



Joachim Reppmann

North Germans in America 1847-1860

Freedom



Hans Reimer Claussen
1804-1894



Friedrich Hedde
1818-1908

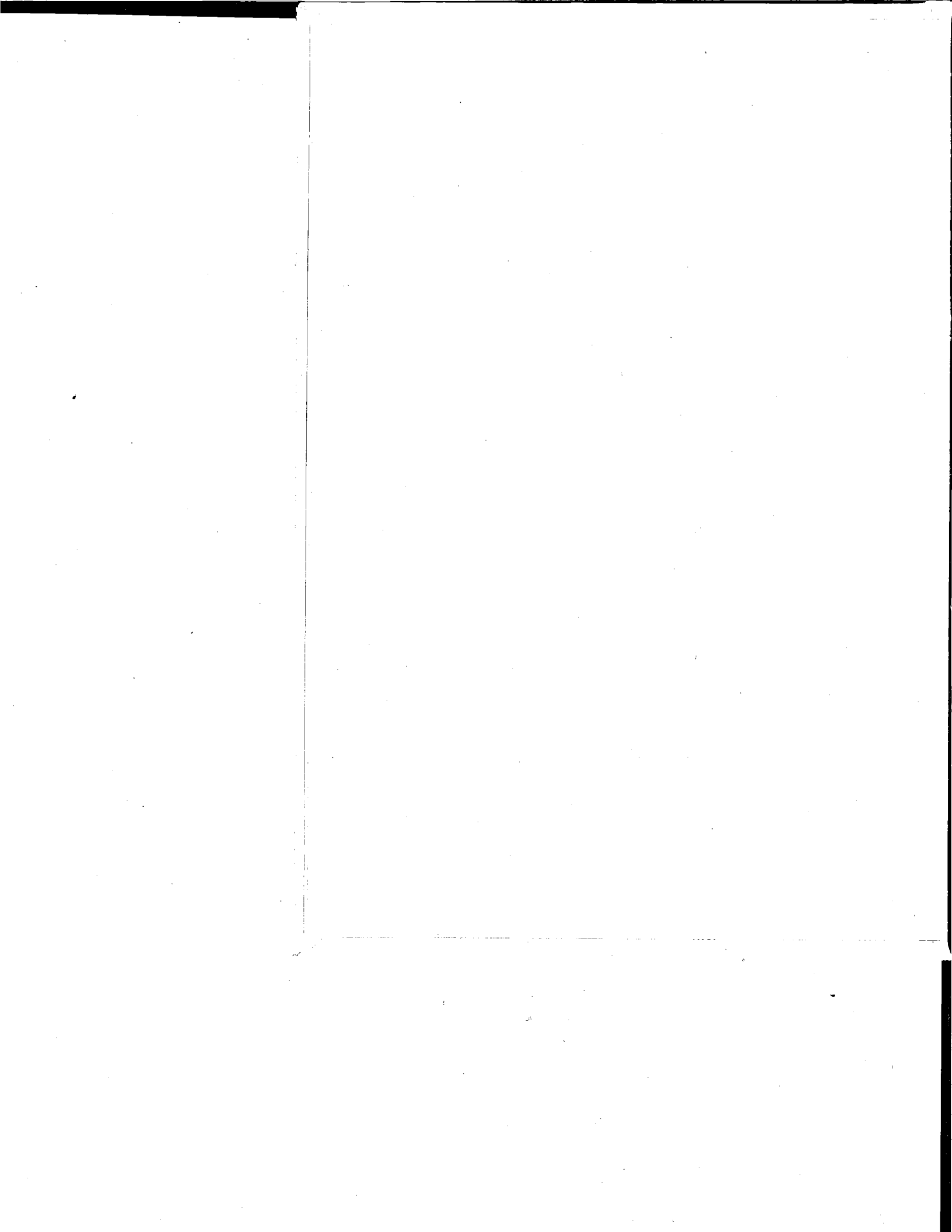
Education

Well-being for All!



Theodor Olshausen
1802-1869

Hesperian Press
Verlag für Amerikanistik



Joachim Reppmann

"Freedom, Education and Well-being for All!"

Forty-Eighters from Schleswig-Holstein in the USA
1847-1860

Verlag für Amerikanistik/Hesperian Press



Joachim Reppmann

North Germans in the USA 1847-1860

Freedom, Education
and Well-being for All

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Gitta

„Als ich in New York ankam, hatte ich noch einen Dollar. Aber die andern aus unserem Dorf waren da eben auch angekommen, und ich sah sie alle mit Namen: Schröder, Schuldt, Timmerman, Düde, Saß, Wiedow, Völß und Brüning. Dann fuhren wir alle nach Iowa; Nein, ich bin hier zu Hause. Hier ist ja auch meist alles plattdeutsch Wer farmen will, der soll in **Iowa** bleiben. Das ist meine Meinung. In Iowa ist alles plenty: plenty Wasser, plenty Heu, plenty Korn, plenty Kartoffeln.“

„When I arrived at New York I had just one Dollar left. But the others from my village have also just arrived and I saw them all and knew them by name: Schröder, Schuldt, Timmerman, Düde, Saß, Wiedow, Völß und Brüning. We then went to Iowa; Oh yes, that is my home. It's mostly all Plattdeutsch [Low German] here... . If you want to farm, you should stay in Iowa. That's my opinion. In Iowa, everything is plenty: plenty of water, plenty of hay, plenty of corn, plenty of potatoes.“

Johannes Gillhoff:
Jürnjakob Swehn der Amerikafahrer¹

1 Joachim Reppmann, **Wunderbar - mit Plattdeutsch durch Amerika: Jürnjakob Swehn - Wahrheit und Legende**, Land und Leute, Schleswig-Holsteinischer Zeitungsverlag, ed. here: Flensburger Tageblatt, June 3, 1993. Also refer to Gillhoff-Gesellschaft, c/o Udo Baark, 19288 Glaisin, Germany

Preface

This study was originally delivered as a doctoral thesis in the Philosophy department of Christian-Albrechts-Universität in Kiel, Germany, in 1993. That manuscript has been slightly abbreviated and reworked for the present publication.

An immense number of people have helped me to write this study in a variety of capacities. With friends on both sides of the Atlantic I had the chance to discuss research questions constantly.

Special thanks go to my former teacher of Philosophy, Dr. Wolfgang Plenio, in Flensburg, and to the American professor of Germanic Studies Dr. La Vern J. Rippley of St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, who also contributed to the translation. I doubt that either know exactly how much they have aided my understanding of the history of the idea of freedom and of German-American immigration.

I also want to thank Dr. Wolfgang J. Helbich, Bochum, Dr. Herbert Reiter, Florence, Dr. Ingo Schwarz of the Alexander-von-Humboldt-Forschungsstelle, Berlin, and the historian John Zeller, Des Moines. I am indebted to Dr. Kurt Jürgensen and Dr. Helmut Grieser for warmly inviting me to take part in their seminars in the summer of 1993 at Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel. Thanks also go to my parents, my Norwegian friends in Risør, and to Jochen Meggers and Propan Rheingas, Wesel, who made this study possible with their financial support. I also owe great gratitude to Inter Naciones, Boinn, who generously supported this translation financially, to the translator Prof. Norman Watt, Northfield, and to my close friend Dietrich Eicke, Preetz, who designed the layout, typesetting, and graphics for this book. Financial support was also given by Dr. Jürgen Miethke, Molfsee, Germany, Bob and Lois Vohs, Ames, Iowa, and Len and Virginia Degen, Holstein, Iowa.

Historical research does not, to be sure, look only into the past; often it aims directly at the present. In connection to my work over the past ten years I have been able to organize many trips for Americans interested in my findings who wanted to see the land of their forefathers (for further information see the last pages). The American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society, ASHHS (PO Box 313, Davenport, IA 52805-0313), which I helped to found, has around thousand members in the United States and Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. In this way historical research has brought people together, establishing closer ties between the old and new worlds.

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Chapter One: Introduction

A small midwestern town called New Holstein was the site where my research began. Finding this name on a map of Wisconsin raised questions concerning the history of Schleswig-Holstein itself.¹ My initial research took place in the museum of what is today a town of 3,000 residents. This settlement's origins date back to a group of intellectuals from the German duchy of Holstein. Shortly before the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution, 70 people who were weary of Europe left their north German homeland and began new lives as „Latin farmers“ in the state of Wisconsin, 150 miles north of Chicago.²

A German-language article in the State Historical Archives at Des Moines concerning the Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers from the years 1851-1861 reinforced my interest in studying the social history of the mass emigration of Schleswig-Holsteiners, which took place between 1846 and the beginning of the American Civil War. I decided to try to combine this event with an analysis of the transfer of political ideas from Germany to America.³ Many openly liberal revolutionaries who had departed with their numerous associates after losing the War of Independence against Denmark in 1851 headed for the Davenport and Scott County area of Iowa, thereby unleashing a subsequent chain migration.⁴

The American collective term „1848er“ generally refers to politically motivated revolutionary refugees from Europe who arrived in the United States between the years 1847 and 1856. In this time frame approximately one million Germans emigrated to the United States.⁵ According to contemporary analysts, famous leaders of the 1848 revolution who fled to America for political reasons inspired this mass immigration. Gustav Struve states: „In the years 1848 to 1863 the revolutionary activities in Baden caused no less than a half million Badensers to leave their country . . . nowhere were so many politically motivated legal actions undertaken as a result of one event.“⁶ And Friedrich Kapp goes further: „The 1848 revolution . . . catapulted hundreds of thousands of politically oppressed and dissatisfied Germans to America where, because of their very large numbers, they peopled entire states and implanted enduring idiosyncrasies there.“⁷

Available research, however, offers no specific, conclusive definition for the term „1848er,“ or of the numbers of these who emigrated. According to Adolf Zucker, the figure of 4,000 would be a conservative estimate, while Carl Wittke believes the 1848er group is larger than had been previously assumed.⁸ Günter Moltmann theorizes that the group of German 1848ers has not yet been enumerated;

Jörg Nagler on the other hand reduces the number to about 500 or 600. Authors like Marcus Lee Hansen and La Vern Rippley put the figure as high as 10,000. The varying statistics are to some degree qualified by the variety of definitions offered. If we take Adolf E. Zucker, who considers 1848ers to be only those who were active in the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, then Moltmann is correct. Recently James F. Harris put it this way: „If we define Forty-Eighter as a radical participant in the revolutions of that year—that is, one who resorted to force to achieve his or her goals—then we have a problem, because very few did that. Put more simply, the revolutions of 1848 were not very revolutionary.“

In the study that follows, the term „Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers“ refers not only to the group of revolutionaries who before, during or after the wars of insurrection against Denmark, were expecting punishment, persecution or reprisals from Danish or, as will be shown later, from German (more specifically Schleswig-Holstein) parties, but includes as well all inhabitants of the two duchies who left their homeland primarily for economic reasons. A goodly number of them were farmers, day laborers on the land, or other dependents who had fought as volunteers in the Schleswig-Holstein army. After the general amnesty offered by the Danish king, these individuals were, to be sure, able to consider themselves legally free citizens of the duchies. Yet following three years of fighting for freedom and independence, an overwhelming number of these subsequent emigrants found the directives and legal chicanery that kept coming from Copenhagen unbearable.⁹ Nevertheless, the acts of repression on the part of the Danish monarchy north of the Elbe were not, as a rule, the immediate cause of emigration; rather, the catastrophic economic situation and the bleak outlook for the future often became the primary reasons for leaving home.¹⁰

By positing social and ideological questions, the „salt water curtain“ bemoaned by Frank Thistlethwaite as a barrier between German emigration and American immigration research can gradually be raised.¹¹ Rather than looking just at either the old homeland or the new, it seems more useful to pursue a transatlantic approach to emigration research and to posit broadly-based questions concerning Schleswig-Holsteiners and their ability to adapt in the United States, coming as they did from an environment rich with its own cultural baggage.¹²

Emigration and acculturation are not accidental; rather, they are multi-faceted, delimited processes which are influenced by a variety of rational as well as irrational circumstances. Only if the commonality of these differing vectors is recognized and adjusted for educational status and age can precise statements about cultural and socio-economic development of the emigrants/immigrants be

made. In this study, therefore, the individual steps of emigration need to be understood as phases of a more all-encompassing process.

Schleswig-Holstein as a topic for investigation is a small enough geographical unit and, because of its former position in the Danish nation, can be considered an especially interesting case study of emigration in the land of origin,¹³ a concept that too frequently gets lost in studies of mass emigration. It is of historical interest that the Danish king was lord over Schleswig but at the same time the German Kaiser's vassal as pertains to the duchy of Holstein. Both duchies were, however, connected through personal union with Denmark.¹⁴ A further peculiarity should be mentioned, that Schleswig-Holstein was in a position to maintain free structures for a longer period of time than any of the other German states before the general reaction set in.¹⁵ In the *New Rhine Newspaper* published by Karl Marx we read: „Schleswig-Holstein is the only German state which has rebelled directly against its princes.“¹⁶

In a memorial for Theodor Olshausen, his political predecessor R. Th. Rapp evaluated the situation retrospectively in his „German Newspaper—On the Rio de la Plata,“ assessing the Schleswig-Holstein question in the year 1848 as follows: „The Dutchies on the Elbe have been of greatest importance in the recent history of Europe, as is generally recognized even in Germany itself . . . Lord Palmerston called them the match with which sooner or later all of Europe will be set in flames.“¹⁷

Thus, in terms of reawakening the revolution, many 1848ers both in European and American exile viewed the duchies until 1851 as bearers of hope.¹⁸ North of the Elbe, in contrast to the many other German states, the „man on the street“ and his intellectual cadres seized the opportunity of this freedom movement to turn democratic hopes into reality.¹⁹ Their practical experience in dealing with democratic institutions was later useful for Schleswig-Holstein immigrants in the United States. In this connection, the revolutionaries who were famous for republican strategies and effectiveness in social affairs far beyond their borders were influenced by the then prevalent philosophical ideas which were later translated and analyzed in both Schleswig-Holstein and the American Midwest. The intellectual 1848ers had no firmly sketched political program that was intended to be translated into reality following their emigration; rather, theirs were the more general philosophical notions of Immanuel Kant, Thomas Paine and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.²⁰

In the second part of the present investigation, the problems of acculturation in the land of reception will be investigated. It is precisely the decade before the

American Civil War that offers us, in the case of a homogeneous emigration group like the Schleswig-Holsteiners, the opportunity to evaluate critically the very superficial and general theses of the time concerning the socio-economic and political behavior of the German-speaking immigrants.²¹

As was the case with other groups of Germans, the immigrants from these duchies settled in specific rural areas or in a relatively small number of cities. This fact makes possible conclusions about the cultural baggage brought by the people from their homeland and whether or not this baggage had a decisive influence on the acculturation process in the new homeland. On the other hand, it is scarcely possible to explain all the contributions and capabilities of an individual immigrant based only on his national heritage. Often it was precisely the „social symbiosis in the receiving country,“ aided by the opportunities for development offered by meeting people with different cultural experiences, that brought to light previously unknown or unsuspected talents.²²

It would be gratifying if this study were to inspire both general interest as well as new historical investigations into the forgotten revolutionaries from Schleswig-Holstein. With their philosophical ideals and their political ideology, they acted as patriots. They paid a high price for their unswerving devotion to their republic, the loss of their Schleswig-Holstein homeland. The late German president, Gustav W. Heinemann, encouraged historians to take up the long-forgotten struggles in which these individuals were engaged for the sake of a free social German republic. „Only through the assimilation of our long-neglected and repressed democratic heritage can German historical research open up new perspectives and arrive at a new scientific plateau that would be worth our while to discover.“²³

Only the „resolute democrat“ Theodore Olshausen, a popular defender of the people and the sole socialist politician in the Schleswig-Holstein provisional government, was spared the tragic fate of being unjustifiably overlooked. All the other representatives of the left-wing revolutionary period have, until now, remained pretty much untouched by scientific, regional-historical investigation.²⁴ Apparently the fact of immigration was sufficient reason not to record the extraordinary contributions made by these individuals before and during the revolution. Frequently the national contribution of the *conservative* revolutionary politicians was given greater attention than the larger group who were the active ones during the revolutionary period.²⁵

The present study is intended as a first step toward an examination of this

untouched field, the republican revolutionaries. Further investigations could result in a more variegated view of the interdependencies before and during the Schleswig-Holstein revolution with respect to the considerable cultural and democratic contribution they made following their emigration to the U.S.²⁶ Frequently they achieved partial realizations of their „pure democracy“ in the face of considerable resistance. Such studies will make a serious contribution to a deeper understanding of both countries by demonstrating how these immigrants' democratic views fertilized both countries and how a social process pushed the Schleswig-Holsteiners and the Americans closer together as both joined hands to solve common problems.

But before these primary actors and their disciples come out of anonymity into their own, we must describe the methods to be employed. We will then be able to assess in which forces determined the actions and thoughts both of the politicians who were influential precisely among the socially weak strata of society, and of many other emigrants as well. In the forefront are the first Schleswig-Holstein social politicians and 1848ers, who were journalists and jurists: Theodor Olshausen, Hans Reimer Claussen, Friedrich Hedde, Theodor Gülich and Andreas F. Hanssen.

In contrast to southern and western Germany, Schleswig-Holstein sent emigrants to the United States only after 1846-1847.²⁷ To be sure, individual emigrations had taken place previously, but the phenomenon of group migration, by which is meant groups with specific contract terms, legally binding edicts, as well as settlement areas to which they were headed, was first encountered in the duchies shortly before the February Revolution of Paris in 1848.²⁸ It is with this phenomenon that the present study begins.

The half decade from 1850-1855 represents a high-water mark of emigration from Germany and Schleswig-Holstein. Subsequently, internal tensions in America concerning the question of slavery and the very difficult recession following 1857 tended to cool immigration fever. The election of Abraham Lincoln as president in 1860, the immediate impetus for southern states to secede from the union, and the Civil War period that supplied an effective and unusual boost to the acculturation process constitute events which establish the outer time limits to this study. „By rubbing shoulders with Americans in every type of military relationship, as supervisors, equals and inferiors they [the Germans] came to understand their native fellow citizens and, by the same token, to appreciate them better.“²⁹

John A. Hawgood's thesis—that German-speaking immigrants entertained

Chapter Two: Schleswig-Holstein Prior to the Revolution of 1848

In order not to go beyond the limits of this study, we will mention only briefly the highly complex political conditions in the southern part of the Danish kingdom. Our primary interest concerns rather the subsequent 1848ers and their emigration: Theodor Olshausen, Hans Reimer Claussen and Friedrich Hedde. The March 5, 1460 Treaty of Ripener, and especially the „fearless improvement“ of April 4, 1460, reconfirmed the 1386 unification of Schleswig and Holstein.⁴⁵ The rights granted by these two documents were to unite the two duchies personally with Denmark while allowing Schleswig and Holstein to form a kind of union unto themselves.⁴⁶ The Danish Royal Law of November 14, 1665 (lex regia) permitted female succession to the Danish throne, whereas according to German law that held sway in Schleswig and Holstein, only the male was expressly entitled to this privilege.⁴⁷ The Danish king was supreme lord of Schleswig and at the same time a vassal of the German emperor as far as Holstein was concerned.⁴⁸

On October 22, 1844, the Danish government demanded that the existing relationship between Denmark, Schleswig, and Holstein be maintained even in the case of a female succession to the throne. Several weeks later, as a consequence, the Holstein delegate assembly, including the 1848er attorney Hans Reimer Claussen, formulated three fundamental principles of states' rights: the duchies are independent states, in them only males have the right of succession, and Schleswig and Holstein are closely associated states.⁴⁹

In the subsequently famous „Open Letter“ of July 8, 1846, Christian VIII proclaimed that the right of female succession firmly established in the Danish Royal Law of 1665 was also valid for Schleswig-Holstein.⁵⁰ This attack aroused the suspicions of many in Schleswig and Holstein.⁵¹ Legally trained journalists and later emigrants Theodor Olshausen and Friedrich Hedde worked intensively on this royal law.⁵² Both reached the conclusion that the meaning of the lex regia „concerning the nature of sovereignty was no longer valid for us“ and they influenced public opinion in all of Germany, from this point forward, to support the popular cause of both duchies.⁵³ Against this historical and political background it is understandable that the „open letter“ of 1846 led to the final rupture between the German Schleswig-Holsteiners and the Danish fatherland. For even if it was apparently only a question of heredity, nevertheless the king of Denmark was trying to force the issue by extending his demands to the whole of Schleswig-Holstein as a means of repressing the movement for German nationalism in that part of the country.

Reaction to this step was sharp not only in the two duchies; the Schleswig-Holstein question now came to be considered an overarching problem of pan-German nationalism, with the result that for several years following, Schleswig-Holstein became the „the public opinion brainchild“ for the whole of Germany.⁵⁴ Unrest in the duchies reached its high point when Theodor Olshausen was arrested in September 1846.⁵⁵ Strict Danish press censorship subsequently forbade newspapers from reporting anything concerning Olshausen, who was held in prison from September 1 until October 13, 1846.⁵⁶ After barely a month and a half of imprisonment he was again released.⁵⁷ In March 1847 a fiscal mismanagement case was brought against Olshausen who shortly before had been elected a representative to the state assembly from the city of Kiel. The case was brought by the royal Schleswig-Holstein Lauenburg office and the royal Holstein superior criminal court for the simple reason that in Kiel a citizen's meeting had taken place during the fall of 1846.⁵⁸ On the basis of a plea bargain by his student friend Hans Reimer Claussen, Olshausen was not sentenced to any additional prison time.⁵⁹

Beginning in 1839, Olshausen and Claussen had become recognized beyond just Schleswig and Holstein as the primary spokespersons for the fugitive „German party.“ The celebrated phrase, „New Holsteiner,“ which was coined by opponents of this pragmatic movement, turned into a beacon for their ideology.⁶⁰ Since no one questioned that the state of Holstein was in fact German, the New Holsteiners wanted to shore up a liberal constitution for this southern duchy and link it more closely to the German Federation.⁶¹

Before war broke out between Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, a five-member delegation tried to arrange for a peaceful compromise on the principle of the right to self-determination.⁶² Led by Theodor Olshausen and Hans Reimer Claussen, the Schleswig-Holsteiners traveled to Copenhagen on March 22, 1848.⁶³ For the first time ever, the people of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, in the form of their representatives, faced each other, for the powers of the king-duke had been reduced to a large extent. According to the reports of Johann Gustav Droysen and Karl Samwer, discussions centered on the questions of legal independence for Schleswig.⁶⁴ Apparently Olshausen submitted for discussion a thesis „that Schleswig might decide between Denmark and Germany, in the same way as questions of religious affiliation were once determined, *cuius regio, eius religio*.“⁶⁵

It is noteworthy that initially Orla Lehmanns, the former leader of the Eider Danish party, with its motto „Denmark, all the way down to the Eider River,“ that is, including the duchy of Schleswig, was prepared to cooperate.⁶⁶ Opposition on the part of Monrad, the Danish cultural minister, however, put an end to this

possibility. He explained unambiguously: „En Deling af Slesvig, som af de Deputerede private foreslaaet, var etaenkeltis.“⁶⁷ When, on March 25, 1848, the proposal for dividing the duchies was rejected once and for all by the Danish minister,⁶⁸ an audience with the Danish monarch was equally doomed. These events rank among the most important in the history of Schleswig-Holstein/Danish relations. Over 70 years later, the Treaty of Versailles would again look to this possibility for a solution.

When Olshausen and Claussen returned to Kiel on March 26, 1848, a local provisional government had already been constituted,⁶⁹ dedicated to the principle of legitimacy: „The will of our prince is no longer free“ and, accordingly, a new government had been formed „for maintenance of the rights of the duchy and the rights of our legitimate duke,“ that is to say, of the Danish king.⁷⁰ Representatives of the leftist party—among them Friedrich Hedde—had agreed that upon his return, Olshausen would be accepted into the conservative provisional government.⁷¹ Hans Reimer Claussen, on the other hand, moved his field of activity to Frankfurt, where he was elected into the Paul’s Church assembly on May 1, 1848, and immediately joined the left centrists in the „Westendhall.“⁷²

Ever since the Peace of Kiel of January 14, 1814, the situation had been getting worse for day laborers, but even „craftsmen, many of whom are unemployed, are now enduring a bitter struggle.“⁷³ More than 30 percent of the population were day laborers who were forced to toil on large farms in the most miserable of conditions, and they dominated the duchy’s social structure.⁷⁴ This proletariat, about 250,000 people, was considered a latent time bomb. Due to rising food prices, the situation worsened just before the revolution with the result that „the lower classes viewed the coming winter with great apprehension.“⁷⁵

Agriculture was the economic base for the vast majority of gainfully employed inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein. Industry was limited to the iron works in Flensburg, Rendsburg, and Kiel, and the woolen mills in Neumünster.⁷⁶ Fear of the „disruption of all the bonds in human society“ induced bourgeois-liberals to forestall a possible social revolution in Germany as well as in Schleswig-Holstein.⁷⁷ The 1848 uprising of cottagers was in no way the cause of revolution in Schleswig-Holstein, which came about only in the wake of a more general uprising.

As early as 1844, the „friend of the people,“ Hans Reimer Claussen, had warned clearly of the social conditions in his country: „More and more, a large proletariat is emerging even here in Germany. Poverty is gaining the upper hand, and if the poorer classes ever become armed while the more intelligent remain

unarmed, then fearful consequences are in store for our future. Of course, the dangers of communism are not to be taken too seriously yet, but we have every reason to pay attention to the fact that in due course of time these depressing conditions will become dangerous."⁷⁸

In 1850 Friedrich Hedde articulated the seriousness of the situation from the viewpoint of a republican: „The social revolutions will be much more terrible than the movements of political revolution to date have been . . . if we do not lance the boil . . . then perhaps a new movement like the one in 1848 may come, and it will be even more horrible."⁷⁹ Since the founding of the Kiel *Correspondenzblatt* in 1830, Olshausen had been occupied with finding solutions and reforms. A refined concept was not developed, however, until an article in several sections by Friedrich Hedde appeared in 1847. In his opinion, the needed reforms included: doing away with unjustified taxes („for example, the stamp tax; rich people know how to get out of it“); liberation from the obligation to patronize mills („this burdens especially the poorer classes“); free and open competition in business („the guilds limit the free pursuit of labor and deny poor people in particular thousands of work opportunities“).⁸⁰ His suggested reforms would require effective intervention by the state, promotion of individual capacities, and allowing people to join associations freely . „For, in the future, no social class will be able to protect itself and its interests if the individuals do not increase their strengths by combining into larger associations.“⁸¹

Theodor Olshausen, the only „social politician“ in the provisional government, saw clearly that politicians, even many members of the provisional government, were not interested in the social question at all, and took it up only in order to choke off the social movement in its infancy. Olshausen condemned politicians who did little more than take note of the decay of the lower classes stuck in their struggle for material existence.⁸² On May 10, 1848 Olshausen presented his provisional government colleagues with several unnerving questions pertaining to the cottagers.⁸³ Three days later, as a result, a commission was set up which was supposed to report within two months on the condition of the cottagers and day laborers in the Holstein districts.⁸⁴ The expectations of radical republican journalist and cosmopolitan Andreas F. Hanssen, who later settled in New Holstein, Wisconsin, were indeed great. With an eye toward the different local situations, the so-called Cottagers' Commission was supposed to bring about changes in the following areas: a transformation of the time frame and conditions of mortgages, wage increases for day laborers by means of public works, contracts between employers and employees, and „official support for emigration.“⁸⁵ A longer-range goal of those in contention with Olshausen was probably to establish

a ministry of labor.⁸⁶ However, these lofty goals were not accomplished forthwith. When disturbances broke out on several large farms in the vicinity of Plön during the summer of 1848, the provisional government dispatched Olshausen to the scene because of his „mesmerizing capacity for persuasion.“⁸⁷ A solution, or even just a defusing of the unrest, was not possible for Olshausen⁸⁸ and his co-workers.⁸⁹ Embittered, he criticized also the Philosophical Society in Berlin, which surfaced just after the counter-revolution came to light. It relegated the social question to an abstract philosophical category and sought solutions only in the rarefied abstractions of the philosopher Hegel

In the pre-March period, German reformers expected to realize a liberal program based on the American model.⁹⁰ Through their writings during this period, the noted emigrants to the United States Paul Follenius and Friedrich Münch, had awakened expectations of a utopian fairy tale existence in Arkansas territory.⁹¹ „The point of departure for all socio-political propositions emanating from the political enlightenment and early liberalism, and likewise the basis for its vehement criticism of the existing, harmoniously-stabilized social order and of the current economic and political system, was the notion of a pre-existing natural order operating in secret for the expanding needs and capacities of its members.“⁹²

Das Volk, Eine demokratische Zeitung offered two examples to depict concretely the republicans' notion of democracy: „The Democrats are not spendthrifts; for example, rather than worrying about pensions, democracy would cast its eye first on the education of the people . . . look to America! There the president of the country is not paid any more than General Bonin here; and over there they have a democratic form of government!“⁹³ This newspaper's founder, Friedrich Lexow, later emigrated from his hometown of Tönning to become a famous New York journalist.

Political friends of Olshausen used the construct of an „unfree Duke“ (the Danish king), who remained the legitimate ruler even during the war.⁹⁴ In order to more accurately characterize the political system they desired, they employed a concept that they summed up with the new phrase „the principle of sovereignty of the people.“⁹⁵ According to this principle, there was no doubt in Claussen's mind „that the people of Schleswig-Holstein can accept a republican form of government without destroying the rights of anyone, because the individual's will must always be subordinate to the collective will.“⁹⁶ The republican conservatives of Schleswig-Holstein, however, took issue with these so-called „wild democrats,“ to whom they referred with epithets like communists and socialists. These people wanted to abolish the privileges of the nobility, „but immediately wanted to implement new,

much more insane ones for themselves.⁹⁷ The radical republican Harro Haring criticized German liberalism „for wanting to wash the fur coats of the princes without getting the princes themselves wet,“ and criticized their representatives as „hypocrites who thought only about promotions and pensions.“⁹⁸

If the concept of freedom equates with liberalism, then something similar is valid for the word „socialism,“ designating concepts of equality and solidarity.⁹⁹ The revolutionary from the city of Schleswig, Theodor Gülich, defined this controversial concept much more generally in his German-American newspaper: „Socialism is, literally, something that concerns society; in a more restricted sense, it concerns improving the condition of society.“¹⁰⁰ With the motto of the Socialist Turner Society, which Theodor Gülich founded on August 3, 1852 in Davenport, Iowa, the immigrants from Schleswig-Holstein articulated concretely their political demands for „Freedom, Education, and Well-Being For All.“¹⁰¹

The socialistic concept of freedom, to be sure, also contained liberal aspects of freedom concerning the individual: in addition, conditions should be created under which the majority of people can experience freedom; most people not only are entitled to freedom as an abstract „right,“ but also in the form of material security. Central to their socialistic concept was a demand that the individual encounter no impediments to his social advancement.¹⁰² „We do not just want the various freedoms, but freedom broadly understood and indeed the overall freedom from which everyone derives something, democratic freedom, civil rights freedom, according to which every job is guaranteed its proper wage, every achievement its proper recognition . . . This freedom seeks to attain the well-being of all.“¹⁰³

After the arrest of Theodor Olshausen at the beginning of September 1846,¹⁰⁴ it became clear that the guarantee of personal freedom was in no way a juridical question, but rather had taken on political overtones. As a result of his arrest, Olshausen had become a folk hero at all levels of society within the duchy. He took advantage of his influence after the failed revolution when he encouraged farm hands and day laborers in particular to emigrate to Iowa. The great jubilation of the people following Olshausen's provisional release on October 13, 1846 was a reaction „in part to him as a person, but also in part to the victory of justice.“¹⁰⁵ „There was no longer any question of actual freedom . . . not a trace of it,“ commented Friedrich Hedde, representing Olshausen as publisher of the *Kieler Correspondenz*.¹⁰⁶ Of the explosive situation within the country, he wrote prophetically that if the arbitrary arrest of Olshausen had not been countermanded, „it would have resulted in violent consequences.“¹⁰⁷

As pertains to the „Schleswig-Holstein question,“ a precarious situation had developed. In February, 1849, the *Itzehoe Weekly* took a position under its subheading, „Historical rights and the will of the people:“ Even the Danes have the precedent of historical rights . . . Aware of our well-founded historical rights, we have begun the task of liberating ourselves from the Danish yoke. This legal right has empowered us to prepare the revolution—the will of the people, sanctioned in the year 1848, must now help us bring it to a successful conclusion.“¹⁰⁸

Kant already saw the meaning of all history as a continuing approach „to the model of a constitution founded on the principles of freedom.“¹⁰⁹ Hegel expanded on this notion: „The individual obeys the laws and knows that he retains his freedom in obeying them.“ Hegel’s social freedom means freedom in reference to the state. In this sense „state“ means „a reasonable and objective entity which exists for the freedom that comes from it,“ its laws being „objectivity of the mind and the will reflecting its truth.“¹¹⁰

Just how deeply Schleswig-Holstein intellectuals in Olshausen’s circle were steeped in the philosophy of Hegel and how much they believed in the positive power of the ideas of the enlightenment such as ‘*öffentlichkeit*’ is indicated by the article „Hegelianism in the face of free religious thinking of the time,“ which appeared in the *Kiel Correspondenz* of June 17, 1847: „He who does not believe in the absolute godhead of Hegelianism must thereby be an opponent of the authentic enlightenment, for the true enlightenment is Hegelianism, whereas rationalism was a false form.“

Hegel soon became the philosopher most influential on liberals in the pre-March period.¹¹¹ The progressive revolutionary element of his philosophy lay in the fact that only that which was reasonable was real for him.¹¹² In that sense, reason was permitted, and had an obligation to criticize all public abuses within the state. This was supposed to take place by means of public opinion. „It contains within itself, therefore, the eternal and substantial principles of justice, the result of the entire constitution, the laws and . . . in the form of common sense, the true purposes of reality.“¹¹³

Hans Reimer Claussen explained shortly before his election to the Holstein Parliament: „The influence which public opinion . . . could enjoy will usually be that of doing good deeds even as public opinion awakens better feelings and impulses among men . . . and also overcomes and suppresses the worst of these.“¹¹⁴ The writer and painter Harro Haring, who had just returned from America, expanded upon this notion: „The democratic development of a people takes place in an atmosphere of public open-mindedness.“¹¹⁵

For many years the United States has had a press which is controlled by public opinion and whose absolute freedom is guaranteed as one of the basic rights stipulated in the Constitution.¹¹⁶ After a four-year stay in the United States, Olshausen judged this question, in accordance with his own observations and experiences, much more critically:

No one dares to declare himself against a strong public opinion in political and related matters; from this arises the continuation of prejudices and wrong-headed views, which could not be maintained for long if there were true and free open discussion. This republican conservatism is naturally just as destructive in its consequences as that of monarchies and aristocracies. However, this notion is, in my opinion, much less the result of the formal Constitution; rather, it is the expression of the ruling Anglo-Saxon nationality whose nature, in spite of the Declaration of Independence and the Revolution, is nevertheless basically ultra-conservative.¹¹⁷

In the words of a political friend of Theodor Gülich in Iowa, journalists were supposed to feel responsible only to one guiding power, „that is, the tribunal of public opinion.“¹¹⁸ Claussen reaffirmed this central function in his first euphoric report from Davenport: „Freedom of the press brings forth everything that is of interest to the people and presents it before the court of public opinion.“¹¹⁹

It would be an exaggeration to maintain „that Hegelian philosophy was the creed of the majority of the Germans“¹²⁰ in the United States, but the extent of the influence which this foremost representative of German idealism had in the philosophical formation of the 1848ers¹²¹ was recognized by non-German journalists as well: „We honor them for their devotion to freedom . . . but we have no use for their transcendentalism in politics. We have failed to discover in the German mind, since the philosophy of Hegel overran the country, those indications of practical statesmanship which would constitute them fit leaders of a political party.“¹²² Ever since the time of the immigration of German intellectuals in the pre-March period, the so-called 1830ers had been disseminating Hegel's views to a broad spectrum of the American public.¹²³

Notions of the Enlightenment formed the basis for the definition of liberalism in the 19th century. In the view of Kant, it encompasses „the release of man from his self-deserved immaturity;“ man should „make use of his reason in all matters of public interchange, that is to say, to cogitate.“¹²⁴ Clear parallels to the „transcendental principles“ of the Königsberg philosopher demonstrate how deeply

rooted the Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers were in the Enlightenment and in the moral philosophy of Kant. „All actions affecting the rights of other people are unjust if their maxims do not stand up to the scrutiny of the political analyst.“¹²⁵ The American historian Carl Wittke was concerned in detail with the 1848ers. For him they were „the true heirs of Kant, Fichte and Hegel . . . and their gradual extinction has meant the end of the cultural flowering of German communities in the United States.“¹²⁶

The Enlightenment signified first and foremost the emancipation of the individual in all areas, especially, however, from the authority of the church.¹²⁷ „The relationship of man to God,“ wrote Theodor Olshausen in 1847, „the orientation of his faith, these are matters for which the individual is accountable only to his own conscience.“¹²⁸ Radical developments along this line would take place only after the emigrations through the founding of „Freie Gemeinden“ [liberal non-denominational communities] in America. Among the basic principles of the Enlightenment was also the conviction that the socially weak classes of society could be given a happier life through education and instruction.¹²⁹

