüber die in angelegter Supplic unterschriebene Unterthanen verschiedener Dorffschafften und Aemter, nach der in der unterschrifft befindlichen Ordnung, nach einander zu vernehmen und deren darauff aufffallende Außsagen, so sie an eides Stadt Stipulata manu et praevia avisatione thun sollen, in ein accurates protocoll zu bringen.

1. Wie er heiße, und wie alt er sey? item was religion?
2. Ob er im land oder wo sonst gebürtig?
3. Wie lang er Verheyrahtet sey und wie viel Kinder er habe?
4. Wie er zu erst auff die in dem an gnädigste Herrschafft gestern übergebenen Memorial enthaltene gedanden gekommen? und wer den ersten anlaß darzu gegeben.
5. Ob nicht jemand ihn darzu beredet? und wer solches gethan.
6. was ihm dann eigentlich von der so genanten neuen Insel wißent?
7. Wer ihm solches gefaget und mit was umständen?
8. Wo und zu welcher Zeit daselbe geschehen?
9. Wer das Memorial gemacht und auff wessen geheiß oder Veranstaten?
10. Woher er die Mittel zu der vorhabenden Reise zu nehmen gedenke?

Actum den 23. May 1709.

Nachdem einige Unterthanen bey Illustrißimi Hochgräfllicher Excellenz ein Memorial übergeben umb ihnen zu erlauben sich außer Lands und nach der neuen Insel begeben und das ihrige verkaufen zu dörffen: Als haben Höchstgedachte Ihre Excellenz gnädigst befohlen, solche nach und nach über beyliegende Fragstück zu vernehmen, welchem nach dan, einer nach dem andern vorgelassen und unter gegebener Handtrew an Endtsstatt angelobte, die Wahrheit dessen, waß er befraget würde auszusagen, und deponirte also auf angeregte Interrogatoria folgender maßen

1. Der im Memorial gefetzte erste

Ad 1) num: Christian Schneider, 25 Jahr, Lutherischer religion.

2) Ja, im Land.

3) Nun 2 Jahr, habe noch kein Kind.

4) Man habe hin und wieder im Land davon geredt, und seyen die Alterkircher; so selbst zu Frankfurt bey dem Engelfischem Abgesandten deßhalb gewesen, auch dem Vorgeben nach schreiben von solchem mitbracht.

5) Wiße niemand, sondren habe sich selbst resolviret, wann sich Leuth zusamen thäten dahin zu ziehen, er auch es thun wolte.

6) Weiter nichts dann es ein wüstes Land zwar seye, jedoch durch die Bauung und arbeit guth gemacht werden könnte.

7) In dem Buch, so der Engelländische abgesandte austheilte, deren eines der Zimmermann von Eßershauffen gehohlet und die Wohnstätten haben solten, da solle es stehen, jedoch habe er es noch nicht gelesen.

Befragt, welcher ihm dann dießes aus dem Buch gefaget?

Respon: gedachter Zimmermann.

8) Wiße es nicht eigentlich mehr, seye vor dem Feiertag gewesen.

9) Der hiesige Mädger Schulmeister, und sein sohn habe es abgeschrieben, er wiße aber nicht, wer es bestelt.

10) Er müste zu erst sehen, was gnädigste Herrschafft auf das memoriale resolvirte, von den mitteln gedächte Er die reise zu thun biß nacher London, da ihnen alles restituiret werden würde.

Befragt, wer ihnen dann solches gefaget,

Resp. Die Leuth so vorerwähnte Bücher hätten.

2. Ad 1) PPhil(ipp) Adam Hartmann, 31 Jahr und Lutherisch.

2) Ja, im Land.

3) 8 Jahr und habe ein Kind, so ein Mädgen.

- 4) Er habe gestern Herrn Holz geführt und seye bey die Compagnie, da sie davon gesprochen, dan habe er sich resolviret, wann es so seye, auch mitzuziehen, jedoch wann zu Dromershausen erlaubet würde, einzuräumen was vor diesem Feld gewesen, auch dem Wild gesteuert würde, verlangte er nicht weg.
  - 5) Nein, Gott habe ihm die gedanken eingegeben, weilien die Leuth so davon geredet.
  - 6) seye ihm angerechnet worden, daß man in einem Jahr so viel ziehen und Erndten könnte, umb 2 Jahr davon zu leben, wann man arbeiten wolte.
  - 7) Die Leuth von Altenkirchen und der Zimmermann, so die Bücher hätten.
  - 8) Gestern.
  - 9) Der Mädger Schulmeister alhier und hätten es die Altenkircher bestelt.
  - 10) Er wiße noch keine Mittel dazu, wan ihm nicht erlaubet würde, seine sachen zu verkauffen.
3. Ad 1) zum Joh. Adam Fehd, etliche und 30 Jahr und Lutherisch.
- 2) Ja.
  - 3) Ja, und habe einen Sohn.
  - 4) Er habe gar wehnieg güter, darauff er sich nicht ernehren könnte, was er habe könnte er vor dem Wild nicht behalten, wann aber diesem etwas gesteuert, und erlaubet würde, mehr einzuraumen, daß er sein Brod ziehen könnte, verlangte er nicht hinweg; von denen Altenkircher habe er die erste nachricht davon erhalten.
  - 5) Nein, das theure Brod brächte ihn dazu.
  - 6) Er wüßte weiter nichts als daß man auch alda arbeiten und seyn Brod reichlicher haben könnte.
  - 7) von den Leuthen, so mit dahin wolten.
  - 8) dieße Woche. .
  - 9) Wiße es nicht.
  - 10) Müste sehn wie er mit gottes Hülf fortkäme.
4. Ad 1) Joh. Willig, 32 Jahr, Lutherisch.
- 2) Ja.
  - 3) 7 Jahr und habe 3 Söhn.

- 4) weil er arm und nicht mehr habe, als was er mit seinem Zimmerhandwerk verdiene, also ein bessers suchen thäte. Zu Großen Linden hätten sie ein Buch gehabt wegen dießer Insel, da habe er es erfahren.
  - 5) Nein.
  - 6) Es solte alda besser seyn und habe er hier zu land nichts eigenthümliches, dorten aber dergleichen bekäme, wan er arbeitthen thäte.
  - 7) Die Leuth zu Großen Linden.
  - 8) die vorige Woche.
  - 9) Der Mädder Schulmeister, und hätten es die Altkircher bestellt.
  - 10) Er wolte verkauffen das wehnige was er habe und darzu anwenden.
5. Ad 1) Joh. Lind, 30 Jahr, Lutherisch.
- 2) seye von Cöppern aus dem Homburgischen an der Höhe gebürthig und ins Land gezogen.
  - 3) Ja, 6 Jahr und habe einen sohn und eine tochter.
  - 4) Er habe den Winter gebauet und weil er die frucht verdorben, so wüste er sich nicht mehr zu ernehren, und weil er aus den Büchern von solcher Insel gehöret, so habe er sich auch dahin zu ziehen resolvirt; aus dem Darmbstättischen seyen auch Leuth dahin gezogen, davon habe er die erste nachricht.
  - 5) Nein.
  - 6) Wüste weiter nichts als was in den Büchern stünde.
  - 7) et 8) Cessant.
  - 9) ut praecedens.
  - 10) Er gedächte das seinige zu verkauffen, so er ja doch verthun und verzehren müste.
6. Ad 1) Hans Georg Güberling, 40 Jahr, Lutherisch.
- 2) Seye ins Land gezogen und sonst von Lindheim an der Straß, seye Ritterchaftlich.
  - 3) 16 Jahr, habe 3 Mädder.
  - 4) Das Armuth treibe ihn darzu, ob er schon tag und nacht auff seinem Zimmerhandwerk arbeitete, so wolte es ihm doch die Nahrung nicht gewinnen machen, anderes habe er eben keinen sonderlichen lusten darzu; die

anlaß, so er darzu bekomen, seye aus denen Büchern geschehen, so sie in Braunsfelhschen auch zu Alttenkirchen gehabt, der Schulmeister Petri zu Reißkirchen und seine Pusch hatten es ins Dorff gebracht.

- 5) Nein.
  - 6) Habe keine Wißenschafft weiter als was die Leuth aus denen Büchern erzehlten.
  - 7) die aus dem Braunsfelhschen.
  - 8) Vor den Feyertagen.
  - 9) ut modo praeced.
  - 10) Wolte sein Vieh verkauffen.
7. Ad 1) Philips Petri, 42 Jahr, Lutherisch.
- 2) Ja.
  - 3) 12 Jahr, habe 4 Kinder, 2 Söhn und 2 Töchter.
  - 4) Das große Armuth treibe ihn darzu, seye von denen Brandbeschädigten und habe sich seither nicht erholen können, auch dieß Jahr fast keine frucht zu gewarthten, weilen die acker nicht, wie sichs gehöret, beßern können. Er habe es von den leuthen gehöret.
  - 5) Habe ihn eben niemand dazu beredet, man habe allerorthen davon gesprochen.
  - 6) Wüßte davon noch nichts, müste wagen, wie es ihm gehe.
  - 7) et 8) Cessant.
  - 9) ut praeced.
  - 10) Müße das seinige verkaufen was er habe.
8. Ad 1) Joh. Flach, 30 Jahr, Catholisch.
- 2) seye ins Land gezogen.
  - 3) 10 Jahr, habe 3 Kinder, so Söhn seyen.
  - 4) Das armuth und habe er keinen sond zu erwartthen, das wild habe das übrige gefressen, solches habe ihn darzu resolviren machen, er habe zu Frankfurth das mehreste davon gehöret und Er und Gernhard Stahl sich sogleich auch ein Buch, darin die beschreibung der Insel stünde, vor 3 haben gekauft.
  - 5) Cessat.

- 6) Wiſſte weiter nichts als was aus dem Buch ihm daraus vorgelefen worden.  
Befragt wo das Buch dann feye?  
Resp. Ein Hammerschmidt von Diedenhausen habe es ihm abgelehnet und vorgewand Herr Amtmann Krafft verlangte das Buch, der hätte (es) aber gewiß wieder anderweithig hin verlehnet.
- 7) et 8) Cessant.  
9) ut praeced.
- 10) Er müſte ſehen wie er forth käme.
9. Ad 1) Georg Phil. Müd., 32 Jahr, Lutheriſch.  
2) Ja.  
3) 8 Jahr, und habe 2 Mädder und einen ſohn.  
4) Daß armuth habe ihn darzu gebracht, auch kein Erndt zu hoffen, und freſe das übrige das Wild, ſeyen Leuth aus der Pfalz im Dorff geweſen, von ſolchen habe er es zuerſt gehöret.  
5) Nein.  
6) Daß die Königin von Engelland den Leuthen das brod geben wolte, biß ſie daffelbige erziehen konten.  
7) Die Pfalzer Leuth, ſo wieder heim gezogen.  
8) Vor den feyertagen etwan 3 Wochen.  
9) ut praeced.  
10) Wolte das ſeinige verkaufen.
10. Ad 1) Gerhard Stahl, 38 Jahr, reformirt.  
2) ſeye aus dem Braunſelſiſchen dahin gezogen.  
3) 12 Jahr, habe 4 Söhne.  
4) Er müſte ſich nicht mehr alda aus zubringen. Es ſeye ein Kerl von Aßlar aus dem Braunſelſiſchen gebürthig aus der Inſul, ſo ſchon 1½ Jahr darin gewohnt, vor den feyertagen gekommen und 6 familien von Aßlar mit weg genommen nach dieſer Inſul, ſo durch Weßlar den 2. feyertagen gezogen, daher habe er die mehreſte nachricht und aus den Büchern, ſo man feilt rüge, Herr Amtmann zu Weilmünſter habe dergleichen eines.



Befragt, ob er nicht auch eins gehabt und mit dem  
Nachen zu Frankfurth gekauft?

Resp. Ja habe es mitgebracht, so Herr Amtmann  
hohlen lassen.

- 5) Cessat.
  - 6) Wüßte weiter nichts als was in den Büchern stehe.
  - 7) et 8) Cessant.
  - 9) ut praecedentes.
  - 10) Wolte seine sachen verkauffen.
11. Ad 1) Joh. Wilh. Yoland, 38 Jahr, reform.  
2) Seye aus Heßen land gebürthig.  
3) 7 Jahr, habe 2 Söhn und 1 Tochter.  
4. Das Armuth brächte ihn darzu, könnte sich nicht mehr  
ausbringen, habe es von Pfälzer leuthen gehört, und  
rede man überall davon.  
5) Nein.  
6) Es solte alda gut seyn, daß man seine Nahrung da-  
selbst haben könne.  
7) Wüßte nicht mehr wo ihm solches am ersten gesagt.  
8) vor etwam 19 tagen. .  
9) ut praeced.  
10) Wolte das seinige verkauffen.
12. Ad 1) Joh. Wilh. Klein, 25 Jahr, Lutherisch.  
2) Ja.  
3) seither Christag.  
4) Wüßte sich nicht mehr bey jetziger schlechten Zeit zu er-  
nehren, Er habe es von reisenden Fuhrleuthen er-  
fahren, auch solle es in Darmstättischen angeschlagen  
gewesen seyn.  
5) Nein.  
6) Wüßte weiter nichts als was in den Büchern stände.  
7) Cessat.  
8) seye eben nicht so lang.  
9) ut praeced.  
10) Die Königin wolte Ja den Leuthen vorstreden.
13. Ad 1) mum: Valentin Römsbott, 37 Jahr, reform.  
2) sey aus dem Braunsfelßischen.  
3) 12 Jahr, und habe 2 Söhn.

- 4) Das brod könnte er nicht mehr mit seinem Hammer-  
schmidt-Handwerk vor die feinigern erwerben, so habe er  
auch nicht güter genug darzu, könnte aber nicht sagen,  
woher er es zu erst gehöret.
  - 5) Nein.
  - 6) Es sollt daselbsten gut land seyn und man etliche Jahr  
das Brodt, auch land bekommen. .
  - 7) aus den Büchern, deren sie eines von Altenkirchen ge-  
lehnt bekommen, so nachgehends ins Braunsfelßische ge-  
lehnt worden, er habe das Buch alda vor Herrn Ambt-  
mann Krafft hohlen sollen, solcher habe aber schon eines  
gehabt von seinem Schreiber.
  - 8) am verwichenen freytag.
  - 9) ut praeced.
  - 10) Wolte seine Sachen verkauffen.
14. Ad 1) Joh. Phil. Hezel, 36 Jahr, Lutherisch.
- 2) Ja.
  - 3) 16 Jahr, habe 4 Mäddger und 2 Söhn.
  - 4) Er seye ein armer Schäfer und habe 6 Kinder, so er  
nicht mehr eruehren könne, weilen andere leuth dahin  
zögen, wolte er es auch wagen, und habe er die Bücher  
dabon lesen hören.
  - 5) Nein.
  - 6) Die Bücher sagten, daß es ein gut land, man müste aber  
arbeiten.
  - 7) et 8) Cessant.
  - 9) ut omnes praeced.
  - 10) wolte seine wehnige Schafe verkaufen.
15. Ad 1) Joh. Niclas Jung, 30 Jahr, Lutherisch.
- 2) Ja.
  - 3) 7 Jahr, habe 2 Söhn und 1 tochter.
  - 4) Die armuth und weilen er kein gut genug habe sich  
darauf zu nehren, habe ihn darzu resolviren machen, und  
habe er es zu erst zu Frankfurth gehöret.
  - 5) Nein, das armuth treibe ihn darzu.
  - 6) Wüste weiter nichts als daß man alda Secken und  
sträucher müste ausmachen und arbeiten.
  - 7) habe es in und außer landes gehöret und zwar von

einem Man als er den letzten Pfingstfeiertag zu Berg gewesen, von einem Darmstättischen Mann, so über 30 Jahr alda gewohnet, der ihm solches gerühmet und deshalb herausgezogen umb mehr Leuth zu hohlen.

- 8) wie jetzt gemelt.
  - 9) sollte ein Schulmeister seyn.
  - 10) Wüßte es noch nicht.
16. Ad 1) Heinrich Erbe, 63 Jahr, Lutherisch.
- 2) Ja.
  - 3) 24 Jahr, habe 9 Kinder, wovon 3 Söhn und 2 Mädger mitnehmen wolte.
  - 4) Es habe der Zimmermann von Essershausen ein Buch nach Rohnstatt gebracht, darin habe er es gesehen und anlaß bekommen, und treibe ihn übrigens das armuth darzu.
  - 5) Nein.
  - 6) Wüßte weiter nichts alß was in den Büchern davon stünde.
  - 7) et 8) Cessant.
  - 9) ut praecedentes.
  - 10) Müßte etwas von dem seinigen verkaufen.
17. Ad 1) Peter Ott, 40 Jahr, Lutherisch.
- 2) Ja.
  - 3) 20 Jahr, habe 5 Kinder, 3 Söhn und 2 Mädger.
  - 4) Das armuth und das theure brod bringen ihn darzu, sonst habe er davon schon öfters reden hören und die Feiertag nach Altkirchen welche ein Buch davon haben solten, gegangen und die hätten es ihm gesagt.
  - 5) Habe ihn niemand darzu beredet.
  - 6) weiter nichts alß was im Buch stehe.
  - 7) habe es von Joh. Flachen gehört.
  - 8) am 2ten Feiertag. .
  - 9) Cessat.
  - 10) Wolte sein Vieh verkaufen, die güter aber seinen Kindern erster Ehe lassen, wan er etliche achtel Korn könte gelehnt bekommen, so wolte er von Herzen gern hier bleiben.

18. Ad 1) Wenzel Dern, 40 Jahr, Lutherisch.  
 2) Ja.  
 3) 14 Jahr, und habe 3 Söhne und 4 Töchter.  
 4) Das armuth brächte ihn darzu, wüßte die seinige nicht mehr zu ernehen, und habe er es im Braunfelsischen gehöret.  
 5) Nein.  
 6) Wüßte weiter nichts als was davon geschrieben würde.  
 7) et 8) 9) Cessant.  
 10) Wolte seine Kuh verkaufen, die güter aber seinen freunden lassen.
19. Ad 1) Joh. Henrich Rothenberger, 27 Jahr, Lutherisch.  
 2) Ja.  
 3) Noch kein  $\frac{1}{2}$  Jahr.  
 4) Er habe noch nichts und wüßte auf seinem Bendersandwerk sich jetzund nicht zu nehren, von den Altenkircher habe er die mehreste nachricht bekommen, zu welchen er expreß gegangen und gefragt.  
 5) Nein.  
 6) Es seye ihm gelobet worden.  
 7) Bey dem Gernhard zu Altenkirchen habe er dar nach gefragt.  
 8) am 2ten Feiertag als er alda in der Kirch gewesen.  
 9) Cessat.  
 10) Wüßte es noch nicht.

Dießes hierin beschehenes nachsuchen wird als unbegründet und zu der Unterthanen größesten Misere gereichendes beginnen hiermit abgeschlagen und bey ernstlicher Straff verboten dergleichen ferners nicht zu unternehmen. Wornach sich zu achten.

Weilburg den 24. May 1709.

Abdruck.

## II.

HochEdlegebörne Gestrenge HochEdle, Best undt Hochgelährte Fürstlich Nassau Saarbückische Herrn Geheimbder Hoff- undt Regierungsräthe, (großgünstige) Hochgeehrteste Herrn,

Er(er) Gestr(engen) und HochEdle gebe hiermit gehorsambst zu vernehmen, wasgestalten auff die Erschollene Nachricht, daß in

Pensilvanien einige Neue Colonien etablirt werden sollen. Verschiedene unterthanen in diesem Ambt sich angegeben, umb daselbstn Ihr Stüd Brodt: welches bey dießen Theuren undt Korn Klemmen Zeiten Sie alhier zu erwerben nicht vermögten: zu haben, dorthin zu ziehen entschlossen seindt. Wen nun nach beyliegenden Memorialen beede Supplicanten auch dahin zugehen resolvirt, undt unterth(änig)st anhalten. So habe Meinen Pflichtmäßigen Bericht derer wegen umb Loosblasung der LeibEigenschafft unterth(änig)st anhalten. So habe Meinen Pflichtmäßigen Bericht derer wegen hiermit erstatten sollen, Wie daß der Eine Leonhardt Gimmigoffen Laut des Schultheißens eingefandten Verichts undt geschenehen Taxation nach abzug seiner Schulden in bonis ad 40 Rthlr (Reichsthaler) habe, Welcher dann zu Erhaltung Weib und 3 Kinder nicht sufficient seyen, Ihme das Brod biß zu kommenden Petri zu bestreiten. Der 2te Wilhelm Duffing, ist ein Strompfftrider, undt ehemahlen Schuhmeister zu Obern Dieffenbach gewesen, hat weder Sand noch Landt, undt hat sich nach abgegebenem Schuldiens, Säuerlich ernehren müßen, daß also dießen Umständen nach an Veeden nicht viel verlohren, undt bey gnädigster Disposition stehet, ob Sie dem ersten ein geringes Loosgeld abzufordern, undt dem Lettern dieße Loosgebung aus Gnaden schenken oder Veeden gratis weg zugehen die Gnädigste Verordnung ergehen zu lassen, belieben wollten, Und weilen dem Vernehmen nach noch mehrere, darunter wohlhabende, seyn sollen, sich an zu geben willens, So will Umb grgl. (großgünstige) Verhaltungsordre gebeten haben, ob gegen solche per mandatum de non alienando bona mobiliaet immobilia zu verfahren? Undt die emptores sub poena confiscationis pretij, davon zu dehortieren seyen? Wormit Mich zu Hohem Andenken erlasse undt in geziemendem Respect Bin

Er(er) Gestr(engen) undt HochEdle  
 Meiner grgl. (großgünstig) HochgeEhrtisten  
 Herrn Gehorsamer undt dienitwilliger Diner  
 Seybach

N. Scheuern, den 23 May 1709.

Original.

Die äußere Adresse lautet:

Denen HochEdelgebohrnen Bestrengen Hoch-  
Edlen Best undt Hochgelahrten, Fürstl(ich)  
Rat̄sau Saarbrücd(ischen) Herrn Geheimbden  
Hoff- undt Regierunqs Rät̄he, ergl. Hochge-  
Ehrtiste Herrn Z̄hstein.

Darauf ist weiter bemerkt:

Weilen supplicanten zu Weilburg abschlägige antwort erhalten, haben selbige dißes schreiben gestern zurückgebracht, Indeßen undt gebeten, auf das petitum mir gg verhaltung zuertheilen N. S. den 6 juny 1709.

Abßchrift.

III.

An Herrn Amttmann Heybach  
zu Rat̄sau Z̄hstein den 12 juny  
1709.

P. P.

Aus desSen bericht hat mann ersehen wasgestalten einige AmtsUnterthanen gewillet, sich von der LeibEigenschaft loß zu machen und in die Z n s u l P e n s i l v a n i e n zu ziehen.

Nachdeme nun dergleichen aus hiezigen Oberamt und in Wißbaden auch anderen Aemtern mehr, sich ebenfalß an gemeldet, denselben aber vorgestellt, auch besagder Anlag außß Landt publicirt worden, daß diße leuth aus ermangelnder information und erschollenen irrigen gericht (Gerücht) sich und die ihrige ins Verderben stürzen, wann Sie Hauß und Hoff verlasßen und auff ein ungewißes wegziehen Alß wolle der Herr Amttmann nach beschehener Communication mit dem Weyß(urger) S(ernn) Amttmann den Unterthanen dießes Verbott beandt machen und durchaus nicht gestatten, daß sie ihr vorhaben bewirken, Und wir verbleiben demselben zu Erweisung angenehmer freundschaftsbezeigung willig und bereit.

J. N. J. GSWR Rath.

(Fürstlich Rat̄sau-Z̄hsteinischer Geheimer und Regierunqs-Rath.)  
Konzept.

Abchrift.

Copia.

IV.

Ernst Ludwig

Lieber Getreuer, Unß ist vorkommen, daß Viele Unterthanen aus dem Land giengen und vorschützten, daß die Lasten So sie zutragen allzugroß auch neben der schweren Contribution der licent gleich wie in der Pfalz in Unßern Landen introduciret werden sollte. Nachdem nun dasjenige so Ihnen wegen des neu einführenden licentß bengebracht worden, auf falschen Grund stehet, und weder Uns noch Unßern nachgesetzten Rätthen etwas darvon bewußt ist, So befehlen Wir dir hiermit gnädigst, daß Du die Unterthanen des dir anbefohlenen Ampts solches bedeutest, und von ihrem Vorhaben abmahnest, von ihnen aber vernehmeist, was dann das vor Läste seyen, welche Sie so hart trückten und daßelbe unterthänigst berichtest, indeszen niemand außer Landes zuziehen gestattest. Er habe dann bey Unß deßfals nachgesucht. Versehens Unß und seind dir

Braubach.

mit Gnaden gewogen. Darmstadt am 1sten May 1709.

Ernst Ludwig.

Abchrift.

Copia.

V.

Ernst Ludwig.

Liebe Getreue: Nachdem Unß die Anzeige geschehen, daß verschiedene Unßerer Unterthanen, Unßerer Obern Graffschafft Cagenebnogen, außer Lands und in entfernte Orthe zu ziehen, Vorhabens seyn sollen, auch bereits einige heimlich, und ohne erhaltens Unßern gnädigsten Consens, sich weggebenen hätten: Wir aber solche Eigenwilligkeit nicht gestatten wollen, sondern gnädigst begehren, daß alle diejenigen, so von Unßern Unterthanen ferner außerhalb Landes ziehen wollen, Zuvorderist umb Unßere gnädigste Erlaubnuß gebührende Nachsichung thun, und die Ursachen solcher emigration in denen übergebenden Memorialien anführen, auch von Unßern Beampten einen verschloßenen pflichtmäßigen Ampts-Bericht von des Unterthanen Zustand mitbringen solle. Unß ist Unßer Gnädigster Befehl hiermit an Euch, daß ihr Euch darnach achtet, und diese Unßere Verordnung, in dem Euch gnädigst anvertrauten Nembter unter öffentlichen Glockenschlag, ohnverlängt publiciret, und anbey anführet, daß wer ohne nachsuchen,

und ohne Unsern erhaltenen gnädigsten Consens das geringste von seinen liegenden oder fahrenden Güther verkauffen, und auf dem Lande ziehen würde, nach Befinden am Vermögen, oder auch gar am Leibe deswegen abgestrafet werden sollte. Versehens Uns, also ohnfehlbar zu geschehen, und seind Euch mit Gnaden gemogen. Darmstadt am 29ten April 1709.

Ex Speciali Commissione Serenissimi  
Fürstlich Hessische Cantzlar und Geheime Rätthe  
J. B. Schröder Cantzlar.

Abshrift.

VI.

Unsern Gl. (Gnädigsten) Gruß zuvor, Erbare, gute Freunde Nachdem Wir benachrichtigt worden, wasmaßen aus der fördern und hintern Graffschafft Sponheim, viele Einwohnere, besonders aber LeibEigene Leuthe, ohne vorher erlangte Erlaubnuß, von ihrer Obrigkeit, von ihren Häußern und Güthern weg- und in die sogenannte Englische Landschafft Pensylvaniam ziehen sollen, und Wir darunter ersuchet worden, auf solche Leuthe genaue achtung geben und Sie auf Betretten anhalten zu lassen. Als Befehlen in des Durchleuchtigsten Unßers gnädigsten Fürsten und Herrn Nahmen Wir hiermit, vor Uns G(nädigst) gesinnende, daß Ihr alle und jede Durchpassirende genau examinirt, und wann sie etwann aus besagter Graffschafft Sponheim her- und nicht mit gebührenden Abschieden und Zeugnußen versehen waren, selbige sofort anhalten lasset, und darauf zu weiterer Verordnung berichtet und Wir seynd Euch Gl. (Gnädigst) geneigt. Darmstadt den 11ten July 1709.

Fürstlich Hessische Cantzlar, Geheimbde und Regierungs-Rätthe  
daselbst.

J. B. Schroedern.

Original.

Die äußere Adresse lautet:

Denen Erbaren Unsern guten Freunden, Johann Christian Kriegsmann, und Sebastian Klingelhöfern, Fürstlich Hessischen Amtskellern zu Braubach, sodann AmtSchultheißen zu Capenelobogen.

Braubach. Capenelobogen.  
remittatur.



Abschrift.

Copia.

VII.

Unsern G(nädigen) Gruß Zuvor, Erbarer, Guter Freund. Nachdem wir von versicherter Hand aus Holland, wegen der sich dermahlen außer Landes begebenden Unterthanen, eine solche Nachricht erhalten, wie die Gedruckte Anlage des mehrern besaget, Alß begehren in des Durchleuchtigsten Unfers Gnädigsten Fürsten und Herrn Rahmen Wir hiermit, Vor Uns G(nädigst) gefinnende, daß ihr deren Inhalt nicht allein in allen und jeden Euch anvertrauten Ampts Orthen bey versambleter Gemeinde deutlich publiciret und kund machet, sondern auch einen jeden von denen Unterthanen, welche in die Insul Carolinam ziehen wollen, die Gefahr, wie sie sich so gar auf was UngewisSES wegbegeben nachdrücklich Vorstelllet. Und wir seynd Euch g(nädigst) geneigt, Darmstatt am 28ten May 1709.

Fürstlich Hessische Canzlar, Geheime und Regierungs Rätthe.  
Braubach.

Copia.

VIII.

Abschrift.

Copia

Leyden 14. May, 1709.

Monsieur!

Repondant à l'honneur de la vôtre du 8. de ce Mois, je dois vous dire, que vous pouvez bien dire à tous ceux, qui sont en mouvement, pour vouloir plier bagage là haut, dans la vue de chercher du pain ailleurs, quand ce seroit pour passer en Amerique, que jusq'à present il n'y a pas le moindre ordre pour cela venu d'Angleterre, soit pour leur fournir de quoy venir jusq'en Hollande, moins encore pour passer la Mer, et c'est une Chimere, si les Gens là haut croyent, qu'il y ait icy des vaisseaux, aprestés pour leur transport. Il n'y a que deux ou trois jours, que Monsieur d'Ayrolle,<sup>2</sup> Ministre de la grande Bretagne, presentement à la Haye avoit par charité fait passer vingt personnes par le paque-boot en Angleterre de ceux qui au nombre de plus de mille sont campés devant Rotterdam sur les digues, pour

<sup>2</sup> Der wirkliche Name des englischen Gesandten in Holland war Deyraffe, wie aus den Verhandlungen des Parlaments hervorgeht.

ne pas se noyer dans les plaines, qui sont remplies d'eau, souffrant la dernière misère et faim. Et l'on a fait dans la dite ville de Rotterdam dans quelques bonnes familles des collectes, pour trouver de l'assistance à ces fols, qui se sont laissés éblouir par les faux bruits, qui se répandent dans vos quartiers, étant la plus-part du Palatinat, croyant trouver en Hollande les ordres et les vaisseaux nécessaires à leur transport et passage en Amérique. Voilà, Monsieur, tout ce que je sais sur cette matière, etc.

A son Excellence,

Monsieur le Chancelier

à

Darmstadt.

Druck.

(Uebersetzung.)

Leiden den 14. May, 1709.

Mein Herr!

Auf dessen Geehrtes von 8. dieses Monats zu antworten, muß ich Ihm berichten, daß Er allen denjenigen, so bereit stehen droben ihre Sachen einzupacken, auß dem Absehen, ihr Brod anderwärts zu suchen, gar Wohl andeuten kan, wann solches geschähe, umb in Americam überzugehen, daß biß dato noch nicht die geringste Ordre und Befehl deßwegen auß Engeland angekommen ist, weder wegen Veranstaltung ihrer Ueberkunfft in Holland, noch viel weniger aber zur See überzugehen, und daß es ein erdichtetes Wesen ist, Wann die Leut droben meynen, daß alhier Schiffe zu ihrer Ueberführung bereit ständen. Es sind allerst 2 oder 3 Tage, daß Monsieur d'Hyrolle, Ministre von Engeland, welcher sich dermalen im Haag befindet, auß Liebe 20. Personen mit seinem Paquet-Vot in Engeland hat lasse übergehen von denen jenigen, welche an der Zahl über 1000 stark vor Rotterdam auff denen Dämmen liegen, damit sie auß der Ebene, welche voll Wassers ist, nicht ertrinken mögen. Indessen stehen sie das größte Elend und Hunger auß. Man hat in besagter Stadt Rotterdam bey einigen gutherzigen Familien etwas colligiret, umb diesen thörichten Leuthen zu Hülf zu kommen, die sich durch falsche Gerüchte, welche in ihrer gegend außgebreitet worden, haben verblenden lassen. Die mehreste sind auß der Psalz, und haben

sich dieselbe eingebildet, in Holland die Ordre und nöthige Schiffe zu ihrer Ueberführung in Americam zu finden.<sup>3</sup>

Dieses ist, Mein Herr! all dasjenige, so ich von dieser Materie weiß u. s. w.

An Sn. Excellenz, Herrn Canzlar  
zu Darmstadt.

Druck.

Abchrift.

Von Gottes Gnaden Ernst Ludwig, Landgraf zu Hessen.

Fürst zu Hersfeld, Graf zu Cagenelnboggen, Diez,  
Ziegenhain, Nidda, Schaum-Burg, Henburg  
und Büdingen.

Liebe getreue. Euch ist vorhin bekant, was gestalten eine Zeit-hero, verschiedenen Unserer Unterthanen, auff deren Beschehenes unterthänigstes Nachsuchen, in die Insuln Carolinam und Pennsylvania zu ziehen, zugelassen worden. Nachdem nun denen eingelangten ganz sicheren und zuverlässigen Berichten nach, es mit dem Zug nach ersagten Beyden Insuln gar nicht so, wie denen Leutthen vorgebildet worden, beschaffen, allermassen diejenige Verheißungen undt gedruckte Beschreibungen, wordurch die Leutthe, die Reyße anzutretten, verführet worden, ganz erdichtet, und Ihre Königliche Mayestät in Engelland so wenig darvon wissen, daß Sie vielmehr so balden deroselben die hierunter von andern gebrauchte gefährde vernommen, Ernstlich verboten Niemanden mehr in ersagte Insuln zu senden, denen vor Londen gelegenen armen Leutthen aber aus Königlichem Erbarmen und Mitleyden eine Zeitlang die nöthige LebensMittel reichen, nachmahln aber diejenige so keine KriegsDienste annehmen wollen, in Engel- undt Irreland auftheilen, sodann bey allen Holl- und Enggelländischen Zollen keine dergleichen Leutthe mehr zu passiren, verbieten laß-

<sup>3</sup> In dem Buche von Kocherthal, daß der englische Gesandte in Frankfurt austeilte, stand ausdrücklich zu lesen, daß, falls die Königin in einer Bittschrift ersucht würde, „es vielleicht geschehen könnte, daß man auch mit Königlichen Schiffen von Holland abgehølet würde, und also auch diese Ueberfahrts-Kosten ersparen könnte; doch mühten auf solchen Fall eine gute Anzahl Leute miteinander kommen, weilen widrigenfalls der Mühe nicht wert sein würde, die Königin zu bemühen, viel weniger soviel Kosten anzubenden, als bei diesen zu den Schiffen und Conboy erforbert wird.“ Daraus also beruht die „Einbildung“ der „thörichten Leute“.

Sen, dergleichen auch von andern am Rhein gelegenen verschiedenen Hohen Ständen des Reichs geschehen, und dann hierab gnugsam erhellet, daß alles, was Bishero von dieser Sache außgetreuet worden, nichts als ein fälschlich vorgepiegelt- und betrügerisches Erdichten gewesen, dadurch die blinde Leuthe sich selbst in einen miserablen Stand und Unruhe sowohl als großer gefahr gesetzt, Wir aber dergleichen hinkünftig ferner zugestatten, und bey diesen sichern Umständen Unsere Unterthanen in Ihr verderben lauffen zulassen keines weges gemeint sind. So ist Unser gnädigster Befehl hiermit, daß Ihr dießes, allen und jeden Communen, des Euch gnädigt anvertrauten Ampts, ohngefaumbt, publiciret und bekant machet, und jeden so in obberührte beyde Insuln zuziehen wissens, vor Unglück nicht nur warnet, sondern auch alles Ernstes verbietet, und darob nachträudlich haltet. Versehens Uns, und send Euch mit Gnaden wohlgewogen. Darmstadt am 8ten Octobris 1709.

Ex Speciali Commissione Serenissimi

Fürstlich Hessische Präsident, Cantlar und Geheimbde Rätthe  
 von Nathsamhausen. J. B. Schroeder n.  
 Original. Malcomesius.

Die äußere Adresse lautet:

Unserm Amptsstellern zu Braubach sodann  
 AmptsSchultheißen zu CaßeneInbogen und  
 Lieben getreuen Johann Christian Kriegs-  
 mann, und Sebastian Klingelhöffer.

Braubach.

remittatur.

CaßeneInbogen.

THE GERMANS OF IOWA AND THE "TWO-YEAR"  
AMENDMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BY F. I. HERRIOTT,

*Professor of Economics and Political Science,  
Drake University.*

Massachusetts can do nothing in secret; Massachusetts can do nothing for herself alone; everyone of her acts involves a hundred-fold responsibility. What Massachusetts does is felt from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Carl Schurz in Faneuil Hall, April 18, 1859.

The first nomination of Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency of these United States by the national convention of the Republican party at Chicago, May 18, 1860, has induced accounts and explanations innumerable. The fact is not strange. No other individual event in our national history excels it in importance; no other equals it in dramatic setting and realization; and, save only the selection of George Washington for commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary army by the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, June 15, 1775, no other single event in our history equals it in vital consequences.

Sundry chronicles of the preliminaries and proceedings of the Chicago convention and biographies of some of the candidates and notables therein, by learned no less than by unlearned writers, assert that the first nomination of Abraham Lincoln was a mere play or resultant of chance. It was a happy accident, to be sure, and providential in the issue, but nevertheless an accident. The same conclusion substantially is maintained when it is asserted that the determination of the Chicago convention was the work of designing, shrewd, wire-pulling politicians, seeking personal ends, revenge or control of party spoils, who out-manuevered the managers of Governor Seward and other candidates. The nomination, we are told, was compassed then and there; it was the conclusion of a caucus of self-pro-

moted party chiefs who coerced the convention by means of crowds and a claue: a nomination contrary to the antecedent popular demand which not only surprised but "shocked" the better judgment of the North. The same opinion in essence is exhibited by other historians when they regard the nomination merely as a concession to this or that group of conservatives, whose leaders effectively threatened revolt or predicted defeat if Governor Seward was nominated—e. g., the "American" faction of Indiana, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, or the "Cotton Whigs" and the "Union Saving" pro-slavery groups of the Anti-Administration or Opposition party of the "battle-ground states" of the North. Others, while realizing that the decision of the convention was the result of keen discernment and rare discretion, assume, or appear to suggest, that the convention was controlled by one consideration, or paramount interest, to wit, Slavery! and that the selection of Mr. Lincoln was merely a compromise between the clashing factions of the Opposition on this one issue.

In what follows I do not propose to deal directly with any of the assertions or assumptions respecting Mr. Lincoln's first nomination, just mentioned. Indirectly, however, I do undertake to exhibit a complex of facts that have an important relation to the work of the Chicago convention, facts which suggest that the nomination of Mr. Lincoln was neither irrelevant nor inconsequential, nor accidental, and was without real surprise or shock to the country; because the party chiefs who urged, insisted and agreed upon his nomination as a wise compromise clearly discerned two major considerations in the minds of delegates and the public at large that determined success in the ensuing campaign—and with respect to which the nominee satisfied completely. One of those major considerations was, of course, the position of the party and the conduct and views of the candidate upon the subject of Slavery. The other consideration was the attitude of the party and the course of the candidate with respect to the treatment of the foreign-born in our policy. The former has been extensively and minutely discussed. The latter has scarcely been mentioned and apparently has been unappreciated: save as consciousness

of the fact might be inferred from reference to the activities of "Americans," which normally would produce reaction among the foreign-born.

## I.

The question of Slavery excepted, there was no subject that aroused more animosity and virulent action in political discussion in this country in the decade preceding the Civil War than the treatment of foreign-born residents among us. Between 1854 and 1858 anti-foreign prejudice of the most malevolent sort rolled in tidal surges over the greater part of the country. In the form of Know-Nothingism it disturbed, demoralized and in many states shattered the old party organizations and alignments. It worked the final dissolution of the Old Whig party, the disintegration of which was precipitated by the disastrous campaign of 1852. This anti-foreign feeling was as strong, not to say violent, in the older states of the east, in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, as in the states of the South and of the Southwest. Indeed, one has warrant for asserting that Know Nothingism exhibited itself most vigorously in the state whose citizens boasted the highest general average of popular culture, namely, in old Massachusetts.