In addition to their liberal demands, a sense of national identity had been developing among the farmhands and day laborers since 1840. The notion of a cultural and national unity of a people was different on the Schleswig-Holstein side of the border than it was in Denmark.¹³⁰ A visible sign of this growing feeling of nationalism manifested itself in regional, pan-German¹³¹ singing festivals, which were viewed in Copenhagen as *political* demonstrations and therefore intensified political tensions.¹³² Organized by the burgeoning „Liedertafel“ societies, these singing groups acquired great significance and, despite the opposition brought to bear by censorship,¹³³ the folk song became a bearer of German identity and demands for a German nation.¹³⁴

In America, singing societies were the first organizations founded by German immigrants.¹³⁵ In the societies founded by Schleswig-Holsteiners, the numerous Low German choirs played a significant role in keeping memories of the revolutionary period alive, often for longer than in the homeland that had been left behind. Thoughts of that homeland were fostered with particular intensity by an organization, unique in America, known as „the Davenport Verein der Kampfgenossen der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Wars of Liberation of 1848, 1849 and 1850“¹³⁶ (the Davenport Society of Veterans of the Schleswig-Holstein Wars of Liberation from 1848, 1849 and 1850). Emil Geisler, born on April 11, 1828 in Lunden, Dithmarschen, a long-standing member of this society, reported in 1905 not without pride: „Even in our native country of Germany there is no city in which there is a

veterans' society for men of '48 as large as that which we enjoy here in Davenport."¹³⁷ By that time, the number of members had shrunk from 320 at its founding to 175, and the age of the veterans then ranged from 75 to 88 years old.¹³⁸

Substantial emigration from the duchies was registered only after 1846. „Emigration fever spreads like a contagious disease farther and farther in a northerly direction.“¹³⁹ „One hears constantly of the planned emigrations to North America.“¹⁴⁰ Many journalists expressed sharp criticism of this phenomenon up to the end of the revolutionary period, and they constantly sought a scapegoat. „Emigration fever has found its way even to Holstein . . . this sickness, which is manifested now and again in the lower classes, did not originate with us, but in the search for causes we might name those who are offering a fee and who run around planting the poison of their enticements in the ears of simple and unsuspecting people.“¹⁴¹ The author of this article, entitled „On the Recruitment of Immigrants,“ realizes on the other hand that „many of the poor were driven into exile,“ by despotic pressures, un-Christian intolerance, feudalistic compulsion, fiscal exploitation.¹⁴² By contrast, the number of those leaving southern and western Germany primarily for economic reasons had been climbing ever since 1830.¹⁴³ For Schleswig-Holstein, only individual emigrants are documented for this earlier period.¹⁴⁴

Among them, 14 years before the departure of the well-known Theodor Olshausen, was one of his half-brothers, Arthur Olshausen, and some years later another half-brother, a medical doctor named Johannes, both of whom emigrated to the United States. Arthur, a trained typesetter, born on October 16, 1819, in Eutin, landed on July 3, 1837 in New York.¹⁴⁵ At the time, the emigration process required at least four weeks for the journey from New York to St. Louis, a city that upon Olshausen's arrival on August 8, 1837 had a population of 12,000.¹⁴⁶ By August 14, 1837, the young man, still not quite eighteen, had already begun working in the printing division of the weekly *Anzeiger*, which had at the time a mere 300 subscribers. The young man's initial task was to set type for the Missouri Legal Code. In 1844 Arthur became a co-owner and two years later the sole owner of the newspaper, which was now appearing daily.¹⁴⁷ On March 8, 1850, fully a year before Theodor Olshausen would arrive to join his brothers Arthur and Johannes, Arthur had already sold his *Anzeiger des Westens* to Heinrich Börnstein.¹⁴⁸

In 1847, Johannes Julianus, known in the United States as John, joined his brother Arthur in St. Louis.¹⁴⁹ Johannes was born in Eutin on June 6, 1817. He attended the Gymnasium in Schleswig and studied medicine in Königsberg and

Kiel. After extended research trips through Europe, the Orient, and South America, Johannes worked in St. Louis with minimal financial success until the year 1854.¹⁵⁰ Two years before his half-brother Theodor Olshausen would join Johannes and take over the newspaper *Der Democrat* in Davenport, Johannes had already moved to this center of Schleswig-Holstein immigration in America, where he became a successful „physician, surgeon and accoucheur opposite the Pennsylvania House.“¹⁵¹

Another of the early Schleswig-Holstein immigrants from Kiel was Karl Georg Allhusen. He had been living as a well-to-do merchant in New Orleans since 1835, but during the revolutionary period found himself once again back in Schleswig-Holstein.¹⁵² Allhusen was well known to German officials because of his agitation among the working classes. Two of his publications in Kiel were translations into German of the writings of Thomas Paine. Books by this deist and revolutionary were being read everywhere in Germany.¹⁵³ Paine's widely circulated *Common Sense*, a book that helped lay the groundwork for the American Revolution, appeared in Philadelphia in 1776 and undoubtedly made a great impact on Theodor Olshausen, since for him, too, free will was an aspect of common sense. It was his opinion that the „germ of truth“ lay in the common sense of all mankind and did not proceed from any one individual.¹⁵⁴ Olshausen, the most influential left-wing politician in Schleswig-Holstein, patterned himself after Paine. The fact that in his journalistic publications Olshausen often used the term „common sense“ or its translation, „gemeiner Menschenverstand,“ may serve to indicate how strongly his American colleague had influenced him. Paine's major works, *The Rights of Man* and *Common Sense*, had already been published in German translation in Copenhagen in 1793 and 1794, respectively. Olshausen recognized in these books perfect parallels to his own personal situation and that of political structures in Schleswig-Holstein.

In implementing ideas of the Enlightenment in his own homeland, Olshausen followed Paine in his acknowledged position as revolutionary. The work *Common Sense* sheds light in particular on the dual characteristics of the American Revolution.¹⁵⁵ Even as the legal struggle between England and the colonies was unfolding, a growing minority was developing strategies for achieving the Colonies' ideals as a republic. Paine's idea that only a complete separation from England could bring happiness and financial well-being to the Americans certainly fortified Theodor Olshausen. For him and for Hans Reimer Claussen, Danish absolutism with its notion of hereditary succession to the throne was the system of government least suited to guaranteeing human rights and personal freedom, the right of free elections, freedom of the press, and the right to engage in revolution.¹⁵⁶

In speeches given at St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt, Hans Reimer Claussen demanded a republican central power for the whole of Germany, which alone would be able to successfully support Schleswig-Holstein in its struggle against Denmark; this concept had features clearly similar to those of the American form of government. „For it is not a constitutional monarchy that we want to create, it is rather a republic . . . I am a Schleswig-Holsteiner—in no way do I love my Prince Friedrich VII, not in the slightest!“¹⁵⁷

The Schleswig-Holstein democrats also considered Paine's definition of a republic the best form of government, „a government by election and representation.“ As a matter of fact, they followed in detail the insight that the worth in any government or its lack of worth is determined by its written constitution, and in 1848 they forced the drafting of the Schleswig-Holstein basic law.¹⁵⁸ The American journalist also influenced the religious free-thinker movement among the 1848ers.¹⁵⁹ It was precisely the leftist powers in Schleswig-Holstein who recognized the church as an effective champion of absolutism and who therefore demanded strict separation of church and state. Like Paine, Olshausen declined to inject the usual blizzard of Latin quotations into his publications, but rather sought to persuade through forceful, stirring language and stylistically masterful arguments that appealed to common sense.

The mass emigration from Schleswig-Holstein to Davenport, Iowa,¹⁶⁰ which began in 1846-1847 was preceded by the settlements which Johann Heinrich (1838) and the teacher Kay Asmus Kroegersberg (1840) had established previously.¹⁶¹ For some time, Kroegersberg had been carrying on letter exchanges with friends in the duchies, offering information which in some points did not completely correspond to realities in America.¹⁶² Preceding these first Schleswig-Holsteiners were three families from Thüringen who settled in Davenport between 1836 and 1838. Their presence, however, did not lead to any subsequent chain migration.¹⁶³ It was the 1848ers who first initiated mass emigrations targeted for Iowa.

Of decisive significance for three major waves of emigration to Iowa in 1847 were the brothers Louis and Wilhelm Beyer from the town of Preetz in Holstein. In 1844 they had settled in Scott County, which surrounds Davenport. Although 25 additional countrymen followed in the next two years, it was their enthusiastic letters to the old homeland and the actual return of Louis Beyer to pick up his family that stimulated the first great emigration wave from the duchies to Davenport.¹⁶⁴ Economic motives for immigration were not always primary; Olshausen's emigration society, for example, had cash amounting to 60,000

Reichsthalers.¹⁶⁵ „Today 129 Holsteiners are leaving the region of Eutin. Among the emigrants are quite a few intelligent people.“¹⁶⁶ In America as well, this mass immigration of Germans, unknown up to this time, caused quite a stir. A quotation translated from an American source that appeared in the Cologne *Allgemeine Zeitung* stated: „It is indeed frightful to see how the emigration increases . . . educated young men, physicians, attorneys. . .“¹⁶⁷

In the summer of 1847 three additional groups left Schleswig-Holstein headed for Davenport. These members came primarily from the district of Probstei¹⁶⁸ in the vicinity of Kiel, from Danish Wohldt, and from the district of Plön.¹⁶⁹ Among these emigrants were two men who later would become important politicians in their new home state.¹⁷⁰ Claus (Nicholas) Johann Rusch, born on February 15, 1822, in St. Michaelisdonn/Dithmarschen, later Lieutenant Governor of Iowa, arrived in Davenport on August 1, 1847.¹⁷¹ American biographers report that Rusch, who had started medical studies in Kiel in February of that year,¹⁷² had taken part in illegal activities against the Danish king and had avoided arrest by emigrating.¹⁷³ Mathias J. Rohlf's was born on April 19, 1816 in Tondern.¹⁷⁴ After finishing teachers' college in his hometown, he became a school teacher in Hornsmühlen. On the same vessel as Rusch, Rohlf's reached Davenport in late summer of 1847. His political career began with his election as Justice of the Peace. From 1866 onward he was elected to four terms in the state legislature of Iowa as a representative of the Republican party from Scott County. As a member of the commission for immigration, he wrote the book, *Iowa, a Homeland for Immigrants* (Iowa, die Heimath für Einwanderer). This piece of propaganda gained a large circulation in Germany and contributed a great deal to the increase in the stream of immigrants who headed for this state beginning in 1872.¹⁷⁵

In conclusion then, it is possible to say that the majority of Schleswig-Holstein emigrants up to 1848 did not leave their homeland for economic reasons as was the case in the rest of Germany. Their emigration was a kind of substitute revolution¹⁷⁶ because, in the light of increasingly disquieting conditions at home,¹⁷⁷ they expected no solution to their disagreements with Denmark.

Wilhelm Ostfeld organized one of the more interesting social-philosophy-minded emigration societies. In 1843 he interrupted his law studies in Kiel and opted for settlement in the small village of Calumetville on Lake Winnebago in the state of Wisconsin. In the fall of 1847, accompanied by his American friend Charles White, Ostfeld took a trip back to the duchies in order to campaign for settlers.¹⁷⁸ Before the two ever arrived in Kiel, they encountered other exiles, Klaus Oesau and Joachim Krönke, in Hamburg,¹⁷⁹ both of whom quickly decided that they

would return in a few months with these visitors from America.¹⁸⁰ Whether they really fled from the duchies into the Hanseatic city of Hamburg „for purposes of avoiding arrest and imprisonment by Danish authorities“¹⁸¹ cannot be ascertained from Schleswig-Holstein sources. New Holstein's chronicler, Rudolph Puchner, did reckon these first settlers among the refugee 1848ers.¹⁸² However, one needs to bear in mind that this classification was commonly used at that time for varying groups of German immigrants to America.¹⁸³

The *Itzehoe Weekly* then published two long articles by Ostenfeld, which for the first time championed emigration in the light of its benefits for the people in Schleswig-Holstein.¹⁸⁴ Descriptions about climate and farming take up the major portion. Ostenfeld speaks out clearly against settlement societies that had fixed and firm conditions: These societies have no place in America, the land of freedom. Traveling together, yes, that's one thing, but settling together—do not make any enduring contracts. Even though, on behalf of a land speculator, Ostenfeld was supposed to be selling land near his American town in Calumet County, Wisconsin, he mentions the advantages of states like Iowa and Wisconsin. Simultaneously he warns against southern states like Tennessee and advises strongly against people making a trial trip first. „Either go to America with the courage and the firm determination to create a new home there, or give up the idea entirely.“¹⁸⁵

In Kiel, Itzehoe, and other towns, there were many willing emigrants who joined Ostenfeld and White.¹⁸⁶ On April 2, 1848, several days after the provisional government had been established in Kiel, their journey began on the *Brarens*. All 198 passengers, 70 of them belonging to the Ostenfeld group, reached New York on May 12, 1848, and greeted their new homeland dressed in their Sunday best.¹⁸⁷ Thanks to the experience of their leaders who knew America well, the group easily reached Calumetville where Charles White owned a hotel.¹⁸⁸ An analysis of the passenger list of the *Brarens*¹⁸⁹ reveals that this group did not consist of young men in search of adventure; it was composed rather of families whose members were of various ages. Only four persons gave „craftsman“ as their profession, but there was also a doctor, Karl Bock, and a man named Karl Grüning, whose entry reads „master of the Latin and English languages.“¹⁹⁰ Thanks to this Latin-English teacher who became the „secretary“ and kept the town minutes of New Holstein,¹⁹¹ we are able to read the proceedings from May 6, 1849 on in flawless English. Grüning took charge of all subsequent transactions and thereby played an outstanding role in the overall development of New Holstein.¹⁹²

This homogeneous group can be categorized as belonging to the well-educated middle class. „They were men above the average in intelligence . . . They

were mostly men of means . . .¹⁹³ and, because of their subsequent economic well-being, came to be known as a successful community of Latin farmers.¹⁹⁴ The purchases of land made by these 70 Schleswig-Holsteiners indicate clearly the financial means with which they began their new lives. Just as Wisconsin was becoming the thirtieth state in the Union (May 29, 1848), the emigrants arrived in Calumet County. Immediately upon seeing the site, they began contracting for the purchase of land and issuing orders to construction workers in Calumetville for the erection of houses .¹⁹⁵ The property they purchased amounted to between 80 and 200 acres each, and for each 200 acres of land they paid up to \$600.¹⁹⁶

Up to 1855 there was a steady flow of new immigrants. During these first seven years, 78% of the immigrants took up residence in the township. Schleswig-Holsteiners accounted for the majority, 67.15%, followed by Rhine-Prussians, 21.8%, and other Germans, 5.9%. Yankee Americans amounted to only 5.15% of the residents of New Holstein township.¹⁹⁷

The political organization of New Holstein took place on April 2, 1849.¹⁹⁸ It was in this context that „the elevated word ‘self-government’ became a reality.“¹⁹⁹ Suddenly all the political rights and duties of a grassroots democracy were placed upon the shoulders of the New Holsteiners. In 1857, section 17 was newly surveyed and registered in the county deed books in Chilton as „The Village of Altona.“ Since an already existing Altona frequently received their letters from people still in the duchies, they decided two years later to change the name to the „Village of New Holstein.“²⁰⁰

New Holstein’s subsequent chronicler, Rudolph Puchner, arrived in the spring of 1849 from the southwest German district of Swabia and opened a general store in the purely north German New Holstein settlement. Puchner’s talent for doing business and his proclivity for earning money „in the bush“ led the former newspaper editor Hanssen to explain in Olshausen’s „North German Free Press“ that Puchner’s „Yankee perspicacity“ had been acquired during his short stay among the Yankees.²⁰¹ Industrial development in New Holstein began in 1853 with the construction of a sawmill by Joachim Schildhauer, who had emigrated from the vicinity of Schleswig in 1851.²⁰² „Not only were there willing workers, but financial capital also accumulated and generated a great deal of prosperity.“²⁰³

Interestingly enough, New Holstein was not named after a German city, as was the case in the overwhelming majority of German settlements in America, but after an oppressed duchy of the German Federation that was a part of the Danish „total state.“ For the neighboring township of Schleswig, which was settled at the

same time as New Holstein, the founders in 1853.²⁰⁴ Subsequent authors disagree on this question. The director of the emigration society, Wilhelm Ostenfeld, had suggested the name „Neuholstein“ during his trip across the ocean, the reason being „... not only to remind us of the homeland from which we all originated, but also in order to create a signpost for ensuing emigrants from the duchies towards which they can happily orient themselves.“²⁰⁵

Since the sources give us no further clues, only speculation is possible about alternative concepts of a more far-reaching nature. It is highly probable that both Ostenfeld and Puchner were familiar with the new German ideology of Karl Follen, his brother Paul, and Friedrich Münch through their university educations in Kiel and Heidelberg. After the failed reform efforts in Germany in 1830, their ideal was a territory—they were thinking of the state of Arkansas²⁰⁶—which all German-speaking immigrants would settle. This chosen territory was supposed to become „a model state in the great republic.“²⁰⁷ In the early 1850's this old notion was reborn: the Flensburg writer Adolf Strodtmann confirmed many years after his return to Germany that many idealists wanted to found „a new homeland, a better and larger Germany“ in America with him in 1852.²⁰⁸ Perhaps some of the New Holsteiners had a „new Schleswig-Holstein in miniature“ in mind. On the other hand, a linguistic association with the 'New Holsteinism' movement created in 1839 by Olshausen and Claussen is also conceivable. Since Wilhelm Ostenfeld had left Schleswig-Holstein in 1843, his suggestion for a name could indicate evidence of his sympathy for this line of thinking.

Chapter Three: Forty-Eighters in Schleswig-Holstein, 1848-1851

During the 1840s there were political groupings, but no party system in today's sense of the word. Our primary interest here concerns the left-oriented spectrum around which the subsequent emigrants to America coalesced under the leadership of Theodor Olshausen. His friend and co-publisher of the *North German Free Press*, Otto Fock, called this faction, which can be considered a decisive step forward in its representation of the democratic ideas of the time, the „great liberal party“ (*die große freisinnige Partei*).²⁰⁹ The fact that even the „so-called common man equated lack of freedom with being Danish“ must be ascribed to the influence of this democratic faction.²¹⁰

The first as yet unclear contours of party formation could be observed among the members of the local parliament in Itzehoe and Schleswig.²¹¹ In 1844 there was the threat of a division within the „State (Provincial) Party,“ which demanded more rights and freedoms in general in the Danish „total state,“ when Olshausen and Claussen and their „German Party“ began propagating New Holsteinism.²¹² The older Schleswig-Holsteiners turned against these liberal forces because their conservative representatives had wanted for a long time to avoid conflict with Copenhagen at all costs.²¹³ Yet in a subsequent review by one of these „red republicans,“ all had a common objective: „the destruction of Danish supremacy.“²¹⁴

After the elections to the state parliament in September 1848, three political parties gradually took shape in Schleswig-Holstein, later than in other places.²¹⁵ Like the representatives of the people to the Paulskirche in Frankfurt, the members of these „clubs“ met in three different restaurants.²¹⁶ For the already mentioned journalist of the „red republicans,“ the „absolutists“ (characterized in the language of the street as „screamers“), the „constitutionalists“ („whiners“), but also the „radicals“ („agitators“) were not decisive enough. For as a „truly authenticated“ republican, he demanded „a period of thorough purification for the good of the Fatherland.“²¹⁷ A liberal journalist, on the other hand, adopted the classical subdivisions of Left, Center, and Right, whereby the conservatives were still behind in the formation of parties. In comparison to its political opponents, the Left had from the outset more concrete goals and binding agreements, and thus a program²¹⁸ whose first principle was the „participation of all citizens in the political rights and duties of the state.“²¹⁹ The Left's elected representatives in the local parliament consisted of barely 40 persons, with Theodor Olshausen as their

indisputable leader. „His stalwart faith in a future of freedom makes him the best man for the assembly.“²²⁰ But even in the early stages of party formation, an „extreme Left“ consisting of 18 members, among them Olshausen, was clearly visible. In discussions concerning the right of the people to bear arms and the „social question,“ and during the vote on a state constitution, this leftist minority rejected „the concept of the whole for one that focused only on the individual.“²²¹ By early 1850, the „Center“ no longer existed for these radical republicans in the circle of Claussen, Hedde, and Olshausen since it had lost all credibility among the people through „ridiculous twaddle“ on the topic of „constitutional monarchy on the broadest possible democratic basis.“²²² In the summer of 1849, the very young radical republican, Theodor Gülich, entered the public arena with an appeal to the extreme left:

Party Members (of Schleswig-Holstein):
Therefore, as if driven by a storm,
Gather yourselves into a party!
Draw your swords from their scabbards!
Insert your bullets into your rifles!
Put out with vigor onto the wildly churning sea!
Since „good fortune smiles on the courageous“
Boldly lay the first stone for a German republic.²²³

The difficulties the politicians of the Left confronted can be observed in the „activities of the screamers and the Corporalstock Party“ against Harro Haring. Several officers at the precinct polling place in Rendsburg checked the votes cast by their recruits, the reason being that Haring's opposition candidate was the arch conservative Lieutenant Colonel Garrels.²²⁴

Numerous scholarly investigations have shown how decisively the 19th-century workers' movement in many regions of Germany affected social and political change.²²⁵ In Schleswig-Holstein, intensive research on the emancipation of the „fourth class“ has gotten underway only in the most recent past.²²⁶ In various states of Germany, the first organizational initiatives among the workers took place as early as the 1840s.²²⁷ In the Schleswig-Holstein duchies, however, it was the 1848ers who established the first educational organizations for workers during the period of the revolution. As early as 1839 in the city of Schleswig, the first Liedertafel singing society came into being. Thereafter, similar singing societies sprang up like mushrooms throughout the entire country.²²⁸ As early as October 19, 1845, Olshausen and Hedde had organized a „business society,“ the first of its kind in Schleswig-Holstein.²²⁹ Theodor Gülich later paid tribute to this

establishment as an educational society through which „the first semblance of political awareness was infused into the people and, as a matter of fact, into all classes of people.“²³⁰

At the beginning of 1848, before revolutionary activities began, it was again Olshausen who founded the first citizens' society in Kiel.²³¹ On the basis of the first reports concerning the events in Paris, about 400 persons gathered as early as the beginning of March and decided to petition for freedom of the press.²³² This citizens' society, which became the center of political life in Kiel, included initially craftsmen, students and members of Turner Societies.²³³ On September 19 of the same year, these new members adopted the name of „Democratic Society.“²³⁴ Olshausen used this opportunity to warn against presenting the republic as the most important objective in political efforts. „Schleswig-Holstein should at any rate not take the lead in this matter.“²³⁵

The growing unrest of the workers, day laborers and farm workers, who up to now had not been organized, was recognized also in conservative circles. Even during the first encounters of the war against Denmark, Adolf Glasbrenner asserted in his article „Call to the poor workers and rural people, the revolution whose blessings we mostly owe to you, you brave ones, you, the heroic poor, is now past.“²³⁶ Thus there was general recognition of the „need for political educational societies“ and rural grade-school teachers were encouraged to help found these clubs.²³⁷

On October 9, 1848, in the city of Neumünster, the representatives of several local people's societies headed by Olshausen established a more unified organization with a program bearing the title „Preservation of the People's Sovereignty.“²³⁸ From the first general resolution it offered, it became clear how tense the situation was in the duchies after Olshausen had ceased to work as part of the provisional government: „The people of Schleswig-Holstein declare that they have no intention of letting themselves be transformed from the state of lawful order that has prevailed since the revolution into one of anarchy.“²³⁹ Scarcely one year later the folk societies in a central assembly elected Harro Harring as their president.²⁴⁰ In the discussion of whether the society's representatives should send an „address“ to the rump parliament that was meeting at the time in Stuttgart, Friedrich Hedde, a representative of the Bad Segeberg Citizens Society, remarked with resignation: „Such a communication of sympathy would be nothing more than a confirmation of our weakness.“²⁴¹

Four weeks later Harring ended his presidency when two members of the central committee resigned because of his political statements. In a letter defending

himself, Harring referred to his dignity as a citizen of the United States which did not permit „submission“ to a „princely sovereignty.“²⁴² From early on, arch conservative opponents (aristocratic party „whiners“) had organized against these political people’s societies. They could see little more than the „sickly outgrowth of an unruly era“ in the new organizations.²⁴³ In this connection, the patriotic society for Schleswig-Holstein had set itself the task of warning all rural farm workers and laborers to be wary of the „actions of lawyers, scholars and schoolteachers.“ „Place your trust in your authorities and in your landed owners,“ and not in the treacherous promises of „agitators, Communists and revolutionaries“²⁴⁴ as an anonymous appeal advised.²⁴⁵ In due time, these reactionary powers achieved more and more control over the citizens’ and people’s societies, as a result pushing liberal democrats, radical republicans and workers out of positions of leadership.

Claussen, upon returning from the forced dissolution of the rump parliament, continued his political work in Schleswig-Holstein and, together with Olshausen and Hedde, also energetically supported the foundation of these political workers societies.²⁴⁶ At the beginning of 1850, on the initiative of the workers society in Wilhelminenhöhe near Kiel, the „Central Committee of Schleswig-Holstein Workers Societies“ was formed.²⁴⁷ Among the five directors of this umbrella organization were the three individuals mentioned above, later to become 1848ers. They decided that all matters concerning the Schleswig-Holstein Collective Workers’ Societies, as it was later called, should be published in the *Zeitung für Arbeiter* („Newspaper for Workers,“ Kiel) and *Das Volk* („The People,“ Rendsburg).²⁴⁸

The task of the workers’ societies was three-fold: (1) improvement of the material situation of the workers, (2) furtherance of their moral education, and (3) awakening and education of political consciousness among the worker class.²⁴⁹ The radical republicans were convinced that a consciousness of human dignity had to be developed precisely among underprivileged workers and day laborers. Then the „democratic spirit“ would be able to shape them into morally free human beings.²⁵⁰ They felt that only the members of the Workers’ Society had enthusiastically „recognized that only through education could freedom be provided to the individual.“²⁵¹ Thus, on June 8, 1850, the newspaper *Das Volk* announced the purchase by President Olshausen of two books each for all members of the society: one by Ignaz Lehmann, *Basic Rights of the German People*, and the other, by Rudolph Dulong, *On the Struggle for Freedom of the People; a Reader for the German People*.

Claussen’s departure from the provisional government had meant an indefinite adjournment of the „labor question.“²⁵² Again and again, however,

suggestions were made; for example, that farm laborers, who were „in reality, serfs,“²⁵³ could be helped simply by the „possibility of acquiring their own property.“²⁵⁴ The mass emigration in the early 1850s was then also in Schleswig-Holstein a substitute for revolution²⁵⁵ and a social escape valve.

The first Turnverein (Turner Society) in Schleswig-Holstein was established in Kiel by a young lawyer named Friedrich Hedde, who was born on September 11, 1818 in Rendsburg.²⁵⁶ In this organization, that had more the character of a political party than a gymnastic society, the republican-minded were in the majority. In contrast to the liberal democrats, who believed that the state and society could be changed through reforms, in accordance with the principle of the division of power-sharing of powers advanced by Montesquieu and through a German parliament, the Kiel Turners of 1844 wanted to realize the notion of equality in accordance with Rousseau’s concept of popular sovereignty and thus sought the removal of all power held by princes.²⁵⁷ The head of the Turner society was Christian Müller, who was born in Heiligenhafen on March 1, 1823. After the wars of liberation, he and Theodor Gülich founded the „Socialist Turnverein“ in Davenport.²⁵⁸

Immediately after the provisional government had been instituted, the Turners entered the public arena. Re-enforced by young barricade fighters from Berlin and students from Heidelberg who had been greeted triumphantly by a jubilant public in Kiel, they created the „student and Turner corps.“²⁵⁹ Their first military engagement followed the same day with the bloodless capture of the fortress in Rendsburg. Reports in the newspapers said: „The Turners have played a not unimportant role in the most recent events,“²⁶⁰ and articles about the objectives of the father of the Turnverein, Ludwig Jahn, furthered the founding of similar societies even in more rural regions: „Gymnastics is the most suitable school for learning to bear arms, and inspires feelings of nationalism and love for the Fatherland.“²⁶¹ The 400-man free corps from the Kiel gymnastic and student societies, however, took part in the first encounters with Danish troops in the vicinity of Flensburg and suffered a decisive defeat.²⁶² „Unfortunate circumstances“ there forced the Turners into retreat in spite of their „heroic efforts,“²⁶³ whereby the poet Adolf Strodtmann was transported to a Danish hospital „with bullet holes through his leg and in one side.“²⁶⁴ Strodtmann, who subsequently emigrated to America and then back to Germany again, was born on March 24, 1829 in Flensburg.²⁶⁵ He began his literary career on board the Danish ship *Dronning Maria*, which was being used as a prison for 750 irregulars. In his predominantly politically-colored poems he often took up the cause of Schleswig-Holstein.

„The thrones of kings are collapsing,
They have been tottering already too long,
And the cry: 'Revolution!'
May it inflame all hearts.
In holy anger, shatter in two the yolk of slavery!
Here! Here! all you people! Liberate Schleswig-Holstein!“²⁶⁶

Following an exchange of prisoners, Strodtmann went to the University of Bonn, where he established contact with the circle headed by Gottfried Kinkel and Carl Schurz.²⁶⁷ On the basis of his „Winding Song,“²⁶⁸ in which he describes the humiliating circumstances that led to the arrest of his honored teacher, Kinkel,²⁶⁹ Strodtmann was expelled from the university.²⁷⁰ Thereupon he went to Paris. The American biographer of Carl Schurz, Hans Trefousse, reports knowledgeably about the adventurous circumstances that characterized Schurz's life with his friend.²⁷¹ In the French capital, Strodtmann was intensively occupied with modern folk poetry, in which „the oppressed popular spirit was ventilated.“²⁷² Like „the poets from the working class,“ he recognized in the „proletariat“ a future power factor and saw in „social democracy the only means“ for the „fulfillment of human needs.“²⁷³ In his own poems about workers, which he wrote primarily during his stay in America, he did not see the slightest connection between anarchists („agitators“) and proletarians.²⁷⁴ Just how strongly he supported the early workers' movement is clear from his verses:

„Eyes bright, the brow high and free:
Thus breaks, his sword gripped by a strong fist,
The worker his yoke in two!
Rise up! Let the banners unfurl!
This will be the last war!
Out to the battlefield! Freedom leads us forward!
Henceforth, the world of the future belongs to the working
man.“²⁷⁵

Reviewers from the *North German Turner Newspaper*, as well as the newspaper called *Freischütz*, were uniform in their evaluation of Strodtmann's lyrics: „The poems of 1848 to 1863 are shot through from beginning to end with thoughts of a democratic republic.“²⁷⁶ The literary judgment of his lifelong friend Carl Schurz, however, was very different. „His verses were not usually characterized by the depth of their thought, but rather through an unusual fullness of expression and a splendid musical cadence.“²⁷⁷ During a year's stay in England, Strodtmann taught the children of a wealthy woman, Mrs. von Bruining, and lived in her home in St. John's Wood.²⁷⁸

A hoped-for early return to Schleswig-Holstein did not materialize. When the revolution expected by almost everyone following the coup d'état by Louis Napoleon on December 2, 1851 in France did not come to pass, Strodtmann, along with Schurz and many other London émigrés, got the message and soon emigrated to America.²⁷⁹

In July 1852 Strodtmann opened a bookstore and lending library in Philadelphia, both of which operated under the company name of Strodtmann and Lorey. Cautionary suggestions from established book dealers concerning the selections Strodtmann planned to offer were simply cast to the winds. His catalogue, put together during his trip to America, included only the most formidable of German authors—Hegel, Feuerbach, Humboldt, Alexander v., Moleschott—all the classics and the political darlings of the 1840s.²⁸⁰ By the summer of 1854, as a consequence, his money had all been consumed and he was forced to shut down his business, characterized as it was by pure literary idealism. What sold best in America at that time was not esoteric literature.²⁸¹ Strodtmann suffered another financial loss with an illustrated weekly paper. Founded in 1853, „The Lokomotive—New Pages from America,“ as he called it, appeared for only a few weeks. Imitating Goethe's style, Strodtmann later reported on his business misadventures:

„There I stand now, I the poor fool,
I am so stupid, just as stupid as I was before,
And I have no money, but a lot of humor.
But with my humor and without any money
There is no getting on in this world of ours.“²⁸²

His self-published cycle of poems entitled „Lothar,“²⁸³ in which he described the youth exile and death of a student revolutionary, did find some recognition in literary circles. Retrospectively he pointed with satisfaction to the harmonious cooperation of two very different groups in the population:

„The night when our fellow warriors,
student and proletarian united,
Stood under fire at the barricades,
and found freedom or the gun's bullet.“²⁸⁴

As a literary historian, he was even more successful with his writings on the Scandinavian north.²⁸⁵ Nevertheless, he was not able to make a living from his writing. With his translations from American publications, however, he was able to procure his bread and butter. Probably the best of the 60 or more German-language versions of the American novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher

Stowe, which awakened America's North to the problem of slavery, came from the pen of Adolf Strodtmann.²⁸⁶ Excerpts of his translation appeared, for the first time in any newspaper, in the *Itzehoe Weekly*.²⁸⁷ Also widely distributed was his translation of the novel by Georg Lippard, *The Empire City*.²⁸⁸ The last summer preceding his return to north Germany Strodtmann spent as a guest at the home of his friend Carl Schurz in Watertown, Wisconsin.²⁸⁹ Strodtmann's strained financial situation and his ever-increasing homesickness led him to become the second most prominent Schleswig-Holstein returnee after Theodor Olshausen. Shortly after his arrival in Hamburg in 1857, in a poem entitled „To My Homeland,“ he expresses his deep feelings of regret:

„How could I have left you so foolishly
As the star of your freedom was vanishing?
Oh, more noble it would have been to embrace you,
To bear sorrow and spite for your sake!
Now I have seen the promised land
To which my vain longing drew me -
Freedom it was but a desert,
Which bent me down more painfully.“²⁹⁰

After his return Strodtmann lived in Wandsbek, but became a citizen of Hamburg, „where he found no legal impediment to being married to a Jewish woman.“²⁹¹ As a Germanist, he made a living up till the time of his death on March 17, 1879 from the first scholarly biography of Heinrich Heine and from his translations of American authors.²⁹²

As a result of the political restructuring in Schleswig-Holstein in the spring of 1848, the entire press situation and the attitude of its readers changed dramatically. Until the uprising, the „so-called ‘stupid farmer’ or ‘miserable city dweller’“ according to Harro Haring, only rarely dared to subscribe to a weekly newspaper, because the subscriber's neighbor would have considered him a „spendthrift“ or a „lazy fellow.“²⁹³ Even before the provisional government began its job, the press in Schleswig-Holstein, as in the rest of Germany, had acquired great influence, since censorship had been significantly reduced as early as March 10, 1848.²⁹⁴ Freedom of the press, now close to realization, was celebrated as a great achievement by both conservative as well as more liberal newspapers. „The Republic recognizes as its highest authority the healthy common sense of the people, whose organ is a free press. It is apparent that it is the free press that has once again breathed life into the principle of democracy.“²⁹⁵ As far as Harro Haring was concerned, „by means of the free press, the human spirit has finally taken charge of the world“ in Schleswig-Holstein.²⁹⁶ The *Itzehoe Weekly* formulated

it somewhat less passionately and completely in the spirit of the conservative politicians who supported the revolution: „only a free press is able to bring the wishes of the people unvarnished to its princes. Wherever true freedom is to reign, the press must be free.“ With an eye to the United States, the conservative journalist wrote, „Woe to him who would dare to tinker with the freedom-loving American’s freedom of the press.“²⁹⁷ In the view of the liberals, „freedom of the state“ was guaranteed by means of „freedom of the press;“²⁹⁸ it served as one of the four cardinal virtues of liberalism.²⁹⁹ Freedom of the press meant also freedom for the voting public, for the legal anchoring of the one was simultaneously an explicit legitimizing of the other.³⁰⁰ At the same time conservatives warned against school teachers in the countryside, since they often read aloud from newspapers in gatherings of day laborers. Accordingly, they had too much influence over them, because they „had too open an ear for the problems of the poor in their communities. The workers are only too eager to accept what they hear without making judgments as to what is correct and true.“ The conservatives believed that some teachers had developed „too much zeal“ in trying to solve the social question. While 19 new newspapers which publicized primarily liberal-democratic ideas had been founded in the years 1848 and 1849 alone,³⁰¹ the subsequent 1848er Friedrich Lexow sensed by late summer of 1849 the strengthening self-assurance of the reactionary forces. The „royal Danish state counselor“ in Rendsburg threatened him with a punishment of five Thalers, since he had no royal „permit“ for the publishing house in which his newspaper was produced.³⁰²

The same leading role which the Augsburg *Allgemeine* newspaper played in the entire German-speaking area was played in Schleswig-Holstein³⁰³ by the *Itzehoe Weekly*.³⁰⁴ Politically speaking, it was the most influential press organ and with 10,000 subscribers the largest newspaper in Schleswig-Holstein.³⁰⁵ It offered what Georg Cotta, chief editor of the Augsburg *Allgemeine*, demanded of his newspaper: „thoroughness, truth, and with it a use of language worthy of the material it prints.“³⁰⁶

Around the middle of the century, a new aspect became recognizable in the field of journalism. From the idea of simply reporting the news based on facts, newspaper editors in Schleswig-Holstein and elsewhere took a step toward influencing public opinion by means of critical commentary, that they offered „in service of a higher ideal.“³⁰⁷ As early as March 30, 1848, the *Itzehoe Weekly* defined its political position: „We are not creators of unrest, we are not revolutionaries, we are enemies of all communist ideas, we are obedient to the law.“ Thus they criticized Friedrich Hedde who, on the occasion of the opening of the upper-class assembly, had called for a people’s assembly: „It is, therefore, a

presumption to act as if such assemblies express the will of the people and should inform the formal-class deputies of it."³⁰⁸

It is astonishing, however, that even the serious criticism brought by the „Rendsburg Citizens' Society“ against its own newspaper was published in it: „Every member should, in consideration of the senility and partisan politics of the *Itzehoe Weekly*, feel obligated to do away with that newspaper.“³⁰⁹ Nonetheless, the popularity of the newspaper continued among Schleswig-Holsteiners, even those in America. In a letter from an immigrant we read: „Here in Davenport people read the *Itzehoe Weekly*, which provides us with much information about events in the Fatherland.“³¹⁰ According to a strict interpretation of permits issued, political news in the duchies was allowed to be distributed by only two newspapers, the *Glückstadt Fortuna* and the *Altona Mercur*.³¹¹ Democratic contemporaries characterized this semi-official newspaper, whose editor until 1847 was Andreas F. Hanssen, as „a bone-headed publication of no influence, and condemned it on account of its „highly conservative principles.“³¹² The *Itzehoe Weekly* also criticized the *Altona Mercur* because it had „made itself ridiculous“ by continuing to advance the cause of the king of Denmark in his role as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein even after the outbreak of hostilities. As far as possible, journalists of the *Itzehoe* paper wanted to dissolve the existing personal union in a legal manner.³¹³

As far as content is concerned, the newspaper with the most to offer during the period before the revolution was the *Correspondenz-Blatt*, founded in Kiel by Theodor Olshausen, which was to become the pioneer of progressive newspapers in the duchies. Beginning with September 11, 1830, the publisher, a classic representative of the „German nationalist“,³¹⁴ was producing the only bi-weekly „standard-bearer of liberalism“³¹⁵ in Schleswig-Holstein.³¹⁶ A pastor's son born on the June 19, 1802 in Glückstadt,³¹⁷ Olshausen got into conflict with the authorities because of his „demagogic behavior“ during his study of law in Kiel and Jena.³¹⁸ He was also a member of the youth society in Kiel, which was characterized as the „greatest enemy of the authorities.“³¹⁹

Olshausen's goal was a unified democratic nation instead of the existing 36 independent states. Friends and conservative critics alike were in agreement that his character was marked by „authentic humanity“³²⁰ and that he „stood up for his convictions selflessly.“³²¹ His primary objective was to realize the development of the individual personality through freedom in, and from, the state. This goal, which he wanted to see realized chiefly for the poor and neglected classes, could be accomplished in his view only through a broad program of education,³²² that is, by including all classes of the population in the political decision-making

process.³²³ This was how he defined the task of his *Correspondenz-Blatt* as well, comparing it to the free representation of the people. „The position of a free press is comparable to the well-being of the productive classes, both lower and higher. It is the necessary expansion of the free representation of the people, inasmuch as it untiringly calls attention to all abuses, points out the necessary reforms, and protects all who suffer and are oppressed.“³²⁴ His conservative, aristocratic opponents condemned the one newspaper of the opposition as a „paper poisonous to the government.“³²⁵

The revolution brought forth a new type of uncompromising radical-republican, who argued that the princes and the existing bureaucracy lacked the capability to adjust to the liberal ideas of the time and battled in the spirit of true progress for ideal democracy and a republican constitution.³²⁶ In Schleswig-Holstein the strongholds of these men and their newspapers were Rendsburg and Altona. The Rendsburger *Democratic Weekly* issued a trial edition on December 10, 1848. From June 8, 1849 it was known as the *Schleswig-Holstein Democratic Weekly* and, together with an advocate of the „principles of free trade“—the *German Sailors' Newspaper* in Kiel, merged on December 9, 1849 into *Das Volk* in Rendsburg. The *Schleswig-Holstein Newspaper* in Rendsburg, issuing its first edition on April 15, 1844 with Andreas F. Hanssen as editor, was renamed *North German Free Press* beginning April 1, 1849 and appeared under the editorship of Olshausen in Altona.

The best known and most influential radical-republican organ in the duchies was *Das Volk, a Democratic Newspaper*. It appeared under the direction of Harro Harring twice weekly until August 15, 1849. With his motto, Harring indicated his intimate connection to Mazzini:³²⁷ „Lavoro e frutto proporzionato“ — „Work and a harvest in relative proportions.“³²⁸ The previously unknown variety in press reporting often came to an abrupt conclusion in the case of the subsequent 1848ers. These newspapers provoked the newly strengthened reactionary forces, which used the same methods as before at the end of the revolutionary period. In a correspondent's report from a large German-American newspaper in Milwaukee, we read: „Kiel, March 27— According to reliable sources, the editors of the red-republican newspaper, *Das Volk*, Baurmeister and Lexow, have been arrested in Rendsburg.“³²⁹

Friedrich Lexow, who would later become a New York journalist,³³⁰ had published an article by Karl Heinzen which was interpreted as a call for the murder of rulers: „The entire tyranny must be washed into the sea of history.“³³¹ The arrest of the two editors was only one consequence of the more and more conservative policies that gained sway during the revolutionary period. Nine

months earlier, on June 23, 1849, *Das Volk* published the following text next to a symbol of a gallows with a noose in the shape of an inverted question mark: „Our Schleswig-Holstein military, at least in and around Rendsburg, is forbidden on punishment of eight days in prison to read the newspaper *Das Volk*, and anyone who would offer it to a soldier will have his hide beaten. On the other hand, the *Altona Mercur* is allowed and sent by mail gratis.“ Even Olshausen had to give up his position as editor of the *North German Free Press* on account of „the newly constituted political circumstances.“³³²

A new phenomenon that lived on for many years in America came into being at this time in the form of slanderous argumentation between „feudal lords and devourers of democrats.“³³³ In August 1848 Andreas F. Hanssen reported that his former newspaper, the *Altona Mercur*, tried almost daily to frighten the people with its ‘slogans the republic, communism, and rulership by the proletariat.’³³⁴ A violent argument flared up when Theodor Gülich published a small volume of political lyrics.³³⁵ Dr. Martin Runkel, „the great champion of the reaction who lacks nothing but some healthy common sense,“³³⁶ saw in the poems nothing but „the party of anarchy“ and „inflammatory platitudes.“³³⁷ At the same time, however, the *New Rhine Newspaper* published by Karl Marx attacked radical republicans of Schleswig-Holstein when the question of a resumption of hostilities against Denmark was under discussion in the State Parliament: „By his silence, even Theodor Olshausen has consented to the betrayal perpetrated by the aristocracy. His cowardliness was greater than his sense of honor.“³³⁸

In the wake of the newly won freedom of the press, a large number³³⁹ of mostly progressive newspapers had been founded beginning in 1848, though frequently they enjoyed only a brief existence. In the „introductory words of the *North German Fackel*“ (torch), a radical-republican appealed to the necessity of the „unshakable solidarity of the democratic party, achieved by means of its press organs.“ As a good example, the editor pointed to the „Democratic Party in North America . . . which greets the establishment of every new newspaper as a reinforcement of democratic powers . . . like the entry of a new fighting force for freedom, and does so with a loud, heartfelt welcome.“³⁴⁰

Allowing the people to bear arms counted among the four most important demands of early liberalism and in 1848 was the most obvious manifestation of the military confrontation with Denmark in Schleswig-Holstein. It was a widespread movement in the direction of revolutionary action taken to achieve political and social goals. „Rich and poor now serve without discrimination“³⁴¹ and both want to share in political decisions.³⁴² The patriotism of the volunteers, who

came to the duchies from all the German-speaking substates, was political, since for them freedom, justice, and Fatherland were intimately connected. For the „free volunteers who came to Schleswig-Holstein with great enthusiasm,³⁴³ it was not the notion of homeland but of Fatherland that stood out most prominently.³⁴⁴

Among the most famous group of volunteers, under Captain von der Tann, considerable tension arose because of an „adherence to communistic principles,“ which endangered the unity of its leadership.³⁴⁵ In a public farewell address, the sixth company declared in the town of Apenrade: „Thus we sacrifice our enthusiastic desire and our glowing will power for the Fatherland and its freedom, that is, to carry on the fight for Schleswig-Holstein.“³⁴⁶

Again and again the radical-mindedness of many of the volunteers became grounds for violent arguments in the State Assembly. The 1848ers Claussen and Hedde criticized War Minister Jacobsen because he had rejected 2,000 volunteers from Hamburg, his explanation being that this assistance came from democratic societies. Resigned, Hedde argued, „In the army itself there are thousands of democrats! Go ahead and hound them out of the army too!“³⁴⁷ Hans Reimer Claussen too, who was immediately elected to the State Assembly following his return from Frankfurt and Stuttgart, ardently supported Hedde. His contribution to the discussion concluded: „I have said publicly that I find salvation only in democracy, and that a republic for Germany has become a necessity.“³⁴⁸ At the end of the debate, the radical-republican faction, composed of 22 delegates to the State Assembly, petitioned to have War Minister Jacobsen prosecuted.³⁴⁹ Only after the decisive battle at Idstedt was lost on July 25, 1850, would all people be accepted into the army „without differentiation as to political party affiliation.“³⁵⁰

Similarly, in early summer, the editors of the *North German Free Press*, Friedrich Hedde and Otto Fock, enlisted in the Schleswig-Holstein army as volunteers. Banners of the 100 volunteers from the region of Angeln bore the campaign slogan: „Rather dead than a slave.“³⁵¹ However, measures like these did nothing to stop the victory of the reactionary forces and the restoration of a Danish administrative structure in the duchies. Volunteers who had come from many smaller German states and even other European countries now returned to their homelands.

The Schleswig-Holstein experience, however, together with the friendships that had grown on the battlefields, would later influence the choice of some to emigrate to Davenport, Iowa. References to the common war experience in Schleswig-Holstein turn up again and again in the biographies of German-speaking settlers in the Schleswig-Holstein region of Davenport in Scott County, even those who

were not from the duchies.³⁵² Indications of the solidarity which reigned in the Schleswig-Holstein army in general can be gleaned from the Emigration Society and other support groups of the region. For example, the „Society for Former Military Personnel Headed for Iowa“ sought out carpenters, wagon makers and blacksmiths.³⁵³ The concluding report of the „Committee for the Emigration of Schleswig-Holstein officers and Fellow Soldiers“ announced its previous successes, to the effect that 39 officers and doctors and 22 enlisted men had been able to emigrate to America with their expenses paid by the society.³⁵⁴ Even though the entire Schleswig-Holstein army had been granted amnesty, „many married officers and fellow soldiers“ decided to emigrate to America because of the lack of economic and professional chances at home.³⁵⁵ In one of this group's appeals for support we read how unwillingly they made this decision. „It will be very difficult for them to leave their German Fatherland; only the realization that they have fought for a just cause here will enable them to face their futures in a foreign country with resignation and genuine courage.“³⁵⁶

A minority remained true to their profession and were recruited by Brazilian agents as mercenaries.³⁵⁷ Scarcely a year later, however, the German-American weekly *Wisconsin Banner* reported under the headline „Schleswig-Holstein troops in Brazil,“ that the dissolution of their military legion was near at hand and was mainly ascribable to an internal deterioration of the corps.³⁵⁸

Prussia chose to pardon political prisoners under the condition of emigration.³⁵⁹ In 1851, Prussian officials helped finance the emigration of Schleswig-Holstein officers and officials. This circle of people was not automatically classified as revolutionaries, but concern that these officers could develop into radical-republicans determined the action taken by the Prussian government.³⁶⁰ The Prussian representative in Hamburg, von Kamptz, indicated on May 24, 1851, that the Schleswig-Holstein officers could become dangerous leaders of a new revolutionary or socialist movement.³⁶¹ Von Kamptz denied democratic activities on the part of these officers, confirmed on the other hand the resistance of the revolutionary-oriented Schleswig-Holstein central committee, which prevented several army members from getting financial support for their emigration.³⁶² The „real“ motive of the democratic committee was to prevent the depletion of the supply of trained officers. However, the Prussian Foreign Minister wrote back to his deputy in Hamburg: „It is devoutly to be wished that this opportunity be used to promote the emigration of as many persons as possible, since an extended delay of these unemployed people would be disadvantageous not only for themselves, but also in every other respect.“³⁶³

Many of these professional Prussian soldiers experienced great difficulty in acculturating following their emigration, at least up until the time of the American Civil War. Aided by numerous officer-friends of the Schleswig-Holstein army, Hermann von Hertzberg³⁶⁴ erected an extravagant farm building in Scott County's Hickory Grove Township, which he equipped with a small gymnasium and a generously endowed library.³⁶⁵ These „Latin farmers,“ influenced by the romantic notions of Rousseau, recognized that farming was too difficult for them and soon gave up their alternative project, which became known in local terms as „the shack.“ Count Hermann von Hertzberg later worked in Scott County as a surveyor.³⁶⁶

„I want the Constitution of the United States of America, but I want it as a goal, and at present we are still far from our goal. I want it in the most orderly way, and via the most careful manner.“³⁶⁷ Thus did Hans Reimer Claussen sketch out his plan for the political program of the „Left, that is to say, for those delegates whose basic orientation in political matters is different from what had been followed previously by the government.“³⁶⁸ On May 1, 1848, the citizens of Dithmarschen chose Claussen, the man who would one day become the most influential 1848er in Davenport, to represent them in the Paul's Church in Frankfurt.³⁶⁹ Soon he joined the republican faction in the Westendhall.³⁷⁰ In his speeches to the Frankfurt National Assembly, Claussen demanded a republican centrally controlled government³⁷¹ for the whole of Germany, since it alone would be able to help Schleswig-Holstein fight a successful battle against Denmark. „For it is not a constitutional monarchy that we wish to create; rather, it is a republic . . . I am a Schleswig-Holsteiner—I love my Prince Friedrich VII not in the least, not in the very slightest !“³⁷²

The son of a Dithmarschen farming family, Claussen was born on February 23, 1804, in Fedderingen. He attended teachers college in Meldorf and studied law from 1824 to 1830 in Kiel.³⁷³ From 1840 on he had represented Heiligenhafen and Neustadt in the Holstein state assembly.³⁷⁴ As a jurist and politician, Claussen fought vehemently against the prevailing notions of morality, religion and authority, and took up the democratic cause of re-education in order to teach the broad public about the conditions and processes of the courts.³⁷⁵ He sought to achieve these goals through the publication³⁷⁶ of many of his petitions and defenses and as the editor of a newspaper.³⁷⁷ In National Assembly debates, Claussen again and again rose to the occasion as a highly knowledgeable informant about the American Constitution. In the fundamental question before the Paul's Church group, namely the question of the relationship between the federation and the individual states, the North American model had special significance. Claussen's proposal to grant a great deal of independence to the individual German states in

matters of internal policy corresponded to the content of the tenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution.³⁷⁸ In spite of the functional powerlessness of the National Assembly, he believed „in the ultimate victory of freedom,³⁷⁹ and in this context called upon the authority of historical justice and the „principle of sovereignty of peoples.“ According to this principle, Claussen had no doubt „that the Schleswig-Holstein people could accept a republican form of government without injuring anyone’s rights, because the individual’s will in society must always be subject to the will of the whole.“³⁸⁰

Claussen’s conservative opponents in Schleswig-Holstein could see nothing behind his writings and speeches but a hate-filled Dithmarschen son of a farmer who stood in opposition to the existing order.³⁸¹ Claussen also had to cope with similar attempts at defamation in Frankfurt, where the republicans were called „nihilists, levelers and bulldozers“ who with their political „rubbish“ sowed „the seeds of hate and suspicion“ everywhere.³⁸² But even the young republican Theodor Göllich sharply criticized the Frankfurt Paul’s Church Assembly and the members of the rump parliament, among them Claussen, who had been forced to give up:

„The German Parliament
... if history calls you traitors,
You who are supposed to be representatives of justice,
And as cowards flee from the heat of battle?!—
You have branded your own selves, Parliament!“³⁸³

The leftist faction under Olshausen’s leadership had drawn up a blueprint for comprehensive democratic reform in the state parliament. As far as Andreas F. Hanssen was concerned, there was no essential difference between reform and revolution. „Both want to rescue common sense ideas and bring them to fruition, both want to destroy that which is unreasonable, both want to rescue the people as well as the state.“³⁸⁴ Their goal, therefore, was a totally new state, a free community, school, church and business order, the separation of justice from administration, jury trials in court, land reform for the benefit of the laborers, laws against arbitrariness in the army and regulations in order to check the abusive [„disarray in the] pension system.“³⁸⁵

The radical-republicans, however, had only initial success. With passion and conviction Olshausen took up the cause of a universal and equal suffrage, which would be a major advance for the undereducated.³⁸⁶ In his arguments Olshausen emphasized that in Germany and the whole of Europe the principle of free elections had been implemented and that, as a matter of fact, in Denmark the

right to vote had already been extended to workers and laborers.³⁸⁷

But soon universal suffrage was limited once again, and after initial successes there were only defeats for the leftist faction. On August 18, 1849, *Das Volk*, the battle organ of radical democracy in Schleswig-Holstein, pronounced judgment on the conservative revolutionary politicians: „The so-called government and its so-called representatives of Schleswig-Holstein, the fruits of the so-called achievements of the March revolution, have from the beginning discarded and denied democratic principles by introducing a census registration for elections that makes a mockery of personal and moral freedom.“ The author of the article portrays the Constitution of the United States as the only viable alternative.

Defining himself as a republican of the extreme left, Harro Harring expressed the opinion that he probably should have remained in America after his party colleague, Friedrich Lexow, publicly criticized him.³⁸⁸ „Here again we encounter the impossible fixed idea of the cosmopolitan Harro Harring, that our war is but a war of succession in favor of the Duke of Augustenburg.“ Harro Harring based his defense on a statement of Hans Reimer Claussen in the National Assembly. The Schleswig-Holstein delegate Claussen is supposed to have said: „The Duke of Augustenburg was the one who declared war against the King of Denmark.“³⁸⁹

After the Schleswig-Holstein revolution proved a failure, the conservative press, which enjoyed favor with the censor, analyzed the democratic reforms. In the newspaper Theodor Olshausen had established, they brought allegations against the „revolutionaries of 1848“ that German unity and a central government were incompatible with the notion of freedom. The Frankfurt National Assembly and all the state parliaments were said to be incapable of conducting the work of government. „The governing bodies that resulted from the elections collapsed because whenever they had to deal with practical questions they did not know how to tackle them.“³⁹⁰

Ever since the revolution broke out, it was precisely the radical-republicans who had been hoping for aid from America. Because the United States, as the first nation to enjoy a freely elected government, was seen as a pioneer in realizing the idea of a new humanity for the whole world, the German revolutionaries anticipated assistance from America to support their own progressive forces. Although ideologically they stood closest to the American political reality, the Left in the Frankfurt Paul's Church constituted a minority and was rejected by Washington. On the other hand, official America lent moral support to the majority, while steering a course of strict non-intervention.³⁹¹

On August 29, 1848, „the Democratic Republican party of Germany“ turned for the first time with a manifest „To the People of the U.S.: We know very well that you cannot help us as a nation, without involving you in war and disowning the first principle of your foreign policy . . . We declare it freely and openly, we want money, *nervus rerum*. . . “³⁹² In this way they wanted to take advantage of the pro-German public opinion that existed in America. American enthusiasm for the German cause was confirmed by a Rendsburg emigrant to America who wrote in a letter to Andreas Hanssen two weeks prior to the organization of the provisional government: „Everybody here is full of enthusiasm for you and for all of Germany; and they are highly critical that the corpses on the battlefield near the city of Schleswig were plundered by the Danes in such a horrible way.“³⁹³ In connection with a great celebration for Germany on June 8, 1848 in New York, the letter writer mentioned reports in American newspapers about the [Danish] defeat near Flensburg and the battles near Eckernförde in which by contrast the Danes „received a thorough pummeling.“³⁹⁴

Theodor’s half-brother, Arthur Olshausen, was especially active from the German-American side in support of the duchies. At a large gathering of Germans on December 30, 1848, the German Republican Club of St. Louis was founded under his leadership.³⁹⁵ Its by-laws listed as a goal to be accomplished immediately „support of republican efforts in Germany by preparing and distributing suitable pamphlets.“³⁹⁶ Since August 14, 1837,³⁹⁷ Arthur Olshausen had been working for the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, which he bought in 1846.³⁹⁸ Because of his family connections, Theodor Olshausen first went to St. Louis in 1851, before assuming his position as chief editor of Davenport’s *Der Demokrat* in 1856. Yet another brother, the doctor Johannes Olshausen, also lived there.

In stark contrast to the German-American mutual aid organizations was the „Society for the Murdering of German princes,“ founded in Philadelphia for the purpose of provoking the monarchies back home.³⁹⁹ Hit money was announced for the murder of tyrants: 25,000 guilders for the Austrian Kaiser, 20,000 for the King of Prussia, and 10,000 for any other duke, baron or ruling nobleman.⁴⁰⁰

Moral support of another stripe arrived in the form of regular correspondence from a „German from Nordalbing“ whom Harro Harring had won over for the newspaper *Das Volk*.⁴⁰¹ The „trans-Atlantic views of an unprejudiced republican who had been living in New York for seven years claimed to analyze the effects of the European revolutions on the democratic principles of the Union.⁴⁰² On the one hand, Harring’s friend Peterson praised the American press for its support of the cause of the European people thirsting for freedom, but on the other hand he

condemned the „non-intervention principle“ of U.S. foreign policy as a „political sin.“⁴⁰³

After the revolution broke out, many letters, proclamations, and pamphlets arrived from the American side, cheering on the German revolutionaries.⁴⁰⁴ From the very beginning, the war against Denmark offered a special occasion of hope for U.S. aid, especially because France and England had turned against the demands of the duchies for political reasons.⁴⁰⁵ The unfounded expectations went so far that influential newspapers in the Hanseatic cities suggested enlisting the aid of the President of the United States as arbiter in the Schleswig question.⁴⁰⁶ Haring's above-mentioned correspondent was soon highly dissatisfied about the development of the revolution in Schleswig-Holstein. „May our people finally realize that it is stupidity and foolishness to spill one's blood for kings and princes. Nothing exists, after all, but the will and the rights of the people.“⁴⁰⁷ With resignation, he then wrote in his final paragraph: „It appears that a person from Nordalbing can breathe in the good air of healthy common sense and democratic consciousness only by traveling to the other side of the Atlantic.“⁴⁰⁸

In addition to the moral support it offered, the United States was often cited as a good example for the realization of democratic principles. On the occasion of the 75th birthday of the 32 united states in the year 1849, *Das Volk* emphasized on August 18 of the same year the „absolute necessity of maintaining the basic democratic principle: All for one and one for all.“ The newspaper continued: „Man is free and all men are born with the same rights. This is the slogan of all voters in North America.“

For a long time after their emigration, the Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers lamented the failure of the American government to deliver any assistance. This viewpoint is documented in a Davenport newspaper article from 1864: „The American republic would have been able to prevent the evils brought about by the monarchies in Europe in 1848-49 if it had gone to Europe and acted in the role of midwife at the birth of the revolution. The most favorable time for such action elapsed in 1849.“⁴⁰⁹ Nevertheless, immigrant Schleswig-Holsteiners did not hold back in their support for Prussia and Austria on the one hand, and the duchies on the other during the initial phases of military operations with Denmark. Under the heading „Rise up for Schleswig-Holstein,“ the newspaper *Der Demokrat* in Davenport called for a mass demonstration on January 25, 1864. „Come together here for the sake of your brothers in the old homeland so that you may strengthen them with expressions of your sympathy in their upcoming struggle for the integrity and honor of Germany.“⁴¹⁰ The Schleswig-Holstein demonstration was organized

by the paper's chief editor, Jens-Peter Stiboldt,⁴¹¹ and Mathias J. Rohlf's⁴¹² was elected president and H. H. Anderson⁴¹³ secretary. A committee under the direction of Blake Peters⁴¹⁴ was given the task of formulating „a brief address to the German people“ that was to be publicized by various „free-minded papers“ in America.⁴¹⁵ At the request of Hans Reimer Claussen, a central committee of seven persons was appointed in Davenport, along with sub-committees of three persons each from every township in Scott County. Their assignment was to initiate the collection of money to support the Schleswig-Holstein movement. However, the money was only to be sent after sufficient confirmation had been received that „the movement was truly developing in the direction of freedom.“⁴¹⁶

During the 1850s the German-American press underwent significant quantitative growth and experienced its first major success. While the Cincinnati *Volksblatt* was the only German daily in the United States in the year 1843, by 1850 there were already dozens. *The New York Tribune* reported on March 5, 1852 that the number of German language newspapers had grown from 70 in the year 1848 to 133 in the year 1852.⁴¹⁷ In the following eight years the number of German-language presses doubled again, an expansion made possible by the significant increase of German immigrants in the 1850s. In addition to the quantitative, there was also a qualitative explosion. Since the year 1849, thousands of German political refugees had been arriving in the United States, among them many intellectuals who had been active as journalists and literary scholars. Carl L. Wittke speaks of a 48er renaissance in reference to the German-language press.⁴¹⁸ The journalists who had participated in the revolution and in the Schleswig-Holstein uprising tried at first to effect their goals from America, even if only by means of the printed word. Thus, while the German-language press in America distributed broadly based news from the homeland, the newspapers founded by political refugees after 1848 concentrated more on reports about the reaction which gripped the whole of Germany following repression of the revolution.

What pertained to all German revolutionary refugees in this matter pertained especially to the Schleswig-Holsteiners. Like their compatriots from other parts of Germany who had experienced a similar fate, they established new newspapers or took over some that already existed. The most significant establishment of a new paper was the *Davenport Democrat*, which came about in 1851 at the hands of Theodor Gülich, an immigrant from the cathedral city of Schleswig, and continued to be known as late as 1918 as „the low-German Bible.“⁴¹⁹ It was also one of the German-language newspapers from America whose distribution the Prussian Minister of the Interior forbade in 1858.⁴²⁰ Friedrich Lexow, who had published *Das Volk* in Rendsburg, during the revolution established one of the most significant

German-American journals with his *New York Criminal-Zeitung* and *Journal of Belles Letters*.

Even before these political refugees reached America in the early 1850s, German-American newspapers had offered a great deal of space for reports from Schleswig-Holstein. The freedom of the press that existed during the revolutionary period in Schleswig-Holstein led to a flowering of the political press in the duchies. Many significant personalities became active as journalists, independent co-workers, and correspondents, among them Theodor Olshausen, Hans Reimer Claussen, Friedrich Hedde and Harro Harring. Through numerous contacts with friends and family, the German-American newspapers received detailed reports about the situation in Schleswig-Holstein. By contrast, the English-language press seldom reported anything but marginal comments about the situation in northern Germany. A correspondent for *The New York Herald* in Stuttgart, for example, reported about Schleswig-Holstein only in direct connection with the Pauls Church and the general revolution of 1848-1849 in Germany.⁴²¹

Since „progressive“ newspapers were prohibited in Schleswig-Holstein following the battle at Idstedt (Theodor Gülich's mouthpiece, *Das Volk*, appeared for the last time on July 29, 1850), those independent journalists who wanted to continue their political struggle for the independence of the duchies following the rebellion went to work for German-American newspapers. For political refugees, including those who had been given asylum by other European countries, the German-American press became the most important, if not the only, outlet for publication.⁴²² Refugees from other parts of Germany as well wrote about Schleswig-Holstein. The *Wisconsin Banner* published a three-column article by Gustav Struve, „Germany and Denmark,“ on September 23, 1850. The enormous spread of opinion presented here helps us to form a detailed picture of conditions in Schleswig-Holstein. Sources from Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark are often full of gaps in their portrayals and subject to current power relationships. Journalists who showed evidence of objective reporting even during the revolutionary period can be considered reliable in their subsequent reports on this explosive issue as well.

The first German language newspaper in Wisconsin was *The Banner*, which appeared in Milwaukee beginning in 1844. Founded in reaction to the nativist attacks that were published in the local Whig newspaper, *The Sentinel*, it took a liberal stance.⁴²³ Like most other German-American newspapers, it greeted the 1848 revolution with enthusiasm but later expressed criticism of the refugees of that conflict. It, too, gave considerable space to reports from the duchies. After the battle at Idstedt, the *Banner* called for support of Schleswig-Holstein, failing which

the „end of Germany could become a reality.“ If the rest of Germany refused to help, it deserved „to be eradicated from the ranks of the living.“⁴²⁴

During the 1850s, reports in *The Banner* about Schleswig-Holstein concerned especially on the nationalistic policies that Denmark exercised in the duchy of Schleswig. The newspaper, of course, took a position clearly favoring the German population and sometimes accepted reports that have to be viewed with some caution. For example, *The Banner* published a private letter from Schleswig on May 8, 1850, according to which the civil servants who had recently been appointed by the Danish administration were terrible men, drunkards, and people who had failed their civil service exams. A report of September 1850 states that every civil servant, clergyman and teacher who did not want to wear the Danish emblem on his hat was relieved of his office and expelled from his homeland.⁴²⁵

The Banner reported especially frequently about the language policies of Denmark, which attempted to „Danischize“ at least the mixed-language districts of Schleswig.⁴²⁶ On April 26, 1851, they reported that in all local elementary schools instruction had to be imparted in the Danish language. Likewise a thorn in the flesh of *The Banner* was the format required when greeting Danish officers.⁴²⁷ Petty annoyances such as the theft of the anchor of the ship Christian VII from a church in Eckernförde, and the confiscation of mementos which a lathe operator from Eckernförde had made from metal parts of the ship, were reported to readers of *The Banner*.⁴²⁸ Other German-language newspapers printed similar reports. The National Demokrat published news of the arraignment of an Eckernförde merchant by the name of Mortensen who had greeted Holstein soldiers with the words „Welcome, German brothers here on German soil.“⁴²⁹

Danish policies were especially hard on those civil servants who were removed from the civil service. For some of the better known of them, assistance was forthcoming, such as the fired Kiel professors, about whom *The Banner* also reported.⁴³⁰ Many others, however, such as schoolteachers or officials who opposed Danish policies or who were simply classified as unreliable, were helpless in the face of the oppressive measures. Some of them were expelled from Schleswig.⁴³¹ Others, robbed of their basis for earning a living through their dismissal and without hope for any change of conditions, decided to emigrate. *The Banner* reported: „The majority of Schleswig-Holstein patriots who dared everything for the good of a Fatherland that then betrayed and abandoned them seem able to find their salvation and their sole means of escaping despair through emigration.“⁴³²

In the middle of the 1850s the German-American press reported about Schles-

wig-Holstein less frequently, though it did not fall completely silent.⁴³³ The newspapers reported especially about the renewed discussions concerning the organization of the duchies in the year 1858.⁴³⁴ The attempts of Denmark to separate Schleswig administratively from Holstein and Lauenburg by means of constitutional reform and thereby to integrate at least one of the duchies as a province into the Danish nation were sharply criticized.⁴³⁵ The *Davenport Demokrat* expressed its continuing opinion that „there was no doubt that a change in the situation of Schleswig-Holstein must come about. Perhaps the time for this to happen is not all that distant.“⁴³⁶

In spite of these undiminished expressions of solidarity, there was a gradual change in the second half of the 1850s—if not in the reports, then certainly in the commentary about the situation in Schleswig-Holstein. In the *New York Criminal Newspaper* an article by Friedrich Lexow appeared on April 2, 1852, commenting on the mood in Schleswig-Holstein at the beginning of the year as follows: „As at one time in Württemberg, now people here, too, are supposed to struggle for the ‘good old system,’ may heaven by its grace preserve us from its victory, for it is the system by virtue of which the nobility is everything and the people nothing.“ Though we may take this comment as a continuation of the argument between the democrats and more moderate forces, skepticism and aloofness are apparent in the following commentary concerning two petitions which were circulating in Schleswig and Eckernförde: „Unfortunately we have to express justifiable doubts, having learned through experience whether an improved outcome for our poor Fatherland will be achieved thereby.“⁴³⁷

Close to ten years in the United States had not yet severed the emotional connection to the old homeland, but experiences with the political reality of the United States had provided a new perspective. Criticism was no longer directed only to the old opponents.⁴³⁸ This process of distancing oneself from the old homeland, which of course was only one aspect of acculturation, could only be accelerated by the experience of the American Civil War which, according to the unanimous opinion of researchers, resulted in the complete assimilation of the revolutionary refugees into American society. This became clear in reports from the local scene during the German-Danish war. The *Demokrat* wrote that it was known to the governments of Austria and Prussia that England accepted their demands and that Denmark had thereby been abandoned by its ally—and the newspaper continued, „Can we call this war which they have now begun anything but a useless slaughter? Given the antagonism of the Danes and the Germans, which is made even sharper by the bloodletting on both sides, we have only a minimum of hope that any of the parties will accept reasonable advice.“⁴³⁹

The attitude of the citizens of Davenport, too—the city in which an organization was later founded with the largest membership of veterans of the revolution outside the duchies, and so must be spoken of as having a direct connection to the revolutionary period—makes clear the increased distancing on the part of the immigrants from events in their old homeland.⁴⁴⁰ With the outbreak of the German-Danish war, one can definitely speak of an initial euphoric phase. In January and February of 1864, two large meetings took place in Davenport at which the appeal was made for support of the „brothers“ back in the homeland. Announcing the first meeting, The *Demokrat* called the Schleswig-Holstein affair „the affair of the whole of Germany.“⁴⁴¹

Chapter Four: Expectations About, and Mass Emigration to the Midwest

For a considerable period of time, the image of America that prevailed in Germany remained strongly colored by ideological and emotional impressions. Following the American Revolution, the newly united colonies became stereotyped as a utopia in which the ideal of the enlightenment had been realized through peaceful means.⁴⁴² In the first decades of the nineteenth century as well, rather imprecise conceptions continued to prevail. „The widest spectrum of political and emotional points of view conditions the individual descriptions and thereby also the image of America of these first decades, to the extent that we can speak of such an image.“⁴⁴³

Romanticism transformed the beauty of America's natural setting into a primeval ideal the Indians into „noble savages.“⁴⁴⁴ Contrasting with the positive literature that, for the sake of furthering emigration, enthusiastically depicted the fervor for nature prevalent in the United States, its idealistic political substructure, and its economic advantages, were the extremely negative depictions in which political prejudice[s] and disappointed expectations were uncloaked.⁴⁴⁵ Only geographical and statistical volumes, translated in part from English and French, reported concrete information about the United States.⁴⁴⁶ Friedrich Münch, for example, who went to America in 1833 with the Gießen Emigration Society founded by himself and Paul Follenius, wrote as follows:

„Concerning the United States we knew this much with certainty: The people there govern themselves, there are no offensive class distinctions, no privileged nobility or the like. There is no all-powerful civil service that domineers over the people, no constraints as to religion, no persecution on account of one's convictions. Each person can live and behave according to his heart's desire as long as he obeys the simple laws which have been put in place for the common good, and in the process he is hardly aware of what one might call the government.“⁴⁴⁷

Completely false information about the climate, economy, and internal structure of the United States ultimately led to the collapse of the Gießen Emigration Society⁴⁴⁸. The same reasons caused the fiasco of the Mainz Adelverein.⁴⁴⁹

It was not until the 1830s and 1840s that an objectively critical image of

America began to take shape. In the year 1835 Alexis de Tocqueville's „Democracy in America“ appeared, a momentous work that became widely known in Germany as well shortly after its appearance.⁴⁵⁰ Just one year after the French edition two German translations were published. In these decades, studies of the United States enjoyed something of a boom. Between 1831 and 1834 at least 50 publications about North America and emigration to America came out.⁴⁵¹ Without doubt Gottfried Duden's *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerika's und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri* had a great impact on German emigration. Euphoric descriptions of his days as a gentleman farmer, however, also lured many emigrants to America under false pretenses.⁴⁵²

On April 21, 1847, a correspondent's report in the *Itzehoe Weekly* issued an urgent warning to the rural population in Schleswig-Holstein:

„The state of Missouri, which Duden describes in his report to the ruination of many Germans as a paradise and a genuine fairy-tale land, is not at all suited to the German farmer. The climate there is far too hot for working in the fields, and serious illnesses are the rule of the day. Iowa, on the other hand, which recently was made a state, leaves little to be desired with respect both to the productivity of its soil and the more bearable nature of its climate.⁴⁵³

Friedrich von Raumer's *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (2 Vols., Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1845) was considered the most dependable work in German on the United States; even the *Itzehoe Weekly* of September 11, 1846 recommended it to its readers as an objective representation. The large printings of these works and especially the numerous reviews they received lead us to conclude that in addition to the educated middle classes, a large number of lower-class emigrants also turned to these guides for help.⁴⁵⁴ Hans Reimer Claussen recommended a volume by Karl André to his political friends in Schleswig-Holstein, „If you want to be thoroughly informed about America.“⁴⁵⁵

All of the volumes about the United States agreed in their expression of astonishment at the rapid economic development and the enormous territorial acquisitions of the young republic during the first half of the nineteenth century. Different reasons were offered for this growth and the material well-being of the people. For dyed-in-the-wool liberals it went without saying that the economic success could be traced solely to the free constitution of the United States. Other authors thought it was based more on the natural wealth and the advantageous

geographic location of America. In the opinion of Gottfried Duden, America's prosperity and political stability were guaranteed purely by the fact that the overwhelming majority of citizens owned their own farms. In spite of the increasingly more accurate information available about the geography, economy and political system of the United States, the German image of America continued to remain imprecise to the extent that American reality was characterized by theories such as Tocqueville's liberalism or Duden's materialism; America remained open to the greatest variety of interpretations.