The virulence of the anti-foreign movement had nearly subsided by 1858. Contemporary partisan critics contemptuously pronounced the "Dark Lantern" party, as the Know Nothings were latterly designated in current parlance, dead or at best dying and negligible. The "American" party, which succeeded to the effects of the Know Nothings and carried on the anti-foreign propaganda in the open, decreased rapidly in numbers and influence and its organization declined correspondingly in vigor. But one entertains a serious error who concludes, as some latter-day historians seem to do, that anti-foreign prejudice was dormant from lack of vitality. One cannot read the newspapers of 1858, 1859 and 1860 and scrutinize the course of politics in most of the states of the North, the programs and maneuvers of party candidates and leaders, and not perceive a constant concern on the part of Republican leaders as to the

prospective action of "American" factionists: *nota bene*, the pleas and protests of the leaders of the anti-Seward forces at the Chicago convention in 1860. The American party was by no means a collection of "dry hearts and dead weights," as Carl Schurz described them at the time. While it lacked power to accomplish much directly in the way of a positive program, it was potent in its ability to prevent the success of a party whose candidates aroused its antagonism. This potency of the American party was demonstrated beyond cavil, in a striking and picturesque fashion in 1859, and at a time when the public at large had concluded that the anti-foreign prejudice of the people had completely subsided.<sup>1</sup>

In 1856 an amendment to the constitution of Massachusetts was passed by both houses of the General Court of that state, denying the franchise to foreign-born until they had been in residence for a period of twenty-one years; naturalization, also, being a prerequisite. The amendment was passed with large majorities. The demand for such a radical law had decreased markedly by the next session of the General Court, as the proposed amendment was defeated in 1857, and two substitutes for lesser terms of probation were defeated.<sup>2</sup>

The demand for such restriction persisted, however, for on January 19, 1858, a member of the lower House, Mr. F. H. Sprague, of Boston, introduced a motion directing the Joint Special Committee appointed to consider the Governor's message, to report upon the expedience of amending the constitu-

<sup>1</sup> The narrative which follows is an enlargement of some sections of sundry papers or parts of studies heretofore printed in which the writer dealt with some of the phases of the subject; a section of an article on "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," in *The Annals of Iowa*, Vol. VIII. (Oct. 1907); "The Germans of Davenport and the Chicago Convention of 1860," first published in Downer's *History of Scott County* (Iowa) 1910, and reprinted in *Deutsche Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Vol. X., 156-163 (July 1910); and in a paper entitled "Massachusetts, the Germans and the Chicago Convention of 1860," read before the State Historical Society of Illinois at its annual meeting at Evanston, May 11th, 1911. (Unpublished.)

<sup>2</sup> Address of His Excellency, Nathaniel P. Banks, to the Two Branches of the Legislature of Massachusetts, January 6, 1860, pp. 8-9.



tion so that "no person of foreign birth shall be entitled to vote or be eligible to office" unless he shall have been a "resident within the jurisdiction of the United States fourteen years."<sup>3</sup> The committee reported adversely upon the proposed amendment. The House, nevertheless, passed the following:

No person of foreign birth shall be entitled to vote, or shall be eligible to office, unless he shall have resided within the jurisdiction of the United States for two years subsequent to his naturalization, and shall be otherwise qualified, according to the constitution and laws of this Commonwealth; *Provided*, that this amendment shall not affect the rights which any person of foreign birth possessed at the time of the adoption thereof; and, *provided further*, that it shall not affect the rights of any child of a citizen of the United States, born during the temporary absence of the parent therefrom.<sup>4</sup>

This amendment was concurred in by the Senate February 20, by a vote of 22 to 6. In accordance with the requirement of the constitution, it was resubmitted to the General Court in 1859 and passed the lower House on February 8, by a vote of 177 to 32, and the Senate on February 18, by a vote of 23 to 5.

The amendment, when first put upon its passage, and during its consideration in 1858, apparently produced little, if any, discussion *pro* or *con*, in the press of the country at large. I have found no special mention of it in the editorial or news columns of such papers as the *New York Daily Herald* or the *New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, or in sundry contemporaries in Iowa. The German press, wherein we may presume an alert interest and keen watchfulness for all matters adversely affecting the foreign-born, was no less indifferent to the pending amendment. *Der Tagliche Demokrat* of Davenport, Iowa, then edited by Mr. Theodore Olshausen, one of the foremost German editors in the Mississippi valley, does not dwell upon

<sup>3</sup> The Writer is indebted to Mr. Charles Belden, State Librarian of Massachusetts for the details as to votes on the amendment given above.

<sup>4</sup> Thorpe's *American Charters, Constitutions and Organic Laws* Vol 3, p. 1920. Therein listed as Article XXIII under "Articles of Amendment."

it. Distance might account for his attitude. But within Boston itself, the Germans—at least some of the leaders—did not take the proposed amendment more seriously. *Der Pioneer*, edited by Mr. Karl Heinzen, is likewise silent anent the measure. Foremost among the German Radicals, and alert and aggressive in all matters affecting Germans, we should expect him to hurl bolts at the amendment.

The silence of *Der Pioneer* may have been due to the fact that Mr. Heinzen was absent at the time, travelling in the West. But Dr. Adolph Douai, a watchful guardian of German interests, was in Boston and contributing constantly to his columns. He certainly would have started the hue and cry, if he, or other Germans in the city, had deemed it a menace to the welfare of Germans as aliens desirous of speedily acquiring the rights of citizenship. The probabilities are that the Germans in Boston, as elsewhere, were either indifferent, or deemed silence the better part of prudence. The General Court had failed to concur in a final test vote on a more stringent measure in 1857, and they probably reasoned that anti-foreign prejudice would decline in the ensuing year and the policy of silence would encourage such decline.

When the amendment came before the General Court, in January, 1859, on its second passage, *Der Pioneer* maintains the same silence respecting its significance and prospects and consequences to the Germans, if adopted, that had characterized its course in 1858. Upon the passage of the amendment in the lower House on February 8 by such an overwhelming vote (177 yeas to 32 nays), the Germans suddenly realized the danger threatening their status. They arose *en masse* in angry protest, and their foremost leaders began to train their heavy guns upon the Republican party. Plans for organized opposition to the passage of the proposed amendment in the upper House were instantly concerted and promoted. A mass meeting was called for the evening of the 10th, and met "im Lokale des Fortschrittsvereins zu Boston." This meeting decided to direct a committee to prepare "in möglichster Eile" an address to the members of the Legislature. Under the caption, "Nativismus und Republicanismus," Karl Heinzen gives in *Der Pion-*

eer (Feb. 19) the resolutions issued or given out on the 14th, supplemented by some characteristic comments in his most vigorous vein. In order to appreciate some of the subsequent developments in the West to which we shall later turn, generous excerpts are taken from the resolutions, which follow :

There has a bill been introduced in the House of Representatives moving an Amendment of the Constitution to the effect

that a foreigner, even after having become a United States Citizen should have no right to vote within the State, before the expiration of a further residence in it of two years.

The undersigned, mostly, if not all, citizens of foreign birth and Germans had hoped that the Republican majority of the Legislature would present this amendment as un-Republican. We could not suppose that a party to which we, as enemies of Slavery and Wrong, hope to belong, and in whose behalf we, at several times, made all efforts in our power, would be inclined to originate or favor a bill destructive of the rights of Adopted citizens. We could not suppose that the Republican party, in order to gain votes for Freedom, would choose the means of debarring friends of Freedom, from voting. We could not indulge in the slighting supposition that the very state which prides in the glory of being the stronghold of Republican principles would be the first to renounce the Philadelphia platform.

The vote, however, on this bill in the House of Representatives has undeceived us. [After showing how and why the Germans had but recently joined the ranks of the Republicans in Boston and how essential they were to their local supremacy the address continues]; and the German immigration, now immigrating, is to a man Republican. Thus it is, indeed, that the bill trifles away the Republican ascendancy in the city suffrages, so difficulty gained.

But suppose, for a moment, we are mistaken in this belief: what impression will be produced by this bill upon the minds of the great body of foreign-born Republican voters of the West? They have hitherto been supposing that Nativism was dead, and the Philadelphia platform a reality. Seeing that they are mistaken in this, they will henceforth—not vote the Democratic ticket—of course not—but feel disgusted and not vote at all. \* \* \*

We are against every abuse of the right of voting, and

will support any decent measure to prevent it; but we must declare our hostility to all political measures which tend to replace a small and special nuisance that may be remedied in some other way by a greater and general one. The proposed amendment implies an odious, unjust and useless distinction between foreign-born and native citizens. If a Slaveholder and born enemy of the institutions of Massachusetts should settle in this state, he has soon after the right to exert his vote against them; but if a European Republican has, after a five years' residence in Boston, learned to love and to appreciate her institutions, the Amendment withholds from him for two more years the right of voting that makes him equal to a slaveholder. Is this just? Is this wise?

The liberal Germans would be devoid of self esteem and justice if they would not protest against this insulting and dangerous proposition. Those foreign-born citizens who support the Republican policy have intelligence and character to a sufficient degree to know

That No Party Can Claim To Be A Party Of Freedom, and to Rally The Voters For FREEDOM, Who Are Not True Enough To The Eternal Principle of Justice.<sup>5</sup>

The indignation and protests of the Germans of Boston availed nothing to prevent the passage of the amendment. Ten days after its adoption in the lower House it was concurred in (Feb. 18) by the Senate by a vote of 23 to 5. The amendment was then ready for submission to the people at a special election to be held May 9.

Germans realized that popular endorsement of the amendment was probable if the disposition of the General Court was a fair index of the popular judgment; and they realized also that earnest and systematic opposition was imperative. With the character and conduct of the opposition maintained by the Germans of Massachusetts in the campaign that ensued I am not here concerned; but only with some of the effects produced by the proposal of the amendment and some of the ef-

<sup>5</sup> For the above and subsequent citations from *Der Pioneer*, the writer is indebted to Mr. Daniel Fausel and Mrs. Karl Heinzen, widow of the founder and editor, both of Boston; this brief acknowledgement does not measure his sense of obligation for their courtesies and consideration.

fects predicted by the Germans in their protest to the General Court.

The address from which we have quoted was formally directed "To the Honorables, the Senators and Representatives of the State of Massachusetts," but in the terms of its argument and plea it was directed specifically and solely to the Republicans, as the major party, and therefore the responsible party. With great discernment they shot their bolts straight to the strategic points in the national situation. If there was any *raison d'être* for the Republican party it was opposition to the extension of Slavery; this fact, and this fact alone, held together the heterogeneous and mutually repellant elements that between 1854 and 1856 united to make the Republican party. On this issue Germans had joined the party by the thousands after the shock of Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854, repealing the Missouri Compromise. The Philadelphia platform of 1856 satisfied their anti-slavery views and secured their loyalty by a definite declaration in favor of "liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens" and an explicit avowal of opposition to "all legislation impairing their security." The discrimination against them incorporated in the proposed amendment was odious and inexplicable.

As the Germans of Boston contemplated the course of the Republicans of the Old Bay State, their indignation became warmer during the ensuing weeks. Another mass meeting was called and convened in their Turnhalle, March 3, to voice their feelings. The chairman was again the doughty editor of *Der Pioneer*, Mr. Karl Heinzen. Dr. Adolph Douai was again foremost in the proceedings. He introduced, and probably formulated, a series of twelve resolutions that expressed their protests and purposes in the most downright fashion. Some extracts will exhibit their spirit and significance:

6. The amendment is treason to the Republican party whose platform is given up in an essential point. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

10. The amendment is the product of a spirit utterly narrow, fanatical and hostile to progress; \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

12. Taking this amendment for what it is, we must make the Republican party responsible for its pernicious consequences—if this party suffers its platform to be thus stealthily infringed.

\* \* \* \* \*

Accordingly we invite all "persons of foreign birth" in the United States, and especially our own countrymen, and all Americans of truly liberal sentiments \* \* \* to form a separate organization, ready to unite with only such a party as will apportion the rights of citizenship no more according to "birth" than human rights according to complexion.

The resolutions were tantamount to an ultimatum that meant a declaration of war if their demands were not conceded, and the press of the country received it as such. The echoes and disturbances produced by the resolutions did not wholly cease until the Germans learned of the actions of the National Republican convention at Chicago, May 17-18, 1860.

The immediate object in view was the restriction of the evil of making foreigners into voters on the eve of elections. The Irish were the aliens chiefly, if not wholly, in mind. But the party leaders who promoted the amendment were very short-sighted or heedless to have forgotten the Germans and their attitude toward Slavery and their temperament when aroused on any public matter. From the time when Wm. Lloyd Garrison had begun his active abolition propaganda in the thirties, Germans had been in the forefront of the fight—among the leaders being Professor Karl Follen, Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, Theodore Weld and the Grimke sisters. In 1859 the great majority of the influential German editors of the country were outspoken advocates of anti-slavery views. For the party that stood sponsor for such anti-slavery champions as Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson to sanction and to submit to the people such an amendment, and one, too, that seemed squarely to violate a solemn pledge that insured against it—indicated either scant intelligence or bad morals. But even if the feelings of the Germans of Boston were negligible in the politics of Massachusetts, it was hardly common political wisdom to endanger Republican success in many states of the

North where Germans held the balance of power, and thus threaten success in the presidential campaign of 1860. The Republican leaders of the Old Bay State were soon astonished at the storms which their amendment produced throughout the country. Protests from Germans poured in upon them from New Jersey and New York, from Pennsylvania and Ohio, from Michigan and Wisconsin, from Illinois and Iowa, from Maryland and Missouri, and later they learned of indignant protests from the Germans and the Republicans of California.

The tremendous effect of the pending amendment outside of Massachusetts and the grave concern of the foremost anti-slavery champions among the Republican leaders respecting the consequences of its adoption was strikingly exhibited in a letter of Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts to Congressman Francis Gillette of Hartford, Connecticut. Mr. Gillette had written him in some anxiety over disturbances produced in his own state and district by the proposal in Massachusetts. Senator Wilson replied at considerable length, deploring the proposed restriction and appealing to his partisan friends to defeat the measure. His argument was strong and straightforward and his appeal earnest; and his letter was particularly noteworthy because a few years before he had himself been a staright-out Know-Nothing. But the extinction of Slavery was the paramount issue with him, and the Germans were essential allies in the contest against the iniquitous institution. His position was bold, manly, unequivocal. His letter was dated at Natick, his home, April 30. The initial paragraph will indicate the range of his anxiety:

You express, in your note, the fear that the adoption by the people of Massachusetts of the Two Years' Amendment, will prejudice the Republican cause in the country, and the hope that it will be promptly voted down. You are not, my dear sir, the only devoted friend of the anti-slavery cause who entertains this fear and expresses this hope. Before I left Washington, several of our most devoted and distinguished men—such men as Mr. Harlan, Mr. Doolittle, Gov. Grimes and Gov. Bingham—expressed to me their profound regret that the proposition had received the sanction of the Legislature, and their earnest hope that the people would reject it. Since my return

home I have received, especially from the Northwest, many letters expressing the opinion that the Republican cause would be prejudiced by its adoption, and the strongest desire that it should be rejected.<sup>6</sup>

The gentlemen mentioned were Mr. James Harlan, Iowa's senior Senator at Washington; Mr. James R. Doolittle, the junior Senator of Wisconsin; Mr. James W. Grimes, Iowa's junior Senator, and Mr. Kinsley A. Bingham, junior Senator-elect from Michigan—all gentlemen of experience and keen perceptions in political matters. Let us now trace the developments in Iowa.

## II.7

The Germans of Iowa—at least of central eastern Iowa—realized the significance of the "Two-Year Amendment" pro-

<sup>6</sup> *The Liberator*, May 6, 1859.

<sup>7</sup> Here the present writer wishes to acknowledge his obligations for information and for repeated courtesies and kindness, generously given notwithstanding numerous inquiries.

To the late Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, Secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society and Mr. Fred Merz, of Madison; to Miss Caroline McIlvaine, Secretary of the Chicago Historical Society, Chicago; to Mrs. Jesse Palmer Weber, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield; to Dr. B. F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa and his assistant, Dr. Dan E. Clark, Iowa City; to Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, and his assistant, Miss Ida Huntington, Des Moines.

To Miss Grace D. Rose, librarian of the Public Library of Davenport; Miss Miriam P. Wharton, Librarian of the Free Public Library of Burlington; Miss Ione Armstrong of the Public Library of Council Bluffs.

To Hon. Robert T. Lincoln, formerly of Chicago, now of Washington, D. C.

To Hon. Henry Finck, United States Collector of Internal Revenue, Milwaukee, Wis.

To Hon. John L. Waite, Editor of *The Hawkeye*, and Mr. W. W. Baldwin, Vice President of C., B. & Q. Ry.Co., both of Burlington, Iowa. Demokrat of Davenport.

To Dr. August P. Richter, sometime editor (1884-1913) of *Der Demokrat* of Davenport, now of Los Angeles, Calif.

To Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, of Chicago, President of the German-American Historical Society of Illinois.



posed in Massachusetts almost as soon as did the Germans of Boston.<sup>8</sup> Karl Heinzen, we have seen, did not proclaim the

Until February 27 Mr. Olshausen makes no further substantial reference to the matter. He then gives prominence to two actions or assemblies whereby formal memorials or protests were addressed to the Legislature of Massachusetts by eastern Germans: the first was the "ausserordentliche versammlung" of the German Republican Central Committee of the City of New York, on February 22, at which an earnest memorial was agreed upon expressing the serious objections of the Germans of that city to the pending proposal in Massachusetts; the second was a similar action taken by the German Republican Club of Newark, New Jersey, on February 17.

The passage of the Amendment by the General Court of Massachusetts, however, elicited no editorial comment or protest from Mr. Olshausen's pen. Whether his silence was due to astonishment or perplexity as to what was best to say anent the proposal, or to absorption in local politics or minor mat-

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The writer realizes that this mention of his indebtedness to those named, and especially those last listed, scarcely indicates the nature or the degree of his obligations which he gratefully acknowledges.

<sup>8</sup> *Der Demokrat*, on which the writer chiefly relies for statements as to the feelings of the Germans of Iowa, was the leading German paper in the state and served the largest constituency.

The files of the other Republican German papers published in Iowa in 1859 appear to have been lost—at least repeated inquiries as to their whereabouts have availed nothing. They were the *Staats Zeitung* of Dubuque, the *Zeitung* of Muscatine, the *Freie Presse* of Burlington, the *Zeitung* (or *Volksblatt*?) of Keokuk.

character and consequences of the measure until February 12. Before *Der Pionier* could have reached Iowa, Theodore Olshausen, at Davenport, exposed the provisions of the amendment in *Der Demokrat* (Feb. 15) in an editorial article entitled, "Nativismus in Massachusetts." It closed with an exhortation, urging all Germans in Massachusetts to stand forth and repel the injurious and obnoxious measure, and, further, suggesting that in case their protests did not avail to prevent its passage by the Legislature, then to proceed to attack its validity in the courts.

ters we can only surmise. As it was, Mr. Olshausen had given more attention to it than had Mr. Bernard Domschke, of Milwaukee, in the columns of *Der Atlas*, whose first comment was not made until March 1. On March 4 *Der Demokrat* informed its readers editorially that a bill, similar in character and purpose to the one submitted in Massachusetts had been introduced in the Legislature of New Jersey and Mr. Olshausen closes with: "Sollen denn die Adoptiv-Bürger mit Gewalt der republikanischen Partei abwendig gemacht werden?"

From this time forward until July few days passed on which *Der Demokrat* did not contain more or less upon the proposed restriction contemplated in Massachusetts. There were news items and editorial expressions, communications, reprints of articles from contemporaries, or of letters of notables, accounts of meetings called to protest the principle and policy of the proposed restriction, and the reproduction of resolutions voicing the feelings of the foreign-born. Articles indicating the views of Republican editors and leaders and the actions of Republican party organizations were given conspicuous mention. No other subject received such serious attention, or occupied the amount of space in its columns. Indirectly the subject was extensively dealt with in discussing the proposal of Mr. Karl Heinzen and Dr. Adolph Douai that the Germans formally secede from the Republican party and assemble in a national convention and organize an independent German Liberal party which should promote German interests directly and exclusively.

During February and March the American Republican papers of Iowa were for the most part silent respecting the Two Year Amendment. The same assertion holds true in considerable part for April. Thus the *Daily Express and Herald* of Dubuque, perhaps the foremost Democratic paper in the state, stated on April 7 that it had watched "for some time" to see whether there was a "single prominent Republican press in Iowa" that would have the honesty to come out and declare that the Republicans of Iowa entertained precisely the same nativistic prejudices prevalent in Massachu-

setts, the editor, Mr. J. B. Dorr, knowing of but one Republican paper in the state which deplored the passage of the act. The *Daily Gate City* of Keokuk, edited by Mr. James B. Howell, an alert and influential editor, made no reference to the subject in any form until April 25, when he squarely expressed opposition to the principles of the Amendment, the occasion being the notable speech of Mr. Carl Schurz on April 18 in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on "True Americanism" in which he made a powerful plea for the defeat of the Amendment. As the Democratic papers of the state were about equally laggard or reticent, Republican editors may have refrained from discussing the amendment because they deemed the subject without interest and discussion of it unprofitable or imprudent. Whatever the reason for their silence, they were soon forced to give the matter serious attention.

The resolutions of the Germans of Boston were heralded, of course, from eastern shores to western frontiers, especially their declaration that they would not affiliate with a party that endorsed such a discrimination among citizens. The reported actions of the Germans of New York and Toledo indicated that the Germans were in a serious state of mind. The favor with which the suggestion of a new German party was received and the project promoted, demonstrated a pronounced state of belligerency among them and experienced watchers of the tides and winds of the political seas soon began to realize that no ordinary breeze was blowing and perceived that a storm was not unlikely. Democratic editors commenced to show signs of appreciating the strategic advantages to the Democratic party of the disturbance within the ranks of the German Republicans. They began to gloat over the prospective "bolt" and to promote it, commending the discernment and justice of the protestants, and excoriating the Republicans in magniloquent terms for what they denounced as the double-dealing of the Republicans in their relations with the Germans.

The first expression of consequence, so far as I have discovered, was an editorial in the *Dubuque Times* of March 17 under the caption, "Massachusetts Naturalization"—and its

contents indicate that the editor, Mr. Frank W. Palmer, misapprehended the real nature of the objection of the Germans to the Amendment and unduly discounted the importance of their discontent. Taking his cue from the *Boston Journal* he declared that the meeting of the Germans in Boston had been incited and promoted by the Democratic party and that those in attendance were "pro-slavery German Democrats." Mr. Palmer looked upon the amendment with favor and contended that the better class of Germans endorsed the purpose of the restriction. There had been evils in our elections due to the "making" of voters out of aliens on the eve of elections—and these evils were notorious and conceded by all intelligent persons. All fairminded and patriotic Germans would welcome such a reform as the measure in Massachusetts. Those who were objecting were merely "politicians" maneuvering for partisan advantage; and their hue and cry would not drive the liberal Germans from the ranks of the Republican party. As will appear Mr. Palmer missed entirely the point of offense to the Germans. It is possible, of course, that he perceived it but deemed it best not to point it out or to concede it.

On Saturday, March 19, the foremost Democratic paper in Southeastern Iowa, the *Gazette* of Burlington, reproduced the proceedings of the Boston meeting and dwelt upon the predicament of the Republicans in consequence. The article immediately drew the fire of Mr. Clark Dunham, editor of *The Hawkeye*, on Monday following. He, like Mr. Palmer, realized and conceded the existence of serious evils that should be reformed. But he did not approve the Amendment proposed.

Although we approve the object of it, we do not think it is in itself right and fair and just to our German friends in looking upon it as an abridgement of their rights.

Had the Legislature, instead of lengthening the term of residence, required that two years should intervene after signifying their intention of becoming citizens before naturalization, it would have accomplished the desired end and given no just cause of offense.

It is not our wish and not the wish of the Republican party to abridge in the smallest degree the rights and

political privileges enjoyed in this country by adopted citizens.

Mr. Dunham then enlarges upon the beneficial results of the liberal policy theretofore pursued and urges that the doors be thrown open wide and 160 acres of land be offered free to any and all who will come to our shores. The next day he delivered a body blow to his Democratic critics:

German Democrats and German Democratic newspapers are making considerable noise over the recent Act of Massachusetts in extending the period of naturalization, and attempting to hold the Republican party of the country responsible for it. A similar law is in force in the Democratic state of South Carolina, and yet nothing is heard of it—no row raised over it. The act of Massachusetts no more binds the Republican party than the act of South Carolina does the Democratic party.—And in neither case can we look upon the acts of those states as a true expose of the opinions and feelings of the two parties touching the subject of naturalization.

Mr. Olshausen called the attention of his readers to the editorial of *The Hawkeye* first quoted with much satisfaction and ventured the assertion that its sentiments represented probably the sentiments of the largest number of Republican editors of the state. It is not uninteresting to note that Mr. Dunham's expression was given forth on the same day on which a notable editorial entitled, "Vote it Down," appeared in the *Chicago Press and Tribune* in which the New England proposal was roundly denounced and its defeat insisted upon—an editorial that was extensively copied in the eastern press. The numerous and influential German population of Burlington and Des Moines county no doubt had much to do with prompting Mr. Dunham's explicit declarations in opposition to the Two Year Amendment.

Another leading Republican editor of the state about the same time began to realize that the Germans were not viewing the pending legislation in Massachusetts with indifference—Mr. Add H. Sanders of the *Davenport Gazette*. The talk of Germans on the streets and in places of common resort, and the expressions of *Der Demokrat* probably convinced him that their disapproval was waxing warm and might become menac-

ing. The Germans swarmed in Scott county and in contiguous counties and should they become belligerent continued Republican supremacy in Iowa was impossible. On March 26 he expressed himself vigorously upon the Amendment. He repelled the suggestion that the Republican party should be held accountable for the vagaries and perversions of members of a Legislature who "seem to feel under moral obligation to do something extraordinary and calculated to perplex their own party." He then asserts his confidence that "an overwhelming majority of the Republicans of Massachusetts are opposed to this most ridiculous and unjust proposition." He then cites a portion of the editorial from the Chicago Press and Tribune referred to and closes with the assurance that the Republican party will not be imperilled by the particular follies of the people of Massachusetts. Mr. Sanders on March 31 again assails the Amendment and takes pains to declare that "the Republican press everywhere are indignantly denouncing this action."

### III.

Despite the assertion of Mr. Sanders the expressions of the *Hawkeye* and the *Gazette* upon the Two Year Amendment were conspicuous by their rarity. The great majority of Republican editors were silent; and that silence might indicate concurrence with the views of Messrs. Dunham and Sanders, as Theodore Olshausen presumed and wished to believe, or it might mean sympathy with the views of Mr. Palmer and the eastern advocates of the Amendment. A German Farmer, living near Davenport, who took an alert interest in local and national politics and who was an industrious reader of American, no less than of German newspapers, and among them, Greeley's *Tribune*, had become impressed by this lack of interest in, or indifference to the issue pending in Massachusetts and the non-attention to the protests of the Germans to the passage of the proposed Amendment restricting their franchise. Reflection upon the matter produced so much discontent that it finally induced him to pen a long letter—a column and a half, solid—to the *New York Tribune*,

in which he expressed himself with much vigor, pith and point. It was composed sometime in March, but it did not appear until April 11.

In estimating the effect of the communication it should be realized that Greeley's *Tribune* was at that time the most widely read newspaper in Iowa. The circulation of the *Weekly* was 7523, and that number, the *Hawkeye* declared was more than double the number of subscribers claimed by the leading local paper of the state. Sentiments expressed in "Uncle Horace's" *Tribune* consequently had a currency and range of effect equal in some respects to the aggregate press of the state.

The writer to the *Tribune* confesses his inexperience and difficulty in English expression, but he feels compelled to communicate to his American fellow citizens "the deep dissatisfaction which at the moment prevails among the thousands of German Republicans in all the States." The cause was the passage of the Two Year Amendment in Massachusetts and the introduction of a similar measure in New Jersey, "thereby throwing into contempt and depression those who by mere accident have not the fortune to be born in this country." He then bluntly asserts: "I venture to say that my affection for my adopted fatherland reaches far above the patriotism which a majority of the Representatives of the American people, exhibited in the National Legislature in devoting their influence for the extension of human slavery, and the hard earned millions of the people for the acquirement of new markets for human flesh [Cuba]....." He then waxes warmer and as his argument is pointed and forceful I take rather generously from his letter.

It certainly would be unjust to hold the Republican party of the United States responsible for the unjust, illiberal and offending conduct of the party in some of the New England States, were it not for the silent approbation of the entire Republican press throughout the country of such conduct. We have looked in vain for the disapprovement of such a breach of plighted faith in Republican English papers in other states, and we feel highly aggrieved that the National Republican platform may be

thus violated by even the constituents of Senators Sumner and Wilson, without meeting the slightest disapprobation in the Republican quarters anywhere, when at the same time, all Democratic papers are full of it, making capital against the Republican party and scoffing at those who aided a party which repays them in tricks. We do not seek for sympathy in the Democratic party; we are well aware that there is none. We know that depriving us of the free soil and denying a free homestead, when, at the same time they have millions to spend for the purpose of increasing the Slave representation in Congress, is not an inducement for us to praise them for their liberality, but this does not make it so certain that we never will vote with them again. The most valuable possession is man's honor and by attacking it you must expect to cause revenge. If we cannot help it—to be treated as voting cattle—it matters but little for us on which side we stand, and if the Republican party cannot preserve the fundamental principles of a Democratic Republic, respecting the rights of every man, white as well as black, it certainly is not destined to regenerate our country from the deep whirlpool of corruption in which it is sunk by the present Administration. A party which, in utter disregard of justice and discrimination.....

\* \* \* \* \*

But if the Republicans believe that they can keep their party up without being supported by foreign-born citizens, and therefore think they can wink at us in spite of the eternal laws of justice, I only will remind them of the fact that Caesar's legions were smashed in the regions of Germany.

\* \* \* \* \*

With full confidence in the great principles of liberty and progress, proclaimed by the Republican party, have we joined our American fellow citizens in the great cause of obtaining and preserving free homes for free men, and thousands of freedom-loving Germans are continually increasing the number, so that today Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, New York, and perhaps Pennsylvania, can be counted Republican through the strength of the German Republican vote.

\* \* \* \* \*

The pretext that this discrimination between native and foreign-born citizens was made for the purpose of preserving the ballot box, I regard as hypocrisy because this can be obtained by other and better means without offend-



ing a particular class of citizens, I mean good Registry laws, and as far as the Germans are concerned—other nationalities may speak for themselves—they never made any objection to a good law of this kind based upon strict equality.

But if our American fellow citizens [wish to preserve the purity of the ballot let them] shorten the present time required for naturalization down to three years and make the right of voting commence two years thereafter. \* \*

Greeley's correspondent concludes by admitting that he may have used stout and "bitter" words under stress of indignation, but he expressed the feelings of hundreds of thousands of freedom loving German Republicans, and "as a farmer, one of 'the mud sills of society,' I am not used to handling my tools with gloves." He signs himself:—"An Iowa Farmer and True Republican."

A few days after the publication of the letter just quoted *Der Demokrat* announced that the name of the writer was Nicholas J. Rusch, a wealthy German farmer resident in Scott county, near Davenport, and one of the leading citizens of that county, being at that time a member of the State Senate of Iowa, and as we shall have occasion to point out later a man of prominence in the politics of the state at large. Mr. Rusch was an educated man, having been a matriculate of the University of Kiel, from which institution he had to flee because of his part in the Revolutionary movements of 1847-1848.

Senator Rusch's letter struck home so straight and hard that the *Tribune* felt constrained to make instant rejoinder in an equally vigorous editorial. With the substantial views and contentions of their correspondent the editorial writer, (Dana or Greeley?) agrees assenting to the suggestion that the exaction of the proposed restriction in Massachusetts was excessive and expressing the hope that the Amendment would be voted down. The editorial writer then deems it necessary to administer a rebuke to the German Protestant because of his unjust assumptions respecting the motives of the proposers of the restriction and his harsh criticism, sweeping allegations of nativistic prejudice, and illiberality. He then pro-

ceeds to enlarge upon the admitted competency of a government to determine the franchise and the conditions of admission thereto enjoyed by non-natives. If the people of Massachusetts decide to restrict the rights of the foreign-born in the matter of suffrage, it is within their right to do so and the charge of prejudice should not ensue from those adversely affected. The advocates of restriction such as that proposed in Massachusetts are to be accorded the presumption of patriotic motives. He then proceeds to set forth the evils that pervert the elections and the urgent need of reformative measures. After discoursing somewhat heavily upon the distinction between naturalization and the suffrage, and enlarging upon some of the difficulties incident to any reform, he concludes by assenting to the practical suggestion of the "Iowa Farmer" that a two years' residence might be required after declaration of intention before the franchise is permitted the naturalized citizen.

Ordinarily the editorials of the *Tribune* were far from feeble, flat or forced. But in the rejoinder to the Iowa Farmer the argument was all three at once. Whether Dana or Greeley penned it, the writer seemed to feel constrained to take some sort of exception to the protest of Senator Rusch in order to demonstrate his intelligence and intellectual independence; and much, if not all, that is asserted in criticism was irrelevant or immaterial or ponderous philosophical observations with but little pertinency. Senator Rusch was indignant because the Republicans of Massachusetts, notwithstanding the explicit pledge of the Philadelphia platform, proposed to make a serious discrimination against the foreign-born and he indulged in some sharp thrusts and blunt comments upon the injustice of the transaction and the tergiversation of those responsible. The *Tribune* agreed with him. Its assertion that Naturalization and the Franchise are logically and legally separable was pendency. Massachusetts was competent legally to exclude all non-natives from the local franchise; but few would gainsay those denouncing such a proposal as unjust and grossly unwise and few would restrain their indignation at such a proposal. Moreover, it is by no means clear

that advocates of such discriminations are exempt from charges of prejudice and illiberality and stupid inconsistency, precisely as Senator Rusch bluntly put it. The advocates of all sorts of illiberal and undesirable legislation may be accorded the presumption of honest purpose and public consideration in their propaganda; but if their purpose is obnoxious to sound principles and prejudicial to equity in political relationships then such advocates are subject to adverse scrutiny and sharp criticism. If, with fallacious argument and unsound principles, there is coupled gross inconsistency in conduct and disregard of plighted word, then it is doubtful whether Senator Rusch exceeded the bounds of fair fighting when he flouted the integrity as well as the intelligence of the advocates of the Two Year Amendment promoted by the Puritans of the Old Bay State.

#### IV.

Meantime currents were beginning to run which suddenly, to the surprise of the public, upheaved in a decided demonstration. Democratic papers commenced to dwell upon the proposed Amendment in Massachusetts and to apply scornful epithets to the Republicans as pseudo-friends of the foreign-born. Here and there, as we have seen, Republican papers began to deplore and to denounce the action in Massachusetts; but with the exceptions mentioned the majority of the Party press in Iowa maintained silence upon the matter. One might easily conclude that the subject aroused little or no serious interest, or that there was a general acquiescence in the policy of restriction proposed in Massachusetts.

Experienced party leaders in *ante-bellum* days, precisely as in these days, did not take their cues solely from the comments of editors or the exhibits of reporters. Party managers have an eye only for the actual, energetic elements in politics that condition and control and determine elections. Party crafts are controlled as much by tides and waves as by the winds; and newspapers are likely to give heed to the winds rather than to the tides and undertow. The chief concern of the experienced politician is: "What are the people talking about by their firesides, at the country cross-roads and

stores, in the city marts and counting rooms, in the clubs and theatres and parks, in the factories and on the street?"

In the latter part of March and in the forepart of April the guides and managers of the Republican party in Iowa began to realize that a strong current was running against them. The reports from the "river counties" wherein the Germans swarmed, coming in the way of converse with wayfarers going and coming through the cities and towns of those counties and correspondence with friends and conference with responsible local leaders, indicated that the Germans were taking the proposed Two Year restriction in Massachusetts very seriously and that their discontent was almost certain to be a major matter in determining their action in the ensuing campaign. A call for a state convention had already been issued and the prospects for a favorable conclusion to the contest were far from satisfactory.

Since 1854 the Republicans had had control of the state government. The majorities by which they had secured and maintained their supremacy were narrow. Governor Grimes' was only 2113 and Governor Lowe's but 1406. Just then there was much dissatisfaction with Governor Lowe's Administration; and he was a candidate for re-election. The people were deep in the industrial depression produced by the panic of 1857. There were scandals in the administration of both state and local finances. The methods of accounting were lamentably lax or lacking. State appropriations for philanthropic, "progressive" projects were excessive, if not extravagant; taxes were delinquent; and a state debt, or treasury deficit, above the constitutional limitation loomed large amidst the gloomy reflections.

For the Germans there was an additional grievance that was indeed a *casus belli*. Iowa in 1855 had become "A Maine Law State"; that is, a state wherein the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, wine and beer, no less than distilled or spirituous liquors, were prohibited. Germans had protested vehemently against such legislation and had steadfastly agitated for its repeal or for liberal amendment. Foremost in

the fight for liberal laws was Senator Rusch of Scott county. Finally there were reasons for suspecting—suspicions that later developments amply confirmed—that the Democrats were already planning to make a special concentration of their forces to recapture Iowa—and that President Buchanan's advisers were more or less in conference respecting the plans of the local leaders.

Confronting such a political situation, with the outlook unfavorable and with their own forces and allignment considerably disturbed, we may understand the considerations that prompted the field managers of the Republican party in Iowa to take an extraordinary step.

The Republican State Central Committee was composed of men experienced in the stress and tactics of politics, familiar, from daily intercourse, with the people and their feelings in the districts which they severally represented. Among them were several men who were keenly alive to the feelings of the Germans:—Mr. D. N. Cooley, a prominent lawyer of Dubuque; Mr. Nicholas J. Rusch of Scott county, already mentioned; Mr. G. H. Jerome, of Johnson county, editor of the *Iowa City Republican*; Mr. R. L. B. Clarke of Henry county, one of the most radical anti-slavery leaders in the state, and the first anti-slavery or Republican candidate for Congress in the First district; and the Chairman, Mr. John A. Kasson, of Polk county, a resident of Des Moines, then but recently made the seat of the State Government. In most of the counties named Germans were potent factors in all political campaigns. In Dubuque, Scott and Johnson counties the Germans held the balance of power and they were in no acquiescing state of mind. We have already seen how emphatic and urgent one member, Senator Rusch, was in the matter of the Two Year Amendment. Another member, the Chairman, was not less urgent.

Mr. John A. Kasson was then a brilliant young lawyer, rapidly rising into fame in Iowa. A native of Vermont, and an alumnus of her State University, he had entered upon the practice of law in the state of Massachusetts. As early as 1849 an article from his pen on "Reform in Legal Procedure"

had won applause from Charles Sumner.<sup>9</sup> In 1852 he settled in St. Louis where he found himself in a sort of Rhineland with "Latin Farmers" all about. His career in that city was distinguished. When Louis Kossuth visited St. Louis Mr. Kasson's reputation for apt, discreet and eloquent speech was such that he was asked to welcome the great Hungarian refugee on behalf of the city. In 1857 he settled in Des Moines, which ever after remained his city of residence. Here too he immediately impressed himself upon the minds of the foremost men in the state; and their estimate of his character and capacity in achievement was signalized in 1858 when he was designated Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. The Republicans of Iowa have had some very able men in control of their field operations but they have had none who excelled and few who have equalled Mr. John A. Kasson in discernment, discretion and energy, as his noteworthy career afterwards in Congress and in Diplomacy may suggest.

Sundry facts made Mr. Kasson alert and prompt to realize the importance of the discontent of the Germans over the Two Year Amendment. His New England up-bringing and affiliations had given him anti-slavery predilections. His residence in St. Louis had given him an intimate acquaintance with the energy and rigor of the German character. The Germans he knew were among the most militant of the anti-slavery forces; and he knew further that when aroused to wrath on any matter Germans are wont to move *en masse*. In his professional work he came much in contact with the solid German character of eastern Iowa, especially in following the Supreme Court, which then held its sessions "on circuit." All these facts coupled with the information naturally coming to him via conference and correspondence with local leaders and workers and wayfarers regarding the flux of popular opinion, made Mr. Kasson apprehend very soon that the Two Year Amendment proposed in Massachusetts was a matter that might easily throw the party's forces into confusion

<sup>9</sup> See *The Monthly Law Reporter* (Boston) Vol. 12, pp. 61-80; article entitled "Law Reform—Practice." Sumner to Kasson, July 12, 1849, see Pierce's Memoir and Letters. Vol. III., p. 43.

and result in their rout and dislodgement from the places of authority.

When precisely the members of the Republican State Central Committee began to regard the constitutional amendment in Massachusetts as a matter of immediate practical importance, or who first realized that the Germans along the river were in a threatening mood and suggested some definite action to counteract and lessen their indignation, we probably cannot now discover. But some time in the latter part of March or in the forepart of April some one urged that the Committee, as such, proclaim its opposition to the principle and policy of the proposed Amendment. Whether or no the action taken was the result of spontaneous suggestion from within the committee or within the party's ranks in Iowa, or whether from German leaders or from native Republicans; whether or not it was prompted by such action taken by the State Central Committee of the Republican party of Wisconsin (March 24), we probably cannot now determine. But certain it is that either late in March or early in April it was proposed that the Committee by formal action express its disapproval of the Two Year Amendment, denounce its principle and make a direct appeal to the Republicans of Massachusetts to defeat the proposed change in their constitution. On the 18th of April there was given out for publication at Des Moines a series of Resolutions unanimously adopted by the State Central Committee together with an Address or Appeal "To the Republicans of Massachusetts," signed by Mr. John A. Kasson as Chairman. Both were printed at length in *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* of April 20.

Although the resolutions were dated at Des Moines we may doubt whether a meeting of the Committee actually took place in Des Moines. The Supreme Court was in session at Davenport, beginning April 4. On April 20 Senator Rusch writes Mr. S. J. Kirkwood from Davenport an extended letter dealing with political matters which he hardly would have done had he been in Des Moines on the 18th, as he could have conferred in person with Mr. Kirkwood on his return to Davenport. A letter of Mr. Kasson's to Mr. Kirkwood dated

at Des Moines, May 1, says that he, Mr. Kasson, has just returned "from the Northern District." The private correspondence of the leaders seems to warrant the inference that the suggestion for a public pronouncement against the Two Year Amendment was probably canvassed first by correspondence, a rough draft or outline of the substance of their sentiments assented to in part perhaps by means of personal conference and in part by correspondence or expression of confidence authorizing the chairman to formulate their common sentiment. There are substantial reasons for thinking that Mr. Kasson was the dominant personality in the proceeding, and probably was the committee *de facto*, the other members readily concurring in his suggestions.<sup>10</sup> Mr. Kasson's address and the resolutions are given at length.