This spectrum of interpretations finds its reflection in discussions concerning the reasons for emigration. In America, the most widely varying circles could hope for fulfillment of their material and/or political wishes. Contemporary voices point[ed] at the same time to other reasons for emigration. The *Itzehoe Weekly*, for example, wrote on September 14, 1846 about the increasing number of emigrants: „Some are driven by the existing and ever-increasing situation of need, others by their hope for the future, and all by the more or less conscious thought that conditions in the Fatherland are not what they ought to be, or what they could be.“

Economic necessity, hope for a better life in the New World, and political reasons were, therefore, what determined the decisions to emigrate. One cannot measure the individual situation of hope. Our task rather is to weigh the role of political as against economic reasons in the decision to depart. The overwhelming majority of literature on emigration comes to the conclusion that economic reasons were the predominant motivating factor, while political reasons played only a subordinate role. This was precisely the conclusion reached by the *Itzehoe Weekly* concerning the emigration of the 1850s:

„Concerning certain classes of German immigrants, it may be correctly maintained that the reasons for which they give up their homeland are predominantly of a political nature. This judgment is not valid, however, for the masses of our countrymen who depart every year. On the contrary, material deficiencies and insecurity in their current economic circumstances are doubtless the primary moving forces.⁴⁵⁶

In a recent series of articles Günter Moltmann warned against interpreting this thesis of the dominance of economic reasons for migration too one-sidedly.⁴⁵⁷ „Revolutionary protest was not, of course, the determining factor for all emigrants, but it certainly played a role as one motivational component among others.“⁴⁵⁸

New Holstein, Wisconsin is a microcosm of the situation in which the educated Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers found themselves. These individuals, for their part, had great influence on decisions to emigrate due to the respect granted them in the weaker levels of society. The detailed letters of the widely traveled, cosmopolitan former editor of the *Altona Mercur* and the *North German Free Press*, Andreas F. Hanssen, written to his brother Georg, a professor of statistics in Göttingen, document the dominance of political reasons for emigration: „Thus I could almost be happy that things in the dear old Fatherland are getting more and more hopeless, so that we finally will be able to see the last king sucking on the intestine of the last preacher or nobleman.“⁴⁵⁹ On July 5, 1850, a few days before the battle at Idstedt was lost, Hanssen wrote to his brother in a letter from New Holstein: „You in Germany will not return to a state of peace and tranquillity until you have broken down all the privileges granted by birth and position and, above all, by money. At the moment it seems as though you are following that path less than before, and thus I see not only confusion, but bloody events for the next 30 years in Germany, and am glad to have found shelter from all of this here in our peaceful ‘bush.’“⁴⁶⁰

We have already referred to the material success of the first Schleswig-Holstein pioneers, but successive emigrants as well were financially so positioned that economic and social success in America did not serve as an attraction. „Many brought along gold pieces and trunks full of personal property. They were accustomed to a standard of living that could hardly be attained again in the back woods or on the prairie. What could they have been looking for that their homeland did not offer? It must have been political freedom.“⁴⁶¹ Andreas F. Hanssen describes clearly the previously unknown working conditions the intellectuals met in this thinly settled new homeland: „Of course it takes hard work to extract an existence, and even more, a degree of comfort from this woodland, but on the one hand I enjoy this hard work . . . [Hanssen married in New Holstein on June 3, 1850]. Now I have before me a quiet, simple life such as I have been dreaming for quite a long time.“⁴⁶²

The „leaven of democracy“⁴⁶³ continued to ferment in Schleswig-Holstein as well as in many European nations, exerting a powerfully attractive force from the other side of the Atlantic. There were also quite particular push factors at work in the duchies on the Elbe, which were rooted in the peculiar political history of Schleswig. After defeating the revolution, Copenhagen began an intensive policy of converting the duchy of Schleswig to Danish culture, which in regulations concerning the use of the Danish language affected the broad masses of the people as well. Thus there existed in Schleswig-Holstein an immediate political

reason for emigrating such as existed nowhere else in the whole of Germany. The radical-republican newspaper *Das Volk* went so far as to exclude economic reasons for emigration. On January 2, 1850 it affirmed: „The driving force behind the emigrations has always been chiefly political . . . for never before, especially in Germany, has the political element been so great and recognized as being so great.“

Scarcely one year earlier this newspaper, the most liberal of press organs in Schleswig-Holstein, stated the reasons why only North America could come into consideration as a goal for emigration: „The United States of America affirms before the forum of humanity that the republican and only the republican form of government is immovably in harmony with the demands and principles of reason, and that it alone can assure and protect the material and spiritual well-being of the human race by granting mankind the element of freedom as the basis of all physical, material, spiritual, and moral strength.“⁴⁶⁴

Hans Reimer Claussen who, along with Theodor Olshausen was the best-known politician and emigrant to America, responded to many requests and, after a three-month stay in the American Middle West, sketched a very positive picture not only of the political situation. After „my extensive reading of newspaper articles and making my own observations, I have come to the conclusion that I prefer Davenport to all other towns. This region is similar to that of Kiel, but far prettier. Davenport’s location is the most charming that I have seen anywhere in the Union. Indeed, no one in Holstein has ever laid eyes on such a clear blue sky as here.“⁴⁶⁵ These detailed reports from Claussen who, because of his active involvement in the societies for the education of workers, enjoyed a high reputation with the socially weak classes, were confirmed by other contemporaries as well. „We would not have needed the encouragement of Mr. Claussen to induce us to head for Iowa.“⁴⁶⁶

Writing to his brother Justus, Theodor Olshausen urged caution in accepting the reports of Hans Reimer Claussen: „His reports may have their good side, but they are to be read with a critical eye and taken with a grain of salt, for he always tends to exaggerate and, in this case, on the positive side. Here, as well as in Davenport, people are of the opinion that his reports present life here far too glowingly, even though he himself has had to struggle there with members of the opposition party.“⁴⁶⁷ In contrast to many immigrants who had created false images of America in their reports, Theodor Olshausen’s comments sound more sober: „Life in America does not vary all that much from the image one is obliged to form if one follows the large quantities of reports which are received in Europe.“⁴⁶⁸

A substantial part of the large body of literature about the United States that appeared in the first half of the nineteenth century was concerned exclusively with the issue of emigration. Many authors saw in emigration the most suitable means of doing something about poverty. In order, as much as possible, to minimize the state's economic loss—as the emigration of thousands of citizens with their small amounts of wealth was understood at the time—they demanded state regulation of emigration, better protection for emigrants, and the directing of emigrants to specific areas to some degree.⁴⁶⁹ Emigration was considered an escape valve that forestalled potential social upheaval.⁴⁷⁰ In addition to this socio-politically motivated literature, there were reports such as that of Gottfried Duden, which weighed the advantages and disadvantages of emigration on the basis of personal experience. A third kind of literature had a propagandistic tone, issued from the point of view of economic interests, for example by ship companies, land speculators, and also individual states within America. Finally there were letters from the pens of the emigrants themselves who wanted to induce their countrymen to settle in the same areas in which they had elected to live.

The first two above-mentioned categories of emigration literature were concerned with dispensing information, for example about the climate, expanding into new areas, economic development, job possibilities, etc., expressing at the same time some reservations about emigration. After he had treated the possibilities for different professional groups in some detail, Franz v. Löher, for example, spelled out the advantages and disadvantages of emigrating [as follows]:

„The new land offers the emigrant the advantage that he can, by hard work and skill, acquire his own household and modest income much earlier than it would be possible for him to do here—furthermore it grants him the feeling of being a free man. For the first he sacrifices a significant part of the intellectual and social life to which he is accustomed here; the pleasure of the second item is limited for him by the dominance of another nationality that restricts his social freedom in many respects.“⁴⁷¹

Frequently, articles and correspondents' reports in the German newspapers warned the emigrants against excessive hopes. The *Itzehoe Weekly* of September 17, 1851 printed a letter from New York addressed to the editor, stating: „Think it over seriously whether you want to give up all aspects of your social life at home, and don't build any castles in the air. No one doubts that America offers the rural dweller, the craftsman, and the worker an enormously rich field of activity; however, they can be assured that the descriptions usually given are exaggerated in the highest degree.“

On November 24, 1852, the same newspaper published a warning from the Berlin Central Society for German Immigration and Colonization Opportunities that employment was available only for robust craftsmen, and less and less even for them as immigration increased. Commentaries about the situation in America that the *Itzehoe Weekly* characterized as exaggerated were also attacked on the other side of the Atlantic, in a publication called *Atlantic Studies*. Founded by refugees from the revolution with the express intent of helping reduce the amount of misinformation about conditions in the United States in Germany, the journal reported as follows: „It can be proven that correspondents and authors of rather lengthy works were urged by German authorities not to touch on the darker sides of America. What is known as the darker sides emerge in reality much more sharply, while the so popular sunny sides have been described and exaggerated to the point of triviality.“⁴⁷²

Much of the emigration literature originated from sources with a direct economic interest in its content. The exploitation of immigrants began before they encountered the despicable circumstances during their journey or the deceptive practices of the „runners“ in American immigration ports, through the preparation of propaganda pamphlets whose rosy descriptions had little to do with reality. This criticism applies, of course, only to part of the literature on emigration that was written with specific intent. Emigration advisors made great efforts at presenting the situation objectively. In the article „Settlers in North America“ of November 9, 1846, The *Itzehoe Weekly* first recommended to its Schleswig-Holstein readership the reprint „Warning and Advice to Emigrants from the German Society in New York“ (Hamburg, 1845, Verlag von Tramburg's Erben) as indispensable information.

Many of the new midwestern states also tried to attract immigrants by publishing pamphlets describing the advantages of their part of the country. These made every effort to maintain objectivity in their presentations.⁴⁷³ To some extent they even had the problem of communicating advantages of emigration in a credible way. For example, emigration agents often experienced difficulty in convincing potential emigrants that they actually could get land for free.⁴⁷⁴ Friedrich Hedde from the town of Rendsburg complained in his book *The State of Nebraska* about the lack of information on the primary settlement areas of the immigrants from Schleswig-Holstein who had already come to the Midwest: „The fault lies in the fact that there are very few good volumes about America, especially about the new regions in the West . . . that the classes from which the German emigrants are preeminently recruited do not read very much, and finally, that the brochures distributed by the individual American states are usually received with a certain mistrust.“⁴⁷⁵

Long neglected, the significance of emigrants' letters has by now been recognized by researchers as well. An overdue pioneer work was that of Wolfgang J. Helbich in 1983. One of the more impressive undertakings resulted in more than 5,000 letters acquired and analyzed by the year 1989 in the Bochum Emigration Letter Collection project. „They offer a connection, a bridge between the points of departure and the end stations of migration.“⁴⁷⁶ The letters of emigrants were not only a tie that held families together across the Atlantic; they also were the decisive factor that produced emigration, whether for economic or other reasons.⁴⁷⁷

American authorities assumed even eighty years ago that the letters the immigrants in America wrote back home were the strongest motivator of succeeding emigrations, much more important than emigration agents' advertising campaigns, travel literature, emigration guides, and newspapers all taken together.⁴⁷⁸ The image of America formulated in these letters by trustworthy relatives or acquaintances offered the most important aid in the decision-making process with respect to both *whether* to emigrate and also *where to go*. Friedrich Hedde confirms this in his book about Nebraska, a state which became known in Schleswig-Holstein initially through his efforts: „The emigrants have shaped their understanding about our conditions exclusively, or at least primarily, from the letters their relatives and friends have sent to them from America. That they rely especially on such sources of information and choose to settle in the town from which these letters came is, given the circumstances, perfectly natural.“⁴⁷⁹

In this connection, author Hedde criticized the one-sided preference of the Schleswig-Holsteiners for Davenport and Scott County, Iowa, in order that he might interest them in the city he had founded, Grand Island, in Hall County, Nebraska. He warned that they should not let themselves be blinded by the quantity of letters from an earlier-settled region since the conditions that had made the first immigrants so wealthy so fast, such as the cost of land, would usually no longer prevail.⁴⁸⁰

It can be demonstrated that the initial development of Schleswig-Holstein emigration to Iowa can be traced back to letters sent from there to the old homeland. Propaganda from American organizations and institutions as a rule played no role at all. Emigration patterns from the duchies confirm what Walter Kamphoefner determined in general: „The factor that had the greatest influence on subsequent emigrants from a given region as to where to settle was the place chosen by the first emigrants from that region.“⁴⁸¹ This is true also for the years following the revolution. The first and most important publication about Iowa was written by Theodor Olshausen.⁴⁸² His description of Iowa was evaluated very positively by

the *Itzehoe Weekly* of December 18, 1852. According to the paper, the book's numerous statistics, its agricultural observations that were of special interest for immigrants, and the breadth of its content characterized it as one that would be a welcome gift for any immigrant.

The letters of those who had already emigrated also steered subsequent emigrants from Schleswig-Holstein to Iowa and to the other new states of the Midwest.⁴⁸³ Andreas F. Hanssen's letters to his brother Georg offers a graphic example of how an immigrant described his new surroundings to his family back home and in so doing urged them to emigrate.⁴⁸⁴ Hanssen in no way outlines a rosy paradise. In his first extant letter from America he says that the first settlers had had very bad experiences because advisers had told them that they could simply break the soil with a harrow, and that this would suffice to yield the most abundant harvest.⁴⁸⁵ Hanssen states as well: „There is a good deal of truth in the American saying that a new settler must have spent his very last European schilling before he can hope to have any success.“⁴⁸⁶

No matter how negative Hanssen's individual experiences may have been,⁴⁸⁷ his attitude toward America and his new, unaccustomed role as a farmer in the American wilderness remained positive. The hard work seemed completely positive to the former journalist.⁴⁸⁸ He contrasted his difficulties as a new arrival to the situation of the earlier settlers: „You'll never find any more independent and carefree people than the small farmers who began plowing their 40 or 50 acres of land here seven or eight years ago, even if back then they had nothing with which to start.“⁴⁸⁹

Hanssen admits, on the other hand, that this applies only to those whose ambition is nothing more than to make a decent living.⁴⁹⁰ But he advised his brother who had remained in Germany that he should emigrate without even thinking twice.⁴⁹¹ To the objections of his brother, Hanssen quickly countered: „If other immigrants usually make the mistake of imagining emigration as something that is too easy, one could almost accuse you of almost always imagining only the darker side.“⁴⁹² This accusation was followed by detailed reports, written to convince his skeptical brother, about prices of food and clothing and the successes of other settlers who had arrived with almost no money.⁴⁹³ In another letter Hanssen included the design for a house his brother could build.⁴⁹⁴

The detailed, realistic reports that immigrants sent back to their families in Germany were not the only advertisements for America. Among close family members emotional reasons also played a role. Thus, for example, Hanssen writes

on May 6, 1852: „In my imagination I already envision a neat little farmhouse standing on a small hill to the north of my clearing with numerous cheerful children, yours, playing in front of it. Mother Maren is getting breakfast and your share has already been allocated to you. Afterwards we'll set out on a hike through Wisconsin and its prairies.“

We can only surmise how sentences such as these might have affected family members who had stayed in Germany. But the desire to reunite families surely influenced the decision of some to emigrate. Likewise, the longing for relatives and friends back in Germany may have led emigrants to become such persistent propagandists for emigration. Just how intensively Theodor Olshausen urged his brother Justus to send his son to America is apparent in a letter of May 26, 1853: „When I think about how I believe his prospects in Germany to be, then I am quite decidedly of the opinion that it would be best for him to come to America, and then of course, the sooner the better. Maria (Justus' wife), I think, was never against their emigrating, and though you seemed to be prejudiced against America earlier, that will no doubt have abated in light of the most recent happenings in Europe.“⁴⁹⁵

The memoirs of the subsequent Davenport mayor Karl August Ficke show clearly the strong influence two long letters written in the year 1851 from Iowa had on his family in Boizenburg on the Elbe. „Fischer's letter created a profound sensation in his hometown . . . These letters described an earthly Paradise. . . The letters passed from hand to hand and were eagerly read. They were copied numberless times. . . When one at this distance peruses these letters, he ceases to wonder that Iowa, which Fischer and doubtless many others described in such rosy and true colors, attracted such a large volume of German immigration during the fifties.“⁴⁹⁶

Only rarely does one read in these immigrant letters anything about the negative aspects and problems they encountered in their new homeland. The former Schleswig-Holstein jurist and 1848er Bleick Peters,⁴⁹⁷ explained to his parents-in-law in a letter: „There is indeed an unhealthy tendency among us emigrants to write back the happiest of things to our loved ones in the old Fatherland and to keep as secret as possible the more unpleasant experiences.“⁴⁹⁸

After the revolution failed, many 1848ers, especially those of the Left, fled to America.⁴⁹⁹ Their expectations of the democratic institutions in the American republic were very high. Liberal intellectual German immigrants of the pre-March era, frequently described also as 1830ers, had praised the U.S. Constitution with

high-sounding words that were not without their effect in raising expectations in Germany.⁵⁰⁰

For the younger exiles especially, a longer phase of sobering reality now set in. Probably the most radical journalist among the 1848er emigrants was Karl Heinzen,⁵⁰¹ who ascertained a bad conscience or even self-disdain in many emigrants, who reproached themselves with having carelessly thrown away the tangible possibility of achieving freedom in Germany. These younger immigrants hoped for a considerable length of time⁵⁰² for a new revolution in their old homeland. „Many of us considered their exile in America to be only a temporary situation. They were only guests in the school of life here, as it were, and would return at some later date to Europe, the actual arena of their aspirations.“⁵⁰³ Early on, Hans Reimer Claussen dissociated himself from Karl Heinzen and the Schleswig-Holstein journalists of the *Davenport Demokrat*, Theodor Gülich⁵⁰⁴ and Heinrich von Ramming, who supported the radical Free-Soil Party. These politicians demanded the distribution of state-owned lands free of charge to incoming settlers: „The shortsightedness of these radicals, to the extent that they are honest, is great. But you know the dogmatic stubbornness of such theoreticians who admit of no comparison with the actual conditions of life.“⁵⁰⁵

Should the Schleswig-Holsteiner 1848ers settle down for good in Davenport? A large number of the younger revolutionaries in the circle of Gülich and Hedde asked this question. Even before emigrating Hedde had articulated what the republicans hoped for in the first years after the wars of insurrection: „The social revolutions will be even more terrible than the political ones . . . let us allow the wound to continue to fester. Then perhaps it can happen that a new uprising will erupt, as in 1848, one that will be more frightful than the first one was.“⁵⁰⁶ The New York *Criminal Newspaper* of November 3, 1854 greeted Friedrich Hedde a few days after his arrival with a rather lengthy article: „We regret that he is lost to the Fatherland for the moment, but at the same time we are delighted to see him in our midst. Mr. Hedde deserves the warmest welcome.“

Theodor Gülich's sympathies in America lay with those activities that could make possible his return to Europe. In his Davenport newspaper he reported in detail about the founding of clubs and societies that had joined the American Revolutionary Society for Europe.⁵⁰⁷ In the spirit of „true progress,“ they wanted to support the peoples of Europe who were striving for freedom and they judged America's neutrality to be contrary to „the spirit of this free nation.“⁵⁰⁸ As one of the older 1848ers, Theodor Olshausen did not share the hope of a quick return. He was skeptical, too, of the plans of Ludwig Kossuth and Gottfried Kinkel. He did

not believe that a second revolution could be unleashed in Europe with the help of a loan or the collection of funds. Only a few days before Kinkel was given an official reception in the capital city of Missouri, Olshausen had written to his brother Justus: „I doubt that he will raise very much money in St. Louis. As elsewhere, those with financial means here are conservative, and all agitations such as those mentioned are odious to them, even though they don't dare to tell this to the masses, especially because elections are about to take place here. In general, I do not see what the German immigrants here might be able to achieve with the few \$100,000 that they will probably be able to put together.“⁵⁰⁹

It was rare to read anything in Schleswig-Holstein about the activities of the political refugees in the U.S. An article of April 30, 1852 in the *Correspondenz-Blatt and Kiel Weekly*, founded and directed by Olshausen until 1848, criticized the efforts of the German-American Revolutionary League. Under the headline „Activities of the revolutionary emigrants in recent times“ it stated: „The United States is widely recognized at the moment as the primary staging area selected by the demagogues for their activities, the support base from which radicalism is supposed to achieve success, as they hope, so as to lift old Europe off its hinges and make it lie down happily in ruins.“ Along with Kossuth and Kinkel, the article quotes Arnold Ruge, a close friend of Olshausen's since 1821, when the two were members of the same Jena fraternity. „He [Ruge] still believes in liberating the world through the power of the pure idea.“⁵¹⁰

The Schleswig-Holstein journalists Friedrich and Rudolf Lexow expressed their wishes more than reality when they wrote that several ships were about to leave New Orleans to transport German revolutionaries to Europe for the second uprising.⁵¹¹ This theme surfaced again when Germans who showed up in Europe with American passports were either arrested for having participated in the revolution or drafted immediately into Prussian military service. Lexow demanded vigorous intervention on the part of the American government, but to no avail. In the event of a second revolution in Germany in particular, German-American volunteers were to be accorded full status as foreign mercenaries.⁵¹² In the United States, however, there existed no political majority, either in 1848 or later, in favor of actively supporting the European movements for independence.⁵¹³

While the younger revolutionaries still dreamed for years of a kind of „contented world“ and clung to their ideals of German unity and freedom, Theodor Olshausen and Hans Reimer Claussen analyzed their new surroundings much more realistically. Claussen's attitude toward the United States is especially reminiscent of the formulation by Carl Schurz: „I took it as my task to view everything

in America from the most positive side and not to let myself be discouraged by any disappointment.“⁵¹⁴

After the Danish king's power was restored in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, he issued a general amnesty on March 29, 1852, from which Claussen and Olshausen, in addition to 19 other persons, were excluded.⁵¹⁵ Since this outcome had been expected for some time, both men had already reached the decision in the summer of 1851 to emigrate to America.⁵¹⁶ In Claussen's letter of departure to his party colleague Wilhelm Ahlmann,⁵¹⁷ his sense of resignation is clear. „You are the only member of our party in Schleswig-Holstein who has succeeded in carrying out his ideas in a practical way. For my part, I have worked in vain for a reasonable reform of justice.“⁵¹⁸

Soon after the Malmö armistice of August 26, 1848, the cosmopolitan editor Andreas F. Hanssen had given up hope that the political situation in Schleswig-Holstein would change. All the information coming from his former homeland confirmed his decision to emigrate. The rapid dissolution of his emotional ties to Europe allowed for no thoughts that he was merely going into exile, and he explained that his new sphere of activity, farming, had brought him the freedom he had so long been seeking.⁵¹⁹ In letters to his brother, Professor Georg Hanssen, his mental detachment is clear: „You will find it comprehensible that under the present prospects my sympathy for the self-deserved misfortune of Germany fades more and more from my mind. If only our poor Schleswig-Holstein had not been destined in such a vile way to cool off the bath water.“⁵²⁰

Three and a half months following his emigration, Hans Reimer Claussen influenced the population in the duchies in a decisive way by sending detailed descriptions of his „exile“ in America, which was to become his permanent home. On January 17, 1852 the *Itzehoe Weekly* began to print a three-part report from him.⁵²¹ In a rhetorically skilled style and intelligent manner, Claussen imparted a general view of America and Iowa, which he portrayed as a second land of Canaan. „Even in November the weather is still wonderful. Yes, such a clear blue sky as here no one ever sees in Holstein.“ Claussen warned the elderly, dismissed officials in Schleswig-Holstein not to come to America. They would have a difficult time earning a living in a manner they had been accustomed to. On the other hand, all pathways for human activity were available here in the free and open economy since guilds and the compulsory use of mills were totally unknown. Nowhere in evidence were such artificial borders and barriers, drawn either by law or custom, as in Europe. Theodor Olshausen confirmed the evaluation of his former fellow student, emphasizing that the Germans who had emigrated to America could enjoy

„a greater dimension of personal freedom than in their old Fatherland.“⁵²² It is quite apparent that following Olshausen's arrest in 1846 the concept of personal freedom took on an especially high value for him.

As a rule, general information about the United States was very positive. Only rarely does one find in the newspapers of Schleswig-Holstein or in emigrant letters anything that is negative or that offers serious concern about America. An exception is the personal report of a former Schleswig-Holstein soldier (R.H.—the best in the 6th Battalion).⁵²³ He traveled with an emigration society to a socialistic-communistic colony in Clayton County, Iowa, where everyone expected to find „the beautiful asylum they had dreamed of for so long.“ After a difficult journey the North German Emigration Society achieved the settlement, which was based on the principle of common ownership of property. The disappointment, however, was boundless: „Nothing but two log cabins for some 80 people, barely half of whom knew the slightest thing about the principles on which the community had been founded. With that the beautiful dream was over.“⁵²⁴

The young farmer soldier from Schleswig-Holstein had been inspired to emigrate by one of the many utopian emigration projects.⁵²⁵ The colony „Communia“ had existed in Clayton County, Iowa, between 1847 and 1856⁵²⁶; its development had been significantly influenced by Wilhelm Weitling, probably the best-known German organizer of the early workers' movement. Settlers from Mecklenburg wanted to establish another socialistic-communistic colony („Liberty“), presumably distinct from Communia, and it was in this colony that the previously-mentioned Schleswig-Holstein freedom fighter also wanted to settle.⁵²⁷

Although some younger German revolutionaries worked intensely for several years on plans for a return to Europe, American historian John Hawgood is wrong in concluding that the immigration of the articulate and radical 1848ers ushered in a period in which the Germans created their own German-America, a cultural rather than a political grouping that kept itself separate from the rest of America.⁵²⁸ Rather, many 1848ers were eager to learn the English language right from the beginning and as quickly as possible. Hawgood's thesis can be explained, on the one hand, by the mass immigration of Germans before the American Civil War, which was accompanied by steadily changing internal political party structures and, on the other, by the anxiety which many Americans felt in the face of a rapidly increasing foreign element in their country. It is true that the 1848ers quickly discovered these weaknesses and eloquently urged a course of their own.

On the basis of the highly articulate analyses which Theodor Olshausen

sent to his politically like-minded brother Justus, we can pick up details not intended for the broader public that this experienced publisher with an astonishing sensitivity was able to formulate.

As mentioned earlier, Olshausen did not belong to that group of younger 1848ers who hoped for a second revolution in Europe in the near future. His re-migration after the American Civil War was due to short-term financial circumstances and the wish to see his family again. He thought that the isolation of the Germans in America was frequently not intended, but was caused by their language problems. Many 1848ers wanted to remove these communication barriers as quickly as possible. Olshausen, who lived with his two well-established half-brothers in St. Louis, tried in vain to learn the American language in the first period of his stay in America. „It is my mistake that I practically never come in contact with Anglo-Americans and, as a consequence, I am making no progress with my English. I am therefore limited to reading English, through which one cannot learn to speak it. None of the Germans whom I have gotten to know have any close Anglo-American acquaintances.“⁵²⁹ Many Germans who had lived in America for a long time, like Olshausen's half-brothers, either were unwilling to speak German or they spoke it with a lot of mistakes: „my woman ist my wife—bei manchen constant.“ On the other hand, he made fun of the use of ridiculous Anglicisms. „Our live-in companion, my brother-in-law Kraft, always says 'mitaus' [without] instead of 'ohne.'“ He laments in general „that English is spoken poorly in everyday life. Germans, Irishmen, Frenchmen, all work on destroying the language, and the Anglo-Americans themselves are no longer very concerned about language use.“⁵³⁰

German-language immigrants were especially in demand in the United States. There were campaigns to try and recruit them. Agents distributed written material shortly after the immigrant's arrival in the New World or even in Germany, although existing laws allowed them only to inform, but not recruit.⁵³¹ Intensive efforts to get German immigrants had a long tradition. As early as 1681 William Penn published a pamphlet with the goal of luring German settlers to the current state of Pennsylvania.⁵³² Systematic activities to guide the growing stream of immigrants to a certain targeted area began in 1845 when Michigan set up an official immigration agency with an office in New York. Up until the time of the Civil War, similar agencies were established for the territory in the region of Minnesota and the states of Iowa and Wisconsin.⁵³³ On March 30, 1860 the Iowa legislature passed a law valid for two years that supplied the financial means intended to strengthen immigration.⁵³⁴

For the New York office, Iowa Governor Kirkwood selected as his Lieutenant Governor Nicholas J. Rusch, a man who had had to discontinue his study of

medicine at the University of Kiel in 1847 for political reasons and emigrated to Davenport in the same year. The American historian Marcus Lee Hansen saw in the governor's choice of this Schleswig-Holstein immigrant who also held a high political office the reason for the success of his activities.⁵³⁵ Rusch enjoyed the privilege of distributing promotional information about Iowa in New York's central gathering area for immigrants, Castle Garden, where he did not face the competition of private agencies. „It was only on account of my official position as Lieutenant Governor of the State that I was able to obtain a pass for myself or my deputy to enter the building at all times.“⁵³⁶

Many Schleswig-Holstein emigrants had already decided where they were going to settle in the United States before leaving their old homeland. Their decision to go to a specific region was frequently formed on the basis of letters from friends and relatives who had already emigrated or from reports by personalities in public life who enjoyed a high level of respect among the general public.⁵³⁷ Some Schleswig-Holstein emigrants exaggerated their information about America; they almost always wrote in the form of letters with a personal touch, and these letters were reproduced in hometown newspapers in the duchies. On December 21, 1847, at the onset of mass emigration, Theodor Olshausen's *Kieler Correspondenzblatt* explained what was behind this flood of letters with their euphoric descriptions of settlement possibilities in the Midwest. Those from Schleswig-Holstein who are already in America „seek to promote and incite emigration here in order to exploit their countrymen who trail after them and arrive equipped with money.“ Andreas F. Hanssen emphasized in a long unpublished letter to his brother the political aspects of continued immigration: „Without fresh money a newly established settlement develops slowly. This is why there is such a clamor for new immigrants.“⁵³⁸

In addition to these economic motives, the desire of an ethnic group to enlarge itself in America in order to form a „little Germany“ in the New World played a role that should not be underestimated. The many individual attempts at recruiting as a means of luring friends, relatives and acquaintances across the ocean also show very clearly how strong the desire for self-justification was. Again and again, individual reasons for deciding to emigrate were explained and justified. Parallel to the initiation of mass emigration from Schleswig-Holstein, local newspapers discussed the question of whether emigrants should settle in Iowa or Wisconsin for years. This competition eventually came to a head and led to mutual accusations of having told untruths about the other settlement area, whether New Holstein, Wisconsin or Davenport, Iowa.

A letter from Toledo, Ohio, reprinted on May 31, 1847 in the *Itzehoe Weekly*

initiated this public quarrel. The following comment was to hold true for the next several years: „Wisconsin and Iowa have become targets of emigration, without having any more merit than the region here.“ Both parties took as their point of departure the qualities of the arable soil. The Schleswig-Holstein pastor S. Jacobs reported, for example, on November 18, 1847 from Gutenberg or Prairie La Porte in Iowa (south of Davenport): „Iowa is especially worthy of recommendation to our countrymen because in this state meadows and forests alternate in the most pleasant manner, and the farmer does not need to go to the effort of rooting out trees here as is necessary in Missouri, Wisconsin, Texas, and other states.“⁵³⁹

The lack of trees was simultaneously used as an argument against Iowa. „I would have advised anyone who wanted to buy land from four to six years ago to go to Iowa. But now the intense immigration has already taken up the best stretches of land, leaving available only the unhealthy areas and those where wood is especially scarce. But without a lot of wood, the American farmer simply cannot exist. Wisconsin, because of its healthy climate, its wealth of timber, and its especially favorable market routes for products, is probably preferable now to all the other states.“⁵⁴⁰ The chain migrations to Iowa disproved much of this false information in the greater Davenport area in particular; around 1850 good land was available at favorable prices.