To the Republicans of Massachusetts and of the Union:

The subjoined resolutions have been unanimously adopted by the Republican State Central Committee of Iowa. In connection with this action, we disclaim alike the right and the disposition to interfere with a purely local question of Massachusetts politics. With the interior legislation and policy of another sovereign state we have nothing to do. That policy, in its relation to exterior interests which it affects, is a text for the comment of the country, and especially of the republicans elsewhere, who are sought to be charged with this responsibility. Massachusetts was one of the first, as well as firmest Republican states in the Union. Her example, while it does not control, may seriously retard, the progress of the essential principles of the Republican party throughout the country. It is, therefore, with the most serious regret that the Republicans of Iowa have learned of the legislative action of Massachusetts, which, in their opinion, contravenes the elemental principles upon which the party was established, and is now organized; upon which they have hitherto won the support of the country; and by the power of which they are now looking to the reform of the national administration.

<sup>10</sup> The following extracts from private letters of two of the prominent leaders of the Republican party in Iowa in 1859 to Mr. S. J. Kirkwood may enhance the presumption suggested above: "Some say that a Mr. Kasson is the Governor *de facto*" W. W. Hamilton, to K., Dubuque, April 12, 1859; "\* \* Kasson is the committee. \* \*" John Teesdale to K., Des Moines, July, 1859.



The principles rest upon the declaration of National Independence and the Constitution established to perpetuate its theories. There is no doctrine of Republicanism which is not derived from a fair and just construction of the National Constitution. So far as its doctrines are supported by that instrument they are national. Any attempt to thwart the legitimate purpose of the constitutional provisions becomes local, sectional, disorganizing.

Congress, to give effect to the constitutional provision representing naturalization, has prescribed the time in which, and the mode by which, foreign-born inhabitants may become entitled to the enjoyment of the rights of American citizens. When thus naturalized it seems to us a violation of the spirit and intent of the Constitution to establish by State legislation an invidious distinction between lawful citizens based upon the accident of birth-place. This discrimination once affirmed, we do not see where the limit to its application will be necessarily fixed. You may discriminate between the different nationalities, principalities and even municipalities, from which the naturalized citizen may have come. Indeed, you may extend such state legislation, quite as legitimately upon principle, to a discrimination between citizens who have settled among you from different states of our Union. It opens a field for the most dangerous innovations upon the constitutional rights. It is kindred, in spirit, to the legislation formerly attempted in one or two states, discriminating in taxation between the manufactures of Northern and Southern States, and in one instance refusing to recognize the right to protection in South Carolina of a citizen of Massachusetts. Every discrimination in the enjoyment of a common constitutional right or privilege is, in our opinion, fraught with peril to popular peace and harmony.

This committee, therefore, in the interest of national Republicanism, enter their deliberate protest against the incorporation, in whole or in part, of any such exclusive principle of legislation into the creed of the Republican party. In behalf of that party in this state, they most emphatically reject it. And they invoke of that portion of the people of Massachusetts who have hitherto so gallantly upheld the national Republican Standard in that State, to condemn this proposition at the polls, and maintain the integrity of our national platform.

JOHN A. KASSON,

*Ch'm'n of the Rep. State Cen. Com.*

RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE.

WHEREAS, The Legislature of the State of Massachusetts has passed an amendment to the constitution of that State, by which foreign-born citizens are deprived of the right of suffrage for two years after their naturalization; and

Whereas, This amendment will be submitted to a vote of the people of Massachusetts on the 9th of May, 1859, for approval or disapproval,

Therefore, Be it resolved by the Republican Central Committee of the State of Iowa,

1. That the above named Act of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts is a violation of the principles of the Republican party as affirmed in the national Republican platform adopted at Philadelphia in 1856, and should therefore meet with the earnest rebuke of the Republican party in every state of the Union.

2. *Resolved*, That we regard this act as making an unjust and offensive discrimination between citizens on account of their birthplace, and showing therefore a tendency to undermine the foundation on which the Republican party is based, which carefully preserves a strict acknowledgment of the equal rights of the citizens under the constitution of the United States, without regard to nationality; in the condemnation of all proscription in legislation.

3. *Resolved*, That the Republican party in the State of Iowa cannot and will never approve of an act, by which our naturalized citizens are deprived of a part of their rights as guaranteed by the constitution and existing laws.

4. *Resolved*, That we earnestly request our Republican brethren in Massachusetts to reject by their vote a proposition which would be a stain upon the fair fame of a State which has heretofore been foremost in the advocacy of free principles, and equal rights to all men.

JOHN A. KASSON,  
H. M. HOXIE,  
N. J. RUSCH,  
D. N. COOLEY,  
G. H. GEROME,  
R. L. B. CLARKE,  
THOMAS SEELEY,  
*Rep. State Cen. Com.*

Des Moines, April 18, 1859.

Mr. Kasson's Address and the Resolutions of the Committee speak for themselves; but several points may profitably be referred to briefly. The resolutions are couched in terms that certainly excel in Teutonic frankness; they are direct and blunt, without qualification and without saving clauses. There is no suggestion that there may be a question as to the propriety of the partisan chiefs of the people of Iowa formally and plumply criticising the official action of the General Court of Massachusetts. There is no caution in comment or consideration that there may be some sort of justification for such a restriction as was proposed in Massachusetts—the act in question is pronounced “a violation of the principles” of the Republican party; it is “unjust and offensive” and its ratification would be “a stain upon the fair fame” of the Old Bay State.

Mr. Kasson in the initial paragraph of his Address asserts that matters of local concern or policy are not appropriate subjects of animadversion from citizens of sister states. But when an act, he contends, has exterior effects criticism may properly ensue and protest may become a patriotic duty. The argument, or rather the assumption thereof, is subject to question. Some of our states deny the franchise to women. Other states permit women to vote. The citizens of neither state possess either a legal or a moral right to condemn the course of the other in respect of the matter in controversy, however distasteful or obnoxious the policy of the neighbor state may be. Mr. Kasson stood on firmer ground when he asserted the great influence of the example of Massachusetts and the unfortunate effect of her action upon the chances of the Republican party in the coming elections. His contention that the act contravened—in so far as Republican votes were mainly accredited with its passage—the solemn pledge made at the national convention at Philadelphia was also well founded. But his insistence that the specific requirements of the federal constitution limited state action or enjoined specific compliance therewith from the state in its local legislation in the sense that a state could not enact local ordinances establishing conditions unlike those prescribed in Fed-

eral law was contradicted by sundry judicial rulings of our Supreme Court prior to and since 1859 holding that the national constitution determines national status and interstate relations and not state or local status. States may and do freely enact laws affecting local privileges, determining political status, now more liberal and lenient, now more stringent and severe, as policy or prejudice may prompt. Further, the protagonists of slavery, particularly the advocates or defenders of the obnoxious Fugitive Slave Law would have had him on the hip upon his unqualified assertion that the national constitution defined and determined the duty of the states. But he could not be countered in his observation that there was no limit to discrimination between citizens if the act of Massachusetts should become a precedent. Southern states were then proposing, or had in sundry ways actually instituted acts or practices that discriminated in gross fashion against the citizens and products of northern states wherein pronounced anti-slavery prejudice was prevalent.

The effect of the publication of the resolutions was marked, instant and widespread. The public at large which theretofore had taken a languid and vague interest in the Two Year Amendment suddenly acquired an acute interest in the matter. The resolutions were generally reprinted and they evoked considerable comment. The Democratic papers, of course, flouted the Republican party with flings and jibes anent their double-dealing and pretense and their virtue that was the product of fear of defeat and not the issue of genuine conviction. The Republican editors were divided. While all of the leading papers—or perhaps the majority would be more accurate—reprinted the resolutions:—some did so with enthusiastic approval as Mr. John Mahin of the *Daily Journal of Muscatine*;—some did so without comment, as Mr. J. B. Howell of the Gate City of Keokuk;—and some did so with positive disapproval—and many of the smaller journals did not reprint and did not mention the subject at all. The criticisms of the course of the Committee were in several instances rather tart.

Mr. Wm. M. Maynard, editor of the *Weekly Nonpareil* of

Council Bluffs, the foremost Republican paper of western Iowa, or "the slope" as then familiarly called, on April 30 took the Committee sharply to task on two counts: first, the committee exceeded its functions, for the members were clothed with no authority, express or implied, requiring or permitting them to speak for the party or its membership; and second, there was no necessity for so speaking "had they been in rightful possession of authority. It is no part of the duty of the people of Iowa to manifest or entertain such deep solicitude in the domestic affairs of the Old Bay State. The Republicans of Iowa or of the Union cannot, by any species of sophistry be held accountable for what the Republicans of Massachusetts may see fit to engraft upon their state creed." Mr. F. W. Palmer of the *Dubuque Times* (May 5) was no less critical, condemning the action of the committee in pointed terms. He makes an acute argument contending that the independence of the states as such, permits them a range of individual discretion in matters of local policy upon any and all matters of domestic concern that insures, or should insure, against criticism from those in states which do not exact or for specific reasons do not approve the legislation enacted elsewhere. Various other influential papers—the *Herald* of Oskaloosa, the *Weekly Republican* of Montezuma, *The Spirit of the West* of Sigourney—took exception to the course of the State Central Committee, not in all cases because they approved of the course of Massachusetts, but because they considered the Committee's action wholly *ultra vires*. It is not uninteresting or irrelevant to observe that the majority of the editors who thus criticized the State Central Committee either had been members of Know Nothing Lodges (at least were so charged) or in active sympathy with their propaganda, or they lived in sections of the state where nativistic prejudice was prevalent.

The resolutions of the Committee had an extensive circulation outside of Iowa. *The Chicago Press and Tribune* reprints them entire on April 29 as an editorial. They were reprinted at length by the *National Era* at Washington, D. C., May 5. Greeley's *Tribune* April 29, gave the resolutions

equally conspicuous mention, giving all the names of the Committee originally attached thereto. In the way either of commentary or of exemplification of the points of the protest and the principles therein insisted upon and inculcated, there immediately follows the resolutions an editorial upon the notable speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on April 18—the same date on which the resolutions were given out at Des Moines—by Mr. Carl Schurz, then of Milwaukee, on “True and False Americanism,” which was an earnest plea by that brilliant and eloquent son of Germania in opposition to the adoption of the proposed Two Year Amendment:—a speech which the *Tribune* declared was “in itself a noble vindication of that truly American liberality which invites the oppressed and the exiled of all nations not only to make our country their home, but to share with us the duty and the responsibility of directing its public policy and shaping its destinies”;—a speech which the *Tribune* prints at length on another page of the same issue.

## V.

Party managers of any prudence seldom take serious steps involving popularity without consulting with either their lieutenants in the field or with their party leaders at headquarters. It is hardly conceivable that Mr. Kasson and his confreres of the State Central Committee promulgated their resolutions of April 18 without some preliminary conference or correspondence with such leaders as Senators James Harlan and James W. Grimes and Congressmen Samuel R. Curtis and William Vandever, each and all of whom were particularly interested in the result of such a pronouncement. Owing to the destruction or disappearance of so much of the private correspondence of the party chiefs in control of the field work of the Republican party in Iowa in 1859. I am unable to demonstrate the correctness of this assumption beyond cavil; but sundry bits of evidence can be offered that tend strongly to confirm it. Moreover developments were then in the making that made each and all of the leaders concur with the action of the State Central Committee.

We have already seen that Messrs. Harlan and Grimes while in attendance at the sessions of the Senate at Washington had informed Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts of their grave concern over the discontent among the Germans in Iowa produced by the passage of the Two Year Amendment in Massachusetts. Whether Senator Wilson was so informed wholly by conference or partly by correspondence we can not say definitely; for both Senators Harlan and Grimes returned to their homes in Iowa in the forepart of April. Senator Grimes had no sooner reached Burlington than he realized that the Germans were up in arms and threatening war. His long and strenuous experience in politics made him instantly appreciate the exigency confronting the party if the Germans were not "kept in line" and this could not be realized unless the responsible leaders acted with celerity, certainty and conclusiveness, for the Germans were in no humor to take any half-way measures that would prove neither flesh, fish, nor fowl. With Senator Grimes to see an exigency was to act instantly.

The Republican leaders were already beginning to canvass the conditions of the approaching gubernatorial campaign, and they were alive to the fact that the Democrats were concerting plans to make a tremendous effort to recapture the state from the Republican party. Two important considerations were constantly in mind, namely, the governorship and the national Senatorship;—the members of the Legislature selected that year would select Senator Harlan's successor. Senator Harlan consequently was personally very much interested in the party formations for the ensuing campaign. He wrote Senator Grimes respecting prospects and plans. Replying at length Senator Grimes, after discussing the probable Democratic nominee declared his confidence that the party would win in the election "unless our people do some infernally foolish thing at the Des Moines convention," and then he adds:

"You must see to it that a resolution is proposed condemning and repudiating the act of the Massachusetts Legislature in attempting to extend the period of probation for voters after naturalization two years. We can do nothing in Iowa

without the Republican Germans; and they will require the passage of such a resolution and justly too, I think. We ought at the same time to declare for a good registry law and an honest enforcement of it."

The date of the letter from which the foregoing is taken was April 14, four days prior to the date on which the resolutions of the State Central Committee were given out at Des Moines. The sentiments expressed were in harmony with those resolutions and they propose a similar public expression, although Senator Grimes's suggestion related manifestly to the formulation of a plank in the forthcoming platform to be adopted at the state convention called to meet June 22. Each of the Senators and each of the Congressmen probably learned directly or indirectly from members of the Central Committee the proposal to formulate and publish the resolutions of the 18th and it would be strange indeed, if the party chiefs of the character and influence of Senators Harlan and Grimes were not consulted prior to the action of the Committee. If not consulted, Mr. Kasson and his confreres clearly apprehended their sentiments and acted in harmony with them as events almost immediately demonstrated.

## VI.

Sometime in April—in the middle or latter weeks—the Germans along the Mississippi became so indignant and alarmed at the possibilities of menace to their political status threatened in the proceedings in Massachusetts that they concluded that some sort of defensive action was imperative; that they should organize, take no more for granted, and charge with horse, foot and artillery upon the head and front of the Republican line and discover their real position upon the issue of immediate and paramount interest to them.

Influential Germans in the cities of Dubuque, Davenport and Burlington, as a result of correspondence and conference, decided to formulate some specific questions respecting the principle and policy of further restricting the electoral franchise as proposed in Massachusetts, and formally present them to the Republican leaders in such wise as to insure a public



expression of their personal views and a declaration of what course they would take upon any similar legislative proposals submitted to them for definite action. They were to be framed in such wise as to permit of no dodging, no hedging, and no equivocation or reservation.

In view of the striking results of their concert of action it is somewhat strange that neither the German Republican papers extant, nor the American papers give us any clue as to the place of origin of the plan, or the names of the first proposer or advocates of the plan, or any incidents of the preliminaries or of their methods of procedure—and more strangely still, so far as I can discover after extensive inquiry, afford us neither the text of their general letter nor the precise interrogatories formulated. The latter are discoverable, in substance at least, only in the responses.

The plan in general outline seems to have been first an agreement upon a common set of interrogatories to be incorporated in a letter to be addressed to the entire Congressional delegation from Iowa. This general letter was signed by Messrs. G. Hillgaertner, Henry Richter, and John Bittman of Dubuque; Theodore Olshausen and Theodore Guelich, of Davenport; Mr. J. B. Webber of Burlington and others, some forty signers all-told. The letter—at least the copies addressed to Senators Grimes and Harlan—was dated April 30. The letter frankly stated that responses to the interrogatories were desired for publication. The one addressed to Senator Grimes at Burlington was apparently handed to him in person by some of the committee of Germans signing it. Senator Grimes allowed no grass to grow under his feet, for he answered April 30. He either had learned of the questions or had anticipated their purport and was ready, or he made his decision and replies instantly without conference with colleagues or party managers. His letter entire as it appeared in *The Hawkeye* of May 3 follows:

I have just had placed in my hands a copy of your letter to the Congressional delegation from Iowa, in which you propound to them the following inquiries, viz.:

"1. Are you in favor of the Naturalization laws as they now stand, and particularly against all and every extension of the probation time?

"2. Do you regard it a duty of the Republican party, as the party of equal rights, to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between the native born and adopted citizens, as to the right of suffrage?"

"3. Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature, attempting to exclude the adopted citizens for two years from the ballot box, as unwise, unjust, and uncalled for?"

To each of these interrogations, I respond unhesitatingly in the affirmative.

In regard to the recent action of the Massachusetts Legislature, I have this to say: that while I admit that the regulation sought to be adopted is purely of a local character, with which we of Iowa have nothing whatever *directly* to do, and while I would be one of the last men in the world to interfere in the local affairs of a sovereign state, or with the action of any party in that state upon local matters, yet I claim the right to approve or condemn as my judgment may dictate. I believe the action of the Massachusetts Legislature to be based upon a false and dangerous principle, and fraught with evil to the whole country, and not to Massachusetts alone. Hence I condemn it and deplore it, without equivocation or reserve. Knowing how much the proposed constitutional provision will offend their brethren elsewhere, the Republicans of Massachusetts owe it to their party that this Amendment shall be overwhelmingly voted down, and I think it will be.

Germans who are proverbially blunt, outright and downright, could not complain of either the character or contents of Senator Grimes's reply. It was straightout and square-toed to a degree to satisfy the most captious, critical and suspicious. The brevity of the letter and the fact that it was the first response to the interrogatories to be given out caused it to be widely reprinted in nearly all of the leading Republican papers. The major number made no comment—those that expressed any opinion commended Senator Grimes' stand in the matter.

Senator James Harlan replied from his home at Mt. Pleasant, May 2. Although the letter from the Germans was prob-

ably not received by him until May 1, his reply was a document of considerable proportions, aggregating some 3500 words. It was an extended philosophical discussion of the *pros* and *cons* of sundry important phases of public policy involved in the matter of controversy, cautious in statement and carefully balanced in the presentation of the argument. In order to understand the character of Senator Harlan's letter, its length and the seriousness, not to say the solemnity of his treatment of the subject, the significance of the impending political campaign in Iowa to Senator Harlan must be thoroughly realized and constantly kept in mind. The ensuing election would decide the character of the next General Assembly; and that body would select Senator Harlan's successor. While in no sense an aggressive, insistent candidate for re-election, he was a candidate—and he was thoroughly alive to two facts. First, the Democrats were already concentrating their forces with a very determined and confident purpose of recapturing the political control of the state. Second, the Republican party was seriously affected with internal dissensions of a factional and personal character. Recriminations respecting "Maine-Lawism" and "Americanism" split the air. Sharp personal rivalries and bitter animosities produced by individual ambitions for political preferment or recollections of recent or former defeats made the relations of many of the leaders uncongenial, not to say hostile and repellant. Senator Harlan must needs discern and pursue the golden mean. Militant "temperance" workers and belligerent "Americans" were numerous in the Republican party and they had votes as well as the sons of Germania. The length of his letter precludes entire reproduction here but a generous summary and two or three of the important paragraphs are given.

With characteristic courtesy and consideration Senator Harlan opens with the caveat that he has not had opportunity for conference with his colleagues and does not desire "to compromise the opinions of any one else." He then quotes the three questions presented to him and cites (apparently from the letter of the Germans) and "heartily endorses" the

famous paragraph of the Declaration of Independence: "That all men are created equal," and governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." With that assertion for a premise he proceeds to set forth the objects of government, to wit, the definition and enforcement of rights and the maintenance of the equality of men under the law, the necessity of government and the modes of manning the Government. Stability is a prerequisite of efficient government and an important condition of such stability is the character of the electorate and the modes of access thereto. The franchise is an incident or means to republican government, a privilege and not a fundamental right. He then considers the necessary limitations of the franchise. Character and capacity, virtue and intelligence must be sought and given preference in determining the electorate. All sorts of limitations were then in force—and all then generally assented to—affecting race, color, age, sex, mental and moral condition or conduct. All women were then excluded, all men under twenty-one years of age were excluded, all native and foreign transients are likewise excluded. All these persons, although thus excluded from the franchise, enjoy equal rights to protection with electors. A liberal national policy has admitted aliens to the electorate when they comply with the conditions of Naturalization, which is merely an "indirect" means or method for insuring honest and earnest purpose to dissolve their former allegiance and bona fide to enter into a new allegiance. If the alien is sincere he may become an American citizen with a complete quota of rights and no discrimination should operate against him.

Many emigrants are as well qualified to become citizens of the United States when they first land on our shores—they are as intelligent, industrious, moral and trustworthy, as the native population. This is particularly true of those from some of the German states. In their own country they enjoy the advantages of common schools, similar, and as some think, superior to our own, open to the children of all classes, including the most indigent—and of academical instruction of the highest grade.—The mass of people are well educated; and they furnish the world with their full proportion of the ripest

scholars and most profound thinkers of the age. In the highest walks of literature, science and art, they have no superiors. A people thus taught emigrating to this country, and desiring to become citizens, would seem to require but a short probation to fit them for the performance of all the corresponding duties. Nor could much difficulty arise in their case, in making proof of *bona fide* intention to become citizens, or of their moral character and detachment to our form of government. But is this equally true of the mass of emigrants from all countries? They come on account of a variety of causes operating in the old world, and their number and character fluctuate. At one time the number is one hundred thousand per annum; at another, in consequence of a famine in Ireland, and other causes in the states of Europe, it is a half million, including mendicants, vagabonds and criminals, in whose hands no free government could be safely intrusted. \* \* \* We may reasonably expect these fluctuating causes to operate more powerfully in the future. The improved condition of navigation, the vast increase of the commercial marine of the world, and our changed relations with the hordes of Asia, where a district of country as large as Iowa sustain fifteen or sixteen millions of human beings, may cast on our shores at any time a new and crude population of millions; sufficient, if admitted to immediate citizenship, to inundate the great commercial cities and to overwhelm the Atlantic and Pacific states. This must be provided for in our naturalization laws. But it is as difficult to frame laws on this subject discriminating between the worthy and unworthy of foreign birth, as it is between natives of this country. And it is hardly to be expected that a Christian nation will exclude emigrants from citizenship merely on account of the country in which they were born—exclude the Irishman and admit the Englishman—exclude the Frenchman and admit the German; or that the individual states will attempt persistently to exclude from settlement in the country, emigrants from particular states, as California is understood to have done in relation to those from China. It would better accord with the spirit and genius of a great and just nation, to furnish an asylum for the oppressed "of every land, kindred, tongue and people," to grant them the protection of our laws, and the benefits of our free institutions, and to admit them to the rights of citizenship as speedily as is consistent with their perma-

ment safety, and our own, as the custodians of free government, bequeathed to us and the world by our fathers. The rule should be general; but the length of the probationary residence must ever remain at open question to be controlled by the judgment of the nation, under all the circumstances as they may arise. But after their admission as citizens of the United States, under its laws, it is unjust and offensive for a State of the Union to discriminate against them by its local laws.

When the foreign emigrant complies with the requirements of the naturalization laws, and becomes a citizen of this great Republic, he assumes all the responsibilities involved in the relation, and is entitled to all the corresponding immunities and franchises; and it is an indignity to him and to the Republic to impose peculiar burthens or disabilities. He is then as much a citizen under the supreme law of the land as if "born in the realm." And if such discrimination against him were attempted by a foreign government it would be regarded as an insult to the nation to be avenged at every hazard and at every cost. That a state of the Confederacy has power under the constitution to treat its own citizens or citizens of other states, residing within the jurisdiction, unjustly cannot be denied while fifteen of these states hold in absolute slavery one-half of their people, who are bought and sold like cattle in the market. But we are not bound to approve all that we have no power to redress.

It is clearly the interest of the Republican party and of the nation, to encourage the emigration and settlement among us of the industrious and intelligent and moral from every part of the world, and to facilitate their naturalization and admission to the enjoyment of all the franchises of freemen. A conclusive reason for this is furnished by the present condition of public affairs.

Senator Harlan then sets forth what he pronounced a new danger. A new or pro-slavery party had taken complete possession of the old Democratic party: a party which maintained that slavery is desirable and was decreed by Divine ordinance and was beneficial to the slaves: and that consequently slavery should be extended. With this purpose in view they repealed the Missouri Compromise in 1854 and in countless ways had openly and insidiously extended their power and principles. "To counteract these influences and to bring the government

back to the principles that controlled under the administration of Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Jackson, the Republican party was organized." He then recites the rapid rise and the widespread triumphs of the Republican party, beginning with its first great victory in 1854 with the election of Jas. W. Grimes, Governor of Iowa, and concludes with the following:

\* \* \* And if true to the principles which called it into existence, it will elect a President and Vice President in 1860, and control the government of the United States and the local governments of a majority of the states.

For past triumphs the party has been greatly indebted to the well-directed efforts of many thousands of our adopted citizens and especially to those from the states of Germany. The German Republicans have been and must continue to be an effective element in its organization. We should regard their wishes and they should regard ours; we should ascertain on what platform we can all stand as brothers, and shoulder to shoulder fight the common enemy. Heretofore we have had harmony in our ranks, neither natives nor adopted citizens have demanded anything outside of the national platform. We ought not now to change the issues, and attempt at the very moment of victory to reorganize our grand army of patriots of native and foreign birth. Why run the risk of decimating its battalions and weakening the attacking column by an attempt to modify the naturalization laws—by attempting to make the time of probation either longer or shorter? They have remained unchanged in this respect for more than fifty years; why not let them rest? They may be imperfect it is true—for what that is merely human is not imperfect? But as a Republican, their faithful execution is all that I am disposed to demand. And in this native, as well as naturalized citizens have a common interest.

For these reasons I am compelled, as a Republican, to say in reply to your first interrogatory, that I am not an advocate for any material change in the naturalization laws; to the second I do not approve any discrimination whatever against the rights of naturalized citizens; to the third, that I would not, if I were a citizen of Massachusetts advocate the adoption of the proposed amendment to her constitution.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES HARLAN.

Sundry phases of Senator Harlan's response to his German constituents are worth noting.

First, the length of his discussion, the very care and minute consideration he gave to moot points, extended his line and increased the opportunities for hostile criticism. The philosopher's qualifications and the statesman's caution seem to be a compound of "ifs" and "ands" and "buts" to the bellicose radical and sharpshooting opponents; and we shall see that his critics were not slow to turn their batteries upon him, whereas Senator Grimes's brief letter almost wholly escaped their raking fusillades.

Second, he did not dull the edge of criticism, as he might easily have done in perfect harmony with his argument, by incorporating some such suggestion as Senator Rusch proposed in Greeley's *Tribune* and Senator Grimes urged upon him in his letter already cited, to wit, the inclusion of the probation period after declaration of intention within the period of naturalization, and the enactment of a Registry Law.

Third, the argument at no place denies, as did the resolutions of the State Central Committee, the legal competency of Massachusetts to discriminate against the foreign-born in admissions to the franchise. This power he concedes in a striking fashion when he admitted that fifteen states had the right under the constitution to "hold in slavery one-half of their people." With masterful strategy he then turns about and points out that the major purpose of the Republican party, which was opposition to the extension and the ultimate extinction of slavery, makes firm adherence to the Republican party, as the party of freedom, the highest prudence, for Germans, despite the errors in judgment in legislation, of this or that Commonwealth.

Fourth, the argument seems to be addressed as much to the native-born as to the foreign-born. The art of his presentation is subtle and adroit. He enlarges upon the industriousness and intelligence of the Germans, their high average education, even suggesting, almost conceding that their great schools excel our own—a concession very appropriate at that time. All this favorable mention was doubtless designed to



mollify the "Americans" and Abolitionists and "Temperance" propagandists and allay their antipathies.

Fifth, Senator Harlan's chief objective and his strategy in the composition of his elaborate paper are obvious. Slavery was the central fact in public discussion; and its repression or restriction the *causa causans* in the establishment of the Republican party. The enhancement of the party's strength with a view to the approaching presidential campaign should consequently be the paramount consideration in party policy in the interim. The Germans were one of the most powerful corps in the anti-slavery forces. The Republicans should not do anything that would alienate their lively interest and good will. Adverse discriminations against the foreign-born would be stupid and suicidal for their mutiny or secession would make victory for the party impossible in the great quadrennial contest of 1860 which would probably determine the future of slavery in the United States.

Senator Harlan's letter was designed of course as a "campaign document." It did not appear in the *Hawkeye* until May 11 and in *Der Demokrat* until May 13. Owing to its length comparatively few of the Republican papers reprinted it entire. The last paragraph merely was the one chiefly taken. *The Daily Express and Herald* of Dubuque twitted the *Times* about not reprinting it and with partisan charity charged its editor with disapproval and dread of its contents and argument. The *Times* in consequence of the caustic comments of its contemporary concluded to reproduce the letter without abbreviation. Senator Harlan himself had his letter reprinted in a broadside, in a four page folder, on white glazed paper for general distribution among the electors of the state.

## VII.

Meantime the people of Massachusetts at the special election on May 9 had adopted the proposed Two Year Amendment by a considerable majority. Mr. Palmer of the *Dubuque Times*, who had been a critic of the course of the State Central Committee in respect of the matter, promptly accredited

(May 19) the passage of the Amendment to the ill-advised "interference of other states."

The Two Year Amendment was now no longer a possibility, or a debatable probability. It was a substantial, incontestable fact. Republicans, whether they approved or disapproved had to shoulder the matter or repudiate it, for their party was in control in Massachusetts and was therefore responsible. The criticisms of Senator Harlan's letter and Democratic rejoinders produced by the decision in Massachusetts we shall consider in a later section.

In the interim the Germans had received no response from Messrs. S. R. Curtis and Wm. Vandever, Congressmen respectively of the First or Southern District and of the Second or Northern District of Iowa. Their delay in replying may have been due to delays in the mails, or to illness as stated by Col. Curtis, or to political prudence that suggested postponement of an answer until after May 9th when the Two Year Amendment might prove to be an exploded issue and negligible. If they entertained any such hope they were dissipated when the press dispatches informed the public that the Amendment had carried. Answers and explicit answers, were compulsory and forthcoming.

Colonel Curtis's reply was dated at Keokuk, May 13. His responses to the three questions put to him were more pronounced in some respects than in the case of Messrs. Grimes and Harlan. He was not only opposed to the principle of the Two Year Amendment; but he was opposed to the rigorous exactions of the national statute as it then stood, affecting the admission of foreigners to the franchise. He would so amend the law that immigrants might "change allegiance when they actually change their domicile." He then adds: "Our present naturalization laws institute a kind of *initiation*, which as now executed is either a farce or a fraud, as all lawyers well know. \* \* \* I think they can and should be improved for the sake of the emigrants and good morals." To add two years of probation to the five years prerequisite to naturalization "is like building and finishing a ship and requiring her to lie two years on the stocks before she is permitted to float in her

natural element. But the matter in controversy "is entirely a local question." He concludes with characteristic American optimism by saying that the "blunder" of Massachusetts will redound to the gain of Iowa; for the ill-advised act of Massachusetts will prevent the immigrants settling in Massachusetts and "in the end it may assist in distributing the surplus population of the East where they can find better homes on the prairies of Iowa."

Mr. Vandever's reply was dated at Dubuque, May 21. Compared with those already cited his reply was brief, explicit and without attempt at justification of the Amendment. He plumply asserts opposition to the proposition of Massachusetts; but he does not expatiate upon the many phases of the question. He refers to and incorporates as a part of his answer a letter of his dated September 11, 1858, written in answer to two similar questions propounded to him by Mr. Hans Reimer Claussen of Davenport, dealing with the then proposed restrictive legislation extending the probationary period. Mr. Vandever's reply had one significant phase. There were lusty assertions current in his District that he had been a member of a Know Nothing lodge in the heyday of that movement. His explicit declaration against the Two Year Amendment, therefore indicated either a change of heart, or a realization of the fact that the Germans held the balance of power in his District.

#### VIII.

The adoption of the Two Year Amendment in Massachusetts despite the universal protests of the Germans, in face of the arguments and appeals of such Republican leaders as Senator Wilson and the majority of the Congressional delegation of Massachusetts and despite the pleas and protests of such papers as the *Springfield Republican* and the *New York Tribune* convinced the Germans that there was a serious undercurrent of demand for such legislation. The Germans, doubtless no less than the majority of the Republican leaders, had indulged in the confident belief that the sober judgment of the people of Massachusetts would insure a rejection of the proposition. An analysis of the returns of the elec-

tion of May 9 disillusioned them; for the amendment carried in the great majority of urban as well as of rural districts and by relatively substantial majorities. The result thus unexpected produced a situation that aggravated the perplexity of the Germans and enhanced the anxiety of the Republican party managers.

The course of Mr. Olshausen in *Der Demokrat* was non-belligerent. When the news that the Amendment had carried in Massachusetts reached him he closed an editorial (May 12), discussing the matter with the observation: "Es scheint unzweifelhaft, dass viele Demokraten mit für das Amendment gestimmt haben." Two days later when the details of the vote were known he concluded another editorial with: Die republikanische Partei der ganzen Union wird, hoffen wir, thun was in ihren Kräften steht, diese ehrlose Verläugnung des republikanischen Prinzips von Seiten der Republikaner eines einzelnen Staates nach Gebühr zu brandmarken.

The Germans of Iowa had little or no cause of complaint or grounds for suspicions regarding the sincerity of the Republican leaders of Iowa; for it is difficult to conceive of a more downright repudiation of the Two Year Amendment than the chief men of the party had proclaimed. This fact accounts, no doubt, for the attitude of *Der Demokrat*. But the experience of the Germans in Massachusetts had disturbed all presumptions. The matter that occupied the forefront of their thought was—"was ist in Bezug auf Massachusetts zu thun?" Under this caption Mr. Olshausen discusses (May 17) the suggestions offered for dealing with the act of Massachusetts; and particularly the proposition of the *New York Abendzeitung* that a Committee of Germans, mentioning Schurz of Milwaukee, Rusch of Iowa, Friederich Hecker or Gustav Koerner of Illinois, Stallo of Ohio, Annecke of Michigan, Friederich Kapp of New York, and Adolph Douai of Boston formulate a protest against the Two Year Amendment and express the indignant feelings of the Germans. Mr. Olshausen presents the suggestion without prejudice and without commitment. We shall have occasion in a later section to realize the causes for this attitude.

The Republicans indicated their surprise and confusion in their efforts to get from under and to shift the blame and avoid the consequences. Mr. Palmer of the *Times* of Du-buque, as we have seen, very promptly said that the Republicans had themselves to blame, for the Amendment was passed because the people of Massachusetts resented the "interference" of the people of other states. Mr. Howell of the *Gate City*<sup>11</sup> immediately charged (May 13) that the Democrats "secretly favored" the Amendment and by means of the secret ballot "privately voted for the proposition, for the purpose of embarrassing the Republican party." The most desperate explanation was that offered by Mr. Dunham in the *Hawkeye* of May 17. "The truth is," he says, "that three-fourths of the Democrats *stayed at home* for the express purpose of letting it pass; and a large majority of those who did go to the polls *voted for it* in order to throw the odium of the measure upon the Republicans." The Republican papers rang the changes on this charge that the Democrats of Massachusetts were the chief malefactors, the real marplots, and, whatever their plea, were *particeps criminis* in securing the adoption of the odious act. They resorted to the juvenile argument of "you're another" by pointing out the delinquencies of the Democrats in a similar direction, referring again to the law of South Carolina and to the efforts of the Democrats in Congress to enforce such restrictions in the case of the constitution of Minnesota at the time of admission.

IX.

Senator Harlan's long letter in reply to the questions of the German committee was published simultaneously with the press reports of the returns of the election in Massachusetts on May 9. The coincidence gave the Democratic press of Iowa a fine opportunity for bombardment and sharp-shooting of which editors were not slow to avail themselves. Much of the partisan comment, as was the wont of editors in those days, was ruthless, contemptuous and reckless, often descending

<sup>11</sup> See *Gate City*, May 30.—Editorial "The Test of their Sincerity"—and June 1—Editorial. "Massachusetts Republicans and the Two Year Amendment."

to petty puerilities, and now and then almost to billingsgate. Frequently when a good thrust was given its effect was dulled or utterly lost upon the cool and judicious by the flings and flouts and sneers and innuendos, accompanying them: e. g., an editorial in *The Sioux City Register* of June 2. The comments of Mr. J. B. Dorr of the *Daily Express and Herald* of Dubuque on May 13 are worthy of review.

The length of Senator Harlan's letter in and of itself afforded more points of attack to his critics than the succinct letter of Senator Grimes. Mr. Harlan's caution and his qualifications to the jaundiced eyes of partizan critics cloaked covert and insidious purposes. Thus he had said that the franchise must of necessity be restricted more or less. Virtue and intelligence are not universal and cannot be presumed or obtained directly; and it is "very difficult to establish a standard." But this consummation may be "partially attained by indirection." In a general assertion he seems to say, or may be made to say that "the mass of foreigners" are "mendicants, vagrants and criminals." Consequently the rules of "restriction should be general." The practical difficulties are so great in determining the franchise that "the length of the probationary residence must ever remain an open question:" for his mind's eye foresaw a time when "our relations with the hordes of Asia" might result in an immigration of a "crude population of millions," sufficient, if admitted to citizenship to inundate our cities and overwhelm our institutions.

These generalities of Senator Harlan, Mr. Dorr pounces upon and arraigns as the necessary premises for future legislation adverse to the foreign born. Such qualifications could be naught else than loop holes designed for exits when the election and the stress of the campaign were over. If the matter in issue could be treated as an "open question" and the best results in the organization of the franchise are to be attained by "indirection" Senator Harlan necessarily squinted favorably upon the peculiar measures of the Know Nothings and their successors and assigns, the Americans. Mr. Dorr's sarcasm vaults to top limits when he deals with Senator Harlan's reference to slavery and his correlation of German inter-

est with the policy of the Republican party. Senator Harlan had frankly avowed his hostility to slavery and his discussion seemed to suggest that he was not averse to the direct abolition of the iniquitous institution. The logic of his argument apparently meant that he would go headlong towards abolition and then of course political and social equality would of necessity come close upon its heels. Senator Harlan's letter seemed to imply all that Democrats in those days concentrated in their epithet of supreme contempt "Black Republicanism." Abolitionism was just then agitating the minds of Democrats and of some of the Republicans of Iowa, especially those who had emigrated from the Southern states; for there were substantial reports current that plans were under way for the extensive colonization of some of the Northwestern counties of Iowa with emigrant and refugee Negroes from the slave states. The dubious course of the Republicans with the status of the foreign born and the anti-slavery plea of the senior Senator from Iowa was but little short of pretense, a shrewd partisan maneuver, but dishonest. "They [the Republicans] endeavor first by the false cry of 'nigger, nigger,' to enlist against the Democracy the free white sons of Europe and when the Democratic party is put down they then turn round and call their allies 'mendicants, vagabonds and criminals' as Senator Harlan does. Nor is this all, but they describe them and place above them in political rights the greasy runaway negroes from southern plantations as Republican Massachusetts does."

The sentence last quoted was a slashing sarcasm that had done and was doing more damage to the Republicans among the Germans than all other facts and arguments in the controversy put together. Karl Heinzen had protested to Wm. Lloyd Garrison (March 22) that a negro might come into Massachusetts and after a year could exercise full rights of citizenship, hold office and vote; but a Mazzini or a von Humboldt, men whom the world would honor who should venture to come to Massachusetts would have to live in that commonwealth seven years before either would be deemed fit to cast a ballot or exercise the functions of public office. The sar-

casm stung and Democratic editors the country over used it as a whip-lash in many an argument.

## X.

In some respects the most vigorous and the most telling arraignment of the Republicans of Iowa and their attitude towards the Two Year Amendment was an open letter addressed to "The Adopted Citizens of the United States," dated and given out at Burlington on May 20 by a German Democrat, Mr. Louis Schade. His letter, which was almost as lengthy an epistle as that of Senator Harlan, was also manifestly designed for use as a "campaign document." It was extensively reprinted by the Democratic press of the state; and probably was composed and put forth with the approval and co-operation of the Democratic State Central Committee. Mr. R. H. Sylvester, editor of the *Iowa State Reporter*, the Democratic paper at Iowa City, in an editorial introduction declares that "its author is one of the best informed and most patriotic Germans in Iowa." He was a graduate of the University of Berlin and had had a career as a traveler in Central America and lecturer. He was believed to be a promotor of the presidential interests of Senator Douglas. His partisan opponents did not accord him such favorable comment. If we are to believe the latter he was a sort of journalistic soldier of fortune, going here and there in search of spoils. What his occupation was in Burlington at that time I can not state. He had not long before been an editorial writer for the *National Demokrat* of Chicago.

The purpose of Mr. Schade's letter was to demonstrate that Republicanism was in effect and in practical procedure Know Nothingism in disguise; and that its pronouncements and professions to the contrary were pretenses put forth to delude and allure the unthinking. The Two Year Amendment in Massachusetts merely disclosed the cloven foot; and he proposes to exhibit the true inwardness of Republican policy as it affects the foreign-born and the Germans in particular. The force of his exposition is seriously weakened by petty personalities and cheap ranting but, nevertheless, he



shot a number of darts and hurled various bolts that struck close to and full on weak joints in the Republican armor.

That the grand objective of the leaders of the Republican party is the union of the Fremont and Fillmore wings of the Opposition party is the thesis of Mr. Schade. "The Republican party is the same in the North as the Know Nothing party is in the South. \* \* \* \* They would have been a unit had not some of the Republican leaders, to buy the votes of the abolitionists, adopted the Negro equality notion." But the "Yanke notion" has become "unprofitable." The Republicans have "lost their fertile field of political humbug—bleeding Kansas" and their doctrine of the non-extension of slavery has become, "an abstract question." "To adopt Seward and Lincoln's principle that there must be an eternal war between the free and slave states, they have not yet the courage, as it would involve the safety of the Union. \* \* \*

In short they have nothing to fight for in 1860 but the Know Nothing principle.' The returns of the last presidential election enforced such a conclusion. The total votes cast for Fremont and Fillmore exceeded those cast for Buchanan, 378,989 votes. The union of these wings was manifestly the grand strategy of the leaders at that moment. Horace Greeley and Francis Blair, Sr., were already urging the wisdom of nominating a Southern man for President and a Northern man for Vice President. *The New York Tribune* had but recently declared in the most explicit manner in a notable leader that it would "heartily and zealously support" for President "one like John Bell, Edward Bates, or John Minor Botts." And who were the men named, but well-known "chiefs of Know-Nothingism." Manifestly the 874,707 Fillmore votes were worth more to the Republican king-makers than the 10-20,000 votes of the foreign-born. Hence the recent onslaughts upon the political rights and status of the foreign-born.

Mr. Schade then proceeds to show that there was general unanimity among the Republican leaders respecting the principle of the Two Year Amendment of Massachusetts. Even Senator Wilson of Massachusetts in his nominal opposition

to the Two Year Amendment had stated that there could be and would be no objection if naturalized citizens were prevented from voting or holding office for one year after naturalization. Again he points out that the Republican and American party state conventions in New York in 1858 reached a common understanding thus to exact one year's probation of the naturalized citizen. The Republicans of New Jersey had similarly declared themselves. Horace Greeley in recent editorials, even while trying to placate the Germans and allay their indignation over the Two Year Amendment, had declared in favor of a probationary period of at least three to nine months and "at a proper time shall support" such a proposed reform in the law. That "proper time" Col. Schade presumes will be immediately after the election in 1860. He then pays his respects to Senator Harlan and his letter to the Germans. His generalities and qualifications, his references to the "mass of foreigners" to "mendicants, vagrants and criminals" to the "hordes of Asiatics" arouse Mr. Schade's ire, and in his opinion pointed clearly to an inclination and ultimate purpose to inaugurate an adverse policy respecting the foreign-born as soon as the Republicans can get possession of the government from top to bottom.

The Yankee and his blue laws, his Puritanism and his Pharisaism then receive Mr. Schade's scorn. There is much tawdry fustian in his narrative but some vigorous strokes are delivered. The "Maine law" had "become one of the planks of the Republican party. Like everything intolerant and despotic it originated in New England, where it is still enforced \* \* \*" It was such fanaticism and such a habitat that produced the demand for the Two Year Amendment. What boots it to have a party laud the Declaration of Independence and praise Thomas Jefferson and then deny to certain classes of citizens, simply because they were born on foreign soil, the rights of the franchise and the honors of public office. Such conduct is "to keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope." Certificates of Naturalization cease to be documents that crown the alien with the dignity of an American citizen and clothe him with full rights, but badges

of disability, dishonor and degradation. For—Negroes from other states wherein they never can become citizens of the United States, may enjoy the rights of suffrage in Massachusetts; but white men may become citizens, and yet be branded, for no fault but their birth place, with political disfranchisement. "The uncouth semi-barbarian Negro may live in Massachusetts, and he is a voter; while even after naturalization a Koerner, a Hecker, a Schurz, a Stallo and other Republican celebrities of German descent, must live there two years, before they can become voters." Whatever the faults and shortcomings of the Democratic party, its leaders have not attacked or threatened the equal rights and franchise of the naturalized citizens since the party under Jefferson repealed the obnoxious Alien and Sedition laws. Germans must beware. The Republican leaders will not care anything for the feelings of Germans if they can unite the Southern Know Nothings and the Northern Republicans in the contest in 1860. Further let not the German Republicans "indulge in the hope that this Know Nothing movement is merely confined to New England and that the Republicans of other states are innocent and are opposed to it. The Republican party was started in New England—the brains, shoulders and head of the party are in New England. What New England commands the Republicans of other states must obey. It is Sumner, Banks, Wilson, Hale, Fessenden and Collamer, Seward, King and Greeley, who lay the wires of the Republican party and direct its entire policy."

The Republican newspapers treated Mr. Schade's Letter with utter scorn, for the most part ignoring his argument and resorting to savage attacks upon his character and conduct. His own license in resort to sneering suggestions was repaid him with principal and interest. None of his major points were squarely or fairly met. Mr. Olshausen did not take the trouble to refer to or discuss his attack. Its indifference was due, doubtless to confidence that the Republicans of Iowa, at least, contemplated no such hostility to the foreign-born as Mr. Schade presumed. Some reasons for his assurance will soon appear.

## XI.

In order to appreciate the significance of later events and the full sweep of the effect of the Two Year Amendment in the determination of party actions and campaign maneuvers in the political contest of 1859 we must realize some of the major collateral facts in the situation and the relations of some of the personal factors thereto—all of which constituted the background against which Germans saw the Act of Massachusetts standing out stark and ominous of evil to their welfare.

Public interest in politics, as in dramatic art, depends upon situations and the varying combinations of forces and the adjustment and contradiction of factors; upon the focusing of civic interests and the concentration of individual ambitions; upon the collision of factional, industrial and sectional interests and the character and clash of personalities. Sundry national events and various local developments tended simultaneously to enhance the strength of the Republicans with Germans and to militate against the Democrats. Other occurrences increased their irritation produced by the Two Year Amendment. Finally the damage done the Republicans by the Two Year Amendment was almost balanced by a noteworthy pronouncement of the Administration at Washington involving the status of the naturalized citizens abroad; and the Germans were sorely perplexed with conflicting feelings and prejudices.

If we expect personal liberty and political status, there was no question in which Germans were more keenly interested than in the propaganda for liberal land laws. From the early forties when the "National Reformers" began to agitate for land limitation and free farms, Germans had followed the progress of proposals in Congress with increasing concern. When the movement reached its first culmination about the time when the country was in the bitter contest over the restriction of Slavery and Disunion that concluded in the Clay compromise, the Germans began to perceive that the most serious opposition to free farms or free homesteads came

from the representatives of the Slave States and that the chief promoters of the propaganda were foremost in the anti-slavery agitation. As the Germans were "land hungry," being for the most part lacklanders in their Fatherland and as seventy-five per cent of them, according to Friedrich Kapp, settled in rural rather than in urban areas, they followed the course of Congressional debates with ardent interest. Bills with varying degrees of liberal provisions had passed one or the other of the two houses of Congress during the decade. The popular pressure on Congress for the passage of such an act increased steadily until the 35th Congress, when there seemed to be a fair prospect that the Grow bill might pass. It had been defeated, or rather side-tracked, at the first session in 1858 by the Southern leaders. In the second session the bill was reported favorably in the House and after some parliamentary maneuvers in opposition lead by such Southern leaders as Keit, Millson and A. H. Stephens, it was passed February 1. Mr. Atkins of Tennessee announced that he was in favor of "a proper homestead bill," but he was opposed to the pending measure because its benefits were accorded to "unnaturalized persons." The pro-slavery leaders of Senate and House had always amended the proposals of the anti-slavery champions by confining the operation of the law to heads of families and to citizens, restrictions that were especially grievous to Germans, and particularly newly arriving immigrants.

The passage of the Homestead bill by the House and a favorable prospect in the Senate created much popular expectation. In Germany, we are told, its passage through the House produced "manifestations of joy."<sup>12</sup> Theodore Olshausen, whose pen had been tempered by experience and close study of conditions, was not so sanguine. On the day Mr. Grow secured its passage he told the readers of *Der Demokrat* (Feb. 1):

"Die südlichen Sklavenzüchter wünschen gar nicht, dass der freie Nordwesten sich ausdehne und verstärke und hal-

<sup>12</sup> *Chicago Press and Tribune*, April 26, 1859:—Editorial entitled "Immigration."

ten daher alle Massregeln nieder, welcher auf die Erleichterung des Anhaus durch freie Arbeiter abzielen soll. Aus diesem Grunde musste auch das Grow'sche Amendment, welches den Ansiedlern zehn Jahre Zeit lassen wollte, ehe sie nöthig haben sollten für ihr Land zu bezahlen, im Congress durchfallen. Die öffentlichen Ländereien sollen die Spekulant, den Begünstigten der Regierung und den Sklavenzüchtern offen stehen und ihnen bequem zugänglich gemacht werden, aber nicht des weissen Arbeiter. So will es die Aristocratie des Südens und so geschieht's!"

Mr. Olshausen was a good prophet. The Senators from the South stood relentlessly athwart the path of the friends of the Homestead bill. Senator Wade of Ohio called up the House bill on February 17. Senator Hunter of Virginia at once objected. As the chairman of the Committee of the Senate having the budget bills in charge his objection was serious in view of the few days remaining for the session. Senators Wade and Seward insisted; and the bill was defeated by a tie vote, Vice President Breckinridge casting his vote against it. The friends of the measure had victory so nearly within their grasp that defeat was particularly exasperating. The opposition was entirely from the pro-slavery leaders, and almost entirely from Southern senators.

The disappointment of the Germans in respect of the Homestead bill was aggravated by another defeat of the measure on February 25 and again the contrary interests and dominant influence of the Southern Senators stood forth conspicuously. Senator Slidell's bill for the acquisition of Cuba, the bill carrying with it a contingent appropriation of \$30,000,000 for its purchase, was pending when Senator Doolittle of Wisconsin sought to secure consideration for the Homestead bill as to which his German constituents were greatly aroused. Senator Slidell's motion to postpone all special orders and take up the Cuban bill carried by a vote of 35 to 24. Again late in the evening of the same day Senator Doolittle moved to take up the Homestead bill. A fiery discussion ensued, in which most of the giants broke lances. In the course of the debate Senator Toombs of Georgia in towering con-

tempt characterized the maneuvers of the friends of the Homestead bill as the "paltry tricks of two-penny demagogues," and Senator Wade, in hot retort, shot his famous bolt that thenceforth: "The question will be, shall we give niggers to the niggerless, or lands to the landless." On every ballot the friends of the Cuban bill won by substantial majorities.

That collision in the Senate on February 25 made luminous again the definitive fact in the situation so far as Germans were vitally concerned. Southern Senators knew, both instinctively and practically, that Slavery and Free White labor could not thrive together. They knew, too, that German immigrants who sought the soil would inevitably drive out slave-labor. Germans naturally resented their contemptuous assertions that such measures as the Grow bill, which was urged for their particular encouragement and benefit, was legislation for mendicants.

Germans suffered from another perplexity. The nature of patriotism and the objects of government, as Senator Rusch of Iowa intimated in his letter to the *New York Tribune*, were somewhat confused by the arguments of Messrs. Slidell and Toombs. Grants of petty parcels of land to those who would actually go upon the public domain and cultivate the soil for five years in order to secure title were denounced as Agrarianism and vicious Socialism; whereas the self-same critics of the Grow bill turned face-about and demanded the appropriation of \$30,000,000 of revenue outright for the purchase of territory whereon Slaveowners might extend their jurisdiction and enhance their welfare. The virtue and consistency of their argument were difficult for Germans to perceive.

German editors denounced the enemies of the Homestead law in no gentle terms. Their indignation was so general and so pronounced that Republican editors speedily perceived that the old-time loyalty of Germans to the Democratic party was being seriously disturbed and desertions were reported. Republican editors not only took notice thereof but took pains to dwell upon. Mr. Howell of Keokuk enlarged upon the interests of the Germans and the Homestead law, and the "irre-

pressible antagonism of the German heart to the principle of Slavery," in the columns of the *Gate City*.

With respect to both of the measures before Congress the party leaders of Iowa were decidedly interested. The Republicans, Messrs. Harlan, Curtis and Vandever earnestly promoted the Homestead bill and opposed the acquisition of Cuba. General A. C. Dodge, Senator Harlan's predecessor, had taken a very active part in the promotion of Homestead bills during his Senatorial career and insisted on the utmost liberality in the treatment of the foreign-born. He was, on the other hand, favorable to the purchase of Cuba. "President Pierce had appointed him Minister to the Court of Spain in 1855 and the one great object of his mission was the acquisition of the Pearl of the Antilles. On March 12, 1859, General Dodge left Madrid to return to Iowa, his efforts to secure Cuba being vain. For two months prior to his departure for home the Democratic leaders had been urging him as the strongest man in the party with whom to recapture Iowa from the Republican party. The fates pushed him forward. The Germans were destined to stand athwart his course to prevent his success, precisely as they had done in 1854.

## XII.

The big black beast of partisan discussion in Iowa in *ante bellum* days was abolitionism. Democrats hurled their most opprobrious epithet when they denounced a person or a party as a "Black Republican." The term carried with it more than contempt and scorn; malevolence was almost certain to go with it. In Iowa, precisely as in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, the intensity of the hatred that heated the epithet was a consequence of the character of the pioneer population of the state.

The first settlers of Iowa prior to 1860 were predominantly people of Southern origin or descent. In 1850 the natives of the Slave states outnumbered the New Englanders five to one. In 1856 in Madison county there were nearly a thousand Southerners and only fifty "Yankees" from east of the Hudson. The same proportions, and probably a greater



proportion of Southern stocks, maintained in the natives of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois who emigrated to Iowa in such enormous numbers between 1850 and 1860. The presence of such stocks in the state with the traditions and predilections of the South accounts for the pronounced pro-slavery conduct of the national representatives of Iowa in Congress and the character of her local politics and legislation prior to 1854.

The South had no more staunch defenders of the rights of Slaveholders than the Senators from Iowa, Geo. W. Jones and A. C. Dodge. There were but three Northern Senators who voted for the Fugitive Slave Law. Both Senators from Iowa voted for it; and both voted for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and they stood forth with pride and confidence in the storms of abuse that broke upon their heads. And Iowa would have sustained them probably, but for the defections of Germans from the Democratic party in 1854.

In local legislation pro-slavery sentiment was obvious. The rights of Negroes were always doubtful. Their rights of acquiring and transmitting property were slowly granted. The testimony of Negroes in court was refused or received with adverse presumptions. They were denied the right to vote. Access to schools was either denied or so difficult generally as to result in denial.

With such a population and such an atmosphere Abolitionism and its correlatives of industrial and political and consequent social equality of Whites and Blacks was an utter abomination that could hardly be tolerated. Democrats in particular saw every liberal suggestion for the amelioration of the condition of the resident blacks with jaundiced eyes and whenever they discussed them dipped their pens in vitriol. The Republican party of Iowa, it must be kept in mind, was composed largely of Southern stocks.<sup>13</sup> Some of its most

<sup>13</sup> The proposal to strike "white" from the constitution submitted to the people in 1857 was defeated by an overwhelming vote of nearly five to one.

The sentiment of some of the Republicans of Iowa may be inferred from the following plank of a platform adopted by a county convention at Winterset, Madison county, September 18, 1857,:

"Resolved, That we are now and ever opposed to any attempt to

radical anti-slavery leaders were Southerners; e. g., Mr. Wm. Penn Clark, who ran as the Abolition candidate for Governor in 1850.<sup>14</sup> But Southerners were generally very "conservative" upon the Slavery question. They had no tolerance for Abolitionism.

In the forepart of March there appeared in *The Torchlight*, a newspaper published at Xenia, Ohio, an article describing the plans and efforts of one Dr. J. S. Prescott, reported as a resident of Spirit Lake, Iowa, to promote a scheme for the colonization of Free Blacks and refugees from slavery in Northwestern Iowa—particularly in the counties of Dickenson, O'Brien, Osceola and Cherokee and perhaps additional counties. The account gave considerable detail and indicated a pretentious project and extensive activities in the East to effect its realization. Dr. Prescott had organized and addressed meetings in the cities of Washington, D. C., Philadelphia and Pittsburg and apparently was prosecuting a serious campaign in furtherance of his scheme. From the contents of a series of resolutions adopted at Xenia, Ohio, one might readily infer that the project was in a fair way of successful execution.

The account of Dr. Prescott's project, as it appeared in *The Torchlight*, was extensively reprinted in Iowa. The editors of the Democratic press broke forth instantly in screams of protest and denunciation. Their imagination rioted in frightful anticipations. Iowa was to become a haven for Negroes, a sort of Northern Liberia. They saw imminent Negro Equality or Race War, or Amalgamation—abominations not to be contemplated. The proposal was as a lighted torch to pitch. The discussion became ugly and sulphurous; and one of the bitterest complaints of the Germans of Boston and of Iowa against the Two Year Amendment of Massachusetts was given a lurid illustration, of which the Democrats made the most.

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putting the negro upon an equality with the whites, and will wage unceasing war against it, whether the attempt be made in the common schools, at the ballot box, on the field, or elsewhere.

<sup>14</sup> Mr. Clark received only 575 votes in the state.

*The Journal*, the Democratic organ of Keokuk—a city in which sons of the Old South were numerous and the prejudices of the old regime were prevalent and powerful—reprinted the account of Dr. Prescott's scheme. The evening following, its editor, Captain Appler, met sundry citizens of the city at a grocery owned by a German, and he was soon engaged in a heated controversy with one of the Republican Aldermen of Keokuk respecting the project. As usual with the discussions of such assemblies, personal and partisan prejudices and political philosophy become fused in a fearful fashion. In the course of the controversy the Republican Alderman, either in a high pitch of passion or in far flung fancy in exposition, finally clinched his argument and drove home his point, by declaring that "he would rather see Iowa colonized by Negroes than by lousy Dutch and Irish."

The alleged preferences of the Republican Alderman of Keokuk were, of course, instantly heralded broadcast with ready pens and trumpet tongues by Democratic partisans. They enlarged upon the remark with huge delight and furious emphasis. The remark to them illustrated conclusively the genuine feelings of the Republicans respecting the foreign born. Stout denials that he had allowed himself to make such an assertion were counteracted by affidavits in confirmation. With perfect assurance Democratic editors declared the remark thrown out at Keokuk to be a true expression of Republican feelings and views. Mr. Dorr's paper, *The Daily Express and Herald*, at Dubuque, thus expresses prevalent opinion among the Democrats in the issue of May 26, in two editorials as follows:

#### IOWA REPUBLICAN SENTIMENT.

That the sentiments of the Republican party of Iowa against foreign-born citizens are identically the same as that of Republican Massachusetts, is becoming more evident, every day. Indeed, that proscriptive and hostile feeling is one of the chief elements upon which the Know Nothing Republican party was nourished into life and strength.

The rankling hatred which lurks in the hearts of their leaders toward adopted citizens and the poor white labor-

ing population from Europe, does manifest itself occasionally. A good instance of this has taken place at Keokuk. \* \* \*

\* \* \* In other words, to make Iowa an asylum for all the negroes of the Union, and to occupy a large portion of our territory with this objectionable class of population to the exclusion and injury of our own laboring white men. \* \* \*

### THE REPUBLICAN PROGRAMME— NEGRO EQUALITY.

The Republican wire-pullers in this State feel the damning effect of the adoption of the Two Years' Amendment to the Constitution of Massachusetts, and endeavor to save themselves by a resort to every subterfuge.....

One of their grand prescriptions was a dose of resolutions from the Republican State Convention [Committee], indignantly protesting against the Massachusetts Amendment—while at the same time the very authors of those resolutions undertook to establish negro equality in the new Constitution, and followed it up by a proposition in the first session of the Legislature under that Constitution, to compel naturalized citizens to swear in their votes and produce their papers.

Their second step was to get a few credulous Germans to address "interrogations" to the Republican members of Congress and United States Senators, who reply very meekly that they disapprove of the Massachusetts Amendment—although they were leaders and high priests in the *Know Nothing Councils*; \* \* \* Two of the distinguished gentlemen, Messrs. Harlan and Vandever, were *initiated* in the dark and proscriptive order in this very city.

\* \* \* \* \*

But all these dodges are ephemeral and mere impulse to self preservation. The programme of the Republican party \* \* \* is under the leadership and dictation of men who are Abolitionists heart and soul, sworn [not] to pause nor to cease effort until they establish negro equality in Iowa.

\* \* \* \* \*

And now comes up the plan of *colonizing* the State with *niggers* \* \* \*

So far as the people of Northwestern Iowa are concerned we advise them to make a law unto themselves, and rather than have their beautiful country desecrated by a horde of negroes from other States, *to drive them into the Missouri, and their patrons with them.*

Now, with such a programme, it may not seem strange if to it be added at no distant day the very amendment [the Two Year Amendment], which these Know Nothing Congressmen so ostentatiously condemn.

That the two foregoing editorials, appearing in the same issue of a leading Democratic daily of Iowa are typical of many to be found in the Democratic press of the state in the preliminaries of the gubernatorial campaign in 1859, exemplifying the spirit and substance of much of the argument and appeal addressed to the Germans, might be demonstrated by a score of citations and exhibits. From the first publication of the protest of the Germans of Boston when they pointed out that Negroes after one year's residence in Massachusetts, be they ever so ignorant and unfit, might vote and hold office in the Old Bay State, but educated Germans and French, Scandinavians and Swiss were denied the franchise for seven years, Democratic editors steadily directed their fire upon the sensibilities of the Germans of Iowa, striving to prick their pride and arouse their resentment against the party which had imposed the gross discrimination upon them in Massachusetts; and the premises of their argument and the background against which their flings and flouts were thrown were the Germans dread of Know Nothingism on one side and the native's intense hatred of Abolition and Negro equality on the other. There was much heavy faced type and italics used by Democratic editors when writing upon electoral privileges of Negroes in Massachusetts in contrast with those permitted the Germans.

One issue of the Muscatine *Democratic Enquirer* two weeks following the publication of the editorials at Dubuque, quoted above, affords us a striking illustration of this appeal to pride, prejudice and passion. On June 9 Mr. Biles printed four articles on his editorial page that are highly suggestive. One entitled "Black Man in Massachusetts" begins: "The Boston

*Courier*, in lecturing Carl Schurz, the Wisconsin Black Republican, who went to Boston to set the Yankee Republicans right on political questions, thus enumerates the privileges of Negroes in the state of Massachusetts"; and then are mentioned their right to vote, their right to put their children in the schools with white children, their right to intermarry with whites, their right to serve on juries. In another column is an editorial reprinted from the *Leavenworth Herald* headed "The Republican Party in Favor of Negro Suffrage," which was a savage attack upon an editorial then but recently printed in Greeley's *Tribune* upon the part taken by Negro voters in a late election in Kansas. In the adjacent column was a reprint of an article from the *Anzeiger des Westens* of St. Louis consisting mainly of a much quoted article from the *Hochwächter* of Cincinnati, urging that the German Republicans make a public and specific demand upon the Republican state conventions of the several states for an explicit disavowal of sympathy with, and repudiation of, the principle of the Two Year Amendment of Massachusetts, with concurrent notice that refusal so to repudiate the obnoxious Amendment would work the forfeiture of German respect and good will and insure the active hostility of the German Republicans. The fourth article at the top of the last column of the editorial page was a reprint of the portions of Governor Banks's message to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1858 and 1859 referring to and commending the principle of said "Two Year" Amendment.

Such arguments and appeals were not without effect. The city and county of Muscatine were storm centers of radicalism respecting Know Nothingism, Slavery and the "Temperance" question. Karl Rotteck, a "Forty-eighter" who had had to flee from Baden because of undue activity in the Revolution, was the editor of the *Zeitung*, published at Muscatine and he had been denouncing the Massachusetts Amendment in bitter terms and had indicated that his faith in the Republican party had been so seriously shattered he would betake himself and paper to the Democratic camp.

## XIII.

It is not always easy to determine correctly what the weather is likely to be within an ensuing twelve or twenty-four hours. The skies may be cloudy and threatening and within a short time the sun may be shining in a vast expanse of cerulean blue. *Per contra* clear skies may with equal suddenness become dark with ugly clouds and the earth shake with the roar and shock of lightning and raging winds. One suffers the same difficulties and perplexities in forecasting or measuring the force and effect of the winds and tides of public opinion and the prospects of political parties in their struggles for place and power.

It is not easy to determine whether the prospects confronting the Republican party in Iowa in May were unfavorable or not. In national matters they had perhaps the preponderance of advantage. In state affairs the outlook was certainly not favorable. The Democrats had been given a decided lead by the tremendous disturbance in the peace of mind of the Germans produced by the introduction and passage of the Two Year Amendment. The notable unanimity with which the Republican leaders had repudiated and denounced the act of Massachusetts had done much to quiet the Germans and allay their suspicions; but the confidence of the latter had been roughly shaken. Reckoning all things the Democrats had substantial grounds for the vigor with which they assailed the Republican positions in the forepart of 1859. The Republicans clearly could not easily take the offensive; their tactics at least were mainly on the defensive.

With the fates thus favorable the Democrats suddenly had their ranks thrown into utter confusion; and that too, by the National Government itself, controlled by their own partisans. The cause was the foreign-born and their status in our policy.

On May 17—the same day on which Abraham Lincoln at Springfield penned his much quoted letter to Dr. Theodore Canisius declaring his opposition to the principle of the Two Year Amendment—Lewis Cass, President Buchanan's Sec-

retary of State, penned a brief note to a citizen of Memphis, Mr. Felix LeClerc, a Frenchman by birth, but a naturalized citizen of the United States, stating that the United States would not undertake to protect him from arrest, fine or imprisonment by France, should he return to his native land and be seized on account of delinquent military service, avoided by him by emigration to the United States.

The letter to Mr. LeClerc was given to the public about the first of June, or rather became a matter of national interest roundabout that date; and Germans at once became alarmed and took up arms. Mr. A. V. Hofer, a German citizen of Cincinnati, wrote an earnest letter expressing their anxiety and dissent and asking for a more explicit avowal of the position and policy of the Administration in respect to the protection of naturalized citizens abroad. The German editors and all the opposition or anti-slavery editors, the country over, burst forth with indignant protests. The Cass-LeClerc policy was denounced as a national humiliation, an open confession of weakness, and a repudiation of an express and obvious national obligation.

The Republicans, smarting from the drubbing they had received on account of the Two Year Amendment, indulged in an ecstasy of denunciation and recrimination. The Act of Massachusetts might have been a gross mistake, a huge blunder, but it was merely an error in judgment, not a lapse in patriotism, and moreover it was a solitary act of a single state for which neither the Nation, nor the Republican party at large could be held accountable; and, furthermore, Republican leaders everywhere, in Massachusetts as well as in the country, had denounced the Two Year Amendment. But the Cass-LeClerc letter was no accidental expression; it was not the declaration of inconspicuous, unknown and reckless partisans controlled by local passion or prejudice. It was a solemn utterance, a considered announcement of deliberate policy. Indeed, it was the nature of a pronouncement *ex cathedra* by the High Priest of the Democratic party at the Nation's capital.

Public astonishment, we may well suspect, was enhanced by the very brevity of the LeClerc letter. It suggested an as-



sumption on the part of Secretary Cass, and a presumption of previous practice warranting his plump and unequivocal assertions of national policy. The public, if we may take the universal outcry against the venerable Secretary's doctrine as an index, very generally had supposed the national policy and practice directly the reverse. The Administration was recreant to the Nation's noblest assertions of international policy and, more astonishing still, forgetful of the most honorable traditions of the Democratic party itself. Had we not fought the war of 1812 mainly and expressly upon the issue of our Government's right and imperative duty to protect our adopted citizens while under our flag upon the High Seas and in foreign ports against the demands of their parent states? Had not Captain Ingraham's rescue of Martin Koszta, the Hungarian refugee, who had merely declared his "intention" to become a citizen of the United States, had not the rescue of this man from the hold of an Austrian warship in the Turkish harbor of Smyrna and Secretary Marcy's ringing letter to Mr. Hülsemann commending the dramatic rescue proclaimed what the United States held to be her paramount right and her express duty respecting the protection due her adopted citizens when abroad? Yet here was the immediate successor of Marcy who had forgotten the glorious doctrine and supinely refused to give our naturalized citizens the protection so strikingly accorded Koszta in the harbor of Smyrna.

Such in outline were some of the comments in criticisms lodged against Secretary Cass's letter to Felix LeClerc. It would be appropriate here to assemble and analyze some of the arguments incorporated in them because they constituted material considerations in counteracting the discontent of the Germans over the Two Year Amendment, and they no doubt checked the disposition to desert the party with which all liberal and anti-slavery Germans had since 1854 increasingly affiliated. I do not, however, undertake to exhibit the many interesting and intricate phases of the animated discussion that ensued during June and July. There were in the large three classes of critics: First, the foreign-born and in particular the Germans who viewed the matter from the point of view of

immediate personal interest. Second, the Republicans and anti-slavery partisans, who viewed the issue partly from the angle of the patriotic citizens' conception of national duty and authority and partly from the baseline of partisan prejudice and purpose to heckle and harrass the party in power; and third, Democratic critics, mainly liberal Democrats, supporters of Senator Douglas for the most part, who were in open war with President Buchanan's Administration.

The columns of *Der Demokrat* do not contain as much editorial denunciation of the Cass-LeClerc letter as we should normally expect to find. Mr. Olshausen was apparently interested chiefly in exhibiting proofs that the Republican leaders and Republican organizations of Iowa and Illinois were repudiating the Two Year Amendment. The exhibitions of Know Nothingism in the South and in Connecticut and Ohio, the plump disavowal of sympathy with the act of Massachusetts by the Republican state convention of Ohio, the national convention of German radicals at Cleveland occupy the forefront of his thought. On June 28 and 29 he reviews some of the interesting diplomatic correspondence of our state department whence he concludes that previous Secretaries of State, notably Edward Everett, had established solid precedents for maintaining the rights of the naturalized citizens abroad. He sarcastically closes one article with: "Ist solche Weigerung die demokratische Zuneigung zu den Fremdborenen?" One cannot but suspect that Mr. Olshausen refrained from furious denunciation and diatribe because he was not at all certain that Secretary Cass was in the wrong as to his fundamental position.

The Republicans were not modest, nor mild in assailing the theory of the Administration. Their editors played the entire gamut of ironical comparisons and allusions in citing the glorious achievements of the government in the past, under the guiding hand of Democratic statesmen. I take one argument from the columns of *The Hawkeye* of Burlington. It is interesting and instructive as an illustration of the common, almost universal practice among Republicans and anti-slavery critics in *ante bellum* discussion of considering all questions

from the standpoint of slavery. Mr. Dunham thus expressed himself on June 30:

The recent letters of General Cass show that the slave party, through the general government, have made a recent onslaught upon the adopted citizens, affecting their dearest and most sacred rights. There is no denying that it is a blow intended to create a wide and cruel distinction between the native and naturalized citizen, and deprive the latter of the most valuable rights. While the Secretary of State admits that we are bound to protect American citizens born in this country, in every part of the world wherever business or pleasure may take them, at the dictation of his and the Democratic party's Southern masters, he tells all naturalized citizens that prudence requires them to stay at home—that if they go abroad this government will not interpose to protect them from the conscription. That if they go to Europe and are pressed into the army by European tyrants to fight their battles this government will abandon them to their fate.

It is the interest of the South to discourage immigration from Europe, but to open the African slave trade. The Democratic party is the slave of the South and proud to do its bidding, hence General Cass, speaking for the Government, has informed naturalized citizens, in effect, that when they voluntarily sail from our shores they must take care of themselves.

Here again we see that the objective of Republican strategy was to prick the pride of Germans, to arouse their indignation, and to create personal antagonism to the pro-slavery party by constant iteration of the charge that Slavocrats were instinctively opposed to the foreign-born and were insidiously thwarting their welfare both at home and abroad.

The Republican press, however, was very mild and gentle in its criticisms of the Cass-LeClerc doctrine compared with the insurgent Democratic press. Some of the pro-Douglas editors were vehement and virulent in their denunciation of the Administration. *The Daily Express and Herald* best voiced their sentiments and indicated the intensity of their feelings. In estimating the significance of the expressions that follow we should bear in mind that Mr. J. B. Dorr, the editor, was high in the confidence of Senator Douglas; that it was to Mr. Dorr that Senator Douglas sent his noted letter

of June 22 from Washington stating the terms on which he would be a candidate for the nomination for the Presidency before the Charleston convention, a letter that produced a very considerable commotion among Democratic partisans.

On June 9, Mr. Dorr's paper came out with a powerful leader denouncing General Cass's position. The article had been written several days before but publication was delayed either for prudential or for political reasons or was crowded out by other matters. It was entitled: "A Humiliating Backing Down," and in harmony with the caption he assails the position of Secretary Cass: "It places our Republic in a dishonorable, nay, even in a contemptible light in the eyes of all nations." Reviewing the course of our government in protecting its adopted citizens abroad and the inducements offered the people of Europe to come among us, and the moral obligation to protect them as we do our native born, he observes:

The United States is abler now to protect its citizens than it ever was before but the letter of Secretary Cass is mortifying. . . . What a contrast to this was the manly letter of Secretary Marcy to Hülseman, on the Koszta affair. But alas! it seems we have now fallen on degenerate times, and have timorous men at the head of the nation, apparently trembling before the "claims" of European Kings. Alas for the brave of other years.

Reflecting upon the matter during the following week Mr. Dorr's astonishment and indignation waxed instead of waned. Contempt and resentment and alarm took possession of him and on June 16 he put forth another powerful editorial more energetic and sweeping than the former, as the following excerpts will demonstrate:

His decision is so anti-national, anti-American and entirely anti-Democratic that many of the old gentleman's [Secretary Cass] former admirers have come to the conclusion that he has not only outlived the vigor of manhood, but that his intellect is so impaired that he is wholly unfit for the duties of the office he holds.

\* \* \* \* \*

Indeed no other government on earth ever took such a disgraceful position, and it has remained for a Demo-

cratic Administration to sink the name of an American citizen below contempt. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

The time was when Roman citizenship, in the humblest individual, commanded respect in every land, and shall it now be said that American citizenship is inferior to that of Rome of old? No nation, either ancient or modern, ever denied its protection to its citizens, except the United States, under the Presidency of James Buchanan, with Lewis Cass as his Secretary of State. In view of this fact it has become the duty of the uncorrupted Democracy of the Union to denounce an Administration which has thus lowered us in the eyes of the world, and to demand the dismissal of General Cass from the high office which his imbecility disgraces.

\* \* \* We therefore in the name of Democracy, call upon the President to dismiss Mr. Lewis Cass from the office which he holds, and thereby repudiate the dishonorable doctrine he has enunciated.

In another column of the same issue of the *Express and Herald* it was dramatically demonstrated how direct, immediate and personal was the interest of the Germans of Iowa in the matter in controversy. There was reproduced *in extenso* an official summons issued on May 4 by the District Court of the royal city of Dantzig, Prussia, commanding one Frederick A. Gniffke to appear in said court on September 8 "to produce testimony for his defense" on the charge of "leaving the Kingdom without permission in order to avoid joining the army"; the summons further stating that "in case of his non-appearance, the investigation and decision of his case will be proceeded with *in contumacium*." The person named and so summoned was the founder and editor of the *Dubuque National Demokrat*, of which today (January 1914), he remains Editor Emeritus, then and now one of the most highly esteemed citizens of the city of Dubuque.

The incident, had it related to an inconspicuous private citizen, would have been interesting, but it had maximum force as an illustration of the significance and the consequences of Secretary Cass's ruling—for Mr. Gniffke was not only an editor of a German paper, but he was the editor of the one Democratic German paper in the State of Iowa, concerning which

Democrats were particularly anxious, as we shall have occasion later to point out, to encourage and protect. It is not strange that the ruling of the Premier of the Administration threw Democratic partisans into a sorry state of distraction, disgust and desperation, and that Mr. Dorr closed his editorial dealing with "A Summons From the King of Prussia" with the striking exhortation: "Every German and other foreign born Democrat in Dubuque should attend the mass meeting today and vote for a delegation which will not only not endorse the Administration but will denounce all such doctrines as that which makes citizenship a farce, and the oath by which it is obtained, perjury."

The action contemplated in the latter reference was the assembly of the county convention to select the delegates of Dubuque county to the Democratic State Convention called to meet in Des Moines, June 23, the day following the Republican State Convention, to formulate their state platform and nominate their state ticket for the impending state campaign.

Such violent criticism, such proposals of sweeping drastic action are only explicable upon grounds of partisan exigency, rather than upon the substantial merits of the case. The course of the Government had been inconsistent. Henry Wheaton at Berlin, in 1834, Edward Everett as Secretary of State in 1853, and Caleb Cushing, as Attorney General in 1856, announced rulings on all fours with the doctrine of the Cass-LeClerc letter. President Buchanan as Secretary of State in 1845 and 1848 had asserted an absolute right to protect naturalized citizens abroad.<sup>15</sup> American courts in various instances had handed down rulings similar to the LeClerc doctrine. The Koszta case was not in point, when closely scrutinized. The uproar over the Department's ruling was due to the excitement produced among the Germans of the North by the Two-Year Amendment adopted in Massachusetts.

The peace of mind of the Germans had been rudely shaken in the very house of its friends. The major political parties were concentrating their forces for a momentous struggle and

<sup>15</sup> Moore's *International Law Digest*, Vol. III., 552-604.

the chances of success were within narrow margins and the Germans easily held the balance of power. Democrats had indulged in fine frenzy condemning the Two Year Amendment and denouncing the Republicans as Know Nothings and Pharisees in their course towards the foreign born. The Cass-LeClerc letter converted all their virtuous indignation into mere partisan sound and fury for use to secure political revenue. Democrats apparently were tarred with the same stick, as were the Republicans; and the Democrats knew that Germans had little or no preference for the pot over the kettle. Further, with such a critical campaign impending the LeClerc letter seemed an inexcusable blunder, utterly heedless, reckless, thoughtless; especially so, just at that juncture when they were making the welkin ring with their protests against the nativistic legislation of Massachusetts. Finally, the acrimonious criticism of the pro-Douglas press was due in large degree, we may suspect, to the fact that the Germans constituted a much more important factor in their factional alignments and maneuvers and ultimate success than they did in the corps of the faction that followed the fortunes of the President. Hence the wrath of Mr. Dorr.

Let us now follow the course of the party leaders—especially within the Republican party in making ready for the campaign. We shall see that in canvassing both men and measures Germans and German sensibilities and demands were constant and paramount considerations.

#### XIV.

If one were to form conclusions wholly from the exhibits of the editorial columns of the Republican newspapers of Iowa in 1859 he might easily and properly conclude that few persons, either partisans or the public at large, cared a red herring about the Republican nomination for the Governorship. Between January and June few of the leading papers took pains to express themselves with any seriousness or vigor upon the subject or to indicate any substantial interest in the matter.

On January 15, the *State Journal*, the Democratic paper published at Des Moines, Mr. Will Porter, editor, said: "We hear rumors of trouble already brewing in the Republican ranks with reference to their candidates. \* \* \* The friends of the present Governor are confident of his re-nomination, but there is a strong opposition manifesting itself against him. \* \* \*" None of the leading Republican papers resorted with denials, so far as I can discover. The Governor's home paper, *The Daily Gate City*, of Keokuk, gave forth no sign of interest in the matter of the party nomination until after the proceedings of the state convention, June 22, were known. Such papers as the *Ottumwa Courier* and the *Muscatine Journal*, both papers edited by alert and influential party men, Messrs. J. W. Norris and John Mahin, respectively, published no editorials of their own upon the gubernatorial nomination.

During April, however, there must have been evidence of the formation of lines and the concentration of forces; for Mr. John Teesdale, of Des Moines, State Printer, and in some sense an official spokesman of the party in power, was either prompted, or felt constrained to take editorial notice of the gubernatorial situation in the columns of his paper, *The Iowa Weekly Citizen*. The occasion was the departure of Gov. Lowe from Des Moines, for a short visit to his home at Keokuk. The editorial was more remarkable for what it implied than for what it asserted, for what it did not say than for what it did say. Mr. Teesdale first notes the Governor's departure "a few days since." He then states that he enjoyed "excellent health." As to the nomination for the Governorship, Gov. Lowe was fully aware of opposition, but he gave himself no concern. He had placed himself "in the hands of his friends." He was anxious to promote the cause for which he and the party had so arduously labored. If some one else could better promote the common cause he would serve cheerfully in the ranks. Mr. Teesdale then mentions Mr. Elijah Sells, then Secretary of State, and Mr. Samuel J. Kirkwood, a State Senator from Johnson county. The first named had peremptorily declined to allow his name to be used. The lat-



ter, Mr. Teesdale, asserted, was not seeking the place. "Nothing but an imperative sense of duty will induce him to accept political honors."

For reasons already suggested the Administration of Gov. Lowe had not proved satisfactory. The disappointment was frankly admitted among Republicans in their personal conferences and epistolary confidences. Mr. Lowe was a fine man, as an individual, honorable, clean-handed, high-minded; but he lacked keen insight and foresight, vigor, caution, certainty of judgment. Sentiment rather than solid sense was likely to sway him and control his decisions. Early in 1859 chiefs of his party and local leaders began seriously to question the wisdom of his renomination, because of the increasing currents of criticism running against him. The most influential leaders were soon convinced that he would prove too weak as a standard bearer in the strenuous campaign they felt was in prospect; and canvass of persons and their points of strength and weakness became active. There was no open or gross attack upon Gov. Lowe or his administration. For the most part the discussion occurred *sub rosa*.

In the fore part of the year Judge Geo. G. Wright, Chief Justice of the State, and Mr. Hiram Price, of Davenport, were mentioned as candidates; but neither gave countenance to the suggestion. In April there was a rapid concentration upon Mr. Kirkwood. Here and there party papers began to "hoist" his name to the tops of their editorial columns. Among the first was *The Vinton Eagle* (May 2). Very soon it was obvious that the contest lay between Gov. Lowe and Mr. Kirkwood, and the experienced leaders foresaw the success of the latter.

With the concentration upon the nominee for the governorship more or less certain, the leaders, Kirkwood himself and his friends, Gov. Lowe and his friends, began to consider the choice of running mate, namely, the nominee for Lieutenant Governor. At the outset five names were currently urged:—Mr. J. B. Grinnell of Grinnell, Judge Caleb Baldwin of Council Bluffs, Judge W. W. Hamilton of Dubuque, and Judge John Edwards of Chariton, and Judge Stephen J. Tabor of

Independence. All were men of prominence in the state's affairs. Mr. Grinnell had been very active in the formation of the Republican party in 1856 and was closing a term as a State Senator. His candidacy did not make much headway, for the reason, we may suspect, that he was too energetic a propagandist in the causes of "Temperance" and Abolitionism. John Brown had just added lustre to his (Mr. Grinnell's) notoriety in this respect by stopping at his house in Grinnell on his last famous trip through Iowa. Judge Tabor was one of the most scholarly jurists in the state at the time but made no effort to promote his chances. Judge Baldwin was promoted actively by friends. Judges Hamilton and Edwards, each desired and sought the nomination. Judge Hamilton had been President of the Senate under Governor Grimes, and, if contemporary comment may be trusted, had proved an admirable presiding officer. Judge Edwards, then a State Senator, was a Virginian who had left the Old Dominion because of his hatred of Slavery. He had been an efficient Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1858. The public generally expected the nomination of either Hamilton or Edwards; and probably presumed that the Fates favored Judge Hamilton.