In the course of the next years, when it became obvious that the continuing immigration from Schleswig-Holstein was heading more for Iowa than Wisconsin, the arguments sharpened. Andreas F. Hanssen from New Holstein took issue with a report from Hans Reimer Claussen which could „hardly be completely impartial,“ since Claussen had bought a few thousand acres himself for speculative purposes. „We have little reliable information here, but we hear from the Old Country that reports by people who have recently arrived there are quite disappointing.“⁵⁴¹ The 1848er Claus Oesau, a pioneer settler of New Holstein, put it somewhat more precisely, by inference attacking Claussen, among others: „For a long time I have been intending to publish something about all the excessive praise of Iowa, especially by people whose previous positions in the Old Fatherland would allow one to presume they were honest and truthful.“⁵⁴² In his commentary, Oesau pointed to the „many deaths from fever“ among the immigrants to Davenport, whereas in New Holstein there was only one death among 170 new arrivals.⁵⁴³ He wanted to correct false information about the weather as well:

„The climate of Wisconsin is the target of unfriendly reports from Iowa. They call it unpleasant and raw and compare it with Siberia, whereas Iowa, of course, is supposed to be a paradise. Anyone

who so desires can pick up a map of the United States and easily find out that Davenport lies no more than 2-1/2 degrees or 37-1/2 German miles further south than Sheboygan (not far from New Holstein—author's note), Wisconsin. Lying out on the open prairie, Iowa is at the mercy of the strongest winds, whereas Wisconsin's forests trap the winds and make them less perceptible . . . In part, our own experience . . . it can be said with confidence that for the north German emigrant, the region . . . where our New Holstein is also located in one of the most suitable places."⁵⁴⁴

This kind of population politics was summarized by Andreas F. Hanssen: „We have enough land, even though there is not much left in our town, there is more in the neighboring one, which is as yet almost completely unsettled and which we would like to see blossom forth as a New Schleswig next to our New Holstein.“⁵⁴⁵

The population of Europe increased from about 140 million in the year 1750 to almost double that, approximately 255 million, in the year 1850.⁵⁴⁶ Between 1845 and 1854, more than 3 million Europeans left their homeland, creating a U.S. immigration stream in the decade from 1850-1860 amounting to 11.2 percent of the total population, the highest percentage increase in America's history.⁵⁴⁷ In the period from 1852 to 1854 alone, more than 500,000 Germans emigrated to the United States.⁵⁴⁸

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the strong population growth in Europe totally outstripped the number of job possibilities. On the one hand, wages in Germany stagnated at the level of 1820, and on the other, prices for comestibles like wheat and potatoes doubled; the same held true for clothing.⁵⁴⁹ This critical situation, aggravated in the 1840s by poor harvests, affected small farmers, craftsmen and day laborers especially.⁵⁵⁰ To identify this state of mass poverty, unknown up to that time, writers frequently resorted to the English term „Pauperism.“ In the opinion of the *Itzehoe Weekly* of April 10, 1852, the crisis could be met in only one way: „For Germany, emigration has become a matter of life or death.“ Just before the Schleswig-Holstein revolution, the same newspaper warned its readers on January 18, 1848 against state-sponsored attempts to influence emigration to the United States, which was „ever more assuming the character of a mass migration.“⁵⁵¹

Well-known leaders of the '48 revolution who fled to the United States saw only political motives behind the mass movement: „In the years between 1848 and 1867 the reactionary forces in Baden drove no less than half a million Badenens out

of the country. . . nowhere else were so many political proceedings [lawsuits] brought to court. . .⁵⁵² Friedrich Kapp presented a similar position: „The '48 revolution propelled hundreds of thousands of politically persecuted and dissatisfied [people] individuals to America, who in their great numbers peopled entire states and determined their character.“⁵⁵³

Scholars refer to this mass movement as a chain migration of people from one region in the Old World to a specific target area in the New World.⁵⁵⁴ This concept of chain migration doubtless applies to Schleswig-Holstein during the time frame between 1847, the beginning of mass emigration from the duchies, and 1860. This phenomenon can be documented unequivocally on the basis of letters and biographical sketches in the histories of Scott County and the city of Davenport. Unfortunately the geographic data in the census lists is imprecise. In his history of Danish immigration to Iowa, the American historian Thomas Peter Christensen recognized correctly: „The first large influx of Danish citizens to Eastern Iowa were Holsteiners and German Slesvigiers. Both considered themselves German. . . But [since] . . . all who came before 1864 were at the time of their arrival Danish subjects.“ Regarding the numbers resulting from the state census of Iowa taken in 1856, Christensen commented [further]: . . .“and some of these may have been German Slesvigiers who gave Denmark as their place of birth.“⁵⁵⁵ For this reason no definitive conclusions about the total dimensions of Schleswig-Holstein immigration are possible.⁵⁵⁶ Random samples confirm, for example, that some former inhabitants of the duchies indicated neither Schleswig nor Holstein under the rubric „origin,“ but Germany or Denmark.⁵⁵⁷ The attempt at arriving at absolute figures for emigration from the duchies frequently foundered over the question of whether a person who indicated „Schleswig“ as place of origin considered himself a German or a Dane. One exception is for the period from January 1 to May 7, 1852, when 40,531 immigrants arriving from Hamburg included 1,822 who were specifically designated as Schleswig-Holsteiners. Coming by way of Bremen were an additional 171 from the duchies and 76 by way of the Hamburg suburb of Harburg. Furthermore, many Schleswigiers from the west coast emigrated by way of England.⁵⁵⁸

Through the statements of contemporaries who witnessed the chain migration of Schleswig-Holsteiners to the Midwest, however, we can arrive at an approximate notion of its extent. The local historian August Richter, for example, reflected about early immigration as follows: „Scott County, with Davenport as its capital, became one of the largest Schleswig-Holstein colonies in America.“⁵⁵⁹ As early as August 27, 1851, William Fischer of Davenport estimated in a letter that a third of the city’s population and half of its farmers were German. On the basis of

developments over the preceding four years, Fischer dared to make the bold projection: „I think that in ten years Davenport will be comparable to the primary cities of Germany, since German emigration is now heading largely to this site.“⁵⁶⁰ The statistical breakdown [of immigration] was confirmed by a series of reliable letter-writers. Pastor J. Kröger, originally from Schwabstedt near Husum, reported on December 20, 1850: „Davenport has at least 2,000 inhabitants, a third of whom are German, mostly Holsteiners and Schleswigers. . . Things here look just like in Holstein; we live as we did there, except that we do not put in half as much effort and hard work.“⁵⁶¹ „The German language is dominant here; Plattdeutsch is most frequently spoken so that you can hardly tell from the language that you have left the homeland.“⁵⁶²

Even journalists in Wisconsin, the focal point of German immigration in general, noticed the explosive development of its competitor. „The population of Iowa is growing with enormous rapidity.“⁵⁶³ Wisconsin's largest German-language daily newspaper reported about the situation in the duchies: „America's population may well receive a great boost from Schleswig-Holstein next spring, since a great deal of interest in emigrating is astir, especially among owners of estates. [deren Anhören gar nicht zu erwarten war]⁵⁶⁴

English-language newspapers as a rule reported little about the mass emigration of the Germans to the United States. One of the few reports concerning the immigration of Schleswig-Holsteiners in American [local] papers appeared in the *Democratic Banner* of Davenport for July 1, 1853: „120 German emigrants arrived at this city last Sunday. They are a fine, healthy-looking crowd, and will no doubt make good citizens.“ A few weeks later, on October 28, 1853, the same newspaper reported: „. . . the number of immigrants pouring in is beyond precedent.“⁵⁶⁵

The immigration boom lasted until the mid '50s and showed a noticeable decrease beginning in 1855. The *Itzehoe Weekly* reported on August 4 and September 29, 1855 about returnees to Germany who „were unable to find their American dream over there.“ There were no indications, however, that there were any Schleswig-Holsteiners in this group.⁵⁶⁶ Iowa did not register any reduction in immigration prior to the great economic crisis of 1857.⁵⁶⁷

For the individual Schleswig-Holsteiner who had decided to emigrate to the United States, the decision meant a radical break from an old to a brand new way of life. He left all his familiar surroundings, lost his social identity during the period of transition, took upon himself a rather dangerous sea and land journey,

and assumed the risk of a new adventure for which he could reach back to no previous experience. The world he was about to enter was known to him only by hearsay, from letters, or from reading immigration advertisements.⁵⁶⁸ As a rule, emigration was a one-way street. Visits from emigrants back to the former homeland remained a rare exception, even though many announced such planned encounters in their letters. The unknown problems that had to be endured occupied the thoughts of the emigrant, with only the hope for a better life, a higher standard of living, and freedom in the New World giving each individual the courage and strength to venture into the unknown. The transportation of emigrants, especially in the initial years of Schleswig-Holstein mass immigration, was not at all without its problems and dangers. Furthermore, the traveler had to rely on agents, shipowners, and land salesmen who wanted nothing more than to make money on him.

Before the actual trip came the process of pulling up roots, which was of great personal significance both to the persons leaving as well as to those staying behind. Various forms of departure rituals eased the pain.⁵⁶⁹ In Schleswig-Holstein, too, people sang the emigrant song that had become widely known throughout Germany since its composition in 1830: „Now is the time, the hour is striking, we are traveling to America.“⁵⁷⁰ For many, the poem’s outspokenly optimistic text, which describes a secure journey by sea ending with a happy arrival, lifted their mood.⁵⁷¹

If the immigrant from Schleswig-Holstein had decided to go to Iowa, he had to make a decision even before departing that was not exactly easy. Should he enter the North American continent by way of New Orleans or New York? The information available in the duchies around 1850 was contradictory. On the one hand, before the Civil War intervened the city at the mouth of the Mississippi had grown into the second largest immigrant port of the United States, because from there arrivals could reach Davenport and its hinterlands via St. Louis by river steamer at a relatively low cost. On the other hand, newcomers were scared off by reports about epidemics of yellow fever and cholera.⁵⁷² Still, many of those who had emigrated previously recommended that Schleswig-Holsteiners heading for Iowa take the sea route to the port in the Gulf of Mexico. Schwabstedt-born Pastor J. Kröger wrote to his relatives: „The most comfortable and advantageous route is by all odds via New Orleans.“ On this route they could take along all their household possessions, „and having these articles available here is of enormous importance.“⁵⁷³ An anonymous Schleswig-Holsteiner also spoke up strongly for New Orleans: „Although there is enough swindling taking place there, it is not as bad and the consequences not so irritating as in New York.“⁵⁷⁴

In late 1847 the *Altona Mercur* (No. 302) opened a discussion that was to

last for several years concerning the extent to which the journey via New Orleans was too dangerous. In a „short report from Kiel“ the conservative newspaper commented on the number of deaths among a group of emigrants from Probstei during the steamboat journey up the Mississippi in the spring of that year and following arrival in Davenport.⁵⁷⁵ The reproaches focused primarily on a Mr. Hagge who, after a two-year stay in America, had returned to his old homeland to bring his mother and four siblings back to Davenport; Mr. Hagge himself died shortly thereafter. His fellow travelers had believed his exaggerations in describing Iowa, and now the people left behind in Schleswig-Holstein criticized the „unhealthy location of Davenport.“⁵⁷⁶ This resulted in a „correction“ by Pastor Kröger of Schwabstedt shortly before his emigration. On the basis of the letters from his brother, who had been living in Davenport since 1840, he praised „the marvelous climate and beautiful natural surroundings“⁵⁷⁷ of the area. In his opinion, the settlers there had always been healthy „until the Holsteiners arrived last summer, bringing with them dysentery and typhus from New Orleans, which soon developed into a regular epidemic and infected more or less all the newcomers and occasioned the now well-known horrible devastation.“⁵⁷⁸ As far as Pastor Kröger was concerned, the fault lay with the Hamburg ship owner who, using all sorts of pretexts, had delayed the trip from March 12 to the middle of April 1847. For this reason the Probstei immigrants had ended up in the lower Mississippi during the dangerously hot period.⁵⁷⁹

Pastor Kröger spoke expressly in defense of Mr. Hagge, describing him as „an honorable man who is incapable of deceiving others out of impure motives and during luring them into ruin.“ Pastor Kröger actually reversed the one-sided accusations made by the relatives of the emigrants who had died: „It was not the (Hagge-author’s note) who sought out the new arrivals, but rather they who sought him out, along with the other Holsteiners who lived there; he did not force his advice on them, but rather they in their helplessness sought him and his neighbors out, . . . demanded their help, and I know from letters, . . . , even ignoring personal danger.“⁵⁸⁰ But that was far from the end of the argument concerning the person of Mr. Hagge. Two years later, the brother of the subsequent founder of Grand Island, Nebraska, Friedrich Stolley, entered the discussion explaining in detail the background that led to the exaggerated letters written by Mr. Hagge. „We can’t call his claims outright lies; rather, they were unknowingly reported untruths. If I am not mistaken, the elderly Hagge wrote about 25-fold harvest returns for American farmers despite poor cultivation. This is indeed true. Rusch [later Lieutenant Governor of Iowa-author’s note] also spoke about big returns in the previous year, i.e., according to the amount of seed sown and not according to the amount of land in production.“⁵⁸¹

The two English-language newspapers of Davenport also reported about the cholera and „ship-fever“ among the arriving Schleswig-Holsteiners. „This terrible disease has again made its appearance in this vicinity. At East Davenport some four or five fatal cases have occurred.“⁵⁸² The Davenport businessman J.M.D. Burrows mentioned these particular difficulties of the '50s in his memoirs: . . . „many of the German immigrants had ship-fever. They came by the way of New Orleans.“⁵⁸³

In the argument between Davenport, Iowa and New Holstein, Wisconsin courting the favor of later immigrants from Schleswig-Holstein, the question of arriving via New Orleans also played a role. Andreas F. Hanssen wrote in detail from New Holstein describing the dangers of the voyage up the Mississippi: „I cannot warn you too often about traveling via New Orleans. Usually arriving there in the hot fever period, the immigrants transfer to Mississippi steamboats whose cabin costs exceed their means to pay, and they are thus crowded together like cattle, much worse than on the most awful ocean-going immigrant vessels. Day and night they are exposed to the feverous swamp miasmas of this „father of waters,“ without sufficient food, without adequate sleep, and thus they are virtually destined to become sick. . . Iowa certainly has some great advantages, but they come at the expense of deficiencies that are perhaps equally great.“⁵⁸⁴ Yet the popularity of the direct sea journey to the Mississippi did not suffer. „Knorr and Holtermann of Hamburg send the 11 ships belonging to R.M. Sloman's Line directly to New Orleans.“⁵⁸⁵ Emigrants from Schleswig-Holstein could sail to Davenport via New Orleans at least twice a month and at reasonable prices.

The classic route for Europeans, however, was by way of New York, the primary immigration port of the United States.⁵⁸⁶ Theodor Olshausen was among those leaving Hamburg for this destination on July 16, 1851, on board the emigrant ship *Deutschland*.⁵⁸⁷

Of the countless and repetitively similar diary sketches of journeys and the continuing trip to Davenport, a typical example is that of Schleswig-Holsteiner Eggert Schmidt.⁵⁸⁸ On May 4, 1852 he boarded a ship in Hamburg with „104 passengers, mostly from Schleswig and Holstein.“⁵⁸⁹ For two days they remained in the harbor and only on the 12th of the month did the sailing vessel exit Cuxhafen for the open sea. „The situation with the meals on board was very bad . . . We were sorry that we had not taken along more of our own food.“ Nor were sleeping quarters as a rule very comfortable. To be sure, the American ship's passage law of 1847 required a minimum of 14 square feet for each emigrant, but that was only the size of a normal bed; narrow double bunks often left only half that amount of surface for spaces in between.⁵⁹⁰

For the emigrants, the Atlantic crossing seemed very long; the monotony on board was occasionally interspersed with birthday celebrations at which there was music and dancing.⁵⁹¹ The trip by sailing ship took about 55 days. After storms, contrary winds and day-long endurance tests in the unventilated lower deck, the party of Schleswig-Holstein emigrants reached their destination on the east coast of the United States. „The view of the city of New York and its surroundings is magical, and anyone who has not seen it with his own eyes can scarcely imagine what it is like.“ The chronicler of New Holstein, Wisconsin described the reaction of the first pioneer group once they had caught sight of New York from the ship. „They wanted to pay respect to the new homeland with dignity, and such a festive occasion calls for one’s best Sunday clothes.“⁵⁹²

Eggert Schmidt described the arrival procedures: „Following the doctor, many speculators came on board, but it is not as bad as the way they do it in Germany.“ On the next day, following the advice of the captain, almost all the passengers made out a contract with an agent known to the captain for travel from New York to Chicago. A minority of them turned to the agency of the „Society for German Immigration Friends, which is housed in St. John’s Hall, Frankfurt Street.“⁵⁹³ The trip from New York to Davenport went by way of Chicago. Until the completion of the railroad line in 1855, people had to travel either with a team overland westward to the Mississippi, or go by way of St. Louis.⁵⁹⁴

After a 57-day Atlantic voyage from Hamburg, Eggert Schmidt and his companions boarded a steamer in New York on June 30, 1852 and sailed up the Hudson to Albany. There railroad cars awaited them for the ride to Buffalo. Next they proceeded across Lake Erie to Detroit, and thence by rail to Chicago. A canal boat drawn by horses transported them to Peru, Indiana, where a steamer traveling by way of St. Louis finally delivered them to their destination in Davenport. Once there, Eggert Schmidt and the other new Schleswig-Holstein immigrants greeted their new homeland at 3:00 a.m. on July 15, 1853, after a journey of more than ten weeks.⁵⁹⁵

Chapter Five: Citizenship and Acculturation in the Midwest

In the late 1850s, Davenport developed into one of the most important cities on the upper Mississippi.⁵⁹⁶ Joseph Eiboek, chronicler of the Germans in Iowa, saw Davenport in political as well as in social respects as the most German city in the entire West, a locality where immigrant Germans could remain true to their mother tongue, and at the same time become good, hard-working citizens.⁵⁹⁷ Frontier entrepreneurs⁵⁹⁸ met on February 23, 1836 in the home of Colonel Davenport on Government Island in the Mississippi, to discuss plans for a new settlement to be called Davenport. The village was founded in the same year,⁵⁹⁹ and a few weeks later (May 15, 1836) the first German-speaking family settled nearby. Carl Jacob Freitag, his wife and three sons, had come from Württemberg rather than Schleswig-Holstein.⁶⁰⁰ In the next ten years the number of Germans in Davenport and Scott County increased to 60. In this group were predominantly Schleswig-Holsteiners like Louis Beyer, Asmus Vieths, and Jochim and Hinrich Steffen.⁶⁰¹

On April 11, 1847, 17 immigrants disembarked from a steamship in Davenport, on June 21, 90 more persons, on July 13, 50 north Germans, and on August 1, 60 former residents of the duchies on the Elbe. Among the last contingent were the subsequently famous 1848ers Matthias J. Rohlf and Nicholas J. Rusch.⁶⁰² In the next several years, thousands more came from Schleswig-Holstein to Davenport and surrounding Scott County.⁶⁰³ Parallel to the chain migration of former inhabitants of the Elbe duchies, Davenport showed a very strong economic growth. New industries, the general movement of the population and/or orientation toward the western states, enhanced by the discovery of gold in California, and last but not least the settlement of Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers formed the basis of this economic boom which lasted until the „panic of 1857,“ a nationwide recession.⁶⁰⁴

The *Daily Davenport Gazette* of November 8, 1854, reported before this economic crisis: „The progress of Davenport during the last 12 months has been almost unprecedented in the history of western towns. The only limit to her prosperity has been a shortage of housing . . . to accommodate the masses of human beings that have flowed in upon her.“ Following the severe recession, which brought the flow of immigrants almost to a standstill for several years, the *Wisconsin Banner* of Milwaukee drew a gloomy picture of conditions in America:

„Muscatine, Iowa, February 24, 1860—Hard Times in Davenport.
We are receiving sad reports from an eyewitness about our

neighbor city of Davenport. Business conditions are said to have become miserable because of the closing of the Cook and Sargent Bank, before which the crisis had already brought many to their knees. Paying the rent on buildings has long since gone out of style. Half the buildings stand empty waiting for renters. Life's most elementary needs are difficult to meet even for well-to-do land owners."

Population of the City of Davenport⁶⁰⁵

Year	Population
1836	not known (less than 100)
1840	ca. 800
1850	1,848
1852	3,500
1853	4,500
1854	6,000
1856	12,821
1858	16,677
1860	11,267
1870	20,038
1880	21,831

During the two years before the American Civil War, Davenport's population decreased considerably; in the following decade, however, it doubled and after that continued to show a slow but steady increase.⁶⁰⁶ On December 21, 1837, Scott County (surrounding Davenport) was organized even before the territorial legislature, since Iowa did not become a state until 1846.⁶⁰⁷ Thanks to the mass immigration of Schleswig-Holsteiners into the territory surrounding Davenport, the county population also grew by leaps and bounds. In 1850 there were only 5,987 inhabitants in Scott County, and [only] two years later the population reached 8,628. „No other county in the state can boast of so great an influence in population.“⁶⁰⁸ By 1860 there were already 25,960 residents.⁶⁰⁹

Schleswig-Holsteiners comprised the largest ethnic group to settle in Davenport and Scott County. The number of German-speaking immigrants, however,

is what „underscored its importance.“⁶¹⁰ In Davenport there were 3,613 Germans in 1858, amounting to 26.8 percent of the total city population.⁶¹¹ They came almost exclusively from the duchies of Schleswig, Lauenburg, and Holstein, although individuals from Hamburg, Mecklenburg and Hannover, and even a few Bavarians were intermingled among them.⁶¹² Harrison Street formed the border between the Schleswig-Holsteiners in the western part of Davenport and the Irish and Americans who lived in the eastern part of the city. Beginning in 1857, this boundary between the ethnic groups was demarcated quite precisely by the tracks of the Chicago, Northwestern and Pacific Railroad.⁶¹³ Local historian Marlys A. Svendsen writes: „from the cradle to the grave Davenport was a divided city.“⁶¹⁴ A statistical evaluation of cemetery documents confirms this assertion. All German-language Davenporters were buried in the Fairmont burial grounds while the other inhabitants found their resting place in Oakdale Cemetery.⁶¹⁵

The hill between Fifth and Locust Street and Gaines and Division Street demarcated the residence area of the more prosperous Schleswig-Holsteiners and later came to be known as „Sauerkraut Hill“ or „Hamburg.“⁶¹⁶ The socially and economically weaker residents lived in the western part of Davenport not far from the Mississippi known as „Probstei.“⁶¹⁷ The writer Emil Klauprecht describes this center of North German immigrants in the most important German-language American novel published in the 19th century: „Immigrant, if you hear the Christian-Germanic popular anthem of 1848 when you reach the city of Davenport, then you know that you are in the new homeland of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, in hospitable Probstei. On the splendid plain there, surrounded by orchards and productive fields, graceful villas greet you bearing witness to the well-being and comfort their dwellers enjoy.“⁶¹⁸ Davenport’s predominance of north German immigrants was never reflected, however, in its architecture.⁶¹⁹ The city directory of 1855 lists four architects, all of whom had already been living in America for generations.⁶²⁰

The convergence of transportation systems in Davenport led to its becoming the traditional point of departure for North Germans headed farther west in the former Wisconsin and Nebraska territory.⁶²¹ As Walter Kamphoefner emphasizes in his *Westphalen in der Neuen Welt*, the settlement of the German immigrants as well as those from other European nations in America did not take place randomly, but through the formation of ethnic concentrations in specific locations.⁶²²

While more recent research points to the importance of job possibilities for newcomers who were choosing a place to live in the United States, the influence of propaganda, newspaper advertisements, and letters from America (especially in

the nineteenth century) should not be underestimated.⁶²³ Scandinavian researchers, by analyzing and systematically pinpointing the destinations of immigrants, have accomplished important pioneer work in this area.⁶²⁴ Their findings indicate that the economic basis of the individual emigration and immigration areas influenced Swedish immigrants who were coming to America. Inhabitants of farming villages settled primarily in the Midwest, whereas their countrymen from the centers of Swedish heavy industry moved to similarly oriented towns like Worcester, Massachusetts.⁶²⁵

Iowa, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Minnesota were the destinations of the Danish rural population, whereas Copenhageners were highly underrepresented there. Kristian Hvidt emphasizes that the time period of emigration was enormously important for Danish emigrants with respect to the choice of a place to settle.⁶²⁶ For later immigrant generations, the area settled by the first immigrants from their own region was of decisive importance. A few Schleswig-Holsteiners who originally settled in Davenport later moved farther west, where they took part in the founding of cities like Marne,⁶²⁷ Minden, Avoca, Walcott, Wheatland, London, Manning,⁶²⁸ Dewitt, and Keystone,⁶²⁹ all in Iowa.⁶³⁰ Immigrants from the former duchies on the Elbe also founded the villages of Schleswig in Crawford County in the year 1899, and Holstein (Ida County) in 1882—both likewise in Iowa.⁶³¹ These immigrants did not go directly to the new settlement areas, but first worked for several years in Davenport and Scott County.⁶³²

Even today one finds settlements in the Midwest and the Far West, in Iowa, but also in the states of Washington,⁶³³ Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota⁶³⁴ where the majority of the residents can trace their roots back to the descendants of the first Schleswig-Holstein generation in Davenport and Scott County.⁶³⁵ Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers founded not only New Holstein in Wisconsin in 1848, but also the city of Grand Island in Hall County, Nebraska in 1857, barely ten years later this city today has a population of 33,180. The fact that a rather considerable number of Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers landed on the frontier as squatters⁶³⁶ in what later became Grand Island, Nebraska, constitutes an exception to the German-speaking immigrants' usual approach to settlement. Scholars agree that Germans, in contrast to other nationalities, always arrived as second-tier settlers, cultivating and improving the land that had already been broken, whereas it was for the most part the restless Americans who sold their farms at a profit and followed the westward-moving edge of civilization.

A „Historikerstreit“ (argument among historians) has been smoldering in Grand Island for over 100 years. It concerns the importance placed on two Schles-

wig-Holstein pioneers who were active during the first years of settlement. These two very different personalities, Friedrich Hedde from Rendsburg and Wilhelm Stolley from Warder, tried through various publications⁶³⁷ to emphasize to subsequent generations the determining influence they had had during the years.⁶³⁸ Friedrich Hedde arrived in Davenport in 1854,⁶³⁹ having seen no hope of practicing his profession as a lawyer in Schleswig-Holstein. He had belonged to the state parliamentary assembly as a republican representative and had come to the attention of the local Danish administration in 1844 as one of the founders of the Kiel Turnverein. After the revolution, his legal practice abruptly ended when the Danish king refused to renew his license.⁶⁴⁰ Born on September 11, 1818 in Rendsburg, Friedrich August Peter Hedde was the son of First Lieutenant Nicholas Hedde, a volunteer from the Napoleonic wars. His mother Charlotte, née Scherneckau, was the daughter of an affluent construction company owner. As befitted his social class, Hedde went to private school up to the age of ten years, and later switched to a public educational institution. Following this, he attended the Rendsburg Gymnasium and later studied law at the Christian-Albrechts University in Kiel, from which he graduated with high distinction in 1841.⁶⁴¹

His opponent in America was Wilhelm Stolley, who had emigrated in 1849. Stolley was born on April 6, 1831 in Warder near Rendsburg and died on May 17, 1911 in Grand Island. His education until the age of 16 was provided by his father, who was headmaster of a village school.⁶⁴² Thereafter the boy began an apprenticeship as cabinetmaker, with the intention of accompanying his older brother Georg,⁶⁴³ a natural scientist, on his field trips.⁶⁴⁴ His education ended prematurely at the age of 16, however, when he joined a volunteer corps as a sharpshooter and fought in the Schleswig-Holstein War of Insurrection against Denmark.⁶⁴⁵ Prussia's indecisive wait-and-see policy following the armistice at Malmö disappointed many Schleswig-Holstein freedom fighters, and in the following spring emigration to America increased dramatically. On April 9, 1849, Stolley left the harbor at Hamburg on a ship under the Russian flag⁶⁴⁶ and traveled by way of New Orleans to join his three older brothers already in Davenport.

While Stolley represented the type of adventurer who was not afraid to give force to his arguments by brandishing a gun, Hedde represented the classic intellectual⁶⁴⁷ who could defend himself only with the written word. It is in their different personality traits and in the fact that both were leaders of this settlement in the totally uninhabited West that historian Esther Bienhoff sees grounds for the bitter enmity which continued beyond their deaths.⁶⁴⁸

During the congressional debates about the first transcontinental railroad, the Barrows Bank of Davenport planned a lucrative speculation project. The banker

A. H. Barrows, who was in close economic contact with Chubb Brothers and Barrows Banking House in Washington, D.C., which in turn had direct information from influential politicians in the capitol, lent credence to rumors during the winter of 1856-1857 that after completion of this first east-west railroad the federal capitol in Washington would be moved to a more central geographic position somewhere in Nebraska.⁶⁴⁹ This idea was not so far-fetched, since 124 of the 130 state capital city relocations that have taken place happened between 1776 and 1910. Twelve of today's fifty U.S. state capitols were founded solely with this purpose in mind.⁶⁵⁰

Stolley, who together with Wilhelm Hagge owned a flourishing grocery business in Davenport, and Friedrich Hedde were given the task of carrying out this settlement project by the Barrows Bank of Davenport.⁶⁵¹ Yet Stolley emphasized: „On my request and recommendation, Fred Hedde was later chosen to assist me and to help secure the number of young men I had suggested for our settlement.“⁶⁵² In a 15-page handwritten manuscript⁶⁵³ with the title „Another Independent Souvenir,“ Stolley made his view of the preliminary events in Davenport very clear: „It was entirely through my instrumentality alone that Mr. Fred Hedde was permitted to participate (and he knows it), much to the displeasure of the Barrows, Gurley, and Woodward.“⁶⁵⁴ Stolley repeated this assessment of the events in his 90-page history of the first settlement of Hall County, Nebraska: „... the Town company entertained an unconquerable mistrust of Mr. Hedde, and I had many times taken it upon myself to defend him.“⁶⁵⁵

Subsequent settlers were recruited in Davenport in various ways. The Schleswig-Holsteiner Heinrich Egge, who had left his north German homeland in 1855, wrote in his diary on April 23, 1857:⁶⁵⁶ „Stolley informed me about a speculative plan which some banks seemed inclined to carry out in order to found a completely new city in Nebraska among the Indians, for which 30 people had signed up, and they were seeking as many reliable men as possible which, however, took place entirely in secret. I could not decide immediately to sign this contract and therefore went to Hedde, who was a lawyer and was supposed to become our chief organizer, and there I also met Stolley.“⁶⁵⁷

The contract that all the pioneers agreed to with the Davenport bank had been worked out by Hedde and contained three important conditions:⁶⁵⁸

1. Every participant obliges himself to farm 320 American acres plotted by the surveyor R.C. Barnard of Washington, D.C., who is traveling with the group.⁶⁵⁹
2. The Bank pays for the purchase of the entire tract of

- land; the settler, however, must re-deed half the land which he took into possession back to the bank and retains only 160 acres for himself.
3. Every pioneer receives 10 lots in the city that is being planned.⁶⁶⁰

Even before the journey began, the initiators were discussing a name for the city that was to be founded. To commemorate his homeland, Friedrich Hedde suggested „Neu Kiel.“ Banker Barrows wanted „New Philadelphia,“ but in the end all the parties compromised on Wilhelm Stolley’s „Grand Island City,“ which stems from a nearby island in the Platte River that already bore this name.⁶⁶¹

When they left Davenport on May 28, 1857, Hedde and Stolley had in their group 30 men, 5 women and 2 children.⁶⁶² Under Stolley’s leadership, the main component left with five heavily loaded wagons drawn by 19 yokes of oxen.⁶⁶³ The Americans, accompanied by Friedrich Hedde and Christian Menck, had set out several days earlier with a mule team.⁶⁶⁴ Wilhelm A. Hagge and Theodor Nagel had the task of buying weapons, ammunition, and blacksmith tools in St. Louis. On June 18, 1857, all the participants with the exception of the surveying engineers, met in Omaha, Nebraska, the last substantial settlement before the open prairie.⁶⁶⁵ There Stolley left the group and returned to Davenport, after handing over the leadership (as he himself said) to the surveyor R.C. Barnard.⁶⁶⁶ In Egge’s diary there is no mention of Barnard, but there are several indications that the group acknowledged Hedde as the leader of their settlement party.⁶⁶⁷ The Holsteiner Christian Menck formulated the situation clearly when he wrote in his contribution to the history of Hall County: „Mr. Barnard was the engineer and chief of the company while Mr. Hedde was the leader of the Germans in the colony.“⁶⁶⁸

From Omaha, a city of approximately 2,000 inhabitants, the little settlement party took the difficult overland route heading west which had many names—Mormon Trail, California Trail or Military Road.⁶⁶⁹ Shortly before they arrived at the intended settlement site, the difficulties began. On June 30, 1857, Henrich Egge was the first to discover two wagon teams heading west. To get the lead on these German settlers, who also wanted to found a city in the middle of Nebraska, 17 men set out on foot during the night and met the advance party of American surveyors the next day.⁶⁷⁰ After the exact spot for settlement had been chosen, they held a conference at which they decided to erect [four] log cabins on the four corners of a 40-square meter piece of land to have better protection against possible Indian attacks.

The first great test for the young settlement began in the late fall of 1857. The food supplies expected from Omaha failed to arrive and rations were cut to half until they were able to re-supply themselves on their own. On November 1 of the same year, the bad tidings of the beginning of a financial recession in the eastern states reached the pioneers. As a result of a nationwide banking crisis, the Barrows Bank of Davenport, which intended to finance the settlement, was declaring bankruptcy.

Filled with the greatest concern, Heinrich Egge wrote in his diary: „Our rich company does not even have \$1,000 to purchase ourselves food.“ Over the next few weeks, hope of being able to survive the first winter disappeared and the Schleswig-Holsteiners were almost ready to quit. But additional supplies generated by Hedde and Stolley in Davenport, coupled with news about the chaotic financial situation in the cities, persuaded the pioneers to remain in the Nebraska territory.⁶⁷¹

In the spring of 1858 the next group of north German settlers arrived via Davenport, and later newcomers began coming directly from Schleswig-Holstein and other German states.⁶⁷² In October of 1860 Egge noted in his diary: „Everything has turned out for the best! The need and misery have hopefully come to an end and we can look forward to happier times. How remarkably fast things in America can sometimes change! Three years ago this whole area was nothing but a desert, a wilderness that every white man hated, and now all this wonderful commerce! The posts for a telephone line have already been set, too, and by this fall it is supposed to be completed as far as Fort Kearney; soon we will be in closer contact with the civilized world again.“

In the next few years an economic upturn resulted from the discovery of gold in Pike's Peak southwest of what is today Denver, Colorado. Many of the people who hoped to find a new El Dorado there or in Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Utah or on the Pacific coast used the Mormon Trail which led straight through the settlement of Grand Island.⁶⁷³ The rumors that Grand Island City would become a „New Washington“ did not, of course, materialize, but the connection with the railroad network of the Union Pacific in 1866 and of the Central Pacific in 1886 engendered an economic boom which not only shored up the new town but simultaneously increased the arrivals of Schleswig-Holstein immigrants.⁶⁷⁴

A Missouri settlement whose roots do not reach back to Davenport derives from the Schleswig-Holstein 1848er Adalbert Heinrich, Count Baudissin, a writer (pen name Adelbert), who was born on January 25, 1820 in Hovedgaard on the Jutland peninsula and died in Wiesbaden on March 26, 1871.⁶⁷⁵ After attending

the Cathedral School in Schleswig and studying at the school of mining in Freiberg/Sachsen, he entered the Austrian civil service. Shortly after the uprising began, he volunteered with the first Schleswig-Holstein Jägercorps, and after its defeat he sailed from Hamburg to New York on May 1, 1852 on board the *Sir Robert Peel* under Captain J.C. Wienholtz.⁶⁷⁶

There are only two letters that give information about the town of Heilbronn founded by Count Baudissin. One is from a Viennese named Keppler, and is dated Heilbronn, Callaway County, Missouri, April 21, 1855. „Having arrived here in Portland, we heard of a city situated nearby which its founder named „Heilbronn“ because of the excellent spring water that has its source there. We went there and found a charming place that has only a few houses, but exudes a genuinely German atmosphere. We have heard that 30 or 40 families have signed up for lots, so it won't be long until a nice little assemblage of Germans will have settled here.“ The founder of the town, Mr. Baudissin, sells every lot for \$10, but delivers the deed only after construction of the house has begun. In this manner any speculation on empty lots is ruled out. Mr. Baudissin's wish is that only *free* people settle here, assuring that papists, monks, and nuns will have a hard time doing business in Heilbronn.

The thing that will lend prominence to this place is the excellent spring which not only yields 16,000 buckets in 24 hours, but also has the great advantage of having a salutary effect because of its carbonic acid content. Mr. Baudissin is in the process of establishing a cold water spa, and as far as we can judge, he has made a very proper and munificent beginning. A public garden of three acres' size will enclose the bathing house along with its fountain and immersion bath, bowling alleys and gymnastic equipment will be set up for the guests, and the children will have large, open grassy areas for playing.⁶⁷⁷

A second interesting description of this little town that existed until about 1911⁶⁷⁸ comes via a letter from Portland, Missouri. „There is a little German town east of us called Heilbran. It is just in sight of our house. It contains a brewery, rope manufacturing, brickyard, silver shop, and a copper shop. The Eagle Creek runs along one edge of the town, rendering it a great place for ducks and geese. Indeed it is a better town than Portland if it had any post office or stores.“⁶⁷⁹ The beginning of the Civil War drove Baudissin back to Schleswig-Holstein, where he lived out his days as a writer in Altona.⁶⁸⁰

Other Schleswig-Holstein settlement efforts never got beyond the planning stage. The *Itzehoe Weekly* reprinted a letter signed with the initials „L. D. . . .s“ on September 17, 1851. „I am in the process of establishing a settlement in Texas; once

I am convinced that all is going well, then I will come to Holstein and invite anyone who is interested to found a Holstein colony in Texas.“

For many Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers, the reality of American freedom was a great disappointment.⁶⁸¹ They were quickly confronted with aggressive nativism, political party chicanery, corruption, and slavery, which they had considered impossible in a republic. It was not for nothing that one of the best-known political refugees of the time, Friedrich Kapp, wrote to his father on July 16, 1850 (a short time after his arrival in America): „In one’s study, the [entire] world can be laid out on a sawhorse of Hegelian categories, but here in America it constantly makes a mockery of such prefabricated wisdom.“⁶⁸²

Hans Reimer Claussen characterized more moderately events of the 1850s that led again and again to disagreements between the Schleswig-Holstein community in and around Davenport, the large Irish immigrant group, and the American majority population. „The laws against the sale of alcoholic drinks, the severity of how the Sabbath is maintained according to law and custom, these and other laws that grew out of the puritanical character of the first religious zealots who immigrated, are annoying to many Germans.“⁶⁸³ Over the long term, however, the relentless quarreling of many idealistic ’48ers, with almost all groups of American society and even among themselves, was to lead to an acculturation process on the political level.⁶⁸⁴

Since the middle of the 19th century, a gradual shift had been taking place in American internal politics and self-identity, along with a new orientation of public opinion and a reconstellation of the whole society. The first four decades of the 19th century were marked by American pride in the expansion of its national frontiers to the West and South, as well as in the foreign and domestic successes of the past. But the decade before the Civil War led to a confrontation between the steadily developing industrial economy of the North and the old agrarian [social] structures on the South, which was economically dependent on the institution of slavery.

The newly arrived 1848ers absorbed the unrest and aggressivity present in American society, just as the older German (intellectual) immigrants of the 1830s had quickly identified with the then-current feelings of contentment with and admiration of America. Although externally the processes for the two intellectual groups unfolded quite differently—on the one hand aggressive criticism of everything and everyone, and on the other, a feeling of admiring self importance—a process of integration and accommodation took place on the political level, even

in the case of most of the radical 1848ers, at the latest by the end and as a result of the Civil War. Thus, the older as well as the more recent German immigrants between 1830 and 1860 showed in antithetical ways their sense of belonging to American society.⁶⁸⁵

Just how radically and uncompromisingly the young Schleswig socialist Theodor Gülich judged the American constitutional reality shortly after his arrival in Davenport is evident in his reports. By means of the platform available to him via his weekly newspaper *Der Demokrat*, he turned against not only the American president, whom he compared with the bandit of Paris“ and „the bogeyman of St. Petersburg,“ but also against the entire U. S. Congress. „These represent-atives of the people have created scenes that would have provoked a brawl in any low-class tavern. They argue like philistines, they use their time against, rather than for, the people, because they have been paralyzed and their actions determined by the speculations and intrigues brought about by the next presidential election.“⁶⁸⁶

Gülich’s notions of an ideal democracy, in which politicians represent the highest moral principles and not only on behalf of the people without regard for their own careers, were doomed to disappointment. The United States found itself before the Civil War in a deep economic and political crisis (the recession of 1857 and potential dissolution of the traditional parties). Gülich also sharply criticized the failure of the land reform that many immigrants had demanded. In his view, millions of acres had been given over to a few capitalists in the face of all arguments, instead of being allocated for the well-being of thousands, even millions, of hard-working immigrants.⁶⁸⁷

Claussen’s reaction to Gülich’s article makes clear the distinction between the political expectations of the utopian socialist Gülich and those of a much older republican. He saw no reason for berating Congress since, in the matter of land reform, „it represented unarguably the will of the great majority of the American people. In terms of its numerical count, the national Free Soil party is very small. One must consider that four-fifths of the population is engaged in farming. The interest of this multitude of farmers, however, is opposed to the granting of federal land without charge.“ Claussen considered absurd the reproach that the presidential election „was a superfluous destructive activity resembling something akin to kingship.“⁶⁸⁸ He imputed to Gülich a scheme calling for „an executive committee,“ and concluded his critique with the rhetorical question: „Would not such an alternative produce the same agitation?“⁶⁸⁹

The American press in Davenport was not content merely to condemn the

Schleswig-Holstein newspaper publisher Theodor Gülich, but the majority of German immigrants as well:

„The editor, a notorious infidel, supposedly reflects the sentiments of the mass of our German citizens. Holding the opinions he does with regard to religion, it is just as natural for him to oppose the Sabbath and Prohibition Law, and favour Lotteries and Tom Paine⁶⁹⁰ as for water to seek its level . . . While there is much to be admired in the German character, there is considerable to be condemned in the estimation of an American. . . Bringing with them from the Fatherland sentiments and opinions, . . . moral and political culture, entirely different from that which is experienced in this country, they cannot expect to adapt . . . successfully to the circumstances by which they are here surrounded.“

The American journalist concluded his article with a threat:

„We trust the day may come, as it will come, when, if our German friends have not the foresight to perceive the effect of their course and change their conduct, American citizens will place it without their power to exert that influence for evil which is now alas! so plainly displaying itself.“⁶⁹¹

A few weeks after these substantial threats against Theodor Gülich and his Schleswig-Holstein fellow immigrants were aired, Theodor Olshausen anticipated an intensification of the situation through nativist activities on the part of Americans. He wrote to his brother Justus from St. Louis on April 20, 1855: „. . . all Germans in the Union are facing a crisis caused by increasing tension with Americans. This is making life in this country less tolerable. The entire system of government is slipping visibly and in either the shorter or the longer term must surely lead to civil war.“

Added to these disappointing political realities, intellectual 1848ers in the earlier years frequently experienced serious problems making a living. All newcomers had to face completely new challenges. What profession should an educated Schleswig-Holstein 1848er elect in America?⁶⁹² For almost ten years Hans Reimer Claussen and Theodor Olshausen tried different career possibilities in various places before they finally established a secure occupation. After sojourns in New York and St. Louis, Hans Reimer Claussen and his family eventually decided permanently in favor of Davenport. In his first months there he worked hard to

acquire fluency in English and thereafter was employed by a young American lawyer. In two years Claussen not only achieved his license to practice law in Iowa, but had also advertised his translation of *Beadle's Collection of Iowa State Laws* in the first edition of *Der Demokrat*.⁶⁹³ The number of subscribers must have been so small, however, that printing the German text would not have been profitable. Dr. August Richter was neither able to find a copy around the turn of the century, nor was there any indication that it had ever been published.⁶⁹⁴ Claussen's ability to translate the Iowa compendium was no doubt facilitated by his familiarity with American laws and the Constitution, about which he had given brilliant speeches in the Paulskirche in Frankfurt.

Through letters from Andreas Hanssen and reports in the *Itzehoe Weekly* we know that Claussen speculated on land in the vicinity of Davenport. When other agents took his action to indicate intensifying immigration from Schleswig-Holstein and used this „insider information“ to amass the adjacent lots for themselves, Claussen withdrew from the scene. „Claussen has left Davenport, where he had become involved in many unfortunate differences of opinion, and moved to Lyons, Iowa, where he is starting the somewhat risky business of running a flour mill, and could easily lose all he has.“⁶⁹⁵ Theodor Olshausen had reckoned Claussen's chances of success correctly. A few weeks after the mill was built, flour prices sank dramatically and, together with his partners, his son, and his son-in-law, Claussen returned to Davenport in 1858.

Up until 1860, Theodor Olshausen also continued to experience financial problems. It is true that after his emigration he lived with his half-brother Arthur in St. Louis, but the income from his activities as the author of practical reference books for Germany and as a news correspondent proved slim indeed. In addition, continuing problems with his German publisher discouraged him, as did the fact that some newspapers, for example the *Augsburger Allgemeine*, paid no attention to his releases.⁶⁹⁶ After the failure of his plan to start an agency for selling land with his half-brother Arthur, he moved to Davenport, where he functioned as a newspaper publisher and editor from 1856 to 1860. Shortly before the Civil War broke out he returned to St. Louis, where he bettered his financial situation considerably by taking over the *Westliche Post*. Bleik Peters, Olshausen's young political ally from the period before their emigration, wrote from his suburban home in St. Louis to his parents and said something that held true for a great many immigrants: „Well, in this land of freedom where everybody is left to his own initiatives, you have to pay your tuition before you learn the ropes.“⁶⁹⁷

Olshausen described the discrepancy between expectation and reality using

the example of a former Meldorfer delegate to the state parliament, Dr. Hans Christian Dreis,⁶⁹⁸ „who had a lot of problems in St. Louis and soon left his position as school teacher, returned to New York quite disgruntled. I am afraid that he will never find a place in America that he likes; but then, he does make unreasonable demands of the country and the people.“⁶⁹⁹ Three months later, however, Dr. Dreis successfully opened a brewery in Davenport. „He'll be making a lot more money brewing than lecturing. Lectures to a German public in America are, in every respect, a very big luxury. However, everyone drinks beer daily and no one is very choosy about it.“⁷⁰⁰

In his initial years, Olshausen uniformly condemned Americans' greed for money „which unfortunately absorbs the complete concentration of most people.“⁷⁰¹

„I continue to live here, by the way, in my customary manner, without much happening that I find particularly interesting, for I can't get interested in local matters because of the way people treat them—that is, in their daily fluctuations and personalities. They call this 'politics' here—people are concerned about the general business of the Union only to the extent that it involves personalities.“⁷⁰²

In a letter to his brother Georg, Andreas F. Hanssen is also critical about the American party system:

„... you do not consider yourself cut out for middle class work, and participation in political life would be impossible for you, not only because of your lack of familiarity with the language, but also because of your hatred for party machinations, a flaw which Americans view as a necessary evil, somewhat the way you look at the German police state, something we have to negotiate the way one picks his path through the underbrush of a [virgin] forest. But things will certainly take a different configuration following the outbreak of revolution, even though as I expect, that will not come to pass for another dozen years.“⁷⁰³

Olshausen analyzed the American [folk] character, comparing it to the German in a report he made following a serious train accident that he was very lucky to have survived:

„These people are reckless and driven by their passion for danger.

... Every individual thinks he will escape with his life. ... Behind all the haste and rushing, the lack of caution and concern, I see only that egotism which is such an overwhelming driving force for them [as a people]. It is not a cowardly egotism. . . but rather that of a reckless libertine or gambler who enjoys living life to the full and, above all, wants to become rich. . . A minority of them, on the other hand, for example in the case of accidents, are as willing to sacrifice as they are to do things, because almost everybody has a touch of practicality. In spite of the recklessness which they possess, they are lacking, in my opinion, a certain moral courage that is not at all rare in Germany.⁷⁰⁴

After Olshausen's emigration, his political thinking continued to revolve around the concept of freedom, just as it had back in Schleswig-Holstein. „In my opinion, the Yankee is not very concerned with the broad concept of freedom.⁷⁰⁵ „ And concerning his countrymen in Davenport, Olshausen expressed his condemnation in 1856: „A political instinct is unknown among them; they remain here the same philistines they were in Germany. Even the educated Germans have no feel for American politics and they are much more interested in the freedom to drink beer and such matters, than in the principle of freedom.“⁷⁰⁶

In contrast to the intellectuals from Schleswig-Holstein, the immigrant farmhands, maids, day workers and handicraftsmen had it incomparably easier economically; they, too, however, were not happy with the daily reality of America. The chasm between the immigrant Germans and the Americans seemed to J. D. Blunck, a representative of the peasant class, insurmountable: „These are typical cases of American braggadocio and arrogance, to which must be added their penchant for ignoring, mistreating, and deceiving the Germans.“⁷⁰⁷

For unmarried men there was quite a different problem in America, as Andreas F. Hanssen pinpointed statistically in his second major report about New Holstein: „As in all of the newer states, here in Wisconsin the male sex forms a significant majority. According to the last census, 20,000 women would be needed to create a balance between the two sexes exists; of these, 5,000 could immediately be allocated to young men of marrying age.“⁷⁰⁸ In a private letter to his brother Georg, Hanssen revealed his own distressful situation in America. „When I think that I am already nearly 40 and still do not have a wife, I could envy you, as I said before, your six children. In a few days my house will be under construction and in four weeks it can be ready for occupancy, and then I will start looking for a wife seriously, if it has not already happened by then.“⁷⁰⁹ At the end of 1850, Andreas

F. Hanssen married the daughter of Claus Oesau, Caecilia, who was 20 years younger than he and had been working for the Arens family in New Holstein.⁷¹⁰

The successful founding of a Turner society in Davenport offers a good example of how the radical democratic ideology of the Kiel Turnverein crossed the Atlantic as intellectual baggage, as it were. We also can note how it reached full bloom and can trace how, for several years thereafter, the experiences of the revolutionary period influenced the thoughts and action of many young revolutionaries from Schleswig-Holstein now living in Scott County.⁷¹¹ On August 3, 1852, 13 Schleswig-Holsteiners, almost all of whom had taken part in the uprising against Denmark, got together and founded the Socialist Turner Society.⁷¹²

Some months after Theodor Gülich had published the first number of the German-language *Der Demokrat*, he heard that Christian Müller, the former leader of the Kiel Turnverein, would be coming to Davenport. Immediately he encouraged friends to participate in the founding of a Turner Society. In a poem for the 25th anniversary of what became the Davenport Turnverein, Theodor Gülich described the group of founding members:

„Scattered remnants of freedom’s army,
whose „Clear the way!“ thundered into battle,
Thus they landed on the shores
of the Atlantic, and in their dark yearning
Westward they went, this procession
of people without a country, struck by fate;
Till at the meadows of the giant river
They said: „Let us build our cabins here!“
This was the stalwart band of ’48ers.
Of money and possessions they carried little;

„But their hands were sturdy, their eyes clear
And their youthful courage still unbroken.
Thus they quickly established their new
homeland,
Loyal and true to it as to the one before,
And thus, along the bed of the Mississippi,
Arose the basis for a Turner Society of
old.“⁷¹³

The main purpose which this organization served in addition to bodily fitness was to cultivate a feeling of cooperation among like-minded individuals who wanted to influence political and social questions „based on the notion of radical progress.“⁷¹⁴ During the early period the idea remained very much alive that they might depart from their exile in America and return to Schleswig-Holstein with the hope of becoming active once again in Germany, as part of a new social revolution.

Three years before Davenport, the North American Turner movement got its American start with the foundation of a Turner society in Cincinnati on November 21, 1848. Horst Überhorst mentions the Ludwig Jahn disciples who pioneered gymnastic societies in the United States: Karl Follen, Karl Beck, and Franz Lieber. Soon additional Turner societies were established in Baltimore, New York and several other cities. On July 15, 1850, the New York Socialist Turner Society initiated the founding of an umbrella organization called the Socialist Turner [Association].⁷¹⁵ In a publication commissioned by this organization, Eduard Müller urged the re-establishment of „the lost equality of human education“ as a goal for each Turner Society; [with the awakening of the „slumbering powers“ within us, our „sloth-like apathy.“ He called on the members of a „unified Fatherland on both sides of the ocean“ to arm themselves to meet any future „external threat.“⁷¹⁶ As Turner greetings, Müller recommended the slogans „Gut Heil“ and „Bahn frei,“ which were meant to „proclaim the [principle of] truth, both here and in our German Fatherland.“⁷¹⁷ A major part of the membership dues was spent for gymnastic equipment, parades and festivals, but some was allocated for „mental gymnastics,“ which included the acquisition of books, honoraria for lectures and the organization of literary competitions.

The Socialist Turner Association wanted to position itself at the head of the so-called progressive societies in order to pave the way for social reforms, in the process of which existing prejudices against socialists would also be eliminated.⁷¹⁸ The American historian Carl Wittke characterizes the enormous breadth of their membership: „revolutionary communists, atheists, pantheists, ardent nationalists, sober, middle-of-the-road reformers, and cosmopolitans who championed the universal brotherhood of man regardless of race, creed, class, or nationality.“⁷¹⁹ The American Left however, had no single unified opinion concerning the socialistic Turners. The critical assessment of *Meyer's Monats-Hefte* of New York in October 1853 was that socialism was too important to be associated with the Turner movement. In the eyes of the famous 1848er Christian Essellen, by contrast, the socialistic Turner societies represented the only organization that had any influence on political and social questions.⁷²⁰

The *National Demokrat* of Dubuque quoted the *New York Criminal Newspaper*, published by the Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers Rudolph and Friedrich Lexow, regarding this issue. Speaking before the Western Turners in 1858, the influential Friedrich Hecker had drawn a clear position:

„Among all groups, different opinions hold sway with respect to the means necessary for the retention and development of freedom: this is true of Turners as well, and harmonious cooperation is not possible if a certain political direction is prescribed to all members by a platform put forth by the majority. We take the position that the Turner societies not be permitted to become a political organization, especially since we do not agree that a single fighter for freedom will be lost because of its neutrality.“⁷²¹

The position of the above-mentioned Socialist Turner Association umbrella organization concerning American politics had been firmly established in the early 1850s when the following resolution was taken: „The Turnerbund in general supports the platform of the radical Free Soil party and takes as its duty to further the party to the best of its ability.“⁷²²

The historian Hans Metzner saw in the failed revolution of 1848 the primary reason for the rapid expansion of the German Turner movement in North America. Among the thousands of refugees and immigrants who had been expelled through the „pressure of the reactionary forces“ were many who had already been members of Turner societies back home and who simply continued to follow the impulses of the revolutionary spirit following their immigration.⁷²³ But how did this new establishment on the banks of the Mississippi come to be? If we consider that Davenport at the time had about 3,400 inhabitants, a Turner membership of 100 at the beginning of 1854 is remarkable. The main reason for this increase is to be found in the flood of immigrants arriving from Schleswig-Holstein.⁷²⁴

Until 1853, the gymnastic exercise classes took place in the vinegar factory of Christian Müller and Ludwig Weyhe, not far from the city cemetery at the west end of Second Street. In the winter [of that year] they moved to the attic of Fahrenkrug's flour mill near Seventh Street.⁷²⁵ Also in 1853 the socialist Turners built a provisional gymnasium on Fourth Street that soon became much too small. In 1857, then, the Turner society bought an expensive lot on the south side of Sixth Street. Using only their own labor, they built a new gymnasium which was also rented out for other events.⁷²⁶

On January 27, 1854, the Turner society appeared in public for the first time on the occasion of dedicating its new banner. In the name of the women of Schleswig-Holstein, the daughter of Hans Reimer Claussen presented the society with a hand-stitched red flag, expressing the wish that it be „accompanied by the good wishes of all friends of the enlightenment and of progress,“ and closed by quoting the slogan of the Turner society: „Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle!“ (Freedom, Education and Well-Being for All)!⁷²⁷ This motto, which the most radical of the 1848ers, Karl Heinzen, had already used in Europe, became the slogan of the so-called „Louisville Platform“ (1852) that was to influence the public discussions of the Germans in America for several years because of its radical statements.⁷²⁸ The speaker that evening and the socialist Turner society’s chief ideologue, Theodor Gülich, used the festive opportunity of his speech to expand on the political ideas of the society.

At the outset he compared the color of the flag, red, with the „blood that had flowed in the battles against Denmark“ and hoped that, soon enough, „beneath its rustlings, songs of future victories would be whispered into the ears of society members.“ Then he summed up the American situation, charging that here „the dagger of popery murders in secret,“ and for that reason the red flag was to be „the symbol of a life and death struggle against the church and the Philistines.“⁷²⁹ He concluded that after progress had been victorious on all battlefields the battle cry would be „Freedom, Education and Well-Being for All,“ which would awaken the „world from its stupefied brooding,“ and that mankind would extend their hands to each other, „brotherly hands to unite the peoples forever!“⁷³⁰

The anticlerical position of the socialist Turner societies in the United States irritated the older, more established Americans. In their Puritan sensibility they denied the Germans any sense of justice because of the atheism they propagated. The *New York Times* wrote the following commentary about the socialist Turners in America: „When a society composed of thousands of young men like the Turners renounces deliberately some of the great truths on which mankind has always rested—the existence of a personal deity and the possibility of revelation—we are not surprised at any moral irregularities which may result . . . Where men deny God, they are very apt to deny temperance and justice.“⁷³¹

Like many other radical socialists, Theodor Gülich was deeply influenced by the French utopian thinkers Proudhon, Fourier, Cabet, and St. Simon.⁷³² In an address to the members of the Turner Society he summarized: „Socialism is literally that which concerns society; in the narrower sense of the term, it strives to improve the condition of society.“⁷³³ He gave a specific example for the American situation: „Given the conditions peculiar to America, I consider land reform one of the most

important and critical social measures needed here. Land reform seeks, first of all, to grant any true settler 160 acres of federal land for free and, secondly, to establish a limit to the amount of land that can be held by a single individual.⁷³⁴

Although the terms „socialism“ and „communism“ were used interchangeably and synonymously up to the time of the 1848 revolution in Germany, clear distinctions now could be discerned. The socialists strongly emphasized the intellectual side of their progressive efforts and saw in the unity of well-being and education the possibility of an evolutionary reformation of society. They wanted to introduce an organizational change on the basis of democratic principles, whereupon a reallocation of consumer goods would inevitably follow. The Communists, on the other hand, insisted on the abolition of private property through revolutionary action by the proletariat.⁷³⁵

Karl Heinzen, a close political ally of Gülich's, worked out the differences between communism and socialism clearly.

„Communism wants to take personal property away from everyone because it understands it as the source of all evil; socialism[, on the other hand,] wants to provide everyone with personal property because it views it as the pre-condition of all well-being. Communism makes the commonality of people its purpose and sacrifices the free individual to it; for socialism, the free individual is the purpose and the commonality of people and central point . . . Communism has as its task the direction of the entire machinery of society from above, anti-democratically; Socialism lets society shape itself democratically from below.“⁷³⁶

Just how wide-ranging the political program of the socialistic Turner Society in Davenport was can be best seen in its demand for equal rights for women. In a commemorative speech of January 27, 1854, Gülich amplifies on this subject:

„From slave status to maidservant, from maidservant to housewife, women have gradually worked their way up, parallel to the advancement of general education. There is one step that is still missing: that of the free and equal companion of the free man. To be sure, the particular operational spheres of the two sexes are different and I would be the last who would want to meld them together. But they must both develop free and independent, side

by side, if we are ever to be able to speak of the perfectibility of all of humanity. . . And unfortunately this has previously not been the case! And precisely for this reason—for nature punishes every sin against its eternal laws—we remain today at our relatively low stage of development. Only those who want true and complete freedom can further the progress toward this ideal. And this is why we see among all educated peoples how the feminine sex places itself more and more under the red banner of the future—as a hope of the suppressed, as a new gospel of the enslaved—this, at least, is how we see it.⁷³⁷

Ripley emphasizes that along with Karl Heinzen and other 1848ers, the Davenport Turner Society was in the forefront promoting suffrage for women through lectures and public discussions. „Mathilde Franziska Anneke justifies the claim that they were among the founders of the women’s liberation movement.“⁷³⁸

The Socialist Turner Society in Davenport supported almost all radical German activities that were organized on a national level in the strongholds of the German Americans, such as the „People’s League for the Old and New World“ (1852), the „Central Union of Free Germans“ (1854 in Cleveland), and Karl Heinzen’s „Louisville Platform.“⁷³⁹ These societies wanted to do away with the office of president and the senate, and beyond that they wanted to abolish slavery as well as all Christian practices.⁷⁴⁰ „We did not, of course, go quite as far as the members of the Pittsburg[h] Assembly. The annexation of Europe by America seemed even to us a somewhat too large-scale enterprise that would go beyond even our means, and that is saying a lot. But otherwise we were merely locking in ideas.“⁷⁴¹ It is clear how important the Turners’ activities in the political arena were to them in their growth phase from the fact that the traditional efforts toward „equal development of the body and the spirit in the whole person“ are mentioned only briefly in Glich’s speech. True socialism, rather, was what concerned the Schleswig-Holstein Turners in Davenport:

„We have always stood and continue to stand, undeterred, on the sure foundation of freedom, and the Declaration of Independence is our confession of faith. We would never consider interpreting the slogan on our banner, ‘Freedom, Education and Well-Being for All,’ in the sense of contemporary socialism. Though we demand freedom, education and well-being for all and are prepared to go to the extent of our powers to

ensure those highest values for ourselves—or if the state can guarantee them to us without exceeding its rightful duties and thereby infringing on one or the other, or possibly all, of these indispensable and mutually supportive fundamental conditions for the healthy development of the individual—still, we would not think, even for a moment, of following the ideology of those who are held in thrall by the more than childish deception that all beautiful things are preserved in a repository somewhere, ready for use . . .⁷⁴²

In 1887 Güllich distanced himself from all „Pollyanna doctrines“ purporting to create happiness for all, “since they were, in his opinion, „destructive to the community.“ In his philosophical teachings he urged everyone to be ready to fight for freedom at all times „so that it might have a chance to survive.“

His presentations concerning the function of the state and the position of the individual are a mixture of radical democratic and liberal elements based on „the inalienable rights of man“ [which he found spelled out in] the Declaration of Independence of 1776, and [in] the writings of Thomas Paine.⁷⁴³ „Inasmuch as the security of the republic consists exclusively in the activity of the individual, the republic’s task is to guarantee the individual’s freedom of action toward this end, to promote the full development of his strengths and to protect him against all attacks from without. The rights of the individual cease to exist at that point where the equal rights of other individuals begin—and the state is nothing more than the conscientious border guard for all.“⁷⁴⁴

Again and again Güllich emphasized that his ideas were also those of his [co-workers] [political allies?] and that the „truths“ of the Declaration of Independence were the reason for their immigration. On the whole, Güllich was happy with the achievements of the 1848ers, but he warned against the false conclusion that „external circumstances“ could lead mankind to freedom; not until people are prepared „to be active within them and to change them with clear judgment“ can they attain true freedom.

The radical democratic ideas [direction] of the society, whose members even carried the revolutionary black, red, and gold flag in parades⁷⁴⁵ gradually receded into the background over the next few years. Political lectures and debates continued to be a regular component of the society’s programs; for example, Theodor Olshausen spoke on May 27, 1856, about the social and political calling of the Turners,⁷⁴⁶ but the dwindling hope for a return to Schleswig-Holstein in the near

future, coupled with greater involvement in the domestic politics of America, pushed aside their original concept and its goal of returning to Germany.

Theodor Olshausen's lecture was the concluding event of the first major Turner celebration. On May 26 and 27, 1856, the socialist Turners had invited delegates from the area to Davenport, and delegations had arrived from many neighboring cities and marched in a parade to Bomberg's Biergarten, which served as the festival grounds. All along the way to their destination above 12th Street and Brady, a large number of German and American residents of Davenport gathered [lined the streets]. Theodor Gülich greeted all the guests. Since the Turner Societies already had a children's program by that time, all the age groups next performed in their various competitions.⁷⁴⁷

Three years later, the Davenport Turners organized the seventh inter-regional Turnerfest on Mitchell's Bluff on the northwestern edge of the city, where Henry Ramming, editor of the newspaper *Der Demokrat* greeted the many Turners who had arrived. Next, Theodor Gülich gave a speech in German, followed by one in English by James J. Lave, who strongly emphasized sympathy on the part of liberal Americans for Turner ideals. The festival concluded with a concert by the choral division of the Davenport Turner Society.⁷⁴⁸

After Theodor Gülich and John Daldorf had moved to Burlington in 1856 and other founding members had also left Davenport, the designation „Socialist“ was stricken from the society's name in 1858 and it was renamed the Davenport Turnverein.⁷⁴⁹

In conclusion, it can be said that the Socialist Turnverein of Davenport tried, especially in its early years to perpetrate enthusiasm for the revolution and to put into practice the lofty political ideals that could not to be realized back in Schleswig-Holstein in the „temporary exile“ that was to become their permanent home. For a few years they looked back longingly to their old homeland and followed with great interest the political developments of their home region and of the Fatherland they had unsuccessfully fought for, with the assured assumption that in due time a social revolution would make their own intervention necessary. After the reports of subsequent immigrants had rendered these hopes vain, a gradual change took place in the attitude of the Turners. Gradually they shifted away from their initial opposition to all American institutions, about which they had had exaggeratedly idealistic notions before their immigration. While many Turners remained true to their original principles, most gradually began to confront the increasingly burning domestic issues of their „exile land,“ such as slavery, nativism and prohibition.⁷⁵⁰

This development was advanced by the rapidly improving standard of living of the German population of Davenport, and by the growing number of members in the society. Especially among new members of the Turner society, there were many who had little interest in the political program of the Socialist Turner Society, but sought rather business contacts and social activities.⁷⁵¹ This development was promoted by Theodor Gülich's departure to Burlington in the year 1856. Although cultural and political lectures continued to be given later as well by Hans Reimer Claussen, for example, on the topic of the moral system of the Greek philosophers (February 26, 1860) and on Bismarck's reactionary policies (January 28, 1879),⁷⁵² but the original goals of making socialism acceptable in America and of keeping fit both intellectually and physically for the anticipated return to Germany disappeared entirely.

Like many others of his age, Theodor Gülich was impressed by the revolutionary ideas of Europe and the experiences of the revolutionary period. But he remained more consistently true to his radical-republican principles than did his political allies.⁷⁵³ Both in his actions and in the idealism he expressed, he remained an exception.

The founding of societies, schools and organizations in which the customs and traditions of the homeland were continued demonstrate interest in the immigrants' developing their own culture.⁷⁵⁴ Moreover, the majority of them knew little or nothing [at all] about American institutions and organizations.⁷⁵⁵ On the one hand, the language barrier and a lack of knowledge and understanding of American culture contributed to the continuation of their own heritage. Furthermore, there developed in the case of the Germans in America a feeling of their own superiority and at the same time the fear that the traditions they had brought along could be lost.⁷⁵⁶

All the traditional German organizations offered new immigrants a piece of their own past and made it possible for them to preserve the language or dialect of their homeland, and to perpetuate their common traditions. At the same time, the intensive club activities of the Germans reinforced the impression that Germans were unwilling to assimilate. Among the Americans, the widely held opinion prevailed that the Germans spent most of their leisure time in beer gardens singing nostalgic songs.⁷⁵⁷

The „dominant culture“ however, failed to see how important the ethnic organizations were simply in helping to overcome homesickness by easing the long-term transition from German to American culture.⁷⁵⁸ It is true that the

orientation of many societies seemed to work against the assimilation of their members; in the majority of cases, however, the societies aided immigrants in bringing heritage of their homeland into harmony with their American environment.

The extent to which the process of assimilation had progressed in the eastern United States is clear from a letter of Theodor Olshausen written shortly after his arrival in the Midwest. „Here in St. Louis half the city is German, and the Germans, unlike those in the East, who are ashamed of their nationality and therefore speak a great deal of English, behave like the equals of the Americans, speak German everywhere in public places, and found societies and military organizations.“⁷⁵⁹

The first society founded by Schleswig-Holsteiners in the U. S. was the Davenport/Scott County Liedertafel Choral Society of the year 1848. Its founder and first director was the 1848er Matthias Rohlf, who also brought the first piano to Scott County.⁷⁶⁰ On June 23, 1851, this club was reorganized and its name changed to the German Männerchor [Men's Singing Society] [Men's choir].⁷⁶¹ Ten years after the club was founded, Matthias Rohlf and his choir organized the first major interregional singing event in Davenport. For the weekend of June 30 to July 5, 1858, they planned the Third Singing Festival of the Northwestern Association and invited 27 singing societies as well as delegates of many Turner groups.⁷⁶² In addition to „good humor and unity,“ this event was supposed also to give the Americans „an appreciation of our characteristic qualities, which frequently are misjudged due to insufficient knowledge.“ In addition, they wanted to let „the German culture appear in a favorable light to the other nationalities and remove prejudices that have struck deep roots in them due to habit and to their isolation from the heterogeneous European community of peoples.“⁷⁶³

In New Holstein, Wisconsin, a rhetorical society was founded along with a choral society in 1849 scarcely a year after the arrival of the Schleswig-Holstein settlers. Noteworthy in this connection is a comment by Andreas F. Hanssen in one of his detailed newspaper reports: „The public speaking [rhetorical] society was founded after the model of similar American societies and already [early in 1850] numbers 20 members.“⁷⁶⁴ We can assume that Hanssen would have mentioned a Schleswig-Holstein or a German tradition if there had been one;⁷⁶⁵ apparently the New Holsteiners had no problem with adapting an American pattern to a typically German tradition. The chronicler Rudolf Puchner indicates a synthesis of the old and the new homeland regarding the manner in which the society's sessions were conducted as well: „Let us describe one of these public speaking afternoons in brief: One of those in attendance asked the president for permission

to speak and presented some kind of scholarly or social topic in a rather lengthy and well prepared speech. After this was over, one or the other of the gentlemen tried to demonstrate the incorrect logic or inaccurate assertions of the speaker, and whereupon a general discussion followed in which the pros and cons were energetically exchanged.⁷⁶⁶ In founding such a literary society, the members were never concerned about its principles, the abandonment of their ethnic identity, or the possible betrayal of traditional customs.

Andreas F. Hanssen reported on the social time following the serious disputations: „The singing society has linked up with the public speaking group to the degree that it spices up the later evening hours with its rehearsals and presentations, during which, now and then, a good barrel of beer from Sheboygan is opened up, putting us in a mood that makes us forget that we are living here in a region where, two years ago, hardly anything was heard but the shrill hunting calls and rifle shots of the wild Indians.“⁷⁶⁷

Under the headline „German Literary Society,“ the Davenport press held up the extensive scope of these German activities as an example to be imitated by its readers: „... there are in successful operation . . . two German societies, viz: the ‘Verein,’ and the ‘Gesellige Verein,’ one consisting of about 85, the other of about 50 members. . . . Each of these members pays a monthly ‘tax’ of 25 cts., which . . . is devoted to the purchase of books and English and German newspapers. These societies meet once a week for discussions. When will our Anglo-Saxon friends manifest as much interest in literary matters as their German neighbors?“⁷⁶⁸

Many 1848ers were convinced that the revolution in Germany failed because the church had massively supported absolutism and subsequently reactionary policies.⁷⁶⁹ This led to the aggressive anti-clericalism of many Schleswig-Holstein emigrants, who considered themselves freethinkers and saw in Hegel, Feuerbach, and Thomas Paine their philosophical forebears.⁷⁷⁰ These „enlightened humanists“ spanned the spectrum from atheism to pantheism and went back to the philosophical tradition of rationalism.⁷⁷¹ On this basis, the 1848ers in the United States established freie Gemeinden (free congregations) and Freimännervereine (freemen’s societies).⁷⁷² Independent congregations that rejected any connection between church and state had their models in Germany.⁷⁷³ An early example of these non-denominational congregations were the Philaleths in Hamburg whose spokesperson was Theodor Olshausen.⁷⁷⁴ The influence of this free-thinking movement is especially clear in a pamphlet by Theodor Olshausen, published anonymously with a large press run in 1830, in which he urged all people who were not inwardly committed to a church, to break off their external connections as well.

„We believe we are able to defend this position before God and the world.“⁷⁷⁵

The Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers were also interested in founding Freie Gemeinden in local towns, but they were not successful in this. C. F. Huch, who mentions a Freie Gemeinde in New Holstein at the end of 1852, must be corrected.⁷⁷⁶ Andreas F. Hanssen explained the background for the foundation of Freie Gemeinden in the U.S. and the fondness of the intellectual New Holsteiners for the lectures organized by them to his readers in Schleswig-Holstein.

„A powerful reaction arose against the excesses of both churches [the Protestant Church was in the hands of the Methodists, and Hanssen called Catholic priests papists] in the so-called free or humanistic congregation which recognize no authority in matters of faith and for this reason attach only historic significance to Christianity. The German revolutionary refugees provide them with capable leaders. The predominantly negative character of this movement, however, indicates that it will probably not be of long duration, and the healthy spirit of our settlers rises up mightily against it, no matter how close it has come to us and how much we enjoy hearing the intellectual lectures of its speakers.“⁷⁷⁷

Some settlers of New Holstein certainly subscribed to the weekly „*Der Humanist*, the organ of the free congregations and free schools“ that had a circulation of about 800 in Wisconsin, but there was no Freie Gemeinde in New Holstein.⁷⁷⁸ Even in those metropolitan areas with a large German element the free religious congregations soon disappeared, having had little influence on the broader masses of people.⁷⁷⁹

In Davenport, too, the 1848er Schleswig-Holsteiners Hans Reimer Claussen, Matthias Rohlf and Theodor Gülich had collected \$1,000 for building a Freie Kirche⁷⁸⁰ in 1852 and had persuaded Pastor Kröger, who had immigrated from Schwabstedt, to take over the congregation.⁷⁸¹ But because of the minimal response from the local residents, which ran counter to their willingness to make donations, and internal dissension, the construction never was finished.⁷⁸²

The German Free School Society founded in 1852/53, on the other hand, was a great success.⁷⁸³ Richter reports that the „decidedly free-thinking orientation“ that the school maintained for many years and its success can be ascribed to its founder, Theodor Gülich.⁷⁸⁴ These private schools were founded in order to „remove the German children from the demented (American) drilling

institutions and to bestow upon them the benefits of German education," even though in the process the schools frequently provoked the resident Americans.⁷⁸⁵

Reinhard Doerries emphasizes the schools' double task, which decisively affected the acculturation of the immigrants. On the one hand, they were concerned to preserve the ethnic character of the children, and on the other, they prepared immigrant offspring for life in the dominant culture.⁷⁸⁶ Immigration to the U. S. was, thanks to these ethnic schools and other societies, less an uprooting than a transplantation of people.⁷⁸⁷ In spite of their general achievement, evaluations of the free German school in Davenport were not always positive. In 1865 Theodor criticized his half brother, Johannes Olshausen, because his three children „should be receiving a better education. The German schools there in Davenport are miserable and Johannes does not want to send his son into the better American schools, which I consider wrongheaded.“⁷⁸⁸

Immigrants from Schleswig-Holstein established a district school in New Holstein early on, in July 1849, and in two months the building was finished. The town meeting on May 15 of that year, at which 27 residents were in attendance, 26 of them from Schleswig-Holstein, decided with a majority of 17-10 to levy a school tax in the form of a 2% tax on property.⁷⁸⁹ The decision to appoint an American, Charles White, as teacher is a clear indication of the orientation of these participants at the town meeting.⁷⁹⁰ They had quickly recognized how important it was for the future of their children to learn the language of the dominant culture.⁷⁹¹ Charles White was not unknown to the participants. He was a traveling companion of William Ostenfeld in the fall of 1847 when they journeyed to Schleswig-Holstein to recruit jointly for the establishment of New Holstein.⁷⁹²

With the establishment of a Fröbel Kindergarten, Davenport took on a pioneer role for the United States. At the end of 1860, a group of former inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein came together to found a society. The Schleswig-Holstein editor of the *New York Criminal Newspaper and Journal of Bellets Lettres* reported on November 2, 1860: „As far as we know, this is the first attempt of its kind in America even though the conditions in this country cry out for such undertakings.“ The humanities background of the 1848ers is clear in that for them the Fröbel System offered even small children „true humanism“ and „appropriate amusements.“ The journalist Rudolph Lexow emphasized an aspect having to do with the family. These kindergartens would unburden the majority of „women with no access to household servants“ in an ideal way. With a view to the majority society and in full awareness of the superiority of German pedagogy, Lexow wrote: „If the kindergartens flourish among the Germans, we can be sure that they will break new

ground among the American population as well, and in that case the German spirit would again have gained a victory of essential significance for the republic. We urgently recommend the example of Davenport for replication."⁷⁹³

Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers also supported interregional educational initiatives. The signatures of Theodor Olshausen and Henry Ramming, the editor of *The Demokrat* in Davenport, appear on an appeal for the founding of a German university in the United States.⁷⁹⁴ This idea, however, never got beyond the planning stage.