About the 1st of May the leaders began to realize that another person might have to be reckoned with as among the High Contracting Powers—namely, Senator Nicholas J. Rusch of Davenport. The newspapers give us little or no inkling of the course of discussion. The correspondence of the party chiefs, however, clearly indicates the real currents and drifts of the arguments that determined the final actions of the State Convention at Des Moines, June 22. In what follows the nature and progress of confidential discussion among the leaders is exhibited almost wholly by means of liberal extracts from the letters of local chiefs and the leaders.

XV.<sup>16</sup>

Politics in American Commonwealths is always a balance of two interests—local interests on one side and national interest on the other side. Each complex of interests is equally

<sup>16</sup> The Manuscripts, Correspondence and Memoranda of the party leaders of Iowa cited in this and other sections is, with one ex-

potent in determining the fates at elections and maneuvers in party preliminaries. The two interests exhibit themselves most effectually and tangibly in the determination of the Governorship and of national Senatorship.

Writing from Guttenberg, Clayton county, under date of Feb. 26, to Senator Harlan, respecting the prospects of his re-election to the national Senate, Mr. Eliphalet Price, an active, influential leader in Northeastern Iowa, with pronounced anti-slavery views, thus expresses himself:

\* \* \* \* \* Now, how are we to guard against the danger of such a result [loss of the Governorship and the House of Representatives] for we cannot deny that we have lost and are losing ground in Iowa since the success of Grimes. That all the elements of hostility to slavery still exist, I fully believe, and that it has fallen into a state of supineness is the true cause of the growing power of the democracy, and the fact that they are acquiring strength through the agency of our careless legislation last winter, we must deny only to our opponents and excuse to ourselves and override the whole with the Slave issue.

As soon as Mr. Kirkwood began to be seriously urged to allow his name to be used as a candidate for Governor, he himself began to write to friends and leaders in various parts of the state, asking as to conditions and prospects and the attitude of this and that person, faction or section towards his candidacy. He was in frequent communication with Judge Hamilton, who was one of his most conscientious and best informed advisers. On April 12 Judge Hamilton wrote a long

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ception mentioned, in The Aldrich Collections in the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines; the correspondence of Mr. Wm. Penn Clark, Clerk of the Supreme Court of Iowa (1855-1860); Correspondence of Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa (1860-1864); Correspondence of George W. Jones, U. S. Senator (1848-1859); and Laurel Summers, U. S. Marshall for Iowa (1857-1861). *The Autobiographical Manuscript and Papers* of James Harlan, U. S. Senator of Iowa (1855-1865, 1867-1873), which contains most of the letters addressed to Mr. Harlan, is in the possession of Mrs. Robert T. Lincoln, formerly of Chicago, now of Washington, D. C. The writer is under special obligations to Mrs. Lincoln for permission to make use of Senator Harlan's interesting letters.

letter describing conditions in Northeast Iowa. After completing it he apparently had a conference with sundry local leaders which he deemed important, for across the text of the upper half of the third page in bold script he added:

I have since had a conversation with John Bittmann, a German Editor here who warmly approves of your nomination and says it will be supported by the Germans, beyond doubt.

In reply to a letter from Senator Harlan inquiring about the reported refusal of General A. C. Dodge to accept the Democratic nomination for Governor, Senator Grimes wrote his colleague from Burlington, April 16:

\* \* \* \* \*

I hear nobody spoken of for Governor, but Lowe and Kirkwood.

It is my impression that the nominees will be either Lowe and Faville or Kirkwood and Judge Baldwin of Council Bluffs.

\* \* \* \* \*

You must see to it that a resolution is proposed condemning and repudiating the act of the Massachusetts Legislature in attempting to extend the period of probation for voters after naturalization two years. We can do nothing in Iowa without the Republican Germans; and they will require the passage of such a resolution, and justly too. We ought at the same time declare for a good Registry law and an honest enforcement of it.

\* \* \* \* \*

On April 20, at Davenport Senator Nicholas J. Rusch wrote a long letter to Kirkwood respecting the political situation generally, the feeling among the Germans, Kirkwood's candidacy and current suggestions regarding himself. The first paragraph which contained sentiments previously expressed by him in nearly the same terms in his letter to the *N. Y. Tribune* is omitted.

\* \* \* \* \*

Though with great affliction must I say that at this moment a great number of my countrymen feel their confidence in the party weakened and their suspicion that the Republican party, if everywhere successful might use its power to oppress the foreign born citizens, is again awakened. The reason is the recent action of the Re-

publican party in the State of Massachusetts. You will admit my dear Sir, that this suspicion is to a certain extent justified. We expect to be guarded against all such attempts by the National Republican platform, which says in plain words, that no discrimination between citizens on account of nationality shall be made and that all legislation to the contrary shall be rebuked. You may reply, as generally is done, how the Republican party in Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, etc., can be made responsible for the conduct of the party in Massachusetts? But I beg you, Sir, to take into consideration, of what use or weight is a national party platform, if the party in the several states do not feel themselves bound by it, but think themselves justified, to violate the same whenever they choose? I have said before that my own confidence in our party in this respect, especially in the Northwestern States, stands firm, it is deeply to be regretted that the question is earnestly agitated in the entire Republican German Press in the Union, whether it might be safe policy for us to help the Republican party to success and to the possession of the power to trample us down. The Muscatine German paper [*The Zeitung*, Karl Rotteck, editor], heretofore Republican, has already, certainly premature, left the party. It is indeed as much opposed to Democracy as it ever before was though what does that help us? This paper has a large circulation in your city and to its present bitterness towards the Republican party you may ascribe in a great extent the result of your late city election. The great majority of the Germans, of course, stand yet firm to the party for they cannot so easily be turned, but the union is too young and needs to be nursed. The dissatisfaction is gradually dying away and will do so completely if the Republican State Conventions of the several States will adopt resolutions in regard to the matter as I hope will be done. The Germans are anxious to bury the tomahawk, which you may judge from the fact that more than eight hundred of them in Scott county voted for W. Vandever, notwithstanding it was generally known and strongly used by the other side to irritate their prejudice, that he formerly did belong to the Know Nothing Party.

Though speaking about politics I intended to confine myself mainly to our own State and our next State Convention. Since it was pretty generally understood, that Governor Lowe would properly [probably?] not be re-

nominated I fixed my mind upon you as for his successor and I have since then conversed and corresponded with a great many about the subject. Though to my regret it was most generally expressed that you would not accept the nomination. For this reason I intended once to write to you, but however, thinking that my humble wishes could not influence your well considered actions I abandoned it. The more grateful do I feel in learning from Mr. H. Price that you are willing to consent to be our candidate for Governor and I would not be surprised if you should be nominated at the very first ballot. There is not another man in the state who I could with so much pleasure recommend to my German fellow citizens under the present circumstances than you, for your free-mindedness is undisputed. You have never sympathized with any kind of proscription and in regard to the temperance question you are at least considered not to be in any way fanatic. Our whole delegation, as far as I am able to learn will go for you with real enthusiasm.

\* \* \* For Lieutenant Governor I should like to see Judge Hamilton nominated, who made a most splendid presiding officer in the Senate two years ago, though there is a strange objection against him, which I am unable to understand. Doubts as to his political reliability and accusations of various kinds are expressed but to my great delight I did not find anybody who was able to prove anything against him. I must say that I do not believe a single word of it. Our politicians here are unwilling to support him on account of his being from Dubuque county, for she, as they say, had her full share. This certainly, in my opinion, is a very unfounded objection. Local claims for offices cannot be consistent with true Republicanism. \* \* \* From the strong claim, as our men say, which Scott as the Republican banner county represents, there seems to be an inclination to run me for Lieutenant Governor and also are all the Germans in the State coaxing me to be a candidate as a demonstration ad hominem that the Republican party has nothing to do with Know Nothingism, but you know best what good reasons I have to keep my hands off. I thank God that he has given modesty enough not to seek a position which I believe myself not able to sustain to my own satisfaction, for my broken English and little experience are not proper qualifications for an office of that nature. This is the main reason why I urge the nomination of Hamilton, for he,

being an adopted citizens, would though not quite as much as myself, to a certain degree satisfy the German Republicans and would consequently be a strong candidate.

\* \* \* \* \*

In a letter to Senator Harlan, written at Burlington on April 27, Senator Grimes discusses the relative merits of Gov. Lowe, and Messrs. Kirkwood and Price. Of the issue he observes:

\* \* \* \* \* This issue thus will be between Price and Kirkwood. Both are good men, old Democrats, and would make good Governors, but I am strongly impressed with the idea that Kirkwood would make much the strongest canvasser, and hence the best candidate. He has the physical *stamina* to stand the most arduous campaign—there is no better canvasser in the state. I do not know any side question that will injure him. \* \* \*

Price is not strong . . . he has been connected with the M. & M. R. R. Co. and I fear his nomination would drag that infernal question of State Aid [to Railroads] into a canvass—he was an ultra temperance man and said some bitter things on that subject . . . that he is now sorry for, but which will be remembered against him and especially by the Germans. All these things will operate against him and hence I would say Kirkwood in preference to any one.

Writing Mr. Kirkwood on April 29 Judge Hamilton evidently had been hearing frequent mention of Senator Rusch as a candidate for the Lieutenant Governorship, and apparently, too, the character and frequency of such mention were such as to make him uneasy as to the adverse effect it would have upon his own chances. Another factor entered into his calculations—the discontent among the Germans over the act of Massachusetts. Mr. Kirkwood had communicated to him the points of Senator Rusch's letter of the 20th, already cited.

Rusch, as one of our holdover Senators, ought to hold his post. His imperfect English, and his extreme sensitiveness, would place him *in torment*, if he was in that chair. He is a very amiable man. I do not think he seriously wishes the nomination, because he has urged me to accept it so strongly.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is quite true as Rusch says, that these Massachusetts resolutions are creating a fuss among our Germans.

Bittmann is bitter about them. This German vote is indispensable to us. I don't know that you have many of them in your county. They are thick as bees up here, and in Clayton especially. We could not carry Clayton against them.

Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke of Iowa City was not favorably disposed toward the nomination of his fellowtownsman, Mr. Kirkwood, for the governorship. His indisposition was due mainly we may suspect to the fact that two strong men cannot, in politics any more than in other relations of life, occupy the same places at the same time. Mr. Kirkwood had staunchly supported Mr. Grimes for the national Senate in 1858 when Mr. Clarke had ambitions in that direction himself; and at this juncture Mr. Grimes, for whom Mr. Clarke wasted no affection, was earnestly advocating the nomination of Mr. Kirkwood. As he contemplated the maneuvers, Mr. Clarke thought he saw evidence of an ultimate design to defeat the re-election of Senator Harlan. In the first days of May he made a visit to Davenport and surveyed the situation carefully, and on his return to Iowa City wrote, May 16, to Senator Harlan detailing his views. After setting forth his suspicions, he says:

\* \* \* \* \* If I am correct in these views, and I think I am, I have no hesitation in saying that the friends of yourself and Lowe should at once unite and work for his nomination and that you should both favor the nomination of Senator Rusch of Scott for Lieut. Gov. The Germans are anxious for his nomination in view of the Massachusetts matter which has rendered the Germans very suspicious. There is great propriety in his nomination, and Lowe would at once secure their influence. I learned a good deal while at Davenport. \* \*

As the preliminaries of the state convention progressed Mr. Kirkwood apparently became anxious to ascertain the attitude of the leading Germans in Northeastern Iowa, and he further wished to ascertain it direct by personal correspondence, and in consequence wrote to Judge Hamilton for the names and addresses of some with whom it would be expedient for him to communicate. The initial and concluding paragraphs



of Judge Hamilton's reply, written from his home at Cascade, May 17, are given:

Francis Rodman lives at Rossville in Allamakee Co. John Bittmann of Dubuque says he will write to you as you desire; and as he desires also.

Any more German names, do you want? I can post you up pretty well in that respect, up to the state line, and shall be happy to do it.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Germans in Winneshiek, Allamakee, Clayton, Dubuque, etc., are just now like a hive of bees, just swarmed—very threatening to outsiders. The Massachusetts resolutions are very inopportune for us. And in fact, we cannot endorse any such policy, as they are based upon. To naturalize a man, and disrate [?] for two years afterwards, won't do in the free West, in Great West. The emigrant here does not stand in the same footing with one in Massachusetts. Here, all God's earth lies unappropriated before him; just as it did in New England before the Pilgrim Fathers; who were equally emigrants. More than one-half our population, in this county, are foreign born. In Clayton and other counties the proportion is very large. To keep these with us is a point of the *utmost nicety*, and even a slight mistake on this point will give the north to the Democrats this fall, and probably the State. See the constant appeals to them on this point in the Herald, and other Democratic papers. They look upon an attack upon their Naturalization rights, as a revival of Know-Nothingism and they will bolt any ticket in a moment that sqints at that. I commend this to your serious consideration. I have just left some influential Germans after a long talk; and I am sure of the truth of what I say.

In accordance with his promise to Judge Hamilton, Mr. John Bittmann, editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, the German Republican paper published at Dubuque, wrote Kirkwood under date of May 22:

\* \* \* \* \*

Allow me before entering any political topic to congratulate your success and the position you now occupy before the Republican party of Iowa. There is no person that can feel more cheerful at this result than myself. It proves that I did not deceive my readers nor myself when

I wrote my editorial correspondence from Des Moines during the session of the last General Assembly [1858].

In regard to the candidate for the Governorship there is little doubt existing as to whom will be the nominee. That question is pretty well settled notwithstanding the efforts of the friends of Governor Lowe. The Germans are to one man for you, as Mr. Rusch will bear me witness. Lowe has proven rather weak and lame without any energy whatever aside of his deficiency as a leader and organizer. We want a man of more power, more shrewdness (in the better sense of the word) more energy at the head of the Republican party for the great campaign of 1860—than Mr. Lowe—we want a man of the calibre of Grimes.

Respecting the Lt. Gv. I should like to see Mr. Rusch on account of the stir among the Germans about the Massachusetts Amendment. He would give considerable weight to the ticket in a certain direction that would be very beneficial for our party, especially for 1860. At the same time, however, Mr. Hamilton would make an excellent Lieut. Gov. and give general satisfaction. He is an excellent man, very popular and particularly well versed in state affairs. The Lieut. Gov. will be between Rusch and Hamilton.

Judge Edwards will not command the influence of H. or R.—notwithstanding he is better qualified than both. Some of the leading American Republicans here or in Davenport and Burlington are in favor of Rusch as a matter of policy. But there will be no heartburning about the Lieutenant Governorship. Rusch cares very little about it. Likewise Hamilton.

I am somewhat afraid about the Germans in this and other states. Know-Nothingism defeated us in 1856 and if we are not careful we will have a hard stand for 1860. That Massachusetts Amendment has done great mischief.

It is by all means necessary that we should have a good German paper at the capital [Des Moines]. I have consulted with Rusch about it, who is [of] my opinion. Rusch is urging me to establish a paper at Des Moines for the state election and the campaign of 1860. I think that I shall consent. Hamilton also advises me.

In acknowledging the letter of Mr. Wm. Penn Clark, cited above, Senator Harlan deals with matters of common interest.

He discusses with great earnestness the relations of his candidacy for re-election to the national Senate, the conditions and the prospects of the party. He exhibits constant concern about the momentous presidential campaign for which the pending campaign in Iowa was the first preliminary.

\* \* \* \* \* As to myself, I desire the selection of candidates to be made with reference to the best interests of the Republican cause without regard to my fortunes in the future \* \* \* the perpetuity of the Government as a Republic is suspended on the success of our organization. Should we fail it will soon end in a despotism. \* \* \* I do not desire to be a member of the United States Senate after the President shall have been converted into a monarch. And I conceive we are in greater danger now than ever before since the party was organized. Our people are flushed with local victories gained all over the country—but by insignificant majorities. A change of tactics—an appeal to the conscience of the nation by the Democracy, instead of openly defying it, would render several Northern States extremely doubtful. Douglas's friends are prepared by desperation for this strike. Should they make the attempt and carry a few states in the North the Presidency will again go into the hands of the Slave Democracy. A false step on our part will secure this result as well. \* \* \* We must keep Iowa in line. This will require wise counsels and discreet action. We have a large American vote in the Southern counties, and a large foreign element in all the counties bordering on the Mississippi. We cannot afford to lose either. We have some ambitious men. Their zeal and labor is necessary to infuse spirit in the masses. Hence our success requires *harmony*. \* \* \* Our convention ought to be an assemblage of our wisest and most discreet friends from every part of the state for consultation (and not a collection of champions of *men*) uncommitted and unprejudiced and ready to adopt the men and means which the best interests of the cause might seem to require. This would infuse moral force into every nook and corner of the state that would lead us to certain victory.

A letter of Mr. Kasson's to Mr. Kirkwood, dated at Des Moines, May 17, deals somewhat minutely with the general political situation and the drift of opinion as regards the nomi-

nations for the first and second places; but Mr. Kasson makes no mention whatever of the discontent among the Germans and does not refer to Mr. Rusch as a factor to be considered in the maneuvers before and during the convention. Mr. Kasson's silence does not mean necessarily that he did not perceive the potency in the suggestion of Mr. Rusch's nomination.

## XVI.

While the party chiefs were thus confidentially canvassing the situation party editors and workers were beginning to take the necessary practical steps in the preliminaries in order to secure control of the two conventions at Des Moines.

Speaking generally, the Republican editors seemed to be either averse to public expression upon the gubernatorial question, or they were indifferent to the issue. Very few, indeed, one may say none, came out in the open and declared themselves in a downright fashion. I have found no paper that insisted upon or even advocated the nomination of Gov. Lowe with any emphasis. Mr. Charles Aldrich of *The Hamilton Freeman* and Mr. A. E. Hildreth of *The St. Charles Intelligencer* expressed themselves as desiring the renomination of Gov. Lowe. Those urging Mr. Kirkwood's nomination did so in a cautious fashion that suggested covert pleas and "politics" rather than ardent and dominant desire and emphatic demand.

Among the first, if not the first, of the influential party papers to urge Mr. Kirkwood's nomination was *The Vinton Eagle*, edited by Thomas Drummond. In a long leader, May 3, Mr. Drummond presented an interesting and typical argument. The occasion prompting his expression was Mr. Teesdale's editorial (April 20) already cited. Gov. Lowe was a "good man" and "had met the just expectations of the party." Nevertheless he did not advocate his renomination. His premises are set out at length. He first analyses and exhibits the composition and antecedents of the Republican party and shows that the Democrats no less than the Whigs joined to create it; but that the Whigs had theretofore been given the major benefits in the way of distribution of the party prizes. The Democrats were just as necessary to success as the Whigs

and deserved some of the rewards as much as the Whigs. As Mr. Kirkwood had been a Democrat his nomination would be both appropriate and wise. Then he advances the plea of "locality!" Most of the honors had been previously allotted to the leaders of Southeastern Iowa; and the central and north-eastern Iowa should participate. Prudence dictates such consideration. He closes with the hope that Mr. Kirkwood will be chosen and that "honest John Edwards" can be nominated for Lieutenant Governor. The editorial is more interesting for what it does not say than for what it pretends to say.

The *Cedar Valley Times* of Cedar Rapids, on May 12, came out for Mr. Kirkwood in an editorial urging him as a suitable nominee, but without serious argument for so doing. On May 17 the *Black Hawk Courier* of Waterloo indicated a favorable attitude to Mr. Kirkwood, saying: "No complaint is made of the Administration of our present Executive; but the belief is that a man from some more central point would receive a heavier vote." The *Gazette* of Davenport (May 26) noted the demand for Mr. Kirkwood's nomination; commended the Governor; but indicated a preference for Mr. Kirkwood: suggests that a place on the Supreme Bench might better suit Gov. Lowe; but holds back from any commitment. One paper, the *Buchanan County Guardian*, in declaring for the gentleman from Johnson county, said that he would make a strong candidate because he was a powerful canvasser, the implication being that Gov. Lowe was not such and that the party would need a powerful advocate in order to win the suffrages of the people.

This avoidance of the real issue and virtual admission of weakness, this balancing and "teetering," this caution and prudence in expression, had its climax in the editorial of the *Iowa City Weekly Republican* in its formal announcement of the candidacies of S. J. Kirkwood and Wm. Penn Clarke, the former for Governor and the latter for Judge of the Supreme Court. Mr. Jerome's laudation of the characters and capacities of both gentlemen, his assertion that he did so without consultation with either and without hope of reward must have been highly interesting to critical, not to say cynical observers.

The realization of the German element in the problem ap-

appears first in the discussion of the nomination for Lieutenant Governor. At the outset, and throughout the preliminaries but two candidates were generally considered, namely, Judges Edwards and Hamilton. Who first publicly mentioned Senator Rusch as a name to conjure with, I cannot say, although I suspect that Mr. John Bittmann of Dubuque made the first mention in his paper, *The Iowa Staats-zeitung*.

On May 2 the *News* of Davenport, a Democratic paper, stated: "It seems to be pretty well settled that S. J. Kirkwood, of Johnson, is to be the Republican candidate for Governor, and Nicholas J. Rusch for Lt. Governor." This assertion, Mr. Add H. Sanders, of the *Gazette*, tells us he read with "some little astonishment." He declares that he was not aware that either gentleman, even so much as aspired to these positions." He later adds:

As for Mr. Rusch, the name of no man could be suggested more acceptable to us for this position, and we believe to the Republicans of the State. He is a staunch *working* Republican—a man of education and high ability—and a man who placed in any official state position would prove himself fully competent for the faithful discharge of its duties, and pre-eminently worthy of the confidence of the people. \* \* \* He needs no defense as a Legislator among those who have observed his course. No member of the Legislature was more attentive to his duties nor more uniformly right in his votes, and no man in that body had *more influence* than Senator Rusch, nor used his influence with a more heart-felt desire to benefit the best interests of the State and the people. \* \* \*

Reflecting upon the suggestion of the *News* Mr. Sanders found the wisdom of so acting growing greatly as he considered it: and on the 12th he again expressed himself upon the matter:

\* \* \* \* \* Although we had not heard his name mentioned in this connection before, the idea struck us being a very good one. \* \* \* Since then we have thought a good deal over the matter \* \* \*

Now we have arrived at the conclusion without any consultation with Senator Rusch, or any information as to his own private views or aspirations, that he is precisely the man whom the Republicans should nominate

for Lt. Governor. \* \* \* We should like to see a German-born citizen on our ticket. It is now thought that the Republicans of Wisconsin will nominate Carl Schurz for Governor; and if so he will be elected.

The suggestion of Senator Rusch's name was instantly realized to be big with significance. Mr. Dorr's paper, *The Express and Herald*, at once stated (May 4) that he was the "most prominent" man mentioned for the second place on the Republican state ticket; but he cynically added: "It is thought that they are talking Rusch to keep the Germans in good humor, but they have no intention of nominating him." A scrutiny of the observations of Mr. Kirkwood's home paper, the *Weekly Republican*, suggests that his immediate advisers entertained more or less of that same opinion. The *Republican* just then had a good word for everybody and lauded Mr. Rusch; but it did so with evident reserve and apparent hesitation, realizing sundry complications in the situation, with no little sententiousness. It urged calmness and patience until the convention could bring its wisdom to bear upon the subject. On June 1 it announced that if the press of the state could be trusted as an index "the currents seem to be setting in favor of Hon. W. W. Hamilton of Dubuque and Judge Edwards of Chariton" and thereupon indulges in eulogies of each.

Mr. Jerome correctly expressed popular expectation; but the event proved that it is the unexpected that happens.

## XVII.

In ordinary times in state political campaigns it is not common for the county conventions to formulate resolutions respecting state or national questions, let alone respecting international issues. In times of extraordinary excitement when factional feelings are intense partisan maneuvers often result in such formal expressions of feelings and views and demands. Resort to resolutions was very rare in Iowa prior to 1860. In 1859, however, there was a sudden and widespread expression of local sentiment on state and national and international matters in the county conventions of both the major parties. The central controlling fact inducing such extensive expression was

the disturbance produced among the Germans by the Two Year Amendment in Massachusetts and the partisan leaders of both were maneuvering to hold or to capture the German vote.

In regions almost as far removed from each other in the State as could be,—in Clayton and Dubuque counties in Northeast Iowa on the Mississippi near the Minnesota line, in Davis county in Southeast Iowa on the Missouri line, and in Woodbury county in what was almost the nation's northwest frontier on the Missouri river—resolutions were adopted by county conventions condemning the Act of Massachusetts in explicit and emphatic terms. When it is realized that Iowa, then as now, comprehends a territory almost equal in area to that of the six states of New England, that there were but three telegraph stations in the state, and those three on the Mississippi, and that travel was chiefly, almost wholly by stage coach or river craft, we may estimate the force of the reaction produced in the West by the Two Year Amendment.

Some phases of the expression and content of the resolutions are interesting. In counties wherein Germans were numerous and active in politics and Democrats were in control of the local government the Republicans were likely to feel constrained to denounce the Act of Massachusetts. In counties wherein Germans were not numerous and native Americans controlled the Republican councils Republicans kept silent and Democrats denounced the Two Year Amendment. Republicans dwelt upon the injustice of the discrimination and Democrats waxed indignant over the liberality of Massachusetts towards Negroes and their illiberality as regards the foreign-born.

The total number of counties adopting resolutions, I cannot say. The vast majority, as generally is the case, indulged no expression. The Two Year Amendment either did not interest them locally, or the forces or factions were so evenly balanced that neither Americans, nor partisans of the foreign-born dared take action, for fear of failure or adverse reaction in the ensuing canvass—for such declarations always "cut both ways" in party contests. The Democrats of Clayton, Davis, Dubuque, Fayette and Mahaska counties pronounced judgment against



the Act of Massachusetts; and the Republicans of Clayton, Dubuque, Muscatine, Scott and Woodbury counties declared discrimination against the foreign-born or rather naturalized citizens, illiberal, unjust and uncalled for.

The Democrats pronounced the Act an "insult" and its enactment was proof beyond question that Know Nothingism controlled the leaders of the Republican party. More intolerable, the bestowal of the franchise upon Negroes in Massachusetts demonstrated that the Republicans were Abolitionists and that Negro equality would ensue wherever they got control. The Democrats, for the most part, referred only to the Two Year Amendment, and, except in Dubuque county, in brief terms.

The Republicans, with the exception of those in Woodbury county, dwelt upon several issues in which the Germans were interested and enlarged upon them at some length. The Republicans of Woodbury did not make an explicit reference to the Act of Massachusetts; they simply asserted that place of birth was an accident and constituted no "true test" of citizenship and should not determine admission to the franchise; allegiance was the primary matter of importance. The Republicans of Clayton county wax almost eloquent. The recent Act of Massachusetts is "unwise, unjust and uncalled for." They declare that "liberty of conscience and equality of rights" essential to Republican institutions. As friends of Free Labor they proclaim their readiness to meet the issue of "Homes for the Homeless and Negroes for the Negroless." And the policy of Secretary Cass they declare to be a "stigma upon our boasted freedom," and in contradiction to the principle upon which our fathers fought the War of 1812.

The Republicans of Scott county held their convention at Davenport on June 1. Mr. Add H. Sanders, Editor of the *Gazette*, introduced two resolutions which were adopted. The first resolution read as follows:

Resolved, That the delegation from Scott county be instructed to present to the State Convention the name of the Honorable Nicholas J. Rusch, as a proper candidate for the position of Lieutenant Governor, and to exert all honorable means within their power to secure his selection.

The second resolution read:

Resolved, That this convention heartily endorse the action and resolutions of the State Central Committee, in condemnation of the amendment just made to the Massachusetts constitution, whereby citizens of foreign birth are compelled to suffer a probation of two years after naturalization before enjoying the privilege of voters, and that we as Republicans condemn and repudiate all distinctions between native and foreign-born citizens.

So far as I can discover the Republican convention of Scott county was the only convention to direct its delegates to vote for Mr. Rusch.

In the way of illustration the resolution adopted by the two conventions of Dubuque county are presented in so far as they relate to the particular matters under consideration. The expressions of the partisans of this county were especially significant for several reasons. It contained a larger proportion of foreign-born population than any other county in the state, the census for 1860 showing 42 per cent. The county was Democratic by heavy majorities: the Democrats having two and three votes to one returned for the Republicans. In current parlance Dubuque county was known as "the Gibraltar of the Democracy." Further, the dominant faction of the Democratic party in 1859 was strongly Anti-Administration or pro-Douglas in predilections and policy; and as partisans of Senator Douglas were generally in control throughout the state, the action of Dubuque county was considered to sound the key note for the state convention on June 23.

The Republican convention of Dubuque county was held May 28. Mr. L. W. Gano was made chairman and Dr. Geo. Hillgaertner, Secretary. The latter, it will be recalled, was one of the Germans who signed the circular letter to Senators Harlan and Grimes and Messrs. Curtis and Vandever. A very strong delegation to the state convention was selected; among the number being ex-Congressman Timothy Davis, F. W. Palmer, editor of the *Times*, later Congressman, D. N. Cooley, John Bittmann, editor of the *Iowa Staats Zeitung*, Henry Richter, Judge W. W. Hamilton, O. P. Shiras, afterwards U. S. District Judge and W. B. Allison, who later had a distinguished

career of over forty years in Congress. Mr. Richter was one of the signers of the letter to the Congressional delegation, and Mr. Cooley was one of the signers of the resolutions of the State Central Committee denouncing the Two Year Amendment. The committee on resolutions consisted of Messrs. Shiras, Hamilton and Richter; and the resolutions reported by them were as follows:

Resolved, That in planting ourselves squarely upon the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Philadelphia platform, we of course recognize it as our solemn duty, to stand up for liberty and equality of right among the citizens, and to denounce all proscriptive legislation or discrimination between citizens as entirely anti-Republican deeming a Registry law the only necessary and legitimate safeguard from either native or foreign born intruders upon the purity of the ballot box.

Resolved, That as friends of free labor the corner stone of our beloved Republic, we heartily invite to our hospitable shores and to the employment of our free institutions the hard fisted, industrious European emigration, and the oppressed of the Old World—and will ever oppose the obstruction of their naturalization and any extension of the probation time as at present required by our laws.

Resolved, That as such friends of the poor and friendless laboring man we hail with delight the action of the Republican delegation in Congress by rallying to a man under that gallant leader, Galusha A. Grow, for the purpose of disposing of the Public Lands in such a way as would make every settler upon them a freeholder and procure a free home to the homeless.

The foregoing were unanimously adopted. The letter of Secretary Cass to Felix LeClerc of May 17, apparently had not been made public, at least had not become notorious, for we may be sure that the lusty opponents of President Buchanan would have fulminated mightily against that ill-timed letter. It would have afforded such a welcome relief from the endless explanations, apologies and repudiations of the Two Year Amendment.

The Democratic county convention of Dubuque county assembled on June 16. It was a "mass" convention. The bitter

factional feeling produced by the differences over the policy of the Administration and Senator Douglas and the important influence of its conclusions upon the forthcoming state convention created a state of intense feeling. The leading figure on the Committee on Resolutions was Mr. Ben M. Samuels, a brilliant lawyer and orator, a son of the Old Dominion, who had been the candidate of the Democratic party for Governor in 1857, when Iowa was almost recaptured by that party. The committee reported an extended series of fifteen various resolutions or planks.

A thundering silence was maintained respecting the national Administration; but "unflinching fidelity to the principles of popular sovereignty" and "non-intervention by Congress with Slavery in the States and Territories," as declared in the Kansas-Nebraska bill" were proclaimed. Their fifth plank declared that each Territory or State had a right to regulate its own domestic affairs and to make laws as it saw fit subject to the constitution of the nation. After denouncing attempts to revive the Slave Trade and to institute new party tests they add somewhat inconsistently the following:

(9th) Resolved, That the recent election in the state of Massachusetts by which an odious brand is put upon every citizen of foreign birth, by which they are disfranchised until two years after their naturalization, and permitting negroes to vote, is a clear and unmistakable evidence of what modern Republicanism would do in every State of our Union if it had the power, and shows most clearly their utter heartlessness and hypocrisy in regard to their great hobby, "the equality of man."

(10th) Resolved, That the law recently passed by the Republican legislature of Massachusetts and approved and made effective by the votes of that party in the State at large by which every citizen of foreign birth is proscribed and disfranchised until two years after his naturalization is a direct insult to our foreign born citizens, and should be resented not only by every man who in the Providence of God happened to be born in some other country, but by every man who loves liberty and hates tyranny and oppression; and that the action of the Abolition Republican Party of Massachusetts is in perfect keeping with the narrow, contracted, bigoted and section-

al principles which has characterized that party from the hour of its inception to the present time.

(11th) Resolved, That we present in bold and manly contrast the noble and Godlike principles of the great National Democratic party by which the native born and naturalized citizen stand upon an equal platform without any regard to the place of his birth, or his religious faith; knowing no North, South, East or West, knowing no distinction among citizens but that of merit, honesty, integrity, and patriotic devotion to the Constitution, and the Union; having one Country, one Constitution and one destiny, we cordially invite the conservative and patriotic of all parties to rally around the Democratic standard.

\* \* \* \* \*

[15] Resolved, That it is the right and duty of the Government of the United States to protect the rights of its adopted citizens wherever dispersed, so long as they hold allegiance to the Government of the United States. And that we deny the right of any nation to exercise any control over the personal rights of adopted citizens, whether at home or abroad; and that in matters of personal protection and security we recognize no difference between our native born and adopted citizens.

The last resolution cited above, judging from the place given it in the series, and the fact that it was apparently unnumbered, seems to have been a belated addition, either overlooked and then at the eleventh hour agreed upon, or its adoption was a matter of angry debate and concurrence was delayed until after the former resolutions had been agreed upon and drafted.

There is one noticeable omission. There was no mention made of the Homestead bill—a matter in which the Germans were keenly interested. The Democrats of Iowa generally favored, and had earnestly promoted such a measure. But the Northern Democrats in the parliamentary struggle in the Senate had joined with the Senators from the slaveholding states in postponing consideration and thus again defeating the measure; and they may have concluded that the less said the better, especially in view of the sharp condemnation of the Administration in the Cass-Leclerc matter.

## XVIII.

The Republican State Convention, which was held in Des Moines June 22, 1859, was largely attended. Contemporary reports assert that it was by far the largest of any held up to that time. It was the first of that party to be held in Des Moines. The serious factional differences within the party and the anticipated struggle over the Governorship and the distribution of the major prizes in the nominations had brought large numbers of unofficial representatives of the party to the convention.

In the preliminaries of the organization of the convention we may discern sundry facts that indicate concern for the sensibilities and demands of the Germans and design to cultivate and secure their good will.

Among the Vice-Presidents of the convention was Mr. Henry P. Scholte, editor of the *Pella Gazette*. He was the founder of the Holland Community in 1847, in and around Pella, made up of Dutch Pilgrims who had left Holland to escape religious oppression. Among the party men he was familiarly known as "the King of the Dutch." He had but recently broken with the Democratic party, with which he had affiliated after the breakup of the old Wing party; and his alliance was earnestly sought by the Republicans. The honorary office of Vice-President was held in much higher esteem at that time than it is in these rapid days.

Mr. Theodore Guelich, founder, and for some years editor of *Der Demokrat*, of Davenport, was made a member of the Committee on Credentials. Among the members of the Committee on Resolutions we find Mr. John Bittmann, editor of the *Iowa Staats Zeitung*.

Other members of the Committee on Resolutions are of interest in view of their antecedent views and the conclusions of the committee:—Mr. G. H. Jerome, editor of the *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, Thomas Drummond, of the *Vinton Eagle*, Mr. Wm. M. Maynard, editor of the *Nonpareil* of Council Bluffs, and Mr. R. L. B. Clarke of Mt. Pleasant.

The delegates assembled in Sherman's Hall in a state of lively expectation of a battle between the Lowe and Kirkwood

forces. For a month or more some of the knowing ones on the inside had entertained a notion that the contest would not reach the point of a final clinch and fall; but the generality did not know or believe the floating rumors or assertions. The delegates were in their places and the attendant crowd of on-lookers were ready for a fight. Just as every one was awaiting the announcement that the delegates would proceed to select the party's candidate for Governor, the Chairman, ex-Congressman Timothy Davis, stepped forward and stated that he had a communication from Governor Lowe, addressed to the Convention. It was a brief decisive note withdrawing his name as a candidate for renomination for the office of Governor. He had learned that there was "great diversity of sentiment" over the matter that created a "danger of compromising the harmony of the party;" and greatly preferring its integrity intact from all disturbing elements to filling any office," he withdrew his name.

The nomination of Mr. Kirkwood was then made by acclamation and the convention at once proceeded to the work of selecting a Lieutenant Governor. On motion of Mr. Saunders of Mt. Pleasant the convention took an informal ballot which resulted as follows:

A. West, 9; John Edwards, 109; N. J. Rusch, 195; W. W. Hamilton, 126; J. Flint, 14; Scott, 3.

The total vote accorded the convention by one account was 444, and the number necessary for a nomination was 223. The total votes cast as given exceeded the quotas allowed by 14. (Proof errors may easily account for the discrepancy.) A formal vote was then taken and the votes were distributed among the three leaders: Edwards, 81; Hamilton, 108, and Rusch, 255. In all of the accounts which I have examined the votes by counties have not been given separately. Senator Rusch was immediately made the unanimous choice of the convention as the party candidate for Lieutenant Governor.

The convention then proceeded to select three candidates for the Supreme Court. This part of the proceedings, while apparently unrelated to German interests or the part taken by Germans in the convention, was, nevertheless, in all probability,

a definite part of the program by which Mr. Rusch was nominated. An informal vote exhibited the following preferences:

R. P. Lowe, 258; W. P. Clarke, 99; Judge Stockton, 277; Judge McHenry, 6; Butler, 126; Baldwin, 145; Miller, 86; Cooley, 86; Judge Woodward, 104; Murdock, 19; Smith, 11; Loughridge, 27; Bagg, 4.

Three judges were to be chosen and Messrs. Lowe and Stockton, each having more than required for nomination, were thereupon nominated by acclamation. Upon a formal ballot the votes were distributed as follows:

Woodward, 4; Cooley, 53; Baldwin, 272; Nourse, 41; Butler, 51; Clarke, 33.

Judge Baldwin was thereupon made the unanimous choice of the convention for the third position on the Supreme bench.

A close scrutiny of the proceedings of the convention seems clearly to justify the assertion that the major objectives of the party managers, and especially the managers of Mr. Kirkwood's candidacy were the Germans and their alliance in the prospective campaign. In the two serious contests the determination of the Lieutenant Governorship was the primary consideration and the distribution of honors and prizes and the cast of the votes were incident to combinations made to secure the nomination of Senator Rusch for the second place. The Kirkwood forces had a clear-cut program in contemplation. They worked with unity, vigor, and certainty and their forces were well in hand. The distribution of the honors and prizes of the convention warrants such a conclusion. Judge Baldwin, himself much mentioned for the position of Lieutenant Governor, was named the Temporary Chairman of the convention by Mr. Kasson, on behalf of the State Central Committee. Ex-Congressman Davis of Dubuque was made permanent Chairman. The friends of Gov. Lowe and the opponents of Senator Rusch were sorely distracted with double candidacies in their local bailiwicks. Thus Mr. Hamilton had in Mr. Cooley an active candidate for the Supreme Court. Messrs. Butler and Woodward of Muscatine mutually impeded each other in seeking the same nomination. Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke could not make headway with his townsmen, Mr. Kirkwood, in



the first place. Samuel F. Miller of Keokuk, whom President Lincoln afterwards elevated to the great Court at Washington and which he adorned for over thirty years, could not obtain a coveted nomination to the Supreme Court of the State while Gov. Lowe had first to be dealt with. Under ordinary circumstances there can be little doubt but that the Republicans would have nominated for Lieutenant Governor either Judge Edwards or Judge Hamilton, Republicans long tried and true, and eminently qualified. The decision thus adverse to them was not an expression of personal preference but simply and solely the discernment and appreciation of a political necessity. And such, we shall see later, it was frankly admitted to be.

Ordinarily in conventions the committee on resolutions reports and its work is endorsed or rejected before the candidates are selected; and such may have been the course pursued in the convention in 1859; but all of the accounts seem to indicate that the committee was delayed in its work and the candidates were agreed upon before the platform was determined and reported. None of the contemporary accounts indicate any clashes over the provisions or wording of the planks. Mr. Jerome of Iowa City reported the platform for the committee. The planks of special interest to the Germans were the following:

Resolved, That we entertain an abiding confidence in the cardinal doctrines contained in the Republican national platform of 1856, and reaffirming the same [and] we commend them anew to the discriminating consideration of the people.

\* \* \* \* \*

Resolved, We claim for citizens, native and naturalized, liberty of conscience, equality of rights and the free exercise of the right of suffrage. We favor whatever legislation and administrative reform that may be necessary to protect these rights, and guard against their infringement or abuse, and we oppose any abridgment whatever of the rights of naturalization now secured to immigrants, and all discrimination between naturalized citizens whatever by the amendment of the State Constitution or otherwise. And we cordially approve of the action taken by the Republican State Central Committee in re-

gard to the amendment proposed by the Massachusetts legislature to its constitution.