The German *Liebhabertheaterverein* (Amateur Theater Society), founded in Davenport in 1855, put on its first performance on December 10th of that year.⁷⁹⁵ This German-language theater was fundamentally different from the American, since it operated exclusively with amateur actors.⁷⁹⁶ Until 1856 plays were staged in the small Holzborn Hall on Second Street west of Ripley Street.⁷⁹⁷ A year later, because of the rapidly growing interest of the public, the society rented a larger theater on the second floor of the B. H. Lahrman Restaurant.⁷⁹⁸ Following the premiere, Theodor Gülich, a member of the Amateur Theater Society, praised the lively performance of all the participants in his newspaper *Der Demokrat*. He emphasized especially that his criticism of the first comedy, *Somebody Must Get Married* by Wilhelmi, would not go „looking for mistakes.“⁷⁹⁹ A significant number of Davenport Americans, however, were sharply critical of society activities because they took place on Sundays, the Sabbath. Joseph Schick reports of such a performance in the late 1850s that attracted about 1,500 persons to the restaurant Thalia Garten and at which a reporter from the English-language *Gazette* noticed many Americans among the audience.⁸⁰⁰

The „American Theater“ under the direction of Fayette Lodawich „Yankee“ Robinson performed for the first time in Davenport on September 9 and 10, 1851. Traveling theater companies visited the city on the Mississippi regularly after that, and Theodor Gülich published a notice for May 14, 1853. In the new LeClaire Hall, the „National Theater“ under the direction of G.J. Adams was performing „the patriotic drama William Tell.“⁸⁰¹

Schiller's „Love and Intrigue“ was the choice for the premiere of the dramatic society of New Holstein in 1854. One year earlier than Davenport, and two years before a German theater was founded in Chicago, the immigrant Schleswig-Holsteiners had sought out a drama especially expressive of their revolutionary background and including an arbitrary despot.⁸⁰² Rippley and Überhorst both maintain that Schiller's great popularity among German Americans was due to his expressive support of political freedom.⁸⁰³ The dramatic and theatrical qualities of the performance, however, were not rated very highly by the chronicler Rudolf

Puchner. In a questionnaire he put to researcher Kate E. Levi, we read: „The author did not, happily, see the play, as he was living then only the life of immortal men.“⁸⁰⁴

The Davenport marksmen's club was founded on April 9, 1854, by Theodor Gülich (secretary), Wilhelm von Schirach (president) and Messrs. Paulsen, Berg, Lafrenz and Petersen. Shooting practice was conducted only a few times a year, probably because of the cost; but the days at the rifle range were very popular and ranked highly as family festivities.⁸⁰⁵ Dr. August Richter wrote on the occasion of the 25th jubilee of the Davenport Marksman's Society: „The Civil War delivered a lethal blow to this society, since many members went off to the battlefield to offer their rifles to the threatened Union. The remaining members, about 80 in number, reorganized into a home guard in August 1862 in order to protect the city against ruffians and Indians who were threatening cities of the West at that time.“⁸⁰⁶

In the same year, under their motto „Use eye and hand for the Fatherland,“ they founded a new society. „During the regrettable war between the North and the South,“ 13 gentlemen got together⁸⁰⁷ after a shooting contest in P. N. Jacobsen's summer garden and inaugurated the Davenport Marksmen's Society from oblivion.⁸⁰⁸ On the first page of the subscription list stand the sentences: „Of what does a man's honor consist? That to which his pride entitles him! A man's pride is his valor and his valor manifests itself in how well he knows how to handle modern firearms. In order to give men the opportunity to practice the use of weapons, we found today our Davenport Marksmen's Society.“⁸⁰⁹ Only a year later the club had 40 members and the first champion marksman was Louis Schmidt.

In December 1868 the club bought the former Marksmen's Park in Davenport and „planted trees and bushes there for the use and benefit of coming generations.“⁸¹⁰

„Thus the Davenport Marksmen's Society has fulfilled its duty, just as the Davenport Turner Society does by building a larger and more beautiful gymnasium for future generations. May the enlightenment of humankind take such steps forward that the need to enlarge the gymnasium and the Marksmen's park will present itself a few generations later, and may our Marksmen and Turners always keep the ball of progress rolling and be not only the pioneers, but also the guardians of our progressive achievements.“⁸¹¹

The German-American press took on a double function similar to that of the ethnic societies. On the one hand, they were engaged in the preservation of the mother tongue and of German cultural interests, and on the other, they helped many Germans to understand American traditions, including the political system of the new homeland.⁸¹² The number of German-language press publications available on the American market was impressive. The immigration of the 1848ers brought about a dramatic increase in the number of German newspapers,⁸¹³ from about 70 to over double that between 1848 and 1852 alone. The count reached its zenith in 1894 with 800 daily and weekly newspapers.⁸¹⁴

The density of newspapers in Iowa shows that a German population of between 1,000-2,000 in a county was enough to support a weekly newspaper in the language of the old homeland.⁸¹⁵ For the many Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers in particular, journalism became a preferred occupation after their arrival, since often only a minimum of money was needed to acquire the services of an American printer.⁸¹⁶ Guided by their own view of themselves, they believed more than ever in the humanizing power of public opinion and recognized in the press, as did Tocqueville, not only a force that could limit the [illegitimate] use of power and guarantee freedom, but also an important bearer of culture in America.⁸¹⁷ The newly established newspapers were the ideal platform from which to propagate their notion of a free, progressive, and democratic society. Along with the German schools and churches, newspapers contributed in a decisive way, sometimes in an argumentative manner, to bringing the immigrants and their children into closer touch with their new environment, without sacrificing their contact with the old homeland.⁸¹⁸

The first German newspaper in Iowa was founded north of Davenport in Dubuque in mid-1847; but although there were a considerable number of Germans among the 5,000 inhabitants, the *Nordwestliche Demokrat* folded after a year.⁸¹⁹ The second German newspaper in Iowa was also a failure. The theological student and tutor Samuel Jacobs from Schleswig-Holstein published the weekly Davenport *Herald* for a few months in the summer of 1850.⁸²⁰ The newspaper founded by Theodor Gülich on November 15, 1851 was the first to enjoy lasting success.⁸²¹ After some initial difficulties, *Der Demokrat* acquired a considerable readership and exercised a strong influence on the German immigrants even beyond its home region. In its initial period, Gülich received active support from Theodore Rombauer, a refugee from the Hungarian revolution, who had directed the technical side of the war under Kossuth.⁸²²

In his history of the Germans, the local historian Dr. August Richter uses

The Demokrat as an example in describing vividly the problems the newspaper founders had to struggle with in the early years. Financial difficulties stemming from an initial printing of 98 copies, Siberian temperatures in the single small editing and printing room due to a lack of money to pay the relatively high cost of coal, and intense hostility from the Americans—all of these things raised daily doubts about the newspaper's ability to continue.⁸²³ What gave the journalists the strength to overcome these problems was their experience of freedom of the press, which Hans Reimer Claussen called „the guarantor of well-being“ in his report on Davenport and Scott Counties. „Freedom of the press penetrates into all relationships, places everything that interests the people before the court of public opinion. Anyone who takes part actively or intellectually in this wonderful, unparalleled development of human potential, anyone who takes pleasure in these developments soon feels at home and happy here.“⁸²⁴

But before the first edition of *The Demokrat* could appear, the 23-year old Theodor Gülich first had to enter into an agreement with T. D. Eagal, publisher of the *Democratic Banner*, the English language newspaper of Davenport.⁸²⁵ For \$75 paid in installments he received a printing press made of wood on which his newspaper was printed with five columns per side in a folio format of 35 x 45 cm and pica type.⁸²⁶ From 1852 on, Gülich occupied two rooms along with his printing press on Gaines Street between Fourth and Fifth, for which he paid \$4 a month rent. One room served as a kitchen, dining room, reception room and type-setting space and a second housed the press and supplies. Gülich himself slept on a cot under the stairs.⁸²⁷

An article about the politically independent position of the newspaper appeared in the first issue, along with a poem by Theodor Gülich that had been published in Schleswig-Holstein in „*Das Volk*“ in [bis??] until July 1850.⁸²⁸ In addition to international reports that Gülich reprinted from other newspapers, he documented his close affinity with Hungary. On the title page, under the motto „To each his own,“ which harkens back to Cicero, appeared a reprint of Louis Kossuth's appeal to the American people, written on March 27, 1850 in Bursa, Turkey.⁸²⁹ Gülich must have seen a parallel to the failed uprising in Schleswig-Holstein in the outcome of the Hungarian revolution, lost, in Kossuth's opinion, because of treason in their own ranks and bungled operations against the aristocratic rulers. „The world knows how bravely the Hungarians fought . . . we maintained the unequal conflict alone, cut off from the rest of the world and all external aid . . .“⁸³⁰

From the beginning of March 1852 to the end of June 1854, the Schleswig-Holstein [book] printer Hans Andries Rudolph Reichmann was a business partner

of Theodor Gülich.⁸³¹ Born in the city of Schleswig on March 15, 1821, Reichmann emigrated with his family by way of Quebec to Sheboygan, not far from New Holstein, Wisconsin, in 1850.⁸³² After a brief period as a typesetter for an English language newspaper at a weekly wage of \$5, he and the son of the composer Heinrich Marschner founded the *Wisconsin Republican* in Sheboygan. Following a disagreement concerning which candidate to support in an election, he left his partner and went to Milwaukee.⁸³³ There he established the *Volkshalle*, a newspaper that competed unsuccessfully with the two other German newspapers, the *Wisconsin Banner* and the *Volksfreund*.⁸³⁴ Letter contacts through friends led to his partnership with Gülich in Davenport, where Reichmann was co-owner of *The Demokrat* for three years.⁸³⁵

To do justice to the interests of the rapidly growing German colony on the Mississippi, the *Demokrat* began appearing as a daily on January 3, 1856.⁸³⁶ With the exception of Monday, the daily edition costing \$5 a year or 10 cents a week was oriented toward the city population. The weekly edition, consisting of articles [excerpts] from the daily newspaper and selling at \$2 a year, was aimed primarily at the rural population.⁸³⁷ Opinions held by American journalists concerning Theodor Gülich were quite varied. While the *New York Herald* stated on December 26, 1854: „*The Demokrat*, an excellent weekly paper edited by Theodor Gülich,“ comments in the *Davenport Gazette* amounted to polemical attacks. On February 22, 1855, it published its view of the paper under the headline *Der Demokrat*:

„That notorious infidel sheet, appropriately termed *Der Demokrat*, of Saturday, has about one eighth of a column in response to our mild article of last week respecting our German population. From the manner in which he starts out, by terming the *Gazette* a Know Nothing sheet, we presume it to be a characteristic article . . . If Mr. Gülich were an honorable man, instead of misrepresenting us he would publish the whole article to which he takes exception, in order to show his readers what are the *Gazette*'s views of the duties, etc., of a German citizen. Will he not do it?“⁸³⁸

Theodor Gülich had not only to confront his American colleagues concerning the newspaper's contents, he also had to admonish the post office to deliver his papers on a regular basis. In an unusual move, he addressed himself to the [American] public in an English-language article in the *Demokrat* published on June 18, 1853 containing the following threat: „Postmasters are respectfully requested, to deliver the 'd-[amne]-d dutch' paper more regularly, if they don't want their names to be delivered—to the General Postmaster. The Publishers.“

Only a few months after Gülich had successfully launched his daily *Demokrat*, he sold both papers to Theodor Olshausen and Henry Lischer for the sum \$1,800 in order to finance the continuation of his study of law.⁸³⁹

Having failed to achieve the financial success he had hoped for with his publication of books about the U. S. written for German-language consumption, Olshausen wrote to his brother on April 20, 1855, from St. Louis: „If I could take up some other worthwhile activity here, I would do it, and I'm going to see whether there are any possibilities in Davenport or the surrounding area.“⁸⁴⁰ His opinion concerning journalism in the U. S. had thus changed. In his first letter from the United States to Kiel, he not only gave a negative assessment of his chances of successfully founding a newspaper in St. Louis, a city that already had three German papers, but also reported that his brother Arthur was already as fed up with the life of a journalist as I am, and we will therefore resume that activity only in case of extreme necessity.⁸⁴¹

This financial necessity apparently came about, with the result that after April 15, 1856 Olshausen was living in Davenport where „I am now editing the daily newspaper, without any assistants.“⁸⁴² His half-brother Johannes likewise moved from St. Louis to Davenport for financial reasons in October of 1854, where he co-signed Theodor's loan of \$1,000 for the purchase of a newspaper.⁸⁴³ The first few weeks left Theodor Olshausen in an optimistic mood. While the receipts from subscriptions were minimal, the newspaper advertisements did bring in needed money. „In addition, we have a profitable business with so-called *Accidenz-Arbeiten* (Job printing), since our press is the only one here that can print in German and here in Davenport, where half the population consists of Germans, a very many things are printed in English and German.“⁸⁴⁴

Olshausen liked Davenport very much, though he wished for a better educated public for the newspaper. On the other hand, he did not much like the daily work in the editing office, which people viewed „as an open house.“ „People who have nothing to do sit down and chat, or take a seat without saying a word, request writing materials and write letters . . . This is very unpleasant for me, because it makes me realize that in practice I am in this respect still very undemocratic.“⁸⁴⁵

Olshausen's initial optimism changed suddenly with the onset of the great economic crisis of 1857, when real estate fell to a quarter of its former value and many debt-ridden farmers were driven from their homesteads. Two bad harvests and low grain prices intensified the situation so decisively that at the end of 1859

Olshausen anticipated the coming winter as the toughest of all financially. „My newspaper has of course also suffered great losses as a result and is just barely surviving.“⁸⁴⁶

For Olshausen, too, there was no shortage of disagreements with colleagues. The weekly *National Demokrat* of Dubuque, which supported the Democratic party, reported under the headline „A Military Punishment“ on May 17, 1860 with malicious satisfaction:

„General von Pleyel is the well-known editor of the German Republican central organ of Iowa, the *Iowa Post*, published in Des Moines, and the *Hof- und Staatsorgan* [farm and state newspaper], as he calls the *Davenport Demokrat*, wants to call his newspaper's high station into question because he, as it claims, is not able to write German; thus the general expresses his ill-will in the following pugnacious manner: 'Should Mr. Olshausen, as seems to be his custom, permit himself to engage in insults, we inform him in advance that we will no longer respond as editor of the *Iowa Post*, but as a Hungarian and Schleswig-Holstein officer, in order to discipline his two-faced calumny in the military way.' This is bloodthirsty language, and we hope that the situation between these two German-republican editorial fools [Edi-Thoren plays on the German *Thor*=fool] will not develop into extremes. What would then become of the Republican party if these two Nigger-apostles shoot each other dead?'“⁸⁴⁷

During the period of Olshausen's journalistic activity in Iowa, the decision was reached in Prussia (on May 22, 1858) to destroy at the border „the newspaper *Der Demokrat* of Davenport, in addition to six other German-American publications. Since these newspapers . . . undermine everything from monarchical principles to Christianity and morality, officials find it necessary to take steps to confiscate [these] newspapers. . . if possible before they reach their addressees, . . . and to ban them entirely in accordance with paragraph 52 of the Prussian code.“⁸⁴⁸

As early as May 17, 1851, the Prussian Interior Minister was concerned about the distribution of newspapers published by well known 1848ers in the U. S.⁸⁴⁹

Following trips by Gotfried Kinkel and Louis Kossuth for the purpose of political agitation, the political wing of the Prussian policy, the Ministry of the Interior, and German diplomats in the United States intensified their surveillance of revolutionary refugees there.⁸⁵⁰

In early summer of 1860 Theodor Olshausen and Henry Lischer sold both the daily and the weekly *Demokrat* to Heinrich von Ramming and John Daldorf, and took over the *Westliche Post* in St. Louis.⁸⁵¹

Theodor Olshausen's move at that particular point in time was both politically as well as journalistically challenging, since the border state of Missouri was torn between Unionist and Secessionist sentiments at the beginning of the Civil War. On September 8, 1861 he wrote from St. Louis: „I had hoped that our chaotic situation would soon become a bit clearer, but instead the confusion is getting constantly worse, and unless some power above helps us there is no end in sight. I am very busy with my newspaper business, of course, which is not in the least unpleasant for me, because if you do not have a lot to do, you cannot stand living here.“⁸⁵²

In early 1861 the *Westliche Post* experienced a severe crisis because nearly all its advertisers withdrew their support. Although its gross income amounted to \$25,000 from approximately 7,000 subscribers to three different editions—daily, weekly, and Sunday, Olshausen had to take on an outside partner to keep the business afloat.⁸⁵³ After an argument with his partner in 1864, he would have liked to sell the paper and go on a trip to Germany, but „at this very important time, when the presidential election is about to take place, I could not bring it upon myself to leave to chance the future direction of the *Westliche Post*, which is at present the most influential German newspaper in the entire West.“⁸⁵⁴ The financially hard times for the people were now past, „luxury is on the increase and no one has to hold back too much with one's own prices (for newspapers with advertisements) anymore.“⁸⁵⁵

Olshausen seemed shaken by the indifference and lack of concern shown by the people near the end of the Civil War. „The greatest events, terrible battles, the most extraordinary horrors of war and deceptions about peace no longer make much of an impression, and we newspaper writers are almost the only ones left to cast light on the meaning of things, so that people do not simply endure everything patiently.“⁸⁵⁶

At the beginning of 1865 Olshausen announced his definite intention to

visit Germany now that he had sold the *Westliche Post* for \$14,000.⁸⁵⁷ „After the presidential election in which I expressed my opposition to Lincoln . . . I thought that I had contributed enough to my political duty.“⁸⁵⁸ Not lacking in pride, he also reported about the recent economic growth of his newspaper. „Though my newspaper has been through difficult times, its consistency instilled respect in its readers, . . . with the result that it was and is a profitable business.“⁸⁵⁹

After Olshausen and Henry Lischer left Davenport in 1860, the *Demokrat* faced a crisis, caused not only by financial deficits as was the case with the *Westliche Post*, that threatened its existence. The new owner, John Daldorf, and Heinrich von Ramming, who had been working as a freelancer for the *Demokrat*, adopted a radical political position. The daily had to cease operations in May 1861, but the financial situation of the weekly was also so precarious that Henry Lischer returned from St. Louis and repurchased the newspaper in June 1861. He had decided to take this step because the greater part of the purchase price had not yet been paid to him by Ramming.⁸⁶⁰

The first thing Henry Lischer did was hire an experienced journalist, the 1848er Jens Peter Stiboldt, from Copenhagen. Stiboldt quickly won the confidence of the Schleswig-Holstein readers, who came up with two flattering references to him: The *Demokrat* was almost always called the „*Pattdütsche Bible*“ from then on, and when people in Davenport and Scott County had differences of opinion, they added to their argument: „Stiboldt hat säch!“ (Stiboldt said so!)⁸⁶¹

On many occasions Stiboldt emphasized the independent position of the *Demokrat*; on October 2, 1861 he quoted Theodor Olshausen, who had written on February 26, 1857: „We see ourselves having no other choice than to take a completely independent position with respect to the state elections, as we previously did, until the undesirable elements have left the Republican party.“ On the basis of this tradition he justified in a local election his support of and „honest“ Democratic party candidates over against a „dishonest Republican“ whose views were in principle closer to his own.⁸⁶² The *Weekly National Demokrat* of Dubuque confirmed the departure of Stiboldt from the party of Lincoln and reported that he now supported the newly founded Union party. At the same time the democratic newspaper from Dubuque criticized Stiboldt's recommendation to his German readers that they take a strong position opposing nativism. Later on, the local historian Dr. August Richter paid fitting tribute to the successes of the Davenport newspaper: „The *Demokrat* has a record not surpassed by any Iowa paper printed in the German language.“⁸⁶³

It was not only in the Midwest that Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers made a national name for themselves as outspoken journalists. Journalists and writers from the duchies settled in the traditional immigrant cities in the east coast as well. In contrast to the unfortunate and transitory newspaper project of Adolph Strodtmann in Philadelphia and the editorial activities of Eduard Gabain in New Orleans, the *New York Criminal Newspaper and Belles Lettres Journal* achieved what was probably the greatest circulation of all the German-American publications and was in existence from 1852 to 1911.⁸⁶⁴ The founder of this ambitious literary weekly, Rudolf Lexow, was born on January 10, 1823 in Tönning. After a brief stay in England, he arrived in New York in the 1840s.⁸⁶⁵ „This enabled him to found a journal for the Germans in America earlier than many others. Lexow took it as his task to keep the immigrants' contacts with the old Fatherland fresh and to put them in closer touch with the American scene by means of characteristic descriptions and unprejudiced judgments, thereby facilitating their intellectual and material advance in America.“⁸⁶⁶ The odd name of the newspaper went back to Lexow's work with the English-language „Police Gazette“ in New York.⁸⁶⁷ Originally the editor concentrated his interest on criminal cases that were often left uninvestigated by the police, prosecuting attorneys and the courts. In addition, Lexow wanted to make German immigrants familiar with the laws of their new homeland.⁸⁶⁸

Thus it was natural for writer-journalist Lexow to reprint his own criminal mystery novel until 1853 as a serial in his newspaper.⁸⁶⁹ Soon Lexow expanded his topics and by December 26, 1854 the English-language *New York Herald* reported a circulation of 7,000. Using a slightly altered title and a supplement, the Intelligence section of the *New York Criminal-Zeitung*, the newspaper's circulation grew to 71,500 in the 1880s.⁸⁷⁰ In St. Louis alone, the bookbinder Georg Scharmann had amassed a subscription list of 800 for the *New York Criminal-Zeitung and Belletristisches Journal* between 1857 and 1862 in his stationery store.⁸⁷¹ Even in small towns like Guttenberg, Iowa, with its 1,500 inhabitants, there were 12 subscribers to Rudolf Lexow's newspaper, but only three who regularly took Theodor Olshausen's *Demokrat*.⁸⁷²

In 1861 the *New York Criminal Newspaper and Belletristisches Journal* offered a prize of \$300 for the best novel on a German-American theme. The Forty-eighter Reinhold Solger, who later wrote an information piece about the Schleswig-Holstein question for the American public, was given the award for his work „Anton in America.“⁸⁷³

Lexow's sympathy for socialist and communist ideology was apparent; the business manager of his newspaper until July 1853 was a Marxist named Joseph

Weydemeyer, and frequent articles by August Willich and his politically like-minded friends appeared in the paper. In addition, the *New York Criminal and Belletristisches Newspaper* was the first newspaper in the U.S. to report in detail about the sensational trial in Cologne in October and November, 1852, during which the Prussian government attempted to publicly discredit the entire communist movement once and for all.⁸⁷⁴

Rudolf Lexow's cousin Friedrich had already made a name for himself as a journalist and poet in Schleswig-Holstein with his publication of the radical newspapers *Das Volk* and *Zeitung für Arbeiter*.⁸⁷⁵ On grounds of his revolutionary activities, he was arrested in March, 1850 and sentenced to eight years in prison by the Holstein Superior Court. Following two amnesty decrees the penalty was reduced to one year in Rendsburg prison,⁸⁷⁶ and because Lexow's several years of detention during the investigation were taken into account, he was able to emigrate to America in 1853.⁸⁷⁷ In the United States he worked for various newspapers, but became best known to the largest number of German Americans for his work on the *Belletristisches Journal*. His poems were first published in this newspaper as a rule before appearing in anthologies and other publications.⁸⁷⁸

Two different facts are indicative of the importance accorded the *New York Criminal-Zeitung* and *Belletristisches Journal* by contemporaries and by subsequent historians alike. Though lacking legal cause, the Prussian police presidium tried between 1854 and 1863 to prevent the newspaper's distribution in Europe.⁸⁷⁹

Up until now it has scarcely been recognized that Schleswig-Holstein 1848ers also planned, bought, or published English-language press organs in addition to their German-language publications. Communication between English and German-speaking Americans with the help of the printed media had a long tradition. The dominant culture used German newspapers, books, and flyers that appeared in America to influence the political or religious views of immigrants. What was new was the pointed attempt of the Germans to reach Americans with their own English-language newspapers.⁸⁸⁰

Precisely 100 years after Benjamin Franklin began to Americanize the Germans in the U. S., a group under Heinrich Börnstein in St. Louis set about to do the opposite.⁸⁸¹ Complaining about the isolation of the German-language press and its unsuccessful attempts at influencing Americans, Börnstein suggested in an editorial the establishment of an interregional German-English newspaper that would print the best articles from the newspapers of the immigrant Germans. At the same time he publicized a letter written to the journalist Heinrich Wilhelm Gemp:

„ . . . you know that several months ago I recommended that Arthur Olshausen undertake publication of a weekly supplement to the *Anzeiger* which was to deal with agriculture, horticulture, trade unions, and popular hygiene especially, but at the same time was to be free of all party ties and take a real interest in the internal affairs of the Union, by . . . introducing . . . reforms . . . so greatly needed everywhere. This paper was to appear in German and English. . . . Perhaps as early as next month I will publish a weekly paper under the title *Der Deutsch-Amerikaner*. . . . Only in this way could an intimate blending of the American and German elements in our Republic be brought about.“⁸⁸²

Because of the sudden death of the publisher, *The German-American/Der Deutsch-Amerikaner* existed only from March 8 until June 1, 1851.⁸⁸³ It was distributed through the network used by the *Anzeiger*.⁸⁸⁴

Apparently Theodor Gülich, the owner of *The Demokrat* in Davenport, had similar plans. His journalist-colleague reported in an article entitled „The Activity of the German Clubs“ in 1854 about Gülich’s plans to publish an English newspaper, but which apparently never appeared.⁸⁸⁵ Another Schleswig-Holstein freedom fighter and founder of a small town in Missouri also tried his hand at a dual-language newspaper. Although his German-American newspaper, *The Franklin Courier*, appeared from June 13, 1856 until approximately 1858, nothing, not even its political orientation, is known about it.⁸⁸⁶

Friedrich Hedde’s founding of a new paper in Nebraska had a direct economic motivation. His German-English *The Anti-Monopolist*, spearheaded by Hedde with the aid of American business people, arose in reaction to the extremely high freight costs charged by two railroad companies in Grand Island, Nebraska.⁸⁸⁷ In an editorial captioned „The Purpose of the Anti-Monopolist,“ Hedde wrote in his first edition on February 7, 1883:

„ . . . An enormous danger lies in monopolistic domination by the companies that are so positioned that they can suck the blood out of the people for the good of the few. Only now have people begun to grasp the dangerous situation and to rise up against these enemies. A lasting struggle will ensue, and the *Anti-Monopolist* will be one of the fighters and will not lay down its weapons until victory over this dangerous aristocracy has been won.“

Hedde was now 65 years old, but his convictions regarding, for example, freedom and independence of the economy, had not changed from 1847/48. In January 1884 he founded the *Grand Island Daily Independent* and incorporated the weekly *Anti-Monopolist*, which he bought from an Irish immigrant on July 18, 1884.⁸⁸⁸ Still in the spirit of his Schleswig-Holstein journalistic activities, he emphatically warned the working class in 1896 concerning the explosive question of gold/silver currency. In a series of articles that appeared in German in his English-language newspaper *The Grand Island Independent*, he wrote: „The workers and farmers are being sold a bill of goods that they will be gaining major advantages from free silver currency and that the rich will be excessively disadvantaged.“⁸⁸⁹

A newspaper was not founded in New Holstein, Wisconsin until rather late. Although Schleswig-Holsteiners or their descendants had been determining the business and cultural life of the city almost exclusively since 1848, it was not until 1904 that the American-born Thomas McElroy established a newspaper, the English language *Calumet County Reporter*.⁸⁹⁰ The lack of a German-language newspaper is remarkable in that the experienced journalist Andreas F. Hanssen had been residing in New Holstein since the summer of 1849.

Why he did not follow the example of so many 1848ers and found his own newspaper is not known. His letters to his brother Georg lead one to surmise that he preferred the life of a Latin farmer to that of a newspaper publisher. Nevertheless, the question arises as to what influence the German-language press had on the 1848ers in New Holstein.⁸⁹¹ The long New Holstein report by Klaus Oesau which appeared on March 23, 1853 in the *Itzehoe Weekly* provides an answer. „Several German newspapers from different states . . . bring us news from the United States and the rest of the world every day, and we always learn about what is happening in our Fatherland from those newspapers a few weeks earlier than from letters, because the electrical telegraph transmits the news all that distance in a few minutes. A few days later, these news items reach us as public property by way of the newspapers.“ In the neighboring town of Sheboygan there were also two German weeklies, and one each in Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Watertown and Racine.⁸⁹²

Apparently, the New Holstein 1848ers' interest in their old homeland became weaker within just a few years than in comparable places where a Schleswig-Holstein population was dominant. This thesis is supported by the fact that the weekly „News from Schleswig-Holstein,“ published especially for Schleswig-Holsteiners in the United States, had relatively few subscribers in New Holstein. H. Kaul established this newspaper around 1880 in Boone County, Iowa, and moved the place of publication to Oak Park, Illinois in 1889.⁸⁹³ In the case of this newspaper, no attempt at forming a bridge between the old homeland and the new is apparent. Very frequently there are pleas for the exclusive nurturing and

maintenance of the German language. The objectives of the „News from Schleswig-Holstein“ is clear in a notice of November 10, 1914: „In the case of personal descriptions, the place of birth or origin should always be indicated, since only then are they of true value for this paper and its readers.“

The notion of a big family of Schleswig-Holsteiners in the United States, apparent in the paper's regular column „Our Subscribers,“ is instructive in reference to our line of questioning here. A check through each year of publication revealed that there were no more than six subscribers from New Holstein at any one time. This strikingly low subscription rate indicates that a newspaper devoted exclusively to Schleswig-Holstein could no longer hold the interest of the New Holsteiners.⁸⁹⁴

„We assume that American culture (or civilization, if you prefer that term) results from the interplay or interaction between foreign influences and native conditioning—a foreign heritage and an American environment.“⁸⁹⁵ The founding of clubs, societies, lodges, churches and schools in which the customs and traditions of the homeland were successfully retained is evidence of the need for cultural development, which is, at least initially, backward-looking.⁸⁹⁶ In spite of this „well-knit body of customs“ that the ethnic immigrant groups tried to preserve, the process of acculturation could not be stopped.⁸⁹⁷ The progress of these changes, which have already been noted in the case of New Holstein clubs as well as in the town's attitude towards its own newspaper or to the „News from Schleswig-Holstein,“ is the subject matter of this chapter.⁸⁹⁸

In the case of New Holstein, there are hardly any detailed statements about what sense of identity the immigrant Schleswig-Holsteiners had. A year after his arrival in the U. S., for example, Hanssen wrote to his brother about his subsequent wife, Cäcilia Oesau, who had emigrated in 1848 with her parents and three siblings. „I immediately felt strongly drawn to her family, without paying her any further attention, since her position as a domestic with the Arens family wasn't quite acceptable to my European prejudices.“⁸⁹⁹ While no typical German prejudice about „American attitudes“ manifests itself here, there is clearly a prejudice against a condition of life that was the direct result of the exigencies of existence in America. The Oesaus had been very well-off landowners in Schleswig-Holstein, and now in the United States, the daughter had to stoop to working as a maid for a neighbor. The observation that the requirements of the frontier broke down social barriers has also been made by Frederick Judson Turner.⁹⁰⁰

Hanssen, too, soon became accustomed to this new environment. He, too, was forced to experience how money dwindled away. He describes the

transformation from a respected editor to a farmer in New Holstein who wore mended and dirty clothing to his brother: „If you were to meet me in such a get-up, you would reach into your pocket out of pity, or you might even take flight, thinking I was an escaped convict. We in America, though, are quite used to sights like this.“⁹⁰¹ „... America has a strange way of bringing people into line. For with good will, an open mind, and strong arms, there are ways to earn a living that one had never thought of before. A job as a day laborer will strike you as strange, but here nobody shrinks from it.“⁹⁰²

Similar ideas are expressed in the numerous guidebooks for immigrants: only people who „can make shoes today and turn out furniture tomorrow“ should even think of emigrating. And it is often repeated that the most lowly dirty work does not lower or destroy the dignity of the human being in the eyes of the Americans.⁹⁰³ To what degree this attitude, which was distant from the European way of thinking but typical of the majority of New Holsteiners, is at this stage already of structural nature, can scarcely be measured.⁹⁰⁴ It was a response to the demands raised by the frontier, the border region between civilization and wilderness as it was moving westward, which has been described as the determining element of American nationalism, American democracy and the American character.⁹⁰⁵

In the final analysis, the daily demands of life change the needs of the individual. No longer is luxury the primary focus: „And the best thing is that hard work has become an absolute necessity for me. Every day seems to me a lost day if I do not spend it with an ax, a hoe, or a fork in my hand. . . . When doing such jobs, you will find it quite understandable, . . . that my concern for Germany’s self-inflicted misfortune fades farther and farther into oblivion.“⁹⁰⁶ The chronicler Puchner as well makes it clear at one point in his memoirs that the new exigencies of life distanced the New Holsteiners from Europe and began to transform them into Americans. „Life on the road seemed to be his true element. Everything that once bound and tied him to his former aristocratic life in Heilbronn had been washed from him by the storms and the everyday demands of American life.“⁹⁰⁷

It is well known that the Germans in the United States celebrated American holidays with enthusiasm.⁹⁰⁸ The Fourth of July was celebrated from the early days in New Holstein, and Puchner mentions that a large celebration took place in 1850. After Charles Grüning had given a speech in which he challenged his listeners to offer their best to the new nation, a speech by the only Yankee in town, Bradley Webster, followed: „Since he spoke in the English language, there were very few who could follow his presentation with complete understanding, but everyone was in an extremely appreciative mood, and when he began singing a patriotic American song as his conclusion, they tried with all available means to show him this.“⁹⁰⁹

Such observations and descriptions must be interpreted with necessary caution, and it remains questionable whether a transformation in ethnic identity may be derived from them at this stage. This is especially true here, given the considerable length of time between the description and the actual event, so that what we are given may be more the author's personal point of view at the moment of writing. But in spite of all these considerations, we may assume that even if no transformation of ethnic identity took place among the immigrants, the New Holsteiners nonetheless showed a high degree of readiness to identify with and to accept their new homeland. The following statement by Puchner is to be interpreted in this sense: „I would not trade with a king. Thus spoke one of those ideas which are the foundation of our democracy. . . . These were the new American citizens. These were *Americans*.“⁹¹⁰

Not until the founding of the *Calumet County Reporter* do we find clear indications of the transformation of the New Holsteiners' ethnic identity. The periodically appearing caption „To our German Friends“⁹¹¹ make it clear that there were Americans in New Holstein, the second and third immigrant generations for the most part—and Germans who had not yet made this transformation. Given the caption above this irregularly appearing column, it is clear that the „Germans“ around the turn of the century, in any case, were in the minority.

A further commentary in the *Calumet County Reporter* supports the thesis that around the turn of the century—parallel to the general takeover of the English language—the transformation in ethnic identity had taken place. „The Elbe River: How the stream was brought to an even slope and current. . . . As a proper beginning for the correction of this sort of thing, the Prussians, in true German style, prepared a map of the stream as it was . . .“⁹¹² Another [a new] prejudice is apparent here, one which Americans still have today, concerning the excessively precise Germans. It is hardly possible that this report with its ironic dig [sarcastic] would have been printed this way if the New Holsteiners for whom it was written had still felt themselves to be Germans.

An important component of acculturation is an individual's civic, i.e., democratic behavior; for even if an immigrant has command of the English language and access to the primary groups in the dominant society, thorough acculturation cannot take place as long as he remains as a dependent and alien element in a society with democratic traditions. But here we must distinguish whether he has merely imitated the democratic „rules of the game“ of America, or actually internalized democratic behavior.⁹¹³

„Almost everyone here learns with striking speed to make use of the country's standard procedures with respect to elections as well as to municipal and rural self-government, and in becoming jurors in the legal system.“ Beyond this, almost all the immigrants become familiar extremely fast with the republican notion that all organs of government are nothing more than the representatives and servants of the people, in contrast to the conception of government as something outside of and above the people that prevails in Germany.“⁹¹⁴

As we trace the transition from king's subject to democratic American citizen in New Holstein, the main issue is not the participation of these citizens in „high politics,“ but rather the various areas in which their democratic attitudes [behavior] become[s] evident. It can scarcely be disputed that the political influence of the Germans and their participation in high federal and state offices was relatively small, and the attempts of extreme filiopietists to trace the origins of great Americans back to German immigrant ancestors do not change this picture.⁹¹⁵ Most of the first settlers of New Holstein came from a region in which, viewed politically, they were subjects of a king of foreign nationality. This explains why Schleswig-Holsteiners were often identified as Danes in census lists, and in statistics that were put together from naturalization records. Most of the first settlers of New Holstein have to be classified under this category, which explains why they are assigned to the 1848ers. In a political sense they were, of course, subjects, but not with the connotation of being either dependent or monarchistic, but rather liberal-democratic.

Calumet County was not at all a political terra incognita when the first settlers from Schleswig-Holstein arrived there. It had been organized as an independent political unit since 1842 and had accordingly a county assembly with representatives elected in the individual townships.⁹¹⁶ New Holstein was originally a part of Brother[town?] Township and was administered by its officials. Its organization into a township before the settlers had Wisconsin citizenship which required a year's residence in the state, is viewed by Andreas F. Hanssen as stemming from Ostenfeld's influence with officials at the state legislature.⁹¹⁷ This is a clear indication of how important it was for the ex-Schleswig-Holsteiners to have their own administration in accordance with democratic American principles.