\* \* \* \* \*

Resolved, That we are in favor of granting to actual settlers suitable portions of the public lands free of charge, and we do most unqualifiedly condemn the course of the present Slavery Democracy in Congress, in opposing and defeating in the United States Senate, the Homestead bill, which was designed to secure free homes for free people, whether of native or of foreign birth.

Resolved, That the rights of the citizens are equal, and they are equally entitled to protection at home and abroad, without regard to nativity or duration of domicile; and that the late refusal by the Federal Government as expressed in the late official communication of Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, to guarantee against arrest and detention abroad of naturalized citizens on the ground of their allegiance to foreign Power, is a cowardly abandonment of the true and noble position hitherto occupied by our Government.

The resolutions call for little comment. The stress of the situation was shown in the fact that Mr. Maynard, who had sharply criticised the State Central Committee for assuming authority to speak for the Republicans of the State and for interfering in the local affairs of another state, joined in the report that ratified all that the committee had done. The committee studiously avoided all reference to one vexatious question, namely, the "Temperance" question. The committee, with the belligerent Maine Law propagandists on one side and the Germans on the other side were between pillar and post and took the easier course and said nothing. It was the part of prudence, perhaps, but we shall see that it produced more or less reaction.

As there was but little controversy among Republicans over the proper course of the party with respect to Slavery, there being general unanimity of opposition towards all attempts at extension as attempted in Kansas, or as proposed in the purchase of Cuba, it is not extravagant to assert that the matter of paramount interest in the minds of the delegates at Des Moines and the major matter in the deliberations of the Committee on Resolutions was the Naturalized citizen and his

status, at home and abroad, the German and his rights when in our polity and within the precincts of his parent state, cloaked with the panoply of our naturalization.

Few personal episodes or incidents exhibiting the byplay of forces are given in the current reports of the proceedings of the convention. In the afternoon while the delegates were waiting for the report of the committees, speeches were called for and repeated calls were made for Mr. Rusch, but for some reason he would not, or could not, respond. In the evening, however, a "Ratification" meeting was held and Mr. Teesdale thus relates Mr. Rusch's part therein:

The Ratification meeting held at the close of the Republican State Convention, was one of the most enthusiastic political gatherings we have ever attended. Sherman Hall was crowded to suffocation, the whole evening; hundreds leaving unable to gain a view of the speakers. Mr. Rusch led off with a speech that convulsed the house by its mirth—provoking points and hits. Mr. Rusch is more fluent in the use of his mother tongue than in that of his adopted country; but his language is always well chosen, and he never fails to place before his hearers, effectively, the point he desires to make. He was applauded to the echo. His commanding presence and intellectual cast of countenance is an endorsement that will commend him in every presence as a true-hearted gentleman. Our Know Nothing Hon. James Thorington was one of the most effective laborers for the nomination of Mr. Rusch.

The significance of partisan press reports is always a difficult fact to discern and to measure. But evidently Mr. Teesdale thought it best to "split the difference" and concede weakness in advance and thus gain the advantage of fairly telling the truth about Mr. Rusch's oratorical ability. In the post-convention comment upon the ticket and during the campaign there was much ungracious comment in the Democratic press and more or less in the "American" Republican newspapers respecting Mr. Rusch's capacity to make himself understood. Opponents of the ticket felt, or pretended to feel, that Mr. Rusch's halting oral English was in and of itself *prima facie* evidence of his unfitness for the office to which he was nominated. Mr. Rusch's letters to Messrs. Greeley and Kirkwood, which we have examined, demonstrate that the Republican

nominee for Lieutenant Governor was not lacking ability to express himself in vigorous English, and he did not suffer from a paucity of basic ideas and solid convictions.

### XIX.

The Democratic State Convention assembled in Des Moines June 23, following immediately the adjournment of the Republican State Convention. The Democratic leaders probably all attended the sessions of the Republican convention and mingled freely with the Republican delegates in the hotel lobbies, and they knew the currents and the counter-currents of partisan interests that determined their maneuvers and decisions.

In the developments prior to the conventions already dealt with attention has been directed almost entirely to the course taken by the Republican leaders and the Republican press. For the reason that, save the controversy precipitated by the Cass-LeClerc letter, the Democrats were merely critics of the course of the Republicans in Massachusetts. The Germans addressed no formal interrogations to their leaders, as they did to the Republican leaders; and none of their official bodies, save the county conventions already noted, took any official action in the way of denouncing the Two Year Amendment, as did the Republican State Committee. The embarrassment produced by Secretary Cass' letter, however, made the course of the convention upon matters affecting the foreign born a subject of acute interest to the delegates to their state convention.

So far as I can discover there was no person mentioned, let alone promoted, for either first or second place on the state ticket because he was a German, or could add strength to the ticket among the Germans. In the selection of county delegations Germans were here and there chosen. The most notable names were Mr. Frederick A. Gniffke, editor of the *National Demokrat* of Dubuque; and Mr. Louis Schade of Burlington.

In the organization of the Democratic convention Germans were not picked out for the prominent places quite so obviously as they were in the Republican convention the day before. In the Committee on Resolutions, however, we find three out of

the eleven members Germans—Messrs. Schade of Des Moines county, Smeltzer of Clay and Wellslager of Mahaska. Mr. R. T. Wellslager was one of the editors of the *Oskaloosa Times* and was one of the committee that drafted the resolutions condemning the Massachusetts Amendment in the Democratic convention of Mahaska county. The chairman of the committee was Mr. Ben M. Samuels of Dubuque county, who, as we have seen, was the dominant member of the committee of the Dubuque convention that expressed itself so strongly upon state and national issues wherein they related to Germans.

The contest for nominations was reduced to a minimum when the consent of General A. C. Dodge to accept the nomination for Governor was obtained; and public interest centered largely in the contents of the planks of the platform. While the committee was deliberating the delegates passed sundry resolutions that were in the nature of instructions to Democrats rather than proclamations of party faith. One has an interest in the present connection. Mr. Mahoney, one of the influential Democratic editors of Dubuque, offered a resolution "recommending the circulation of the Dubuque *National Demokrat*, the only German Democratic paper in the state." His motion was adopted without objection.

The resolutions reported by Mr. Samuels were numerous and extensive. They were grouped under two heads: first, National Policy, and, second, State Policy. Under the former the Democrats reasserted their adherence to the Cincinnati platform of 1856; reaffirmed their faith in popular government and control in Territorial matters, non-intervention in matters of local policy, the supremacy of the courts in all matters in controversy. Two planks relating to national policy interested Germans; they were:

Resolved, That it is a doctrine of the Democratic party that all naturalized citizens are entitled to the same protection both at home and abroad, that is extended to the native born citizens, and that even a voluntary return of such citizens to the land of their birth for a temporary purpose, does not place them beyond the range of that protection, but that our Government is bound to

shield them from injury and insult, while there at every hazard.

\* \* \* \* \*

Resolved, That we are in favor of granting a home-  
stead of 160 acres of land by Congress to actual settlers,  
subject only to such restrictions as will exclude speculators  
from the benefits of such acts.

In the division devoted to matters of "State Policy" the  
following six out of eight resolutions were designed to allure  
the German voters and arouse their indignation against the  
discriminations and degradation deemed to be threatened by  
the legislation of Massachusetts and the Puritanical theories  
implied in enactments of the state. In order that the reader  
may realize how completely the convention echoed the argu-  
ments of the press and the discussions of the country grocery  
and cross-roads, I reproduce each and without abbreviation :

Resolved, That the Democracy cordially and sincerely  
invite emigrants to settle in the state, promising them all  
protection and right they have enjoyed under the laws  
of Congress since the days of Jefferson; and that we earn-  
estly deplore the acts of the Republican party in Massa-  
chusetts, and their attempts in New York, Connecticut,  
and New Jersey, to confer upon the uncouth semi-bar-  
barian negro from the South the right of suffrage and  
office in one year, and requiring for the same purpose of  
naturalized citizens a residence of two years after natur-  
alization, equivalent to an extension of the period for  
naturalization to seven years, thus degrading the foreign  
white man below the negro and mulatto.

Resolved, That we are opposed to the policy inaugu-  
rated in this State by the Republican party by which the  
immigration to this state of the African race is encour-  
aged and promoted, thus bringing cheap negro labor into  
direct competition with labor of the white man, and filling  
our state with a class of population that can never be-  
come citizens thereof, and we are in favor of a change  
which shall discourage and prevent the settlement of that  
race among us.

Resolved, That since the border states of Ohio, Indi-  
ana and Illinois exclude the free negroes of the South  
from their limits by stringent laws, Iowa will become the  
great receptacle of the worthless population of the slave-  
holding states, to the exclusion of an equal number of

free white laborers, if the present Republican policy be persisted in.

Resolved, That such a policy leads necessarily to the intermixing of black and white children in the common schools, or the necessity of dividing the common school fund to maintain separate and independent schools in every locality where free negroes reside.

Resolved, That the Democracy demand a total repeal of the provisions of our state constitution, and the law made in pursuance thereof, requiring negro children to be admitted into our common schools or separate schools, to be supported out of the common school fund for their education.

Resolved, That the Maine liquor law, is inconsistent with the spirit of a free people, and unjust and burdensome in its operations; it has vexed and harrassed the citizen, burdened the counties with expense and litigation, and proven wholly useless in the suppression of intemperance.

The serious factional differences in the Democratic party respecting national issues made the attitude of the convention towards the Administration the matter of primary interest with the delegates. The friends of Senator Douglas, who were in control, would not commend or endorse President Buchanan; and the only compromise they could agree to was Silence. This central question aside, the convention concerned itself with two sets of general interests: First the nature and degree of endorsement of the doctrines and policies advocated by Senator Douglas; and, second, the construction of planks that would effectively appeal to and arouse the Germans to enlist under the Democratic standards. With respect to the first the situation and the developments had little that was novel or that created particular interest. So that one may again conclude that the Germans and their status, their rights and immunities as naturalized citizens, constituted the substantial consideration in the minds of the delegates of the Democrats of Iowa in constructing the platform and in preparing for the campaign in 1859.

Aus dem Tagebuch eines Achtundvierzigers (Dr. Enno Sander).

Von Prof. Dr. Otto Scller, Washington University,  
St. Louis, Mo.

### Einleitung.

Am 12. Februar 1912 starb im Alter von beinahe neunzig Jahren der Nestor des St. Louiser Deutschtums, Dr. Enno Sander, einer der angesehensten Bürger seiner Adoptiv-Waterstadt. Er war um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts unmittelbar nach den hier aufgezeichneten Erlebnissen nach St. Louis gekommen, wo er sich zunächst als Apotheker niederließ; er dürfte der erste gewesen sein, der eine Offizin nach streng pharmazeutischen Grundsätzen führte. Im Jahre 1858 stiftete Sander den allgemeinen amerikanischen Pharmazeutenverein (American Pharmaceutical Association), dessen Wirkungskreis sich bald über die ganzen Ver. Staaten erstreckte und der noch heute in höchster Blüte steht. 1863 gründete er die Hochschule für Pharmazie (St. Louis College of Pharmacy), die er lange Jahre hindurch persönlich leitete. Später widmete er seine Arbeitskraft fast ausschließlich der von ihm errichteten Fabrik zur Erzeugung künstlicher Mineralwässer, der er bis zu seinem Tode mit großem Erfolge aktiv vorstand.

Ich machte Sanders Bekanntschaft im Jahre 1892 und es war mir sogleich vergönnt, mich trotz des zwischen uns stehenden großen Altersunterschieds seiner Freundschaft zu erfreuen. Sander war wegen seines einnehmenden Wesens und außerordentlichen Zartgefühls allgemein verehrt. Noch im höchsten Alter machte sein liebenswürdiges, geselliges Naturell, verbunden mit einer erstaunlichen Rüstigkeit und geistigen Frische, den alten Hagestolz zum Liebling weitester Kreise.

So oft es mir gelang das Gespräch auf seine politischen Zügenderlebnisse zu lenken, fühlte ich mich von neuem durch die Lebendigkeit seiner Schilderungen derart gefesselt, daß ich aber und abermals in ihn drang, die Geschichte seines Lebens oder doch zum



mindesten die Erinnerungen aus jener bewegten Zeit zu Papier zu bringen. Er setzte aber meinen Vorstellungen stets dieselbe Antwort entgegen: „Das hätte ich vor vielen Jahren tun sollen; jetzt bin ich zu alt dazu.“ Auch das war ihm nicht recht, daß ich mir während dieser Gespräche Notizen machen wollte. Zuletzt unterließ ich jede weitere Erwähnung meines Wunsches und hatte seit Jahren alle Hoffnung aufgegeben, den alten Herrn umzustimmen, als er sich eines Tages — es war ungefähr zwei Jahre vor seinem Tode — zu meiner großen Ueberraschung aus freien Stücken bereit erklärte, mit mir gemeinsam eine zusammenhängende Darstellung seiner „Revoluzzerei“ auszuarbeiten, (er sprach nur noch mit überlegener Ironie von dem „Völkerfrühling“ und hatte eine geringe Meinung von allen derartigen Bewegungen). Das Ergebnis der Arbeit liegt vor. Ich muß allerdings gestehen, daß mein Anteil kaum über die bloße mechanische Hilfeleistung hinausging. Ich brachte Sonntag für Sonntag eine Stunde bei meinem Freunde zu, der mir jedesmal einen Abschnitt so gut wie in die Feder diktierte. Seine Gedächtniskraft war ganz außerordentlich. Er sprach fließend und in einem Zuge, ohne jemals einen Blick in sein Tagebuch zu werfen, das er — leider nicht ganz mit Unrecht — für unleserlich erklärte. Ich habe es für eine Pflicht der Pietät gehalten, an dem Wortlaut seiner Rede möglichst wenig zu ändern.

Washington University, St. Louis.

Otto Keller.

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Aus dem Jahre 1845 habe ich nur spärliche Erinnerungen. Am deutlichsten erinnere ich mich noch einer Fahrt nach Braundenburg, die ich — das Datum ist mir entfallen — mit drei anderen Studenten von Berlin unternahm, um eine Unterredung mit Hoffmann von Fallersleben abzuhalten, der sich dort zu Besuch bei einem Freund aufhielt. Hoffmann war eine große, kräftige, mannhafte Erscheinung. Er trug sich „altdeutsch“, besonders auffällig war der weite offene Hemdkragen. Gegen uns junge Leute war er etwas herablassend. Alles in allem hinterließ er mir keinen unbezwinglichen Eindruck. Hoffmann benutzte diese Zusammenkunft, um mit uns zu bereden, was zu geschehen habe, damit das Verbannungsedikt gegen ihn zurückgenommen würde. Ich war in Berlin mit bedeutenden Personen bekannt. Hoffmann

ersuchte mich, Alexander von Humboldt zu bitten, beim König Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Fürsprache einzulegen. Ich fand Herrn von Humboldt in seinem Studierzimmer. Er war ein Mann von frischem Aussehen, liebenswürdigem Gesichtsausdruck, mit scharfen dunklen Augen, der sich gegen mich jungen Mann sehr artig erwies. Gern versprach er, alles was er vermochte für Hoffmann zu tun, den er hochschätzte. Auch für mich, als Naturwissenschaftler, bezeugte er Interesse. Unter den Berliner Professoren seien ihm Dove<sup>1</sup> und Weiß<sup>2</sup> die liebsten. Als ich ihm auf die Frage, wo ich herkäme, mittheilte, ich sei in Trinum<sup>3</sup> geboren, meinte er lächelnd: Ah, Trinum? *O m n e T r i n u m p e r f e c t u m*. Beim Abschied gab er mir das Versprechen, er wolle die erste Gelegenheit wahrnehmen, sich beim König für Hoffmann zu verwenden.

Im Jahre 1846 lernte ich Georg Herwegh kennen. Er war nach Berlin gekommen, und ich kam bei irgend einem Kommerz mit ihm zusammen. Dann besuchte ich ihn in seinem Hotel. Außerlich waren bemerkenswert an ihm die dunklen, scharfen Augen, dazu das schwarze Haar. Mich hatte schon vorher sein Freisinn zu ihm hingezogen. Ich selbst war früh, schon Anfang der vierziger Jahre, in die freisinnige Bewegung eingetreten. Im Alter von achtzehn Jahren äußerte ich mich während eines Besuches folgendermaßen gegen eine alte Dame, die gern über Gott und Religion sprach: „Ihr werdet in kurzer Zeit keinen Gott mehr haben. Ursprünglich verehrte der Mensch Fetische, dann wurde er zum Tieranbeter, dann trieb er Vielgötterei; später kam der Monotheismus auf; zuletzt lernt der Mensch einsehen, daß er selber der Gott ist, und damit hört eben für ihn jede andere Gottheit auf.“

Mein Berliner Bekanntenkreis schloß fast alle Anhänger des Freisinns ein, darunter mehrere Zeitungsredakteure. Bruno<sup>4</sup> und Edgar Bauer kannte ich wohl, auch mit Max Stirner<sup>5</sup> wurde

<sup>1</sup> Der bekannte Physiker Heinrich Wilhelm (1803—1879). D. S.

<sup>2</sup> Der berühmte Mineraloge Christian Samuel (1780—1856). D. S.

<sup>3</sup> Im Herzogtum Anhalt. D. S.

<sup>4</sup> (1809—1882).

<sup>5</sup> Der bekannte Vorläufer Nietzsches, eigentlich Joh. Caspar Schmidt (1806—1856), Verfasser des Buches „Der Einzige und sein Eigentum“. Stirners Biograph, John Henry Mackay, stattete Dr. Sander 1883 in Dessau einen Besuch ab. Er erwähnt u. a. diesen als Gewährsmann in „United States“. D. S.

ich gut bekannt. Dieser war ein überaus einfacher Mensch, der nur seinen Gedanken lebte. Seine Frau zeichnete sich dadurch aus, daß sie mehr Tabak rauchte als ihr Gatte. Stirner besuchte mich häufig, wenn ich krank war. Oft kneipte er mit uns. Nie hörte man von ihm etwas Außerordentliches oder Erregendes. Dagegen sah man Bruno Bauer nicht selten in hoch erregtem Zustand. Zu solchen Zeiten benahm er sich wie ein Verrückter. Einmal veranstaltete unsere Gesellschaft ein Picknick mit Feuerwerk u. s. w. Bruno trank sich einen schweren Braud an, und ich sehe ihn noch jetzt um die brennenden Kerzen herumhüpfen wie ein Teufel. Mit dem Rationalökonomien Jaucher wurde ich intim. Er hatte einen Vnuder, der wollte Seemann werden und trank zur Vorbereitung für diese Laufbahn Rum und Schnaps bis er am Delirium tremens starb. Es sei hier bemerkt, daß wir vorhatten eine große Flotte zu bauen, sobald die Republik zustande gekommen wäre. Ferner verkehrte ich mit dem Ingenieur-Hauptmann von Buschbeck, dessen Hochachtung ich mir dadurch erwarb, daß ich seine mit großem Stolz zubereiteten prachtvollen Salate ohne Essig verzehrte. Die anderen bezeichnete er aus dem entgegengesetzten Grund als unverbesserliche Barbaren.

1847 ging ich von Berlin nach Halle, wo ich mich um nichts bekümmerte als um mein Examen. Mein einziger Verkehr war der von mir sehr hochgeschätzte Philosophieprofessor Werder.<sup>2</sup> Nach meiner im selben Jahre erfolgten Promotion ging ich, nun fünfundzwanzigjährig, auf Reisen.

Im Jahre 1848 wurde ich in die Revolution verwickelt. Das geschah in Göttingen. Dort gährte schon seit längerer Zeit ein revolutionärer Geist unter den Leuten. Wie nun im Februar die Nachricht von den Pariser Barrikadenkämpfen zu uns drang, hielten wir die Zeit für gekommen uns zu organisieren; politische Vereine wurden gegründet und viele Reden gehalten, um auf diese Weise das Volk an Freiheit zu gewöhnen. Auch in den umliegenden Ortschaften hielten wir Versammlungen ab, um die Bauern aufzuklären, und beantworteten mit viel Geduld ihre Fragen. Der deutsche Bauer, so wie ich ihn in jenen Tagen kennen lernte, ist

<sup>2</sup> Wenn hier der Philosoph Karl Friedrich Werder (1806—1893) gemeint ist, so dürfte die obige Mitteilung auf einem Irrtum beruhen, da Werder damals in Berlin dozierte. D. S.

sehr selbstüchtig; geschickt, wenn es um seinen Vorteil geht, sonst aber dumm.

Einen weiteren Schritt nach links und vorwärts bedeutete für mich meine Aufstellung als Wahlmann für meinen Distrikt. Mein Gegenkandidat war der Professor Raumann, der die Leute vor dem jungen Politiker warnte. Meine Rede behandelte den Grundsatz: „Der Jugend gehört die Welt“. Das glaube ich auch heute noch, und weil ich selber keine Jugend mehr habe, so will ich die Jugend anderer Leute genießen. Dazu gehört freilich, daß man gesund ist. In der Wahl drang ich gegen meinen Opponenten durch und so wurde ich als Abgeordneter zu der „Landkonstitutions-Versammlung“ entsandt. Man zählte mich, als einen der radikalen Rädelsführer, unter die „fünf Sinne von Anhalt“. Ich fuhr fort mich lebhaft mit der politischen Erziehung des Landvolks zu befassen und übernahm in diesem Sinne, allerdings unter dem Siegel der Anonymität, die Leitung der Anhaltischen Volkszeitung, eines dreimal wöchentlich erscheinenden Blattes, dessen nomineller Redakteur Dr. Alfred von Behr war. Vorher war ich, ebenfalls anonym, an der Herausgabe der noch radikaleren „Lichtpufe“ beteiligt gewesen. Cöthen, wo ich auch mit Bakunin zusammentraf, war wie eine Oase der Freiheit im reaktionären Deutschland.<sup>7</sup>

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(In diesem Abschnitt nimmt Dr. Sander den Bericht über den Zusammenhang der Cöthener Freisinnigen mit der Pariser Februar-Revolution und über die radikale Agitation unter der Bauernschaft mit größerer Ausführlichkeit wieder auf. Der Inhalt ist teilweise eine Wiederholung des im vorigen Abschnitt Enthaltenen. D. S.)

Am 27. Februar 1848 traf uns die Nachricht von der Pariser Revolution. Das war gerade an meinem sechsundzwanzigsten Geburtstag; mit sechsundzwanzig wurde man damals, nebenbei bemerkt, erst großjährig. Diese Nachricht brachte große Be-

<sup>7</sup> Am Schlusse dieses Gespräches bemerkte Dr. Sander: „Es würde einen interessanten Artikel geben zu beschreiben, wie das revolutionäre Ministerium von Cöthen gehandelt hat. Auch hätte ich manches über Hermann Raster, den nachmaligen Chefredakteur der Winoiser Staatszeitung, zu sagen.“ D. S.

wegung hervor. Mein jüngerer Bruder, der in Berlin studierte, unterrichtete mich über die dort herrschende Aufregung. Der Revolutionskampf war in Berlin am 18. März ausgebrochen. Am 19. oder 20. März fuhr ich hin, und mein erster Weg war nach der Zeitungshalle. Vom Sommersemester 1847 her hatte ich zahlreiche Bekannte in der Stadt. Ich blieb zum Begräbnis der in den Straßenkämpfen Gefallenen. Die Liberalen, zu deren Wortführern Männer von höchster Bildung zählten, hatten den Vorschlag gemacht, daß die Bürger und Soldaten gemeinsam begraben werden sollten, um so etwa eine Konsolidation anzubahnen. Dagegen aber erhob sich auf seiten der Reaktionen ein allgemeiner Ausschrei. Im Leichenzuge wurden die Bürger zuletzt vorbeigefahren. „Mütze ab!“ rief das Volk dem König zu, der auf dem Balkon stand.

Die Revolutionäre waren übrigens noch sehr zurück in ihrer politischen Auszubildung. Viele darunter waren Journalisten, und als nun darüber beraten wurde, was zunächst zu geschehen habe, da schienen sie mir von dem einen Gedanken besessen: Wir müssen die Rechte der Presse wahren. Daneben war in den freisinnigen Kreisen auch viel die Rede von neuen Wahlgesetzen. Nach Verlauf einer Woche kehrte ich wieder nach Göttingen und Trinum zurück. Ich hörte dann, daß unter den Berliner Revolutionären Zwistigkeiten ausgebrochen waren. Infolgedessen, sowie der schlechten Organisation überhaupt, blieb in Berlin die Ruhe aufrecht bis zum Anfang der Nationalversammlung. Ich für mein Teil war von der Bewegung aufs Heftigste ergriffen und wollte nichts unterlassen, was irgendwie geeignet wäre sie zu fördern. So kam ich denn auch auf den Gedanken, die Bauern zu unterrichten, ihnen ein Gefühl für Männerwürde einzupflanzen und sie zu freien Bürgern zu erziehen. Dieser Wunsch entstammte bei mir der durch Friedrich Hecker und seine Genossen in Süddeutschland promulgierten Idee der deutschen Republik, zu deren Verwirklichung sich die Revolution zuvörderst über ganz Deutschland erstrecken sollte. Um auf den Bauer zurückzukommen, der war zu jener Zeit ganz unwissend und kannte nichts als seinen eigenen Nutzen. Ich pflanzte abends nach dem mir zugewiesenen „Distrikt“ zu reiten und mit den Landleuten in den Versammlungen über die politischen Tagesinteressen zu sprechen. Natürlich brachte das die

reaktionäre Partei gegen mich auf. Ich fand mich überall verflagt. Sobald ich irgendwo eine Rede hielt, wurde ich prozessiert. Gerade aus diesem Grunde, d. h. weil ich von der Regierung verfolgt war, wurde ich, als die Wahlversammlung vor sich ging, zum Repräsentanten nominiert. Mein Gegenkandidat war der bereits sechzigjährige Professor Naumann. Meine „große Rede“ bei einer Volksversammlung über das Thema: „Der Jugend gehört die Welt“ habe ich schon erwähnt. Auf diese Rede hin wurde ich ein Mitglied der „konstituierenden Nationalversammlung“ für Anhalt. Nun ging ich daran, das ganze Ländchen durch Errichtung von Vereinen für Volksrechte zu organisieren. Zuletzt wurde ich Präsident der Repräsentation für ganz Anhalt.

Von einem sensationellen Vorfall in Bernburg habe ich zu berichten. Ich war in diesem reaktionären Städtchen gründlich verhaßt. Die Bernburger drohten mich totzuschlagen, wenn sie mich zu fassen bekämen. Als nun dort eine Fahnenweihe abgehalten werden sollte, entschloß ich mich kurzer Hand, hinzugehen. Denn, so sagte ich mir, gehe ich nicht hin, so bin ich auf alle Fälle politisch tot. Gehe ich aber, so ist doch die Möglichkeit, daß ich nicht totgeschlagen werde. Ich ging also und hielt eine Rede, die äußerst gut gewesen sein muß. So urteilten wenigstens meine Bekannten, die mir von der außerordentlichen Wirkung meiner Worte erzählten. Ich hatte nichts ausgearbeitet, mich überhaupt auf keine Weise vorbereitet. Die Versammlung fand auf dem Schießanger statt, vor dem Schützenhaus. Der ganze amphitheaterartige Platz war vollgepackt mit Menschen, und jeder hatte seinen Knüttel mit. Als ich vorgestellt wurde, ergriff ich die Fahne, schwenkte sie und zitierte: „Pulver ist schwarz, Blut ist rot, golden fladert die Flamme.“ Es entstand alsbald die größte Aufregung, doch gelang es mir die Leute zu beschwichtigen; dann ging ich drauf und dran. Als ich zu Ende war, wurde meine Rede allgemein bejubelt. Ich verließ den Saal kurz ehe der nächste Redner auftrat. Trotzdem ich die angebotene Bedeckung zurückwies, gingen ein paar hundert Menschen mit; allein das war ganz unnötig, und ich fuhr unbehelligt davon. Erst zwei, drei Stunden später kamen die Leute mich zu suchen und angeblich totzuschlagen, wo sie wußten, daß sie mich nicht mehr finden würden.<sup>8</sup>

Die Nationalversammlung tagte anfänglich in Cöthen, nachher in Dessau. Unter den Abgeordneten gab es prächtige Menschen. Der Präsident, Wolter, war ein eigentümlicher Charakter. Er hatte sich vorher nie um politische Dinge bekümmert, und seine ersten Aussprüche zeigten deutlich, daß er, wiewohl seines Zeichens ein Rechtsanwalt, als Politiker ein blutiger Anfänger war.<sup>9</sup> Seine Aeußerungen über die politische Lage klangen zuerst oft geradezu kindlich. Aber er entwickelte sich äußerst schnell und füllte sein Amt zufriedenstellend aus. Er blieb zeitlebens liberal, obschon er später von der Regierung pensioniert wurde.<sup>10</sup>

Dr. Alfred von Behr, Mediziner, war ungemein gebildet und geistreich, aber unpraktisch und unbrauchbar. Er war vielgereist und hatte u. a. in Paris gelebt und dort promoviert. Sein Vater war allmächtiger Minister in Cöthen gewesen, und der preußische Gesandte in Rom war ein Verwandter von ihm. Dadurch wurde er auf seinen Reisen bei reichen und vornehmen Leuten eingeführt. In Sizilien unternahm er gemeinsam mit seinem jüngeren Bruder einen Aufstieg auf den Aetna. Dem Bruder erfroren unterwegs die Füße, und die Aerzte in Catania wollten ohne weiters amputieren. Alfred protestierte gegen die Operation, da sein Bruder nicht ohne Füße leben wollte und bestand darauf, ihn selbst zu behandeln. Da es ihm wider Erwarten glückte, eine vollkommene Heilung zu erzielen, wurde er als Wunderdoktor ausgerufen und von Kranken überlaufen. Seiner Bruder ging später nach Texas und starb in der Nähe von New-Braunfels. Alfred wanderte gleichfalls aus, als die Reaktion wiederhergestellt wurde, und zog nach Texas. Doch gefiel es ihm

<sup>9</sup> Der Erzähler beteuerte abermals: „Meine Rede war völlig aus dem Stegreif.“ und fügte schmunzelnd hinzu: „Ja, ich war ein Kerl!“ C. S.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Sander besaß eine Zeichnung von Etod; das Bild stellte ein Trinkgelage im Ratskeller zu Cöthen dar: Wolter mit emporgehobenem Humpen — er war ein hervorragender Bierkonsument —, in seiner Nähe Behr im Schlafrock.

<sup>11</sup> Sein Wahlspruch war: Durch. In Dr. Sanders Stammbuch schrieb er: Lebe wohl, Alter! Denke manchmal an unser zehnjähriges Zusammenleben in heiteren und ernstern Dingen. 8. August 1850. Cöthen. Wolter. In „Aecania“ (Beilage zur Cöthenschen Zeitung) vom 2. Juli

dort nicht. Er starb am Neujahrstage 1863 in St. Louis,<sup>11</sup> nach sechswöchiger Krankheit, als wir ihn schon genesen glaubten. Er ist mir unvergeßlich. Aus seiner ärztlichen Praxis erzählte man sich recht ergöbliche Dinge. Stets bereit zu helfen wo es nottat, machte er nie auch die geringste Anstrengung, seine Forderungen bei den Patienten einzuziehen. Leider trank er ziemlich stark, wie übrigens die meisten von uns. Eines Tages wurde er zu einer erkrankten Hebamme gerufen. Als man ihn zu einem anderen Patienten holen wollte, fand man ihn knieend neben dem Bett, das Ohr am Busen der Kranken, als ob er auf den Herzschlag horche. Es stellte sich aber heraus, daß er während der Untersuchung auf dem mollen Kissen fest eingeschlafen war.

Dann war noch ein ganz eigentümlicher Mensch unter uns, namens Moritz Viertelhaler. Auch er war, wie wir übrigen, Wolter, Behr, Schilling und meine Wenigkeit, ein großer Freund alkoholischer Getränke. Dieser Viertelhaler saß fast immer auf der Bierbank und im Weinkeller. Von Haus aus ein Staatsbeamter, war er immer unzufrieden, weil er nicht vorwärts kommen konnte. Als Liberalgesinnter wurde er in die konstituierende Versammlung gewählt. Später nahm er sein Amt wieder auf, nachdem er Abbitte getau. Er erreichte ein Alter von vierundachtzig Jahren.

Alles in allem genommen war Cöthen ein bemerkenswerter Ort. Das Volk war in jeder Beziehung liberal. Sogar die Juden genossen dort mehr Freiheit als sonstwo. Das alles kam wohl daher, daß in dem Städtchen ein paar gebildete und weitgereifte Leute zu großem Einfluß gelangt waren. Der Sammelpunkt des geistigen Lebens war der Ratskeller, wo die leitenden Kräfte, größtenteils Akademiker und Domänenpächter, zusammentrafen. Doch machte sich auch hier im Kleinen das Uebel bemerkbar, das der ganzen revolutionären Bewegung zum Unheil ausschlug: es

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1909 teilt Rudolf Bunge folgendes Epigramm mit, das im Volke über Wolter umlief:

Mit Donnergepolter  
Spricht der Abgeordnete Wolter:  
Wenn ihr nicht wollt,  
Dann solltet!

<sup>11</sup> Bei Dr. Sander, der ihn zuletzt unterhielt. D. S.



gab der Führer zu viele. Am Ende wollte jeder die führende Rolle spielen.

Während der Cöthener Tagung ging ich zuweilen nach Berlin. Dadurch wurde ich später mit den hervorragenden Mitgliedern der preußischen Nationalversammlung genau bekannt: D'Estier, Reichenbach, Stein u. a. Während des Sommers 1848 hatten die Genannten nebst Behr und mir eine Zusammenkunft in Wittenberg mit Robert Blum, wobei die Verhältnisse besprochen wurden, namentlich die Hecker'schen Anstrengungen, worauf man den Beschluß faßte, alles zu tun, um die norddeutsche Bevölkerung fähig zu machen, sich in liberale Verhältnisse zu schicken. Später wurde in Berlin ein demokratischer Kongreß abgehalten; dabei traten so verschiedene Ansichten zutage und erhoben sich sovieler Zwistigkeiten, daß die Reaktion nicht verfehlte einzusehen wie leicht sich die ganze Bewegung würde lahmlegen lassen. Es kann nicht abgeleugnet werden, unter den Repräsentanten gab es manchen frechen und unverschämten Schlingel, — rechte Lausbuben. Als die Berliner konstituierende Versammlung durch General Wrangel auseinandergesprengt wurde, war ich wieder dort. Der Rumpf dieser Versammlung wurde von allen Seiten eingeladen, seine Versammlungen in anderen Städten fortzusetzen. Auch von Halle kam eine Einladung. Das Central-Komitee bat mich, auf der Rückreise nach Cöthen in Halle Halt zu machen und die Revolutionäre von einem leichtsinnigen Putsch abzuhalten. Die Führer der Partei in Halle versprachen denn auch alles, hielten aber nichts. Am Mittag war große Versammlung auf dem Markte zu Halle. Die Arbeiter und sonstigen Anhänger der liberalen Partei waren in großer Zahl himarschirt. Auf dem Markte angelangt, fanden sie sich bald von Soldaten und Studenten umzingelte; letztere waren insgesamt regierungsfreundlich, Während nun einer der freiheitlichen Führer von dem großen Standbild aus eine Rede hielt, fiel in der Nähe ein Schuß. Alles fuhr zusammen, die Leute stoben auseinander, die größte Verwirrung entstand. Ich schwang mich auf einen Laternenpfahl und rief die Arbeiter zu mir. Es waren darunter zwei himmelgroße Kerle, die mit großer Gewalt vorschlugen, man solle die Häuser der Reaktionäre plündern. Ich zwang aber gerade die beiden rabiaten Gesellen, vor den bedrohten Wohnungen Wache zu stehen.

Ich hatte Erfahrung im Umgang mit solchen Leuten, und sie gingen tatsächlich auf alles ein, was ich von ihnen haben wollte. Später schickte ich die ganze Bande nach Hause. Wenn gegen Abend die Trommel schlug, möchten sie sich wieder versammeln. Ich selbst ging nach der Amtsstube des Hauptes der liberalen Partei, schrieb meine Berichte nach Berlin und fuhr Abends, ohne von der Polizei belästigt zu werden, nach Cöthen zurück. Wer jenen Schuß abgefeuert hatte, hat man nie erfahren; wahrscheinlich hatte sich das Gewehr zufällig entladen.

Von den damals geschlossenen Bekanntschaften dürfte die mit Robert Blum die interessanteste gewesen sein. Meine Papiere enthalten Aufzeichnungen über mein Zusammentreffen mit ihm.<sup>12</sup> Ich komme ein andermal auf ihn zurück. Ganz deutlich schwebt mir noch Blums fette, doch ganz eigentümlich angenehme Gestalt vor. D'Estér, dessen Namen ich vorher erwähnte, war praktischer Arzt in Köln. Dr. Louis Bauer, gleichfalls ein Abgeordneter der preussischen konstituierenden Versammlung, wanderte nach Amerika aus; er ließ sich in Brooklyn nieder und zog in den siebziger Jahren nach St. Louis, wo er Chirurgie praktizierte und das „College of Physicians and Surgeons“ gründete. Er erwarb sich viele Freunde in dieser Stadt.

Auf den Winter 1848—49 kann ich mich ohne weiteres nicht recht besinnen; ich nehme daher die Erzählung meiner Erlebnisse erst vom Mai 1849 wieder auf. In Dresden spielte sich ein bedeutames Kapitel der Bewegung ab. Die sächsische Kammer hatte Beschlüsse gefaßt, die der Regierung unangenehm waren, woraufhin die Kammer kurzerhand aufgelöst wurde. Die radikale Partei opponierte der Auflösung, tagte weiter und ernannte sogar eine provisorische Regierung. Nunmehr sammelte die sächsische Regierung Militär in Dresden; die Radikalen ihrerseits bauten Barricaden und setzten ihr Versammlungsklokal in Verteidigungszustand. Preußen hatte der verbündeten Regierung militärische Hilfe versprochen und schickte demgemäß Anfang Mai mehrere Regimenter auf der Eisenbahn über Riesa nach Dresden. Auf meiner Fahrt nach Dresden begegnete ich in Riesa dem Militär. Als wir uns der Hauptstadt näherten, beobachtete ich genau den

<sup>12</sup> Der Erzähler bezieht sich auf sein jetzt in meinen Händen befindliches Tagebuch aus diesem bewegten Lebensabschnitt. C. S.

Lauf der Eisenbahn und die Topographie sowohl der Elbe wie auch desjenigen Theiles der Stadt, durch welchen ich mich vielleicht würde zurückfinden müssen, um wieder hinauszukommen; denn die Brücke war durchs Militär besetzt. In Dresden fand ich im Rathause die provisorische Regierung, gebildet durch das Triumvirat: Tschirner, Heinisch, — der dritte Name ist mir nicht Erinnerlich. Bakunin<sup>13</sup> stand dieser Regierung beratend zur Seite. Ich wurde sofort als Adjutant in den Dienst gepreßt und ordnete in dieser Eigenschaft den Bau verschiedener Barrikaden an. Dabei leistete ich mir auch ein kleines Stück Bravour. Gegenüber der Brühl'schen Terrasse, hinter einer zusammengeschossenen Barrikade, stand eine Kanone. Da bin ich denn mit einem festen Seil durch das Erdgeschloß eines anliegenden Hotels hinzugegangen, habe das Seil um die Kanone geschlungen und dieselbe dann von meinen Leuten in das Erdgeschloß hineinziehen und anderwärts unterbringen lassen; eine gefährliche Geschichte das, allein ich machte mir den Teufel drauß. Drei Tage währte der Kampf, bis eines Morgens Tschirner die Nachricht ins Rathaus brachte, daß das Gefecht aus Mangel an Munition eingestellt werden müßte. Er warf einen Beutel Silbergeld auf den Tisch und forderte diejenigen auf, die irgendwohin flüchten wollten, sich zu nehmen was sie brauchten. Während meiner Anwesenheit waren drei Vollen von dem demokratischen Zentralkomitee von Paris nach Dresden entsandt worden, um die Verteidigung zu leiten. Diese nahmen sich so viel Geld wie sie nötig hatten, und ich versprach zu versuchen, sie aus Dresden zu führen und vermittels meiner Pässe, die ich immer in der Tasche hatte, nach Cöthen zu schaffen. Man mußte damals auf der Eisenbahn überall seinen Paß vorzeigen. Um nun unseren Freunden zu helfen, hatte mir die äußerst liberale Cöthener Stadtregierung blanke Pässe ausgestellt. Leider war Bakunin irgendwo in der Stadt beschäftigt, so daß ich seiner nicht habhaft werden konnte, um ihn mitzunehmen. Unter dem Vorwande, daß wir dem Zuge von Plauen entgegengehen wollten, wurden wir durch das Tor gelassen. Und dann führte ich meine Freunde durch die Vorstadt nach der Elbe, wo eine Fähre uns übersezte und nach der Eisenbahnstation brachte. Ich war noch nie in Dresden gewesen, besaß aber von jeher einen wunder-

<sup>13</sup> Der Agitator Michael Alexandrowitsch Bakunin (1814—1876).

baren topographischen Instinkt. Noch heute kann ich von weitem aus die Bachläufe bestimmen. Unsere Eisenbahnkarten legitimierten uns nach Leipzig und von da nach Halle und Cöthen, wo ich die drei Polen fürs erste auf dem Landstüß meiner Mutter unterbrachte.

Am 15. Mai bin ich dann von Cöthen abgereist. Ich wußte, daß ich mich nicht mehr lange halten konnte. Nach meiner Rückkehr von Dresden enthielten die Zeitungen Berichte über den Ausbruch der Revolution in Baden und der Pfalz und die Flucht des Großherzogs nach Lauterbach; daraufhin zogen alle Revolutionäre, die sich im Norden nicht länger halten konnten, nach dem Südwesten. Ich veröffentlichte einen Abschiedsgruß an meine Leser, teilte ihnen meine Absicht mit nach Baden zu gehen, und äußerte die Hoffnung, daß die Revolution dort sich kräftig genug erweisen würde, um sich über ganz Deutschland zu verbreiten. Ich reiste am 15. Mai über Eisenach und Frankfurt nach Karlsruhe, wo ich eine große Verwirrung antraf. Unterwegs traf ich eine Anzahl meiner nördlichen Freunde, die auch auf dem Wege nach Baden waren, und in Karlsruhe schon eine ziemliche Schar von nördlichen Radikalen.

Nun kommt ein sehr trauriges Kapitel. Wie schon bemerkt, fand ich in Karlsruhe die größte Verwirrung. Der Großherzog samt der ganzen Regierung waren geflohen, ebenfalls die Offiziere der verschiedenen Regimenter, — nur ihrer wenige waren auf der liberalen Seite, — und die Soldaten machten in ihrer weinfrohen Laune die Straßen unsicher. Ich war von einem vierundzwanzigstündigen Aufenthalt in Karlsruhe mehr als gesättigt und reiste nach Ludwigshafen, dessen Festung vom Obersten Blesker<sup>14</sup> aus Worms erobert war. Als Bekannter war ich ihm willkommen, fand aber bald heraus, daß die Berichte über die heldenhafte Eroberung der Festung arg übertrieben waren. Ich blieb zunächst bei Blesker als sein Adjutant. Wir machten mehrere Ausflüge, u. a. einen bei nächstlicher Weile nach der Festung Landau, welche

<sup>14</sup> Ludwig Blesker (1812—1863). Ueber seine Geschichte auf amerikanischer Erde lese man nach in A. Faust „The German Element in the United States“. D. S.

nach einer von Umbtscheiden<sup>15</sup> erhaltenen Mitteilung uns von der Bürgerschaft überliefert werden sollte. Allein die vereinbarten Bedingungen wurden von Blesker nicht strikt eingehalten. Anstatt das verabredete Zeichen abzuwarten, marschierte er bei Anbruch des Tages bis an das Palissadentor, wo er von der Besatzung mit scharfen Schüssen begrüßt wurde. Niemand wurde indessen verletzt, und die Angreifer zogen sich schnell zurück. Der Zug nach Landau war übrigens großartig. Ich muß das wissen, denn ich ließ ihn ja bei mir vorbeidefilieren. Die Bauern kamen auf den Feldwegen mit Mistgabeln u. dgl. nach der Hauptstraße zu marschiert. Es war die reine Falstaffsche Kohorte.

Wir kehrten nach Edenkoben zurück, — ein kleiner Ort mit gutem Gasthaus — und zogen nach kurzer Rast weiter nach Ludwigshafen. Später wurde eine Exkursion nach Worms vorbereitet, wo der Oberst Blesker früher gewohnt hatte und wo er jetzt seine Sabseligkeiten durch diese Expedition zu retten suchte. Oberst Zuller von der bayrischen Artillerie rückte mit einer kleinen Schar in nördlicher Richtung vor, um eine Ueberraschung von seiten der verbündeten Truppen zu verhindern. Plötzlich kam Nachricht, daß die Hessen auf der anderen Seite des Rheins angelangt seien und ihre Ankunft durch mehrere Kanonenschüsse auf die Stadt angezeigt hätten. Es wurde Generalmarsch geblasen, Blesker sammelte seine Truppen auf dem Marktplatz und marschierte sofort ab, ohne sich darum zu kümmern, was aus Zuller werden würde oder aus der Besatzung der Liebfrauenkirche am Rhein, welche die Stadt nach Osten decken sollte. Ich weiß mich nicht mehr zu erinnern, ob Zuller schon damals gefangen wurde oder sich auf Umwegen nach Frankenthal rettete. Jedenfalls fiel er früher oder später den Bayern in die Hände und wurde von ihnen standrechtlich erschossen. Es war jammerschade um den netten jungen Mann.

Als ich mit den Vorposten von der Liebfrauenkirche zurückkam, war Blesker bereits abmarschiert und ich folgte ihm nach Frankenthal, trotz der Bitten des Bürgermeisters, der einen Teil

<sup>15</sup> Ueber Umbtscheiden bemerkte der Erzähler: Er war einer von unseren Freunden. Ein tüchtiger, aufrichtiger junger Mann. Er hat mir sehr gefallen. Umbtscheiden war Sachse und ein sehr geschickter Agitator, wiewohl sein Name nicht so früh bekannt wurde wie andere. D. S.

der Truppen zurückbehalten wollte. (Wlenkers Truppen feierten in Worms bei schönstem Wetter und billigem Wein das Pfingstfest mehrere Nächte hindurch, und ihr Oberst ließ sie gewähren, ohne auf Disziplin Rücksicht zu nehmen. Er war früher selbst in Worms Weinhändler gewesen und hatte noch eine Quantität Wein im Hause liegen. Alles soff, nur ich trank gar nichts und war fürchterlich ernst.) Seine Sachen schickte Wlenker gleichfalls nach Frankfurt, wo er sein Hauptquartier aufschlug. Dorthin kamen die Befehle und Verordnungen von seiten der provisorischen Regierung. Zwei andere Truppenteile lagen in der Nähe, der eine in Kirchheim-Polanden. Kommandant daselbst war Zitz aus Mainz, ein riesiger Mensch; der wog mindestens zweihundertfünfzig Pfund, war aber ein Waschlappen. Er war eigentlich schuld daran, daß wir unverrichteter Dinge von Worms abziehen mußten; denn er hatte versprochen uns zu Hilfe zu ziehen und war ausgeblieben. Der andere Truppenteil stand in Rhein-Dürkheim, nördlich von Worms, unter dem Befehl des Leutnants Jagger, eines ehemaligen bayrischen Artilleristen und Sprößlings der berühmten Augsburg'schen Familie. Dieser war von den Einwohnern sehr freundlich aufgenommen worden und blieb längere Zeit hindurch unbelästigt. Später geriet er in Gefangenschaft und wurde erschossen. Uebrigens muß ich gestehen, daß jene Periode nur noch verschwommen in meiner Erinnerung lebt.<sup>16</sup> Die Wormser Episode war doch wohl anders als in meiner obigen Darstellung. Es dürfte nicht eine Privatexpedition Wlenkers gewesen sein, sondern eine friedliche Rekognoszierung im Auftrage der provisorischen Regierung von Baden. Beim Einmarsch ging die Bürgerwehr-Musik an unserer Spitze, und der Empfang ließ nichts zu wünschen übrig. Der Bürgermeister war Bourgeois und Revolutionär.

Der Zivilkommissär Hillgärtner hat mich, ihm bei der Einziehung der Zwangsanleihe behilflich zu sein und entsandte mich zu diesem Zweck nach Grünstadt und Umgegend. Ich nahm zwei

<sup>16</sup> Die allenfallsige Veröffentlichung von Enno Sanders Tagebuch wird Klarheit in die Sachlage bringen. Die Berichte anderer Zeitgenossen und Mitkämpfer Ludwig Wlenkers legen die Schuld an der nachstehend geschilderten Zuchtlosigkeit seiner Mannschaften nicht ihm, sondern andern Befehlshabern bei. D. S.

Ordonnanzen mit und es gelang mir, ohne Anwendung von Gewaltmitteln, durch bloße Ueberredung fünftausend Gulden zusammenzubringen. Die Banken steuerten reichlich bei; von einer reichen Müllerswitwe bekam ich zweitausend Gulden. Ueberhaupt wurden wir sehr freundlich behandelt, bis plötzlich die Nachricht kam, daß die Preußen von der hessischen Grenze anrückten. Ich wurde gebeten, in Grünstadt zu bleiben, mußte aber nach Frankenthal zurückfahren. Außerhalb der Stadt lag ein Meierhof, der einem befreundeten Revolutionär gehörte. Wir hielten an und erfuhren, daß Wlenker am frühen Morgen, als er von der Besetzung von Worms durch die Preußen erfuhr, nach Dürkheim aufgebrochen war. Wir wurden gewarnt, nicht nach Dürkheim zu gehen, um nicht von den Reaktionären gefangen zu werden. Ich stellte es dem Kutscher frei, mich allein hinfahren zu lassen, aber er blieb bei mir. Wir kamen über Lampsheim, wo wir die Bürger auf dem Marktplatz fanden, Kugeln gießend und sich für den Kampf vorbereitend. Sie wußten nichts von Wlenker. Auf der Weiterfahrt sahen wir weder Vorposten noch sonstige Zeichen einer großen Truppenmasse, sodaß die Vermutung in uns aufstieg, Wlenker habe sich anderswohin gefehrt. Weiter gekommen, sahen wir aber betrunkene Soldaten aus den Weinstuben taumeln. Sie erzählten, Wlenker habe sein Quartier in dem Gasthose der am ganzen Rhein bekannten „Schönen Anna“. Ich fuhr dorthin, lieferte meine Gelder an Hüllgärtner ab und sagte Wlenker meine Meinung über sein Benehmen und verließ ihn, indem ich meine Strafpredigt mit diesen Worten schloß: „Wenn dein Name einst in der Geschichte mit Schimpf und Schande genannt wird, so soll meiner nicht daneben stehen.“ Hierauf fuhr ich nach Neustadt-Eberswalde. Wlenker kam später nach Amerika und ließ mich durch Dr. Emil Prectorius fordern, weil ich ihn ignorierte. Ich weigerte mich die Forderung anzunehmen, da ich ihn für unehonorig erklären zu müssen glaubte.

Nach verschiedenen Anhalteplätzen an der Bergstraße, — Weidesheim, Wachenheim u. s. w. —, kam ich nach Neustadt an der Haardt, wo ich den Schatzmeister der provisorischen Regierung der Pfalz, Herrn Hepp, und andere Mitglieder der provisorischen Regierung, darunter Dr. D'Estler von Köln, antraf. Da ich über einen Wagen verfügte, so wurde ich überredet, Hepp nebst seiner

achtzigtausend Gulden enthaltenden Kasse und D'Ester mitzunehmen und womöglich südlich über die Grenze zu schaffen oder nach Baden. Wir zogen es vor, das Geld nach Weißenkirchen auf die Bank zu bringen, wo ich auch den Hepp verließ. Sodann fuhr ich nach Knielingen zurück, von wo aus ich durch die Ordonnanz Forster einen Bericht an General Sznaide<sup>17</sup> und Oberst Willich sandte mit der Nachricht, daß die Preußen in die Festung Germersheim eingerückt seien, und wenn sie wüßten wie leicht es sein würde Willich und Sznaide von Baden abzuschneiden, so würden sie in zwei Stunden Knielingen besetzen und sie zwingen, nach Frankfurt überzusetzen. Ich versprach nach Karlsruhe zu fahren und dort Artillerie zu requirieren, um den Uebergang über den Rhein zu decken. Unsere Truppen wurden sofort nach dem Rhein dirigiert; die Artillerie kam an, wurde aber nicht benutzt; die Truppen setzten über den Rhein, und die Schiffsbrücke wurde abgebrochen, so daß die Feinde uns nicht nachsehen konnten.<sup>18</sup> An diesem Tage erwies ich mich als ein großer Wohltäter gegen meine Kameraden, indem ich Kartoffeln für sie kochte; sonst war nichts zu haben. Knielingen war leer.

General Sznaide marschierte mit seinen Truppen auf Bruchsal zu und deckte mit ca. 15,000 Mann Karlsruhe. Ich fuhr zurück nach Karlsruhe, wo ich von dem Kriegsminister Werner ersucht wurde, als Stellvertreter bei ihm zu bleiben. Während der Zeit fungierte General Mierosławski als Oberbefehlshaber in Baden; sein Bruder Adam war von ihm beordert, den Rhein zu bereisen und Maßregeln zu treffen, um den Uebergang der Preußen zu verhindern. Da ich einen Wagen hatte, wurde ich ersucht, ihn zu begleiten.<sup>19</sup> Am nächsten Tage fuhren wir nach Philippsburg, das wir von unseren Truppen besetzt fanden. Wir schickten eine Or-

<sup>17</sup> Sznaide, ein Pole, war während unserer Wormser Zeit zum General der Pfalz ernannt worden; als solcher schickte er den verschiedenen Abteilungen Befehle zu und empfing Berichte.

<sup>18</sup> Nachträglich erzählte mir Dr. Sander: In einem Orte südlich von Germersheim fand sich eine große Menge Holzklöße aufgehäuft. Diese ließen wir gegen die Brücke zu in den Rhein schieben, damit sie durch die Wucht ihres Anpralls die Schiffsbrücke zerstören sollten. D. S.

<sup>19</sup> Die hier geschilderten Bewegungen sind in dem Bericht anscheinend etwas durcheinander geraten. Der ganze Absatz bezieht sich offenbar auf dieselbe Aktion wie der obige. D. S.



donnanz nach Karlsruhe mit dem Ersuchen, zwei Mörser mit Munition nach Philippsburg zu schicken, um unsere Absichten auf die Brücke zu unterstützen. Als wir erfuhren, daß unsere Truppen bei Philippsburg die Preußen zurückgeschlagen hatten, fuhren wir weiter nach dem Hauptquartier Sznaides, um diesen aufmerksam zu machen, daß er Mieroslawski und Sigel in ihrem Kampfe bei Waghäusel unterstützen müsse. Sznaide sagte mir später, daß er nie einen Befehl von Mieroslawski erhalten habe, seine Truppen vorrücken zu lassen. Die Schlacht bei Waghäusel am nächsten Tage machte der ganzen Geschichte ein Ende.<sup>20</sup>

Nachdem bei Philippsburg die Preußen von Sigel und Mieroslawski auf Germersheim zurückgeschlagen worden waren, wurde Waffenruhe befohlen, statt daß der Sieg verfolgt und der Feind in den Rhein getrieben wurde. Jedenfalls hatten die beiden Befehlshaber es nicht für der Mühe wert befunden, den General Sznaide mit seinen 15,000 Pfälzern an sich zu ziehen und an der Schlacht bei Waghäusel teilnehmen zu lassen. Infolgedessen wurden unsere Truppen dort auf Heidelberg zurückgeworfen und zogen sich über Bruchsal an der Bergstraße auf Rastatt zurück. Karlsruhe mußte geräumt werden, und der Kriegsminister Werner und ich waren die letzten, die aus seinem Tore nach Rastatt hinausritten. In der Festung Rastatt fanden wir die Generalität der revolutionären Truppen. Mieroslawski umarmte weinend die Führer und verließ so schnell als möglich die Festung, um nicht von den Preußen gefangen zu werden. Die anderen haben ebenfalls ihren Rückzug nach der Schweiz unbehindert ausgeführt. Die Armee wurde weiter nicht verfolgt. Die Preußen zernierten Rastatt, so daß ich, als ich mich anschickte der Hauptarmee zu folgen, alle Straßen von den feindlichen Truppen besetzt fand. Ein großer Teil unserer Kämpfer blieb in Rastatt zurück und hatte dort nichts zu tun als Tumult zu machen. Sie verlangten ihre Löhnung, und da die Kriegskasse geleert war, so forderte der Festungskommandant, Oberst Friedemann, von dem Bürgermeister einen Vorschuß zur Besoldung der Truppen. Ich widersetzte mich dieser Forderung, und mit Erfolg, aus dem Grunde, weil die Soldaten

<sup>20</sup> Zwischen dieser und der eine Woche später angeknüpften Bemerkung besteht m. E. ein gewisser Widerspruch. In diesen Dingen ließ den Erzähler sein im allgemeinen zuverlässiges Gedächtnis zuweilen im Stich. D. S.

das ganze Geld in den Bierhäusern ausgeben würden. Während der Monate Juni und Juli wurde die Festung mehrere Tage hindurch von den Preußen bombardiert, und unsere Artillerie beantwortete das Feuer mit gutem Erfolg. Als die Gegner zu schießen aufhörten, schwiegen auch unsere Kanonen.

General von der Groeben, der die Belagerungsarmee kommandierte, ließ uns durch Parlamentäre zur Uebergabe auffordern. Dieselbe wurde verweigert, außer es würde der Besatzung erlaubt, Offiziere nach dem Süden von Baden zu senden und sich von der Abwesenheit der revolutionären Truppen daselbst zu überzeugen. Oberst Corvin brachte die Nachricht, daß Sigel mit seinem ganzen Heere nach der Schweiz übergetreten sei und Rastatt das einzige Ueberbleibsel der ausländischen Armee enthalte. Dieser Bericht wurde einer Versammlung aller Offiziere vorgelegt, welche im großen Saale des Schlosses unter meinem Vorsitz gehalten wurde. Bei dieser Gelegenheit lernte ich den Leutnant Karl Schurz kennen, der sich später der Gefangenschaft in Rastatt durch seine Flucht durch den Abzugskanal entzog. Die Uebergabe wurde nunmehr beschlossen, aber nur unter der Bedingung angenommen, daß die Truppen ihre Waffen streckten und als Gefangene in die Kasematten der Festung zurückkehrten. Ich war zu Pferde, mit den übrigen Befehlshabern, und wurde mit meinem Stabe in eine Poterne gebracht, ein schauderhaftes Loch, wo wir, neun an der Zahl, eine Woche lang kampieren mußten; das einzige, verhältnismäßig kleine Luftloch mündete auf einen Platz hinaus, wo die Bewohner der übrigen Teile der Festung ihre Notdurft verrichteten. Nach vielen Remonstrationen gelang es mir, die badische Gefängnisverwaltung zu bewegen, uns in ein verhältnismäßig angenehmes Lokal bringen zu lassen, wo wir wenigstens gute reine Luft atmen konnten.

Ich hatte bei dem preussischen Militär einige Kameraden und ehemalige Schulfreunde, die sich mir im Gefängnis vorstellten. Die Gefängnisverwaltung hatte angeordnet, daß die Kleidungsstücke aller Soldaten und Beamten untersucht werden sollten, um zu ermitteln, ob sie dem Staate gehörten oder nicht. Ich war mit einem schönen Paar Weinkleider angetan, welches von dem Unteroffizier als ärarisch bezeichnet wurde, obgleich ich es mir während der Belagerung hatte machen lassen und es aus eigener

Tasche bezahlt hatte. Ich remonstrierte vergebens, doch weigerte ich mich hartnäckig, das alte Soldatenzeug anzuziehen, es vorziehend, in Unterhosen dahinzuleben. Einer meiner Freunde unter den Preußen erbot sich nach den „drei Königen“ zu gehen, wo mein Koffer stand, und demselben einen Anzug für mich zu entnehmen. Hierzu gab ich ihm eine Ordre an den Eigentümer des Hotels. Anstatt jedoch mir das Zeug sofort zu überbringen, benutzte es mein Bote zunächst für sich selber zu einem kleinen Abstecher nach Baden-Baden. Ehe er mir die Sachen überbrachte, wurde ich zu einem Verhör vor das Kriegsgericht geladen. Ich erklärte dem badischen Offizier, der die Aufforderung überbrachte, daß ich nicht willens sei das alte Weinkleid anzuziehen, aber ich sei bereit, in meinen Unterhosen vor das Kriegsgericht zu treten. Statt diese Mitteilung zu machen, meldete er mich als krank und konstatierte, daß ich außer Stande sei zum Verhör zu erscheinen. Am folgenden Tage kam mein Verteidiger, Herr Wilhelm Biffing aus Heidelberg, der von meiner Familie veranlaßt worden war, meine Verteidigung zu übernehmen. Er setzte es in Karlsruhe durch, daß ich aus der Kriegsgefangenschaft entlassen und als Privatgefangener behandelt wurde.

Noch habe ich nachzutragen, wie ich das erstmal vor den Untersuchungsrichter geführt wurde. Nach einigen Tagen der Gefangenschaft wurde ich vor den Untersuchungsrichter, Herrn von Stengel, kommandiert, den ich in Erstaunen versetzte durch meine Antwort auf seine Frage: „Was hat Sie veranlaßt, aus Anhalt nach Baden zu kommen und sich den Rebellen anzuschließen?“ Ich sagte: „Ich wollte sehen, ob die Revolution stark genug wäre, um sich über ganz Deutschland verbreiten zu können.“ „Was, das wollen Sie zu Protokoll geben?“ „Gewiß, mein Herr. Erlauben Sie, daß ich mein Protokoll diktiere.“ Die Erlaubnis wurde ohne weiteres gewährt. Herr v. Stengel war mein Freund geworden und hat späterhin alles versucht, um mich durch den Einfluß seines Bruders, der Sektionschef im Justizministerium war, freizubringen. Ungefähr acht Tage nach jenem ersten Verhör kam ein Bruder von mir, mich zu besuchen. Man wollte ihm die Erlaubnis nicht geben, bis er sich an Herrn v. Stengel wandte. Darauf wurde ich von letzterem zu einem weiteren Verhör kommandiert; als ich mich einstellte, war nur mein Bruder da.

Der badische Offizier, von dem vorhin die Rede war, war auch so gütig, mir die Liste meiner Mitgefangenen und Mitangeklagten zu zeigen. Alle die oberen Offiziere waren darin aufgeführt. Von diesen entgingen die wenigsten dem Tode durch Pulver und Blei.

Zufolge von Dr. Bissings Besuch wurde ich nach einem anderen Lokal versetzt und hatte fortan ein Zimmer für mich selber. Das ganze Fort war mit gefangenen Soldaten angefüllt, die jeden Tag vor dem Offizier antreten mußten, während den höheren Offizieren und Beamten gestattet war, in ihrer Zelle zu bleiben. Eines Tages erhielten wir aber den Befehl, ohne Unterschied des Ranges alle vor den kommandierenden Offizieren zur Untersuchung zu erscheinen. Wir überlegten einige Tage lang, was wir tun sollten, um diese Unannehmlichkeit zu vermeiden. Es wurde beschlossen, daß wir remonstrieren wollten, und ich als der erste Beamte unter den Gefangenen wurde ersucht, die Remonstration auszuführen. Auf meine Vorstellungen erhielt ich leider eine schöne Antwort und wurde in meine Zelle zurückbefohlen. Am folgenden Tage erhielt ich die Auskunft, daß ich aus der Militärhaft entlassen wäre und mich im Bezirksgefängnis zur Fortsetzung meiner Gefangenschaft zu melden hätte. Zugleich wurde mir verkündigt, daß ich für meine unverschämte Remonstration auf acht Tage bei Wasser und Brod in Einzelhaft gesperrt werden würde. So kam ich vorerst nach einem anderen Fort, — es gab deren vier in Nastatt, — wo mir das Pulvermagazin als Zelle angewiesen wurde. Der badische Offizier im Kommando ordnete zur Erleichterung der über mich verhängten Strafe an, daß ich nur einen Tag um den anderen auf Wasser und Brod gesetzt werden solle; auch erhob er keine Einwendungen gegen die Freundlichkeit meiner Bekannten in der Stadt, die mich mit allen möglichen Delikatessen versahen. Nach der Abbißung meiner Strafe wurde ich nach dem Bezirksgefängnis gebracht, wo ich in Gesellschaft des früheren Bürgermeisters und anderer Notabilitäten eine ziemlich angenehme Zeit verbrachte.

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Nach ungefähr vier Wochen waren die Bemühungen von Dr. Bissing erfolgreich, und ich erhielt gegen eine Kaution von fünftausend Gulden meine „Freiheit während der Gefangenschaft“.

Der Kommandant der Festung wollte jedoch nicht erlauben, daß ein Rebelle von meinem Schlage frei in der Festung herumgehen dürfe. Ich mußte deswegen ins Gefängnis zurückgehen, erhielt jedoch später die Erlaubnis, mich bis zur schließlichen Fällung meines Urtheils in Heidelberg aufzuhalten. Als ich mich dort dem Polizeikommissär vorstellte, machte ich ihn aufmerksam, daß der Kommandant in Rastatt von dem Heidelberger Kommandanten höchst wahrscheinlich verlangen würde, mich ins Gefängnis zu stecken. Nach seiner Unterredung mit dem Kommandanten wurde ich von letzterem zu einem Besuche eingeladen, bei welchem er die Ueberzeugung gewann, daß es durchaus ungefährlich sein würde, mich in der Stadt herumgehen zu lassen. Ich wurde von den Herren von der Universität und von den Beamten sehr artig behandelt und unterhielt mich vorzüglich in der Gesellschaft der Studenten. Um meine Zeit nützlich zu verwenden und mich für meine Auswanderung nach Amerika vorzubereiten, besuchte ich die erste Brauerei und besichtigte alle Manipulationen des Geschäftes vom Mälzen bis zum Brauen und Füllen. Durch den Dr. Bissing wurde ich bei allen Notabilitäten eingeführt. Das dauerte von Weihnachten bis zum März. Dann wurde mein Urtheil gefällt, welches auf zehn Jahre Einzelhaft in Bruchsal und die Erstattung von fünf (oder gar zehn?) tausend Gulden Schadenersatz in die Staatskasse lautete. Ich wurde in das Kriegsstrafgefängnis abgeführt, wo ich bis zum Juli zu verweilen hatte. Während dieser Zeit hatte mein Advokat, Dr. Bissing, eine Revision des Urtheils beantragt und zugleich meine Begnadigung unter der Bedingung, daß ich nach Amerika auswandere, angeregt. Er veranlaßte mich, ein Gnadengesuch aufzusetzen; da dieses jedoch mehr ein Verlangen nach Recht durch Aufhebung des Urtheils war, so gab er mir meinen Aufsatz zurück und setzte die Petition selber auf. Da ich während des Aufenthalts in einem frischgebauten steinernen Gebäude durch die Feuchtigkeit in einen krankhaften Zustand versetzt wurde, so verlangte der Kreisphysikus von dem Gericht, daß mir erlaubt werde, wenigstens vier Wochen in einem Badeorte zuzubringen, um meine Gesundheit wiederherzustellen; er glaube nicht, daß ich in meinem jetzigen Zustand lebendig nach Amerika kommen würde. Die Regierung gab dem Verlangen des Kreisphysikus nach, und ich ging nach Hippoldsau im Schwarz-

wald. Mit der Post angekommen, hatte ich allfogleich Gelegenheit, in Folge eines geringen Ereignisses die Stimmung der Gäste mir gegenüber günstig zu beeinflussen. Am selben Tische mit mir saßen ein Herr, der mit mir in der Postkajise angekommen war, und eine Freundin von ihm. Sie sprachen über alles mögliche, und die Dame ließ die Bemerkung fallen, daß der bekannte Rebell Enno Sander in dem Hotel ein Zimmer bestellt habe. Ehe sie sich weiter auslassen konnten, machte ich meine Verbeugung und stellte mich den Herrschaften als der Enno Sander vor. Beide zeigten sich mir durch ihr ferneres Benehmen dankbar für den Umstand, daß ich sie verhindert hatte, irgend eine unliebsame Bemerkung zu machen. Ich blieb statt vier Wochen nur vierzehn Tage in Rippoldsau, während welcher Zeit ich mit allerlei liebenswürdigen Personen bekannt wurde. Glücklicherweise bestand ich erfolgreich alle kleinen Prüfungen, die man mit mir anstellte, so daß man mich für einen intelligenten Mann ansah. Mein Hauptfreund war der liebenswürdige alte Oberrichter Drion in Schlestadt, der mich sehr lieb gewann und mir später einen Brief an seinen Sohn mitgab, welcher Professor in Paris war.

Nach Ablauf meiner zweiten Woche in Rippoldsau lief die Verfügung von Karlsruhe ein, daß ich in zweimal vierundzwanzig Stunden den badischen Boden verlassen haben müßte, sonst würde ich meiner Vergnügung und aller Vergünstigungen verlustig gehen. Der Bezirksrichter in Wolfach hatte mir das Urteil mitzuteilen, und nachdem ich ihm die wahrscheinliche Ursache der an dasselbe geknüpften Bedingung mitgeteilt hatte, gab er mir vier Tage Zeit, so daß ich bequem nach Heidelberg gehen konnte, um meine Angelegenheiten in Ordnung zu bringen. Jene Ursache war die Auffindung von Dokumenten aus der Pfalz. Der Sekretär vom Stabe des Generals Sznaide hatte die Papiere, die sich angehäuft hatten, an einen Materialwarenhändler in Karlsruhe verkauft, der sie zu der Zeit zum Einwickeln von Zigarren und sonstigen Sachen benutzte. Unter diesen Papieren befand sich ein Brief von mir, den ich an General Sznaide geschickt hatte, um ihn zu veranlassen, so schnell als möglich von Landau an den Rhein zu marschieren und dort über die Schiffsbrücke nach Baden überzusetzen, wie ich bereits erzählt habe. Dieser Brief kam in die Hände der Beamten und wurde an die Untersuchungsbehörde

abgeliefert. Das Resultat war so ungünstig für die Preußen, daß sie sich ärgerten, das alles nicht selber gewußt zu haben, da sie mir in dem Falle nicht erst die Gelegenheit gegeben hätten, die Pfälzer nach Baden hinüberkommen zu lassen. Sie suchten sich nachträglich an mir zu rächen, und daß ihnen das nicht gelang, danke ich nur dem guten Richter von Wolfach.

Nachdem ich von den Gästen in Rippoldsau freundlichen Abschied genommen, wobei dieselben ihrer Enttäuschung über die Handlungsweise der Regierung freien Lauf ließen, ging ich nach Heidelberg zurück, um meine Angelegenheiten in Ordnung zu bringen, worauf ich meinem Zwangspasse gemäß über Straßburg nach Paris reiste. Dort logierte ich im Hotel Maison Rouge, welchen Gasthof mir Präsident Drion angegeben hatte. Während meines Aufenthalts in Paris lernte ich den Physiker Professor Drion kennen, einen interessanten jungen Mann, mit dem ich jahrelang im Briefwechsel stand, und der später an der Schwindsucht starb. In Paris erhielt ich einen Führer, einen Elsäßer namens Bruder, der, wie ich durch meine Bekannten erfuhr, ein angestellter Spizel war. Dieser Mann brachte einen seiner Freunde zu mir, in dessen Gesellschaft ich die verschiedenen öffentlichen Vergnügungsorte besuchte. Als ich dann aber noch weitere Dinge über die Verwendung dieser Führer als Spione erfuhr, kürzte ich meinen Aufenthalt in Paris ab und fuhr plötzlich nach Havre. Präsident Drion hatte mir einen Empfehlungsbrief an seinen Freund, den Präfekten von Havre, mitgegeben. Mein Besuch bei diesem und die Uebergabe des Briefes kam mir später sehr zu statten. Zwei Tage nach meiner Ankunft in Havre wurde ich vor die Polizei geladen, um mich zu legitimieren, da ich von Paris aus angeklagt war, ein Träger von kommunistischen Depeschen an die Revolutionäre in London zu sein. Man schickte einen Polizeikommissär mit mir nach meiner Wohnung, wo ich ihm alle meine Briefschaften zeigen mußte, die er natürlich nicht verstehen konnte. Ich versicherte ihm lachend, daß es mir ein großes Vergnügen machen würde, das Gesicht des Ministers des Innern, Audouin Barreau, zu sehen, wenn er von dem Fang erführe. Ich wurde dann bis auf weiteres ins Gefängnis gebracht, wo ich dem Direktor, Herrn De Mars, vom Präfekten vorgestellt wurde. Es wurde mir das beste Zimmer in dem Gefängnis angewiesen, ein prachtvoll eingerichtetes Gemach

mit Möbeln aus dem siebenzehnten Jahrhundert und einem herrlichen Himmelbett. De Mars stand erst seit kurzer Zeit im Amte; nach dem Tode seines Vaters war er genötigt gewesen, die Stellung anzunehmen, die in der Familie erblich war; vorher hatte er als Hauptmann der Armee in Algiers gedient. Er spielte die Orgel, und war überhaupt ein feinsinniger Mann, der sich unendlich freute, auf ein paar Tage einen gebildeten Mann bei sich zu haben, gegen den er seine Gefühle auslassen konnte, die er sonst gegen alle Welt verleugnen mußte. Ich wurde von ihm ausgezeichnet behandelt; er gab mir Frühstücke, Dinners und Soupers. Er hatte einen vortrefflichen Weinkeller geerbt und bat eines Tages um meine Ansicht über einen bestimmten Wein, dessen Herkunft ihm unbekannt sei. Ich galt damals mit Recht für einen vorzüglichen Weinkenner. Der betreffende Wein wurde bei einem Diner, an dem nur die drei Herren teilnahmen, von der Hausfrau in eine Serviette eingewickelt aufgetragen. Es wurde mir davon eingeschenkt, und nachdem ich mir die nötige Zeit genommen den Inhalt des Glases zu prüfen, erklärte ich, nicht genau angeben zu können, was es für ein Wein sei, da der merkwürdige Unterschied zwischen der Blume und dem Geschmack das Urteil sehr erschwere: die Blume sei echter Tokaier, der Geschmack dagegen gleiche dem der Weine am oberen Rhein, so eigentümlich erdig sei er. Nun entfaltete De Mars die Serviette und zeigte mir die Etikette: Tokai du Climat du Haut Rhin, worauf ich behauptete, daß dieser Wein nur von einer aus Ungarn übergepflanzten Rebe kommen könne.

Nach zweitägigem Aufenthalt im Gefängnis wurde ich vom Präsesen in Person besucht, der mir anzeigte, daß ich wegen Mangels an Beweisen aus der Gefangenschaft entlassen sei. Nun wurde ich durch Herrn De Mars mit einer Anzahl fröhlicher junger Leute bekannt gemacht und genoß mit Freuden die Gastfreundschaft Havres. Allzu nüchtern bin ich während der Zeit nicht gewesen.

Am zwanzigsten August segelte ich mit dem Klipperschiff von Havre nach New York. Der Kapitän war sehr erfreut, einen Doktor an Bord zu haben, da er versäumt hatte, einen solchen zu engagieren; in der That wurden während der Ueberfahrt meine Dienste mehrfach in Anspruch genommen, und ich nahm u. a. eine



Entbindung vor. In New York sagte der Kapitän allerdings zu mir: "Well, I suspected you knew nothing about medicine."

Die Ueberfahrt währte dreißig Tage. Das war für jene Zeit eine außerordentlich kurze Reise. Im ganzen hatten wir günstiges Wetter, doch hatten wir einen großartigen Sturm zu überleben, während dessen der Kapitän mich an den Mast am Hinterdeck binden ließ.

Die häufigen Anfälle von Wechselfieber während der Seereise, von denen der letzte mich noch am Tage vor unserer Ankunft belästigt hatte, ließen es für mich ratsam erscheinen, sobald als möglich zu einem Bekannten zu gehen, der in der Nähe von Tioga in den Alleghanies lebte. Ich blieb indessen ein paar Wochen in New York und machte durch Abgabe meiner Empfehlungsbriefe Bekanntschaft mit Deutschen sowie auch mit Amerikanern. Ein ziemlich steifer ältklicher Herr, Tappan mit Namen, und seine Frau sind mir noch besonders in Erinnerung. Da ich nicht viel Englisch verstand und sie kein Deutsch, dauerte die Unterhaltung nicht lange, und ich ging nicht wieder hin.

Mehrere Badenser hatten sich sehr unliebsam darüber ausgesprochen, daß mich die badische Regierung begnadigt hatte, und hatten gedroht, die drüben verabsäumte Bestrafung nachträglich hier an mir zu vollziehen. Es machte mir großes Vergnügen, diese Renommisten in ihrer Aneipe aufzusuchen und von jedem einzeln eine Abbitte zu erlangen.

Wie schon angedeutet, verzichtete ich meiner Unpäßlichkeit halber darauf, mich in New York nach einer Beschäftigung umzusehen, und eilte sobald es tunlich war nach Tioga auf die Farm von Herrn Miller, der früher Bürgermeister in Rastatt gewesen war und infolge der revolutionären Bewegung sich nach Amerika begeben hatte. Dort wurde ich freundlich aufgenommen und suchte mich meinerseits soviel als möglich auf der Farm nützlich zu machen und zu gleicher Zeit unter den Amerikanern in dem kleinen Orte Englisch zu lernen. Ich gewöhnte mich, tagaus tagein mit diesen Leuten um den großen Ofen in der Post-Office zu sitzen und radebrechte flott darauf los. Sie waren mit mir weit besser zufrieden als mit dem Herrn Miller, der seine englischen Studien zu Hause betrieb und sich nicht unter das Volk mischte. Als mir zum Lobe gesagt wurde, daß ich ein „Gentleman“ sei, mein Freund

dagegen keiner, tadelte ich diese Ausdrucksweise und behauptete, daß er ein weit besserer Gentleman sei als ich, weil er fremde Leute nicht mit seiner Unkenntnis ihrer Sprache behelligen wollte, während ich mir nichts daraus machte, ob sie angenehm oder unangenehm berührt würden, wenn ich nur meinen Vorteil wahrnehmen und im Englischen etwas zulernen könnte.

Eine ziemliche Anzahl von Deutschen hatte sich nach dem kleinen Orte geflüchtet und fand dort so oder so ihren Unterhalt. Das Hauptgeschäft des Ortes bestand im Holzfällen und in der Zubereitung der Klöße für die Flößung im Frühjahr. Es wurde aber nicht übermäßig gearbeitet. Ein junger Mann, Sohn eines Bierbrauers aus Rastatt, wurde von den anderen Deutschen angegangen, Bier zu brauen. Er kaufte Gerste, die er in einem kleinen Bottich einweichte und aufschwellen ließ, dann nach Art der Brauer weiter behandelte und zuletzt auf einem Stück Blech röstete. Das so erhaltene Malz wurde in der Kaffeemühle gemahlen und mit etwas Hefe und Wasser zur Gährung angesetzt. Wieviel Tage es nahm, um ein Bier herzustellen, kann ich mich nicht entsinnen. Aber deutlich erinnere ich mich der großen Aufregung unter der deutschen Bevölkerung, als der junge Brauer sie einlud, den ersten Sud Bier bei ihm zu trinken. Auf leicht hergerichteten Bänken saßen wir vor den Tischen und erhielten ein schmutzig-braunes Getränk, von dem ich noch bestimmt weiß, daß ich nicht mehr als ein Glas trinken konnte. Es war auch ganz unmöglich, daß ein halbwegs gesunder Gaumen sich für dieses Getränk begeistern konnte, das mit seinem bitter-süßen Geschmack mir nur Ekel bereitete, während die anderen schon bei dem bloßen Gedanken in Aufregung gerieten, daß in Tioga Bier, deutsches Bier gebraut werde.

Im Frühjahr schwoß nach mehreren gewaltigen Regengüssen in den Bergen der kleine Bach an, so daß die weiter oben aufgestapelten Holzblöcke heruntergefloßt werden konnten. Unter den Leuten entstand eine große Aufregung. Auch mir wurde vorgeschlagen, ich möchte mich an der Arbeit beteiligen, allein ich hatte nicht den Mut, auf einem Holzblock stehend fluszabwärts zu schwimmen, denn ich fürchtete das Schicksal anderer zu teilen, die nicht imstande waren, sich aufrecht zu halten und ins Wasser fielen. In diesem Orte habe ich zum ersten Male beobachtet, wie die amerika-

nischen Mädchen sich damit ergötzen, an dem von einem hohen Ufer gefrönten Flüsschen tonerdehaltige „Shale“ zu essen, was ich späterhin öfters auch in anderen Gegenden der Vereinigten Staaten gesehen habe; diese Sitte oder Unsitte erweckte in mir immer den Vergleich mit Klüben, die bekanntlich die salzhaltige Erde abzulecken pflegen.

Tioga ist durch eine Eisenbahn auf der nördlichen Seite mit Corning und auf der südlichen mit Bloßburg verbunden. Mir war soviel von den Eisenwerken und sonstigen Industrien von Bloßburg erzählt worden, daß ich mich entschloß, als ich im Sommer weiterreiste, über Bloßburg nach Philadelphia zu gehen. In letztgenannter Stadt stieg ich im Hotel ab und besichtigte unverzüglich eine dortige sehr tätige Maschinenfabrik. Nach dem Gasthof zurückkehrend fand ich, daß mein Gepäck nach der Privatwohnung des Eigentümers eben jener Werke geschickt worden war und erhielt eine Einladung von der Dame des Hauses, mein Quartier in ihrem Heim aufzuschlagen. Ich fand eine liebenswürdige Frau von ca. fünfzig Jahren, die sich in herzlichster Weise bei mir entschuldigte, so frei gewesen zu sein und mich umgeben zu ihrem Gaste gemacht zu haben. Ihr Gatte, Herr Lohse, befand sich bei einer an Schwindsucht erkrankten Tochter. Ich lernte in dem Hause einen jungen Mann kennen, der sich mir als ein liebenswürdiger Gesellschafter anschloß. Herr Lohse muß ein sehr kenntnisreicher Mann gewesen sein. Er besaß große Kohlenlager, die er, da auch Eisenerze in großer Menge vorhanden waren, durch die Errichtung von Eisenwerken aufs Nutzbringendste verwertete. Da die Unterlage der Kohlen aus Tonerde bestand, und Sand ebenfalls in der Nähe zu haben war, so hatte Lohse gleichfalls eine Glasfabrik errichtet.<sup>21</sup>

Von Friedrich Hecker,<sup>22</sup> — weil mir der Name gerade einfällt, — hatte ich stets eine geringe Meinung. Im allgemeinen ein

<sup>22</sup> Die Erzählung vom 24. April, die ich jetzt folgen lasse, war ohne eigentlichen Zusammenhang und wurde von Dr. Sander bald abgebrochen, da er sich unwohl fühlte. Die kurze Charakteristik Heckers dürfte indessen interessieren. D. S.

<sup>21</sup> Obigen Bericht nahm ich am 17. April 1910 auf. Am Schlusse der Erzählung aber schlug sich der alte Herr vor die Stirn, mit dem Ausruf: „Donnerwetter, das war ja gar nicht damals, sondern erst im folgenden Frühjahr, und wir sind jetzt im Herbst.“ D. S.

ganz netter Mensch, aber ein großer Phrasenheld. Erst als in Deutschland alles vorüber war, kehrte er aus Amerika zurück, mit einer Miene, als wollte er beständig fragen: „Ja, warum hat man denn nicht auf mich gewartet?“

Auch dieses möchte ich noch nachtragen: Bei der Abreise von Cöthen versprach ich meinen Bekannten zu schreiben, wenn es etwas wäre. Von Karlsruhe hatte ich sie benachrichtigt: Kommt nicht, ich habe alle Schiffe hinter mir verbrannt, aber sehe jetzt, es ist nichts als eine Kirchmeß. Und weiter noch dies: Beim Abschied von Baden erließ ich eine Proklamation des Inhalts, ich würde nicht anders zurückkehren als mit einem siegreichen Heer.

Von Buffalo schickte ich einen Brief an die Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung. Meine Mitteilungen begegneten drüben einem hohen Interesse. Ich hätte damals leicht einen Konfulsposten bekommen können, wollte aber keine Gunst von einer Regierung annehmen, gegen die ich vor ganz kurzem gekämpft hatte.

Ich hatte einem jungen Schweizer namens Guggisberg versprochen, ihn in Canada zu besuchen, wo er eine Möbelfabrik errichtet hatte, zu welcher ihm Herr Erb, der Eigentümer der Wasserkraft in Preston, das Grundstück nebst der nötigen Wasserkraft unentgeltlich überließ. Ich hatte diesen jungen Mann auf der Ueberfahrt kennen gelernt und ihn unter allen Reisegefährten am liebsten gewonnen. Er war mittellos vor ungefähr zehn Jahren nach Canada gekommen und hatte bei seinem Besuch in der Heimat seinen Verwandten und Bekannten einen Begriff gegeben, wie schön sich in Canada Geld verdienen lasse. Ich bestieg also Anfangs November die Eisenbahn nach Corning, fuhr mit dem Dampfboot auf dem Geneva-See nach Geneva und von dort nach Rochester und Buffalo, wo ich mehrere Tage in dem Hotel eines alten Pennsylvania-Deutschen namens Dorsheimer verweilte und mir alle Sehenswürdigkeiten zu Gemüte zog. Später tat es mir leid, daß ich so viel Zeit dort verschwendet hatte, da ich besser daran getan hätte, diese Zeit in Niagara zur ferneren Besichtigung der Fälle anzuwenden, die mich in hohem Grade interessierten. Jeder Punkt, den man erreichen konnte, ohne sich zu großen Gefahren auszusetzen, wurde von mir aufgesucht. Leider mußte ich den Gedanken aufgeben, unter die Fälle zu gehen, da ich immer noch für

meinen Körper fürchten mußte, denn der Krankheitsstoff hatte mich noch nicht verlassen.

Auf einer gebrechlichen Eisenbahn fuhr ich auf der canadischen Seite von Lewiston nach Hamilton, einem schön aufblühenden, in prächtiger Gegend gelegenen Städtchen. Da ich versprochen hatte, meine Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen der Augsburger Allgemeinen mitzuteilen, so kümmerte ich mich natürlich um die Vergangenheit des Ortes, die Geschichte seiner Besiedelung und die Größe seines Handels. Preston, der Wohnort meines Freundes Suggisberg, liegt ungefähr dreißig Meilen nördlich von Hamilton an einem Flüsschen, dessen Wasser von einem alten Pennsylvania-Deutschen, namens Erb, zu Kraftzwecken benutzt wurde. Er hatte im Anfang versäumt, Leute, die in ihren Betrieben Verwendung für Wasserkraft hatten, für sein Unternehmen zu interessieren, wodurch die Ortschaft Galt, die ungefähr zehn Meilen südlich von Preston liegt und ein bedeutendes Quantum von Wasserkraft bietet, in Vorteil geraten war. Als ich nach Preston kam, hatte Erb eine Mühle, eine Eisengießerei und eine Möbelfabrik errichtet. In dem nun rasch aufblühenden Dörfchen befand sich ein sehr hübsches Hotel, das von dem Bruder meines Freundes gehalten wurde. Dieser, ein bedeutender Künstler in der Erzeugung von Apfelwein, hatte sich durch Auffüllen des Bodens einen künstlich-natürlichen Keller bereitet, in welchem er den Apfelwein sorgfältig in Fässern behandelte. Er gab mir eine Probe von zwölfjährigem Apfelwein zu kosten, der so klar und hell war wie abgelagerter alter Rheinwein und einen sehr angenehmen, durchaus nicht harten Geschmack und ein feines Aroma hatte. Ich blieb meinem Versprechen gemäß ein paar Wochen als Gast in dem Orte und lernte auch die Umgegend genauer kennen. Hierbei lernte ich einsehen, daß es kaum ein besseres Mittel gibt um die Bodenwerte zu erhöhen, als wenn man über die vorhandene Wasserkraft in liberaler Weise verfügt. Ich sah das namentlich in einem Falle. Etwa zwölf Meilen von Preston besaßen zwei Leute eine bedeutende Wasserkraft, mit der sie äußerst knauserig umgingen; sie gaben nichts davon ab außer im hohen Preis. Da die ganze Gegend recht fruchtbar war und bereits bedeutende Ansiedelungen enthielt, so nahmen die Besitzer von anderen wertvollen Ländereien die Errichtung von Ortschaften in Aussicht, wo den Fabrikanten

Wasser in genügender Menge zu Gebote stand. So entstanden in der Nähe die drei kleinen Fabrikstädte Berlin, Straßburg und Hamburg.

Eine interessante Fahrt machte ich in Gesellschaft des Herausgebers eines kleinen Blattes, der nach Guelph vor Gericht geladen war. Guelph, östlich von Preston gelegen, war ein hübsches Städtchen mit mehreren stattlichen öffentlichen Gebäuden, die von ähnlichem Kalkstein gebaut waren wie derjenige, der bei Paris gefunden wird. Mein Reisegenosse trat als sein eigener Verteidiger auf und gewann den Prozeß, so daß wir auf der Rückfahrt gut gelaunt waren.

Mittlerweile war der Monat November beinahe zu Ende gegangen, es kam Schnee, und mir wurde geraten, vor Einbruch des eigentlichen Winters abzureisen. Also fuhr ich zurück nach Hamilton und von da mit dem Dampfer nach Toronto, wo ich durch Zufall mit einem Herrn bekannt wurde, der von mir gelesen hatte. Durch ihn wurde ich hochstehenden Beamten vorgestellt und von diesen aufs höflichste behandelt. Toronto war damals nicht viel größer als Hamilton.

Da der Winter jetzt rasch heranrückte, mußte ich mich beeilen, um nach Montreal zu kommen. Das Boot legte einige Stunden in Kingston an, einer schön aufblühenden Stadt am östlichen Ende des Ontario. Von dort aus fuhren wir durch den prächtigen Lake of the Thousand Islands, dessen Inseln noch schön grün durch die Fluten leuchteten und einen ganz außerordentlich prächtigen Eindruck machten. Weiterhin fuhren wir durch die Rapids, eine meilenweite Strecke, durch die das Wasser in turkularischer Weise hindurcheilte. Da der Wasserstand des Flusses niedrig war, so mußten wir durch den Lachine-Kanal fahren und sahen vom Boote aus nur die mächtigen Felsblöcke, durch die der Fluß sich hindurchdrängen mußte, die jedoch bei hohem Wasserstande weder zu sehen noch zu fürchten waren. Das Dampfboot kam durch die Kanalschleusen wieder in das eigentliche Flußbett und von da legten wir nach kurzer Weiterfahrt in Montreal an, wo ich mich mehrere Tage aufhielt. Es ist eine hübsche Stadt mit engen Straßen, beherrscht durch einen im Westen steil aufsteigenden großartigen Felsen, den ich natürlich bestieg, um mir ein allgemeines Bild von

der Stadt, dem Flusse und dem gegenüberliegenden Lande zu machen. Da ich seit der Zeit nicht wieder in Montreal gewesen bin und von meinen dortigen und sonstigen Bekannten erfahren habe, wie wunderbar die Stadt gewachsen ist, so wäre es überflüssig, auf eine Beschreibung meiner Eindrücke einzugehen.

Der Eisenbahnzug nach den Vereinigten Staaten ging auf einem Fährboot über den Fluß. Ich fuhr zunächst nach Burlington, Vermont, wo ich den Thanksgiving Day zubrachte. Ich war mit einem jungen deutschen Fabrikanten bekannt geworden, der seine Kundschaft in Burlington besuchte und mich bei seinen Freunden in einem Hotel einführte, wo ich mein erstes Dankesmahl mit Austern und Butterbraten einnahm. Die Fabriken in Burlington beschäftigten eine große Anzahl von jungen Mädchen, welche an dem Abend im Hotel einen Ball veranstalteten. Leider bildete ich mir ein, daß ich zu einem solchen Vergnügen zu alt und ausgemergelt sei; so bat ich um Entschuldigung und unterhielt mich nur mit den älteren Damen. In jenem ersten Jahre in Amerika fühlte ich mich tatsächlich nach all den Aufregungen schwach und alt.

Von Burlington fuhr ich auf dem Lake Champlain nach Fort Ticonderoga und von da mit der Eisenbahn über Saratoga, das ich nicht besuchen konnte, da in den Badeanlagen schon Eis und Schnee vorwalteten, nach Albany. Von dort ging es mit dem Dampfer wieder nach New York.

Notizen.

1. Die burschenschaftliche histor. Commission.

Im Jahre 1909 hat sich auf Veranlassung der Vereinigung alter Burschschafter eine „burschenschaftliche historische Kommission“ gebildet. Ihr letztes Ziel ist die Schaffung einer wissenschaftlichen Geschichte der Burschenschaft, die demnächst die Feier ihres hundertjährigen Bestehens begehen wird. Der Vorbereitung dieses Werkes soll die Herausgabe von „Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft und der deutschen Einheitsbewegung“ dienen, die seit 1910 im Verlag der Winterschen Buchhandlung in Heidelberg erscheinen. Daneben soll zur Jahrhundertfeier ein biographisches Werk „Hundert Jahre deutscher Burschenschaft“, enthaltend Lebensbilder hervorragender Burschschafter des 19. Jahrhunderts, sowie ein „Burschenschaftlicher Liederhort“ erscheinen. Auch zusammenfassende Listen der Mitglieder der alten Burschenschaft sowie der noch bestehenden Burschenschaften sind in Vorbereitung. Endlich ist der Ausbau des nunmehr in der Gießener Universitätsbibliothek aufbewahrten burschenschaftlichen Archivs in die Wege geleitet, das alle erreichbaren Quellen zur Geschichte des studentischen Lebens, der Burschenschaft und der deutschen Einheitsbewegung in möglichster Vollständigkeit enthalten soll.

Die Aufgaben, die die Kommission übernommen hat, sind nicht gering. Sie können nur gelöst werden, wenn die Kommission von allen dazu berufenen Seiten verständnisvolle Unterstützung findet.

Im Vertrauen darauf ergeht an alle, denen die Erreichung der von uns erstrebten Ziele am Herzen liegt, das freundliche Ersuchen um gefl. Mitteilungen über ihnen bekanntes, auf die Geschichte des studentischen Lebens, der Burschenschaft und der deutschen Einheitsbewegung bezügliches Quellenmaterial, sowohl über das in eigenem Besitz befindliche, als auch über solches, das in Familien ehemaliger Burschschafter und sonstwo noch erhalten ist: burschenschaftliche Aufzeichnungen aller Art, Chroniken, Stammbücher und besonders auch Briefe. Für das bur-



Wissenschaftliche Archive werden solche Quellen, namentlich auch studentische Zeitschriften, burschenschafts-geschichtliche Sonderabdrücke, Zeitungsausschnitte und dergleichen dankbar entgegengenommen. Aber auch jeder Hinweis nach dieser Richtung hin und die leihweise Ueberlassung solcher Quellen wird unseren Unternehmungen in hohem Maße zugute kommen. Besonderen Wert legt die Kommission darauf, Nachrichten über die Lebensschicksale der zahlreichen Burschenschaftler und sonstigen Anhänger der deutsch-vaterländischen Ideen zu sammeln, die im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts aus Deutschland flüchten mußten und in Amerika eine neue Heimat gefunden haben. Gefällige Nachrichten werden erbeten an die Adresse von Professor Dr. Haupt, Direktor der Universitätsbibliothek in Gießen (Kerkerstraße 1).

Der Preis für den Jahresband der „Quellen und Darstellungen“ beträgt 10 Mk., der Vorzugspreis für Burschenschaftler 7,50 Mark. Stifter der Kommission zahlen einen einmaligen Beitrag von 250 Mk., Gönner einen Jahresbeitrag von 25 Mk., wogegen ihnen die Veröffentlichungen der Kommission unentgeltlich zugehen.

## 2. Hessische Biographien.

Unter den zahlreichen Aufgaben, die sich die im Jahre 1907 ins Leben getretene Historische Kommission für das Großherzogtum Hessen gestellt hat, befindet sich auch die Herausgabe der *Hessischen Biographien*. Dieses Werk wird von Hermann Haupt in Gießen herausgegeben und soll Lebensbilder aller derjenigen im 19. Jahrhundert verstorbenen Personen enthalten, die dem Großherzogtum seit seinem Bestehen (1806) kürzere oder längere Zeit angehört und in Kunst, Wissenschaft, Industrie, im Staatsdienst, im öffentlichen Leben oder sonstwie sich hervorgetan haben. Auch geborene Hessen, die sich außerhalb des Großherzogtums auf diesen Gebieten ausgezeichnet haben, sollen in dem Werke eine, wenn auch kürzer gefaßte Würdigung finden. In gewisser Beziehung bildet dieses Werk eine Fortsetzung des großen, auch das Kurfürstentum Hessen behandelnden Werkes von Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder: „Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller-Geschichte seit der Reformation bis auf gegenwärtige Zeiten“, das vom Jahre 1781 bis 1819 in achtzehn

Bänden erschien und 1831 einen Band Fortsetzung und Nachträge erhielt, sowie des „Biographisch-literarischen Lexikons der Schriftsteller des Großherzogtums Hessen“ von Heinrich Eduard Scriba, das in zwei Abteilungen in den Jahren 1831 und 1843 veröffentlicht wurde. Aber nur teilweise deckt sich, von den zeitlichen Grenzen ganz abgesehen, der von diesen beiden älteren Werken behandelte Stoff mit dem durch die neuen Hessischen Biographien zu bearbeitenden, indem diese das literarische Gebiet, was selbstverständlich ist, zwar eingehend berücksichtigen, sich aber keineswegs darauf beschränken, sondern außer Schriftstellern (gelehrten und belletristischen) auch Fürsten, Offiziere, Politiker, Geistliche, Ärzte, Lehrer, Beamte, Techniker, Künstler (wie Maler, Bildhauer, Schauspieler, Sänger, Musiker), Kaufleute, Frauen und andere, wenn ihnen größere Bedeutung zukommt, aufnehmen.

Da es bei diesem ausgedehnten Arbeitsfelde unmöglich ist, alle der Aufnahme würdigen Personen schon jetzt zu bestimmen, so würde von einer alphabetischen Anordnung der Artikel, wie sie die Werke von Strieder, Scriba und auch die Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie aufweisen, abgesehen, und der Reihenfolge der Artikel kein bestimmtes System zugrundegelegt. Dieses Verfahren erfordert freilich, daß jeder Lieferung, sowie jedem abgeschlossenen Bande ein alphabetisches Register der in den bereits erschienenen Teilen behandelten Personen beigegeben werden muß, hat aber dafür den Vorteil, die berufenen Bearbeiter gleich zu Wort kommen zu lassen, von denen bei der Fülle des zu bearbeitenden Stoffes vielleicht mancher weggefallen wäre, bis nach alphabetischer Anordnung der Artikel die Reihe an ihn käme.

Die Hessischen Biographien dürfen wohl auf das Interesse der weitesten Kreise nicht nur im Großherzogtum, sondern auch darüber hinaus rechnen. Die zwar knappen, aber zuverlässigen Biographien enthalten außer einem möglichst vollständigen Verzeichnis der Werke der in den Biographien Behandelten auch ein genaues Verzeichnis der Quellen zu ihrer Lebensgeschichte, legen, soweit dies möglich, ungedruckten und seither unbenutzten Quellenstoff, namentlich Selbstbiographien, zugrunde und werden deshalb ein wichtiges Hilfsmittel für die gegenwärtig so eifrig gepflegte Familienforschung und Familiengeschichte bilden.

Die Hessischen Biographien werden in Jahreslieferungen von

acht Bogen erscheinen. Je fünf Lieferungen werden zu einem mit einem Gesamtregister versehenen Band vereinigt. Der Preis des Heftes beträgt für Subskribenten 2,40 Mk., während sich der Einzelpreis auf 3 Mark beläuft. Nach Abschluß eines Bandes werden jedoch die ihn bildenden Hefte nicht mehr einzeln abgegeben, sondern nur der ganze Band, der dann auf 15 Mark zu stehen kommt. Bisher sind zwei Lieferungen erschienen. Die dritte erscheint im Sommer 1914. Ein Hauptaugenmerk haben die „Hessischen Biographien“ darauf gerichtet, den Schicksalen der aus ihrem alten Vaterlande ausgewanderten Hessen nachzugehen. Dabei sind die Herausgeber allerdings vorwiegend auf die Unterstützung der Angehörigen und Freunde solcher Persönlichkeiten angewiesen. Jede sachdienliche Nachricht wird der Herausgeber, Professor Dr. Haupt, Direktor der Universitätsbibliothek in Gießen (Keplerstraße 1) dankbar entgegennehmen.

## Biographien

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### Gottlieb Merz.

Gottlieb Merz, ein treues Mitglied der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois, verstarb am 6. November 1913 und wurde am 9. November 1913 auf dem Grace-Land Friedhofe zur letzten Ruhe gebettet.

Er wurde am 14. Oktober 1838 zu Erlach im Canton Bern in der Schweiz geboren und stammte aus einer alten, angesehenen Schweizerfamilie, deren Eigenschaften — Fleiß, Zähigkeit und Ausdauer sein Erbe waren. Sein Vater war ein biederer Zimmermann. Bis zu seinem vierzehnten Lebensjahre besuchte Gottlieb die öffentliche Schule in seinem Heimatsorte und wurde dann bei einem Möbelschreiner in die Lehre gegeben. Nach zwei Jahren bestand er die Gesellenprüfung und begab sich, wie es damals Pflicht und Mode war, auf die Wanderschaft. In der ersten Zeit dehnte er seine Wanderschaft nicht über die Grenzen seines engeren Vaterlandes aus und arbeitete meistens in den um den Genfersee herum gelegenen Städten, wie Neuchâtel, Lausanne, Vevey, Morges und besonders in Genf selbst, während welcher Zeit er sich weiter in seinem Handwerke ausbildete und vervollkommnete.

Im Alter von vierundzwanzig Jahren aber ergriff ihn das ernste Verlangen in Amerika sein Glück zu suchen und nach reiflicher Ueberlegung machte er sich auf die Reise und fuhr, ohne Aufenthalt unterwegs, nach Pittsburgh, Penna., wo er zuerst in einer Möbelschreinerei und später in einer Bilderrahmenfabrik Stellung fand. Nach bereits zwei Monaten hatte er sich zum Vorarbeiter emporgearbeitet.

Im Jahre 1865 kam Herr Merz nach Chicago, wo er bei Stroß & Wolz Anstellung fand und bereits nach zwei Jahren gründete er sein eigenes Geschäft, indem er mit der Herstellung

von Zigarrenkisten anfang. Seine erste Fabrik befand sich in der alten Turnhalle an Kinzie-Straße, die im Jahre 1871 in dem großen Feuer zerstört wurde. Herr Merz verlor, wie so viele Andere, seine ganze Habe und war froh mit den Seinen das nackte Leben gerettet zu haben. Ohne langes Zögern und mit frischem Mut ging er zu Werke, den erlittenen Schaden auszumergen und eröffnete seine Fabrik an der 22. Straße, von wo er im folgenden Jahre nach der Franklinstraße zog. Bereits im Jahre 1879 hatte sein Unternehmen einen solchen Umfang angenommen, daß er seine Fabrik vergrößern mußte. Er errichtete damals das Backsteingebäude, 114—116 Superior-Straße, worin das von ihm begonnene Unternehmen noch heute weiter geführt wird.

Mit eiserner Energie und geschäftlichem Ueberblick hatte Herr Merz es verstanden, aus kleinen Anfängen und trotz großen, fast unüberwindlichen Schwierigkeiten ein großes Unternehmen aufzubauen.

Trotz der großen Anforderungen, die seine geschäftliche Tätigkeit von ihm verlangte, vergaß Herr Merz nicht, daß er Pflichten der Gesellschaft gegenüber zu erfüllen hatte. So trat er sehr bald dem Grülli-Verein bei, in welchem er zehn Jahre lang das Amt eines Schatzmeisters bekleidete. Er war Mitglied des Schweizer Männerchors, der Chicago Turngemeinde, des Chicago Schützen-Vereins, ein Mitglied des Ordens der Hermann-Söhne, ein Mitglied des Freimaurer Ordens und gehörte er außer der Niethra-Loge, einer der wenigen deutschen Logen dieses Ordens in Chicago, auch noch dem Confortorium und den Schreibern an.

Herr Merz trat im Jahre 1864 in den Bund der Ehe mit Fräulein Josephine Voppart aus St. Gallen in der Schweiz. Das glückliche Familienleben des Ehepaares war mit reichem Kinderseggen gekrönt, doch starben zwei Söhne und eine Tochter in früher Kindheit, während eine zweite Tochter Louise, die Ehefrau des Herrn Chas. Stierlen, etwa ein und einhalb Jahre vor ihrem Vater verstarb. Zwei Töchter, Frau Emilie Young und Frau Villian Schweitzer und ein Sohn, Edward G. Merz überleben den Verstorbenen, der in seinem Geschäftsleben und unter seinen Bekannten eine fühlbare Lücke hinterlassen hat.

Joseph Theurer.

Jos. Theurer, ein langjähriges Mitglied der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois, verschied am 14. Mai 1913 nach einer sehr kurzen Krankheit in seiner Wohnung im Kreise seiner Angehörigen und wurde am 17. Mai auf dem Graceland Friedhof zur letzten Ruhe gebettet.

Der Verstorbene wurde am 21. März 1852 in Philadelphia geboren, wo er auch die öffentlichen Schulen besuchte und weiterhin eine sorgfältige Erziehung genoß. Im Jahre 1869, 17 Jahre alt, kam er nach Chicago, um hier das Brauergewerbe von Grund aus zu erlernen und zwar trat er zuerst in die Brauerei von Adam Weierle ein, doch ging er bald in eine Stellung bei R. G. Schmidt über. Auch dort blieb er nicht lange und im Jahre 1871 war er in der Hud'schen Brauerei beschäftigt. Kaum war er dort eine Woche, als das große Feuer ausbrach, dem auch die Hud'sche Brauerei zum Opfer fiel. Durch die große Katastrophe arbeitslos geworden, wie so viele tausend Andere, kehrte er nach Philadelphia zurück, wo er dann ein Jahr für die Brauerei von Bergdoll & Pfotta arbeitete, worauf er nach Chicago zurückkehrte und eine zweijährige Tätigkeit für Bartholomae & Leicht begann. Dann trat er in das große Malzhaus von F. Wader & Co. ein, um auch diesen wichtigen Zweig des Brauergewerbes zu erlernen. Kurz darauf kehrte er nach Philadelphia zurück, wo er dann fünf Jahre lang blieb. Im Jahre 1880 kehrte er wieder nach Chicago zurück, um die Stelle des Vize-Präsidenten der Schoenhofen Brewing Co. und deren Leitung zu übernehmen. Im selben Jahre trat er in den Stand der Ehe mit Fräulein Emma Schoenhofen und als im Jahre 1893 sein Schwiegervater starb, wurde er zum Präsidenten der Gesellschaft erwählt, welche Stelle er bis zu seinem Tode bekleidete.

Unter den Deutsch-Amerikanern nahm Herr Theurer eine hervorragende Stellung ein, und trotzdem er mehrmals aufgefordert wurde, sich am politischen Leben zu beteiligen, schlug er alle ihm angebotenen und angetragenen Ämter aus, und zog es vor, seine ganze Kraft und Tätigkeit dem ihm unterstellten Unternehmen zu widmen.

Im persönlichen Verkehr war Herr Theurer bei Allen sehr

beliebt, mit welchen er nur in Berührung trat und nahm auch einen lebhaften Anteil am Wohlergehen nicht nur der Angestellten der großen Brauerei, sondern auch deren nächster Familie und Angehörigen. Mit seinem Tode hat das Deutschtum Chicagos einen wackeren Mitarbeiter verloren, dessen Andenken so bald nicht in Vergessenheit sinken wird.

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### Thies J. Lefens.

Durch das Abscheiden des Herrn Thies J. Lefens hat die Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois ein Mitglied verloren, das seit dem ersten Jahre ihres Bestehens der Gesellschaft angehörte und dieselbe immer treu und willig in ihren Bestrebungen unterstützte.

In Hamburg am 4. März 1846 geboren, genoß er daselbst eine gründliche Erziehung und bereitete sich für den kaufmännischen Beruf vor mit einer Gründlichkeit, die ihm wohl zu Statten kam. Kaum 21 Jahre alt verließ er seine Heimat im Jahre 1865 und kam nach Amerika und zwar sofort nach Chicago, wo er sich bis zum Jahre 1878 mit dem Produktengeschäfte befaßte. Seiner Energie, seinem Fleiße und seinem geschäftlichen Ueberblick war es sofort gelungen, festen Fuß zu fassen und sich eine hervorragende Stellung in der kaufmännischen Welt der sich schnell entwickelnden Metropolis zu erwerben.

Im Jahre 1878 trat er mit Fräulein Marie Seipp in den Bund der Ehe und übernahm zu gleicher Zeit die Stellung als Sekretär und Schatzmeister der Conrad Seipp Brewing Company, welche Stelle er bis zum Jahre 1892 bekleidete.

Seit dieser Zeit war Herr Lefens an der Börse tätig, doch widmete er einen Teil seiner besonderen Aufmerksamkeit finanziellen Unternehmungen. In den letzten Jahren seines Lebens beschäftigte er sich jedoch hauptsächlich mit der Verwaltung und dem Verkauf von Grundeigentum. Es ist besonders hervorzuheben, daß er in Folge seines vielseitigen und gründlichen Geschäftsüberblicks und seiner besonderen finanziellen Fähigkeiten zum Direktor der Südseite Hochbahngesellschaft und zum Direktor

## Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

der Merchants Loan & Trust Company wieder und wieder erwählt wurde.

Trotz seiner eifrigen und unermüdlichen Geschäftstätigkeit fand Herr Lefens doch genügend Zeit, regen Anteil an Chicagoer Geselligkeit und Vereinsleben zu nehmen. Er war Mitglied des Germania Männerchors, des Commercial Clubs und des Tolletson Clubs.

Ein Herzschlag machte seinem arbeitsamen Leben am 14. April 1913 ein Ende und wurden seine sterblichen Ueberreste am 17. April auf dem Oakwoods Friedhofe zur letzten Ruhe gebettet unter zahlreicher Beteiligung seiner Familienangehörigen und seiner vielen Freunde.



**Dreizehnte Jahresversammlung**

der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois am 12. Februar 1913, Abends 5 Uhr in Zimmer 1615 Mallers Building, 5 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

In Abwesenheit des Präsidenten und des Herrn F. J. Dewes, übernahm Herr Kalb den Vorsitz und rief die Versammlung zur Ordnung.

Herr Baum, der amtierende Sekretär, verlas darauf den Bericht der letzten Jahresversammlung, welcher ohne Debatte angenommen wurde.

Daraufhin verlas Herr Baum einen Bericht über die im Januar stattgefundene Versammlung des Verwaltungsrats, der als ein Bericht der Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft im verfloffenen Jahr zu betrachten ist, in folgender Weise:

Die Gesellschaft hat im verfloffenen Jahre 3 lebenslängliche Mitglieder: Frau Augusta Mannheimer und die Herren Gustav Laabs und Adam Wolf, 6 Jahresmitglieder, die in Chicago wohnhaft gewesen, die Herren Richter May Eberhardt, Adolph Arnold, Gustav Clemen, Leon Mandel, William C. Seipp und Bernhard Ziehn — und ferner die in Quincy wohnhaft gewesenen — Herren Edward Levi und die Frauen J. Stejschl und A. Bürkin durch den Tod verloren.

Die Gesellschaft hat nun noch 3 Ehrenmitglieder, 41 lebenslängliche Mitglieder, 17 Mitglieder und Subscribenten in Deutschland, 95 Mitglieder und Subscribenten außerhalb Chicagos in den Ver. Staaten und 140 Mitglieder in Chicago.

In Chicago haben im letzten Jahr rund 100 Mitglieder resigniert oder vielmehr ihre Mitgliedsbeiträge nicht entrichtet, wie ebenso 25 außerhalb Chicago wohnende Mitglieder. 2 Mitglieder, die Herren Wilhelm Mannhardt und E. Grommes resignierten als Jahresmitglieder und traten als lebenslängliche Mitglieder der Gesellschaft wieder bei. Außerdem wurden 4 neue Jahresmitglieder in Chicago gewonnen, besonders durch die Bemühungen des Herrn Dilg, und dann auch 3 auswärts wohnende.

Am 1. Januar 1912 befanden sich in der Kasse der Gesellschaft .....		\$ 43.39
Es gingen ein von McClurg für verkaufte Bücher.....		20.25
An freiwilligen Beiträgen .....		60.56
An Mitgliedsbeiträgen .....		813.50
eine Gesamteinnahme von.....		\$937.70

## Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Die Ausgaben betragen:

für Drucksachen, Briefbogen u. s. w.....	\$40.56
für Anzeigen in der Abendpost und Staatszeitung....	5.00
für Unkosten in der Redaktion an Herrn Prof. Goebel	25.00
für Raummiethe Chicago Historical Society.....	25.00
für Austausch auf Checks.....	0.55
für Porto und Expresskosten.....	48.00
für Kommission an Herrn Heinr. Voremann, Quincy..	16.50
	<hr/>
	160.61

was einen Bestand am 1. Januar 1913 in der Kasse ließ von \$777.00

Außerdem hat der Präsident, Herr Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, noch die Freundlichkeit gehabt \$30.00 für besondere Unkosten zu zahlen und die Kosten für die Officemiete zu decken, was nicht in der obigen Abrechnung enthalten ist.

Der Druck des Jahrbuches wurde im Ausschreiben an die George Wanta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wisconsin vergeben, da deren Angebot etwa \$160.00 billiger war, wie das nächste. Sämtliche Artikel für das Jahrbuch sind nun gesetzt und nachdem die Korrekturen gemacht sind, wird das Buch bald erscheinen können.

Das Buch wird 17 Originalartikel enthalten außer den Nekrologien verstorbenen Mitglieder und Geschäftsberichten der Gesellschaft. Die Kosten des Buches, ohne Umschlag, werden sich auf 95c die Druckseite stellen.

Nach Verlesung des Berichtes stellte Herr Siebert den Antrag, daß die Anwesenden zu Ehren der verstorbenen Mitglieder sich von ihren Sigen erheben sollten. Der Antrag wurde von Herrn von Waderbarth unterstützt und angenommen, worauf die Anwesenden dem Antrage gemäß sich von ihren Sigen erhoben.

Nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung war die Wahl von fünf Verwaltungsratsmitgliedern an Stelle der ausscheidenden Herren F. J. Dewes, E. W. Kalb, Otto C. Schneider, Rudolf Seifert und Dr. Otto L. Schmidt.

Herr Kalb ernannte ein Nominationskomitee bestehend aus den Herren Moje, Friedrich und Dilg. Da Herr Schneider sich in Europa befindet und über seine Rückkehr nach Chicago nichts Bestimmtes bekannt war, so schlug das Komitee die Herren F. J. Dewes, E. W. Kalb, Rud. Seifert und Dr. Otto L. Schmidt zur Wiederwahl und Herrn Henry W. Guttmann an Stelle des Herrn Otto C. Schneider für die kommenden zwei Jahre als Mitglieder des Verwaltungsrats der Gesellschaft vor.

Die Empfehlungen des Nominationskomitees wurden einstimmig angenommen und die Herren F. J. Dewes, E. W. Kalb, Rud. Seifert, Henry W. Guttmann und Dr. Otto L. Schmidt als Mitglieder des Verwaltungsrats der Gesellschaft für die laufenden zwei Jahre als erwählt erklärt.

## Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Darauf folgte die Beamtenwahl und wurde Herr Dr. Otto L. Schmidt als Präsident, Herr F. J. Dewes als erfter Vice-Präsident, Herr H. von Waderbarth als zweiter Vice-Präsident, Herr Ph. D. Dilg als Finanz-Sekretär, Herr Konful A. Holinger als Schatzmeister wiedergewählt und die Stelle eines Vorjizenden des Finanz-Ausschusses geschaffen, für welches Amt Herr Henry W. Guttman gewählt wurde.

Auf Antrag des Herrn Seifert wurde dem Herrn Dr. Schmidt für seine energische Tätigkeit, seine finanzielle Unterstützung und Hingabe für die Interessen der Gesellschaft und des gesamten Deutschtums der besondere Dank der Gesellschaft ausgesprochen.

Herr Baum las dann eine Anzahl eingelaufener Briefe vor, die von Mitgliedern eingesandt worden waren, die ihr Bedauern ausdrückten, nicht der Versammlung beiwohnen zu können, aber ihre treue Unterstützung auch in der Zukunft zusagten und wurden die Zuschriften von Herrn Lacher in Waulegan, Heinrich Bornmann in Quincy, Georg Bruebach in Hobart, Heinz. Kaul in LaF Port besonders hervorgehoben.

Es entwickelte sich dann eine rege Aussprache über die Erhaltung und den Aufbau der Mitgliederschaft der Gesellschaft, an welcher sich alle Anwesenden beteiligten. Besonders die Herren Kalb, Siebert und Dilg erklärten, was sie bisher getan, um die rückständigen Mitglieder zur Zahlung ihrer Beiträge zu veranlassen. Die Herren, unter anderen auch Herr Eduard Mose aus Chicago, entschlossen sich durch persönliche Briefe an ihre Bekannten diese an ihre Ehrenpflicht zu erinnern und versprach Herr Baum den Herren eine Liste der rückständigen Mitglieder zu liefern, die natürlich nur im strengsten Vertrauen benützt werden sollte.

Herr Jul. A. G. Friedrich aus Grand Rapids Michigan, bekundete sein lebhaftes Interesse, wie auch Herr John E. Hörner, welcher früher in Highland wohnte und der Gesellschaft manches interessante Material über die Gründung von Highland und die dortige Schweizerkolonie geliefert hatte.

Herr Dilg brachte die Rede auf die vorhandenen alten Bücher in der Bibliothek der Gesellschaft und den Bestand der früher von der Gesellschaft herausgegebenen Vierteljahrschriften und wurden die Herren Dilg und Waderbarth als ein Komitee ernannt, das mit Herrn Baum die alten Bücher übersehen und das, was für die Gesellschaft ohne Wert sei, ausfortieren und wenn möglich veräußern sollte.

Es wurde ferner beschlossen, daß Herr Baum den Verkauf der alten Jahrgänge, nachdem er vollständige Ausgaben zusammengestellt habe, in die Hand nehmen sollte, welches durch Korrespondenz mit Bibliothekern und interessierten Privatpersonen im Lande geschehen sollte und daß Herrn Baum für den Verkauf die übliche Buchhändlerkommission bewilligt werde.

## Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Herr Baum brachte dann den Brief des Herrn Pastors Engel in Norwalk, Wis., zur Verlesung, welcher gerne eine vollständige Ausgabe der Publikationen zu kaufen wünschte, daß ihn finanzielle Verhältnisse aber hinderten, den vollen Preis zu bezahlen.

Herr Kalb stellte dann den Antrag, daß unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Verhältnisse dem Herrn Pastor Engel die Bände I bis X einschließlich für \$15.00 angeboten werden sollten.

Der Antrag wurde von Herrn Dilg unterstützt und angenommen.

Nach einer weiteren allgemeinen Besprechung über deutsch-amerikanische Geschichtsforschung und Kultur vertagte sich die Versammlung zu vorgerückter Stunde, da keine weiteren Geschäfte vorlagen.

Achtungsvollst unterbreitet

Max Baum, Sekretär.

**Beamten der Gesellschaft.**

**Verwaltungsrat:**

1 Jahr:	2 Jahre:
Heinr. Bornmann, Quincy	F. J. Dewes
Dr. C. P. Kaab, Belleville	E. W. Kalb
H. v. Waderbarth	Dr. O. L. Schmidt
Fritz Rebel	H. W. Guttman
Ph. H. Dilg	Rudolf Seifert

**Beamte:**

Dr. O. L. Schmidt	Präsident
F. J. Dewes	1. Vize-Präsident
H. v. Waderbarth	2. Vizepräsident
A. Höltinger	Schatzmeister
Ph. H. Dilg	Finanz-Sekretär
H. W. Guttman	Vorsitzender des Finanz-Ausschusses
Max Baum	Sekretär

**Mitglieder und Abonnenten-Liste.**

**Ehren-Mitglieder:**

Professor E. V. Greene, Champaign, Ill.  
 H. A. Rattermann, Cincinnati, O.

**Lebenslängliche Mitglieder:**

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Arend, Wm. Ril.	Klenze, C. F.
Bartholomay, Henry Jr.	Koop, Julius
Boldenweck, Wm.	Lenghorst, H. A.
Brand, Virgil	Löhr, Justus
Buch, Otto C.	Mablener, A. F.
Dewes, F. J.	Mannhardt, Wm.
Eberhard, Dr. Walbemar	Matthai, Dr. Ph. H.
Franke, Fritz von	Mees, Fritz
Günther, Dr. O.	Ortseifen, Adam
Grommes, J. B.	Raeple, Hermann
Gummel, Ernst	Rendthorff, Herm.

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 Schaff, Gotthard  
 Seifert, Rudolph  
 Seipp, Mrs. Conrad  
 Spoehr C. A.  
 Spohn, Jakob  
 Trid, Jos.  
 Uihlein, Ed. G.  
 Wader, C. S.  
 Weiß, John S.

Wieboldt, Wm. A.  
 Wolf, Adam  
 Dayton, O.  
 Reber, Eduard  
 Greenville, O.  
 Raßenberger, Geo. A.  
 Milwaukee, Wis.  
 Vode, Henry  
 Wiesbaden, Deutschland  
 Schneider, Otto C.

### Jahres-Mitglieder und Abonnenten:

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 N. Y. State Library

Baltimore, Md.  
 Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der  
 Geschichte der Deutschen in Ma-  
 ryland.

Belleville, Ill.  
 Andel, Casimir  
 Edhardt Wm., Jr.  
 Kath, Elias  
 Merd, Frau Chas.  
 Raab, Dr. C. P.

Berlin, Deutschland  
 Kgl. Universitäts-Bibliothek.  
 Bibliothek des Kgl. Preuss.  
 Ministeriums für geistliche, Un-  
 terrichts- und Medizinal-Ange-  
 legenheiten.  
 Habicht F. C.

Bismarck, N. D.  
 State Hist. Societh

Bloomington, Ill.  
 Wehr, Heinrich  
 Reich, Paul F.

Bonn, Deutschland  
 Kgl. Universitäts-Bibliothek

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 Preuß, Dr. Arthur

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 Jessen, Prof. Dr. Karl Detlev

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 Baum Mar  
 Baumann, Friedr.  
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 Baur, Seb.  
 Berghoff, Herm. G.  
 Verkes, Gustav A.  
 Birk, Jacob  
 Blum, Aug.  
 Blum, Simon S.

Boehmer, Wilhelm  
 Borchardt, Alb. F.  
 Brammer, F. S.  
 Brandt, Horace L.  
 Brand, Rud. .  
 Braun, David F.  
 Breitung, Alb.  
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 Büttner, Emil  
 Bunte Gustav A.  
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 Claussenius, Geo. W.  
 Cutting, Prof. Starr W.  
 Dabelstein, Sophus  
 Deuß, Edmund  
 Deutsch-Amerikanischer Ratio-  
 nal-Bund, Zweig Chicago  
 Diehl, F.

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- Dierks, Herm.  
 Dilg, Phil. S.  
 Ebel, Emil  
 Eberlein, Fred  
 Eitel, Emil  
 Eitel, Karl  
 Ernst, Leo  
 Fleischer, Chas. S.  
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Waukegan Wis.

Lacher, J. A. S.

Washington, D. C.

Congress-Bibliothek

Wiesbaden, Deutschland

H. Römer, Buchhandlung

Henne, Phil.

### Korrektur des Artikels:

Quincy's Gründung und das Deutsche Element in der Entwicklung der Stadt, von Heinrich Vormann, in dem Jahrbuch für 1912:

Seite 537 Linie 7 Daniel Zisle, soll heißen: Daniel Zisle.

Seite 540 Linie 30 Vart, soll heißen: Vert.

Seite 541 Linie 4 Guffer, soll heißen: Waffer.

Seite 541 Linie 4 Guffer, soll heißen: Gasser.

Linie 11 hinter Brauerei ist einzufügen: Caspar Ruff er-richtete an der Süd 12. Straße eine Brauerei.

Linie 14 Dieß, soll heißen: Die.

Linie 19 Gronn, soll heißen: Grone.

Linie 27 Heirich, soll heißen: Heinrich.

Seite 542 Linie 1 Runß, soll heißen: Renß.

Linie 5 Forsthoff, soll heißen: Fasthoff.

Linie 6 Verufen, soll heißen: Verufen.

Linie 10 Bubber, soll heißen: Lubbe.

Linie 17 Lahmbur, soll heißen: Lambur.

Linie 21 Schnell, soll heißen: Schell.

Seite 543 Linie 12 Beachtung, soll heißen: Beobachtung.

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