Once the township was organized, officials had to be elected from among the New Holsteiners. On May 15, 1849, the first township meeting was held. The minutes of the first meeting and of those up until 1861 have been preserved and give us a clear picture of political activities at this lowest level of government.⁹¹⁸

Even at this first town meeting, at which the New Holsteiners were permitted to elect their own administrators for the first time ever, the minutes point to the presence of essential aspects of democratic thought and action: depicted in them is the duty of co-responsibility and participation in political life in order to defend the freedom for the sake of which they had left their homeland. „Charles Grüning, who had just been elected as Chairman and Justice of the Peace, spoke of our new nation, its difficulties in trying to give us freedom, that it was our duty to do all we could to help our new Township, our County and our State and Nation in moving forward to the best interests of the people.“⁹¹⁹

The minutes, to which the voting lists are appended, show that elections were taken seriously and that the town meeting did not agree on everything by acclamation. Except for two of the fifteen officers [Grüning, Justice of the Peace; Oesau, Supervisor], there were no [100%] unanimous choices.⁹²⁰ The minutes say almost nothing about one additional and no less important item: while the list of elected officials mentions the one and only English name under the post of constable,⁹²¹ nowhere in the minutes is the background of this election explained. „Filling the post of constable caused the greatest amount of difficulty, since the European police state was still all too well remembered by everyone, and they all were reluctant to play the role of policeman. Fortunately a young Yankee had settled among us who did not share this bias and was willing to take over this office.“⁹²²

It took only a year for the New Holsteiners to learn that democracy and police did not represent incompatible institutions. In the next election of town officials, there were four candidates for what had by now become two constable positions.⁹²³ Town meetings were held three to four times a year, and certainly not just to elect the officials of the town. There were other topics on the agenda as well. They set road and school taxes, established a fund for the poor, handed out permits for the sale of liquor, and voted concerning the choice of county seat. Attendance and participation in the elections at the town meetings can be followed exactly in the minutes, since everyone present was listed by name. On average, independent of the agenda for the meeting, the number of those in attendance remained constant at 80% of the men of voting age living in the township. From Hanssen's letters we note that the New Holsteiners were not immune from internal intrigue:

„We had the opportunity to get to know democracy also from its weaker side. A useless fellow who granted his share of power, . . . who was angry at the current administrators of the town

because of a roadway that went through his land, stirred up intrigue against them and was able to maneuver things so that in the new election in April the old administration was toppled and completely incapable people came into power But the people will soon become aware of their mistake and in the next election they will look more independently for the best candidate[s] and will not allow intriguers to lead them into doing such stupid things."⁹²⁴

The various societies of New Holstein bore similarities to the town meeting as democratic institutions for voting and decision-making. There was no society in the town whose officers were not elected. Likewise, financial plans and projects were only carried out if the majority of those present voted for them. The detailed minutes of the Cemetery Association for 1855 provide us with a clear impression of the democratic nature of the societies.⁹²⁵

„On February 27 fifty-seven men got together in Claus Oesau's house to found a cemetery association. The meeting began with the election of a chairman, a secretary, a treasurer and additional functionaries (all together there were eight elections). Furthermore, it was decided that the association buy four acres of land at a price of \$85 from Henry Kuehl (not Heinrich Kühl!) in order to establish a cemetery. Every member is to make a one-time payment of \$2 and receives in return two plots. It was determined in an amendment that each additional plot is to cost \$1.50 or, as an alternative, one day's work for maintenance of the cemetery. Non-members pay double this price. Furthermore, it was decided that every member is to perform one day's labor in clearing and plowing the land, and is to deliver 25 wooden posts for the construction of a fence as well.

The necessity of laying out a cemetery in New Holstein was obviously what prompted so many citizens to form this society and to invest money, work and energy in the enterprise. It is clear that the New Holsteiners did not wait like dependent subjects for the state to take the necessary measures, but rather were determined to take the responsibility into their own hands.

The available sources show that there were few problems finding citizens who were ready and in a position to assume offices, even though most of these duties were carried out without pay and in addition to one's daily work.⁹²⁶ Only

the Justice of the Peace and supervisors of schools received a monthly remuneration, and jury members at the county court received a small service fee for loss of wages. For the sake of the common good and to maintain their self governance, enough citizens were willing to put up with significantly increased demands on their time and labor. One qualification must be stated, however. It can be established that the first immigrants (1848-1855) and their descendants into the 20th century were involved to a high degree in filling public offices. But this was probably due less to personal pressure put on them than to the respect they enjoyed in the town. Finally, the words of Merle Curti concerning the Norwegians in Trempeleau County can be applied as well to the civic behavior of the New Holsteiners: „Accepting responsibility for their own affairs, they adopted the forms of American self-government as their own.“⁹²⁷

The majority of Schleswig-Holsteiners in the Midwest, as this investigation has shown, left their homeland primarily for political and less for economic reasons. Externally, many of them quickly fit into their new environment. Their actual acculturation took place as part of a longer but inevitable process. In economic respects most of the immigrants quickly gained a firm footing. Few failed completely, and a significant number achieved great success. The most important goal of the immigrants was, first of all, the establishment of a secure life; cultural and political assimilation played a decisive role only for the intellectual 1848ers.

One of the objectives of this study was to sketch out the political and economic situation in the north-Elbe duchies as it was experienced by the Schleswig-Holsteiners before their emigration. Hopefully this investigation has delineated clearly the extent to which European traditions as well as the attitudes and experiences they brought with them — i.e., the forces at work behind their thoughts and actions — determined their new mode of life and the manner and tempo of their integration into American society.

The main governing point of view of the study was the opinion shared by researchers that the history of emigration should be classified as part of the social history of the land of origin, while the process of acculturation and the conflicts arising from it belong to the social history of the land of destination.

The process of acculturation could be delayed a bit here and there, or accelerated, but not stopped. The Schleswig-Holsteiners lived initially in separate settlements or sections of a city, not in order to resist acculturation, but only because living together in a group eased their new beginning. If the immigrants consciously cultivated the traditions of their homeland, such

as their manner of observing the Sabbath, they did so in part because the indigenous population attacked or disparaged them for it. Basically, every immigrant sought to realize his „personal acculturation“ in his own way.

The present investigation has sought to clarify whether and in what manner a compact settlement of countrymen in the U.S. determined the acculturation process. We find indeed among the older studies numerous assumptions that settlements of this sort at first retarded the necessary assimilation, even hindered it. Thus it was tempting to assume that New Holstein in the time period chosen for this study would have been able to retain its integrity as a Schleswig-Holstein enclave, or at least a German one [in the more general sense]. The results have shown that the New Holsteiners, for example, did not make any conscious efforts to retain their Germanness. The fact that the overwhelming majority of immigrants made application for citizenship early on speaks its own clear message. It has also been demonstrated that they did not consciously hold fast to their mother tongue in order perhaps to encapsulate themselves from American society and defend themselves against assimilation. On the contrary, the settlers soon had their children learn English in school and often began to acquire facility with the new language themselves, thereby laying the foundations for continued assimilation.

An essential factor in the acculturation of the New Holsteiners was their readiness to assimilate. This willingness in turn was rooted in the high intellectual level of their opinion shapers. The close connection between the reasons for emigrating and the realities discovered in the land of their hope has also been confirmed. It was political reasons more than anything that caused the Schleswig-Holsteiners to leave their homeland. They turned their backs on the unbearable political situation at home and, if they did not want to live in a state of ethnic uprootedness, had to become Americans—Americans not only in the sense of paying political lip service, but in the comprehensive sense of adopting a new way of life.

The politically active 1848ers from Schleswig-Holstein certainly never propagated, either before or after their emigration, the absolute freedom that Kant called „wild, lawless freedom,“ but rather Kantian freedom in the sense of self-determining, law-creating reason. For them, republican freedom was not „lawless liberty“ (gesetzlose Freiheit), but rather „liberty under the law“ (Freiheit durch des Gesetz); that is, a freedom that recognizes the liberty of one's fellow human beings, coupled with universal responsibility

(the categorical imperative). Realistically put, this means a limited lack of freedom for all in the interest of an indeed limited, but optimal freedom for all.

On the day before the American national holiday (July 3, 1860), Theodor Olshausen analyzed the period of time chosen for this study from the point of view of his contemporaries:

„The presence of the Turners from other cities, their festive parades and the sparkling displays of strength and skill they have shown us once again, induce us to take a look at the development of German life in the United States in recent times. This period is clearly marked off by the years 1848-1849, when the failed and bungled revolutions in Germany drove the best in the land abroad, causing the number of immigrants to the United States to reach previously unknown heights. Prior to 1848 there was, of course—shortly after 1830—a small intellectual immigration of whom, unfortunately, only a few, but all the more capable, men remain. Gustav Körner, Ernst Münch, Alexander Kaiser from this region, August Becker of the Cincinnati evening newspaper, and a few others still endure as the old guard of the victory march of the German spirit in America, and every [single] German can proudly count them among his fellow countrymen. Their path was a much more difficult one than that of those who have come since 1848.[,,]

[,,]They [the 1830s immigrants] met no old friends and comrades who took them by the hand and stood by them in word and deed. They found only a few other Germans, hard-working people who, as upstanding as they were, nevertheless showed no evidence of any particular zeal for politics or aspirations that resulted in their becoming exiles [outcasts]. Under these circumstances it was natural and excusable that any sort of German life, German festivals, German athletics and singing [in their new homeland] was out of the question. As a result of its weakness in numbers, this early group of immigrants had no choice but to blend as well as it could into the mainstream of America without being in a position to transplant the good qualities of the German character in the American people, who at the time could have used them very much.[,,]

[,,]The huge stream of immigrants, a modern-day ‘migration of nations,’ began in the year 1849 and brought along a good number of intellectually forceful individuals who, instead of yielding to sickly imitation and

mimicry, stood up boldly for the flag of the convictions they had won in Germany and paved the way for them [. . . for their application in America]. Soon the Turner and singing societies came on the scene and with them the great annual festivals whose pomp and circumstance impressed the Americans, gradually bringing them to the conviction that the 'Dutch' could supply more than just railroad workers and farmers.[,,]

[,,]As is usual when a new power of culture enters among a people, there were at first conflicts, hatred, enmity, and blows when the Germans celebrated their festivals. About eight or ten years ago, when the Turner and singing societies first made their massive demonstrations, there were narrow-minded, bigoted concerns by the established Americans for the future of their country. That type of politician who has the monopoly on prophesying calamity with a wise expression on his face came to the foreground with slogans—that the Germans were forming a state within the state, that they should not be clannish, that they should rather Americanize and so on. Rough gangs were summoned to put down the German cultural element, to effect a victory for the limited outlook of the puritans over the lofty ideals of selfhood of the 19th century—and this on the free soil of the republic. All the products of the German spirit which this immigration represented were to be destroyed by an ossified core culture that no longer had any capacity for life. But the forces of fate would have it otherwise. It is not infrequent that two people, after they have listened to each other's opinions and/or called each other names [cast insults at each other], turn around and become good friends—and this is the way things went with the 'Dutch' and the 'Yankees.' One can now make the bold claim that precisely among the greatest friends of these German festivities, of these German customs, some can be found who were their most bitter enemies ten years ago. They finally discovered that things that first seemed strange, even dangerous to them, contain something worthy of imitation—in brief that the German spirit, German customs, are a pleasant complement, the filling of a gap in American life.[,,]

[,,]In all larger cities we now find Turner and singing societies among the American population. The credit belongs to the Germans alone for having made the Americans attentive to the need for physical fitness, to everything [in fact] that is part of a strong and well-developed citizenry. Intellectuals like Theodore Parker, who unfortunately died much too early, or Bayard Taylor, as well as the great American historian Bancroft, never

cease to convince the American people of the merits of German customs and German literature, and it is a great joy to observe this intellectual intermingling of cultural elements from two great nations.[,,]

[,,]The former temperance enthusiast now drinks a glass of lager beer with a certain zeal and the former hater of foreigners is an enthusiast of German music and German festivals. Even though there is still considerable prejudice against the „Dutch“ out in the country and in the dens of pickpockets and rowdies, it is certain that the [conciliatory] movement will eventually reach them, too, and bring the message of peace. Thus every German celebration should be [viewed as] an opportunity to extend the hand of friendship to our American fellow citizens and, as it were, to observe the traditions of international politeness. It is a pleasure to be able to report that all the English newspapers here have been granting very friendly recognition to the current Turner festival, and it seems that all the rancor of the former Know-Nothings has disappeared. On the contrary, we find in the American reports about German festivities a certain graciousness which is none the worse for a bit of unavoidable irony here and there.[,,]

[,,]The Germans have reason to be satisfied with the results of their efforts of the last ten years. If they had remained forever the passive, imitative appendage of the Americans, they would have neglected a great and important duty, that of expanding the circle of ideas of this people and imparting to it more liberal views.“

Annotations Chapter 1

- 1 Other delightful name parallels, such as the towns of Holstein and Schleswig in Iowa, Flensburg in Minnesota, Lubec in Maine and Kiel in Wisconsin, were the subject matter of two previous research trips with Dietrich Eicke in 1978 and 1982. See Dietrich Eicke and Joachim Reppmann, *Schleswig-Holsteinische Städtenamen im Mittleren Westen der USA*, privately printed (Kiel, 1979). An abbreviated version is „Auf den Spuren schleswig-holsteinischer Auswanderer,“ *Schleswig-Holstein* Nr. 5 (Husum, 1979), pp. 9-10. See also the bilingual German-English special edition on Schleswig-Holstein emigrants and their descendants in *Schleswig-Holstein*, a publication of the Schleswig-Holstein Heimatbund, Vol. 11 (1981), pp. 25-27.
- 2 Concerning these so-called „Europamüden“, those weary of Europe, see the Passenger Manifest completed at New York for December 5, 1848, a copy of which is in the New Holstein Historical Society Museum, New Holstein, Wisconsin. The concept „Europamüde“ derives from the widely known book by Ernst Willkomm, *Die Europamüden* (Leipzig, 1837), Vol. 2, p. 106: „The whole structure is collapsing. . . . Let's go to America. „ See James F. Harris, „The Arrival of the Europamüde: Germans in America after 1848,“ in Charlotte L. Brancaforte, ed., *German Forty-Eighters in the United States*, Vol. 1 (New York, 1989), p. 117. „Latin Farmers“ is a phrase that refers to academically educated immigrants who went about the business of breaking the American virgin soil with romantic presuppositions but were frequently themselves broken, though not in their capacity to articulate brilliant passages from Ovid and Horace. In contemporary parlance, the term usually bespeaks irony, if not denunciation. Janet W. Rife, *Germans and German-Russians in Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1980), p. 4. Some were more positive, especially about New Holstein, which Hildegard Binder-Johnson describes as „a successful community of Latin Farmers,“ in her „Adjustment to the United States,“ in Adolf E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters. Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York, 1967), pp. 43-78, quote 49. Emigrants from the duchies were also called „Masters of the Latin and English Languages,“ by Rudolf Puchner, *Erinnerungen an die ersten Jahre der Ansiedlung New Holstein* (Chilton, WI, 1894), p. 34.
- 3 Copies of articles from no longer existant German-American publications are in the Herriott Collection at the State Historical Society, Des Moines. This study's precursor is Joachim Reppmann, „Verpflanzte Ideen: Freiheitsbegriff und Demokratieverständnis der schleswig-holsteinischen Achtundvierziger—Wurzeln und Wirkung 1846-1856,“ M. A. Ruhr University (Bochum, 1984).
- 4 Binder-Johnson, „Adjustment,“ in Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters*, pp. 45, 69; „Scott County became a huge Schleswig-Holstein colony with Davenport as its capital. „ August Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport und des County Scott nebst Seitenblicken auf das Territorium und den Staat Iowa* (Davenport, 1917), p. 605. William Roba, *The River and the Prairie: A History of the Quad-Cities* (Quad Cities, 1986), p. 53.

- 5 Reinhard R. Doerries, „German Transatlantic Migration from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Outbreak of World War II,“ in Klaus J. Bade, ed., *Population, Labour and Migration in 19th and 20th Century Germany* (New York, 1987), quote p. 128. Statistics in Peter Marschalck, *Die deutsche Überseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur soziologischen Theorie der Bevölkerung* (Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 35-37, 48.
- 6 Gustav Struve, *Diesseits und jenseits des Ozeans* (Coburg, 1863), p. 29.
- 7 Friedrich Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika: Thatsachen und Erlebnisse* (Berlin, 1876), p. 309.
- 8 Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, pp. 45, 269. Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia, 1952), vii, 3. Wittke remains the best general source for information about the Forty-Eighters in the U. S. See also the contributions to a symposium held in October, 1986, in Madison, Wisconsin: Charlotte L. Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States: German Life and Civilization*, I (New York, 1989).
- 9 „Allerhöchstes Patent betreffend die Amnestie vom 29. März 1852,“ in *Gesetzblatt für das Herzogthum Holstein* (Kiel April 2, 1852), pp.29-30. „All of our subjects in the clergy and civil service who took part in the uprising of March 1848 are hereby granted our sovereign grace and pardon. „ This important historical declaration has appeared to date only once, in *Biographical History and Portrait Gallery of Scott County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1895), pp. 233-235. The amnesty document for the duchy of Schleswig appeared in *Flensburger Wochenblatt für Jedermann*, Beilage zum 64. Jahrgang 41 (May 21, 1851).
- 10 Paul Tabori, *Anatomy of Exile: A Semantic and Historical Study* (London, 1972).
- 11 Frank Thistlethwaite, „Europäische Überseewanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert,“ in *Bevölkerungsgeschichte*, Wolfgang Köllmann und Peter Marschalck, eds. (Cologne, 1972) pp. 323-355. The original appeared in 1960 with the publication of the Sixth International Historians' Conference in Uppsala. German researchers have for a long time focused on motivation whereas American social scientists were interested mainly on acculturation, prospects for assimilation of the immigrants, etc. See e. g. „Filiopietism, meaning an inordinate respect for the ancestors and land of origin, is a continuing concept of many American immigration researchers,“ as noted by Kathleen Neils Conzen, „The Writing of German-American History,“ *The Immigration History Newsletter*, 12 (1980), pp. 1-14, here 2.
- 12 Sievers emphasizes the need for regional linkage. Kai Detlev Sievers, ed., *Die Deutsche und Skandinavische Amerikaauswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Neumünster, 1981), p. 11.
- 13 Moltmann, *Amerikaauswanderung*, p. 4.
- 14 Valentin, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 332.

- 15 „Mit Deutschland steht und fällt Schleswig-Holstein,“ J. Grimm in „Philologencongreß zu Berlin,“ *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (October 9, 1850). „All of South Germany is in sympathy with the Schleswig-Holsteiners, often without knowing quite what is going on. „ ZSHG, No. 68 (1940), pp. 180-278, and *ibid.* , ed., „Briefe aus der Befreiung Schleswig-Holsteins,“ ZSHG, No. 69 (1941), here No. 68, p. 194: „Schleswig-Holstein enjoyed great favor in German public opinion for many years. „ Brandt, *Geschichte*, p. 241.
- 16 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (Cologne, July 18, 1848).
- 17 *Deutsche Zeitung — Am Rio de la Plata*, Buenos-Ayres (June 15, 1869) in Geheimes Staatsarchiv / Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (GStAPK), Nachlaß Olshausen, II, Rep. 92.
- 18 *Das Volk*, (Rendsburg, May 26, 1850). These reports were received from the radical 1848er Karl Heinzen in London.
- 19 „You succeeded in introducing their practical ideas. „ Undated letter of departure (Kiel, early in July, 1851) written by Hans Reimer Claussen to Wilhelm Ahlmann shortly before his journey to America, in *Ahlmann-Nachlaß*, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek Kiel (SHLB). „ . . . How I would find America to be after three months there. „ Claussen letter, Davenport, November 20, 1851, in the *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (January 17, 1852).
- 20 Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrants* (Cleveland, 1964), p. 192. *Ibid.* , *Refugees*, p. 34. See also Ludwig Goebel, „A Political Prophecy of the Forty-Eighters in America,“ *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter: Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, XII (1912), pp. 462-498 Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, p. 311.
- 21 An exception is Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC, 1984).
- 22 Günter Moltmann, „Einführung in die Thematik,“ *ZfK, Germantown—300 Jahre Auswanderung in die USA 1683-1983* (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 305-6.
- 23 Gustav W. Heinemann, „Geschichtsbewußtsein und Tradition in Deutschland,“ in *ibid.* , *Präsidentiale Reden* (Frankfurt/M, 1975), pp. 129-132, here 129.
- 24 Hermann Hagenah, *Die Männer der Provisorischen Regierung* (Flensburg, 1924), p. 11; Otto Fock, *Schleswig-Holsteinische Erinnerungen besonders aus den Jahren 1848-1851* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 26; Horst Schlechte, *Die Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverbrüderung 1848-50: Dokumente des Zentralkomitees für die deutschen Arbeiter in Leipzig* (Weimar, 1979), pp. 320-322.
- 25 There are only some marginal comments about the emigration theme in the various handbooks and general reference works about Schleswig-Holstein history. See Brandt, *Geschichte*, pp. 253, 276, and 194; Paul v. Heedemann-Hespen, *Die Herzogtümer Schleswig-Holstein und die Neuzeit* (Kiel, 1926) neglects emigration entirely. Heinrich

- Ewald Hoff, *Schleswig-Holsteinische Heimatgeschichte*, 2 Vols (Kiel and Leipzig, 1910-12) mentions on p. 602 the emigration after 1851. Kai Detlev Sievers, „Sozialgeschichte Schleswig-Holsteins in der Kaiserzeit 1867-1914,“ in Olaf Klose and Erik Hoffmann, eds., *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins*, Vol. 8, Part II (Neumünster, 1991), p. 811. See also Wolfgang Helbich, „*Alle Menschen sind dort gleich. . .*“, *Die deutsche Amerikaauswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Historisches Seminar Vol. 10 (Düsseldorf, 1988), p. 14. In many archives in the United States there is much untouched material about the immigrants from Schleswig-Holstein during the 19th and 20th centuries.
- 26 Moltmann, „Einführung,“ p. 306.
- 27 „Emigration fever“ had taken hold in southern and western Germany around 1830. Moltmann, *Amerikaauswanderung*, p. 11. In the year 1832 for the first time emigration exceeded the 10,000 mark. Sievers, *Amerikaauswanderung*, p. 90. Richter, *Geschichte*, pp. 294 and 330. „Today 129 Holsteiners from the Eutin region are leaving for New York. These individuals represent the first rather large emigration group from Schleswig-Holstein. Among the emigrants are quite a few rather intelligent people. . . .“, Theodor Olshausen, *Correspondenz-Blatt* (Kiel, May 20, 1847 and December 18, 1847).
- 28 Concerning earlier emigrants, we know, for example, how a former schoolteacher, Kay Asmus Kröger, from Schwabstedt, was influenced by the letters of his countrymen, Hans Schütt, in 1839 to come over to Davenport. See Richter, *Geschichte*, pp. 294 and 355. A later exchange of letters took place between Kröger and his brother, the pastor in Schwabstedt. See chapter 5. 3: ‘Davenport as Compared to New Holstein.’ The skilled typesetter Arthur Olshausen, a half-brother of Theodor, landed on July 3, 1837 in New York and traveled with an immigration society to St. Louis. *Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis, August 9, 1887), „Fifty Years Ago,“ in *Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK, Rep. 92. See chapter 3. 4 of this study.
- 29 Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, p. 219; Horst Überhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner: Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit 1848-1918* (München, 1978), p. 80; „Many ‘Grays’ and ‘Greens’ (Dreißiger - political refugees of 1830- and Achtundvierziger- the same for the year 1848) learned their final lesson in Americanization on the battlefield,“ Wittke, *Refugees*, p. 241.
- 30 John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America: The Germans in the United States during the 19th Century and Thereafter* (New York, London, 1940). See also Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston, 1951), p. 192. Chester Verne Easum, *The Americanization of Carl Schurz* (Chicago, 1937), p. 127 ff.
- 31 *Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK, Rep. 92, C. C. I. 4 (St. Louis November 16, 1851), see also Kamphoefner, *Westphalen*, p. 155.
- 32 See Ernst Bloch, *Geist der Utopie*, Vol. 1 (Frankfurt/M., 1973), p. 226; Friedrich Münch, „Die drei Perioden der neuen deutschen Auswanderung nach Nordamerika,“ *Der deutsche Pionier*; Vol. 1 (Cincinnati, October 1896), pp. 243-250, here p. 246.

- 33 J. R. Taft and R. Robbins, *International Migrations* (New York, 1955), p. 145.
- 34 Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York, 1964), has shown that assimilation is the all-encompassing term in that it permits observations about several generations. See also the criteria developed by Heinz Kloss, „German-American Language Maintenance Efforts,“ in Joshua A. Fishman, et al., eds., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague, 1966), pp. 206-252, here 206. Don Yoder, „Migration und Akkulturation - Volkskundliche Probleme der Auswanderung, Akkulturationsprobleme deutscher Auswanderer in Nordamerika,“ in *Kultureller Wandel im 19. Jahrhundert*, Günter Wiegmann, ed. (Münster, 1972), pp. 183-203.
- 35 See Agnes Bretting, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City 1800-1860* (Wiesbaden, 1981), p. vii.
- 36 Reinhard R. Doerries, „Soziale Eingliederungsprozesse von Iren und Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten—Ein Vergleich,“ in *Amerikastudien/American Studies*, 27 (1982), pp. 259-273, here p. 261. Another useful historical summary of acculturation research is Edward H. Spicer, „Acculturation,“ *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 1 (New York, 1968), pp. 21-27.
- 37 Wittke, *Refugees*, p. 57. Charles Wilson Emery, *The Iowa Germans in the Election of 1860*, unpublished Master's thesis, State University of Iowa (Iowa City, 1940), p. 68: „Olshausen und Claussen had been imprisoned in Denmark,“ Alfred Vagts, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Rückwanderung: Probleme, Phänomene, Statistik, Politik, Soziologie* (Heidelberg, 1960), p. 103. An exception is the excellent monograph by Hans Louis Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography, 1848-1860* (Knoxville TN, 1982).
- 38 As examples, see D. S. Sparks, „The Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa, 1848-1860“ unpublished Ph. D. Diss., University of Chicago (Chicago, 1951); Morton M. Rosenberg, „The Democratic Party of Iowa 1850-1860,“ unpublished Ph. D. Diss., State University of Iowa (Iowa City, 1957); *ibid.*, *Iowa on the Eve of the Civil War; A Decade of Frontier Politics* (Norman, OK, 1972).
- 39 Emery, *Election*, p. 69; Hildegard Binder-Johnson, „German Forty-Eighters in Davenport,“ *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Jan. 1946), pp. 3-53, here 39. Dr. Niebour, Wilmersdorf, „Die Vertreter Schleswig-Holsteins in der Frankfurter Nationalversammlung,“ *Die Heimat* (Kiel, 1916), pp. 22-27 and 50-53, here 50. Claus-Peter Schmidt, „Auf, Roma, erwache!: Ludwig August Gülich—ein Flensburger Radikaldemokrat zur Zeit der Französischen Revolution,“ *Grenzfriedenshefte* (June, 1989), pp. 84-97, here 96.
- 40 Frank I. Herriott, „The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two Year' Amendment of Massachusetts,“ *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter: Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, Vol. xiii (1913), pp. 202-308. *Ibid.*, „The Germans in the Gubernatorial Campaign of Iowa in 1859,“ *Dt.-Amerik. Geschichtsbl. Jb. d. Dt.-Amerik. hist. Gesellsch. v. Ill.*, Vol. 14 (1914), pp. 451-622; *ibid.*, „The

Conference in the Deutsche Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860, "Transactions of the Illinois' Historical Society, XXXV (1928), pp. 101-194. *Ibid.*, *The Germans of Chicago and Stephan A. Douglas in 1854* (Des Moines, 1912). *Ibid.*; „The Transfusion of Political Ideas in Iowa," *Annals of Iowa VI* (April, 1903), pp. 46-53. For the years 1851-1860 Herriott's copies are an important source for reconstructing the political views of the Democrats and the actions of the Schleswig-Holsteiner 1848ers. See also Karl Arndt and Mary E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americans: History and Bibliography 1732 1968*, United States of America, Vol. 1 (München, 1976), p. 136.

- 41 For an early critique, see the letters in *Herriott-Collection*, SHSI, (Des Moines); see also Binder-Johnson, „German," p. 48.
- 42 See Sievers, *Amerikaauswanderung*, and the 10-year project: „Nordamerika - Schleswig-Holstein: language and cultural relationships," Paul G. Buchlow, Brigitte Dix, and Eitel Timm, eds., *Schleswig-Holstein/Nordamerika, Versuche eines interdisziplinären Ansatzes*, Vol. 1 (Kiel, 1982); *ibid.*, *Die vergessenen Deutschen: Schleswig-Holsteiner in Nordamerika* (Kiel, 1983); Andreas Brauer, „Studien zur Auswanderung von der Insel Föhr nach Nordamerika unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zielraums Kalifornien," *Nordfriesisches Jahrbuch*, 15 (1979), pp. 47-70; Ursel Alander, „Die Auswanderung von der Insel Föhr in den Jahren 1850-1875," *Friesisches Jahrbuch* (1961), pp. 244-262.
- 43 Holger Andersen, „Was wurde aus Ihnen?" in *ibid.*, *Idstedt und danach: Schleswig-Holsteiner in den USA* (Plön, 1987), pp. 31-61.
- 44 Brancaforte, *Forty-Eighters* (1989). Bruce C. Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana, 1992); Erhard Böttcher, „Kongreß erinnert an einen vergessenen Revolutionär, Vol. 30 September 30-October 3, 1994 in Davenport, Iowa- Hans Reimer Claussen aus Dithmarschen ging 1851 ins Exil," *Schleswig-Holsteinischer Zeitungsverlag: Land und Leute*, here *Flensburger Tageblatt* (February 8, 1993). Under the motto „Knowledge Brings People Together," the Institut für Regionale Forschung und Information, Flensburg, struck out on some new pathways between 1988 and 1990. Under the project director, Joachim Reppmann, a U. S. group in Scott County, Iowa, organized the American Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society (ASHHS). Erhard Böttcher, „Familie Meggers - a Piece of German-American History, *Geest Yearbook* (1993), pp. 6-11.

Annotations Chapter 2

- 45 Brandt, *Geschichte*, p. 122, pp. 131-132.
- 46 Valentin expresses it incorrectly when he speaks in this connection of the unity of each individual duchy. Valentin, *Geschichte*, Vol. 1, p. 332; see also Brandt, *Geschichte*, pp. 130-133.
- 47 A complete translation of the lex regia is available in *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (November 12, 1846). Brandt, *Geschichte*, pp. 194-195.
- 48 Valentin, *Geschichte*, Vol. 1, p. 332. Holstein joined the German Federation in 1815.
- 49 Brandt, *Geschichte*, p. 240.
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 Hans Reimer Claussen, *Vertheidigungsschrift für den Doctor der Philosophie Carl Lorentzen in Kiel fiscalisch Angeklagten wider den Justizrath und Obersachwalter Raben in Altona von Amtswegen, betreffend vermeintliche in der gedachten Adresse gefundene Verbrechen der Majestätsbeleidigung und Anreizung zur Widersetzlichkeit. Rechtfertigung des Verfassers der Neumünster'schen im Jahre 1846 an die holsteinische Ständeversammlung in Folge des offenen den 8. Juli erlassenen Briefes des Königs von Dänemark gerichteten Adresse* (Kiel, 1847).
- 52 Theodor Olshausen, *Das dänische Königsgesetz*, translated and with an historical introduction and a summary conclusion (Eutin, 1838); Friedrich Hedde, *Eine kurze Betrachtung über das Dänische Königsgesetz: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniß der Zustände in Schleswig und Holstein* (Kiel, 1846); Karsten Krüger, „Absolutismus in Dänemark - ein Modell für Begriffsbildung und Typologie. „ With two contributions: Erb- und Alleinherrschaftsakte 1661 und Lex Regia 1665 in the translation by Theodor Olshausen, in *ZSHG*, Vol. 104 (1979), pp. 171-206; in 1935 Ernst Wolgast published Olshausen's translation in order to legitimize national socialism. Ernst Wolgast, *Lex Regia: Das dänische und deutsche Staatsführungsgesetz 1665 (und) 1934 Würzburger Universitätshefte 3* (Würzburg, 1934).
- 53 Hedde, *Königsgesetz*, p. 14; Rudolf Stadelmann, *Soziale und politische Geschichte der Revolution von 1848*, 2 (München, 1970), pp. 118-119.
- 54 Brandt, *Geschichte*, p. 241. „All of southern Germany supports the Schleswig-Holstein party often without actually knowing what the facts are. „ Justus von Olshausen, „Briefe aus Schleswig-Holsteins schwerster Zeit. „ *ZSHG*, 68 (1940), p. 194; Theodore Ziegler, *Die geistigen und sozialen Strömungen Deutschlands im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1911), p. 257; Valentin, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 335.
- 55 *Correspondenz Blatt* (Kiel, September 10, 1846).
- 56 Hedde, *Königsgesetz*, p. 4.

- 57 *Correspondenz Blatt* (Kiel, Oktober 15, 1846).
- 58 *Correspondenz Blatt* (Kiel, February 11 and March 20, 1847).
- 59 Hans Reimer Claussen, *Vertheidigungsschrift* für den Eisenbahndirector, Deputierten, Bürger und Redacteur Theodor Olshausen (Kiel, 1847).
- 60 W. Carr, *Schleswig-Holstein, 1815-1848: A Study in National Conflict* (Manchester, 1963), p. 133.
- 61 *Correspondenz Blatt* (Kiel, May 15, 1839); Georg C. Burchardi, *Lebenserinnerungen eines Schleswig-Holsteiners* (Flensburg, 1927), p. 128.
- 62 Carr, *Schleswig*, p. 287. Brandt, *Geschichte*, p. 245.
- 63 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (March 28, 1848).
- 64 Johann Gustav Droysen, Karl Samwer, *Die Herzogtümer Schleswig-Holstein und das Königreich Dänemark* (Hamburg, 1850), pp. 309-320.
- 65 *Ibid.* , p. 318.
- 66 *Ibid.*
- 67 E. Koppel, et al. , eds. , *A. F. Kriegers Dagbøger 1848-1880*, Vol. 1 (København, 1920), p. 14.
- 68 *Ibid.* , p. 20; *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (March 28, 1848).
- 69 Hermann Hagenah, „Zur Geschichte des 24. März 1848,“ *Die Heimat* (1923), pp. 29-54, here 42.
- 70 Brandt, *Geschichte*, p. 247.
- 71 Fock, *schleswig-holsteinische Erinnerungen*, p. 72. Hagenah, *Die Männer*, pp. 9-16.
- 72 Dietrich Korth, „Revolutionär aus Dithmarschen: Hans Reimer Claussen,“ in *Dithmarschen*, Heft 3 (1973), pp. 49-73. Supplement: *ibid.* , Heft 1 (1974), p. 54.
- 73 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (June 15, 1848); F. Hedde in *Correspondenz Blatt* (Kiel, July 22, 1847); see also Olshausen in *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* (Rendsburg, April 20, 1849).
- 74 Summary from the statistical tables in Editha Rieve, *Die Wahlen im Herzogtum Holstein 1848/49* (Bonn, 1962), p. 246; Brandt, *Geschichte*, pp. 209 and 223; long detailed descriptions of a day laborer in *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, March 20), Poem: „The Day Laborer“ by Hugo Staacke in *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (Rendsburg, October 18, 1849, March 30 and April 3, 1850).
- 75 Schwalm, *Volksbewaffnung*, p. 17; *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (November 12, 1846).
- 76 W. Blunck, *Die Entwicklung der Industrie in Neumünster bis zum Anschluß Schleswig-Holsteins an den deutschen Zollverein* (Kiel, 1927), p. 286 ff. ; see also *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (January 4, 1847).
- 77 Valentin, *Geschichte*, Vol. 1, p. 362, quotes the Prussian ambassador in Hannover.

- 78 *Ständezeitung* für Holstein (1844), pp. 161-164.
- 79 *Vereinigte Ständezeitung*, Vol. 68 (1850), pp. 512-513.
- 80 *Correspondenz Blatt* (Kiel, June 10, 1847), „Lehren der gegenwärtigen Noth“ I.
- 81 *Ibid II* (July 22, 1847).
- 82 Olshausen: Fock, *Erinnerungen*, p. 26.
- 83 *Protokoll der Sitzung der Provisorischen Regierung vom 10. May 1848*, Herzogliches Hausarchiv, SHLB, Cl. : Abteilg. III, Lit. EE, Nr. 105a.
- 84 *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, May 22, 1848).
- 85 *Ibid.*, see also „Die soziale Frage I,“ *ibid.* (May 25, 1848).
- 86 *Correspondenz Blatt* (Kiel, May 15, 1848).
- 87 Rudolph Schleiden, *Erinnerungen eines Schleswig-Holsteiners*, Vols. 1-4 (Wiesbaden, 1886-1894), here Vol. 3, p. 115.
- 88 *Protokoll der Provisorischen Regierung* (June 16, 1848).
- 89 Schleiden, *Erinnerungen*, Vol. 3, p. 115.
- 90 Concerning pre-March liberal thought in Germany, see Lothar Gall, „Liberalismus und ‘bürgerliche Gesellschaft.’ Zu Charakter und Entwicklung der liberalen Bewegung in Deutschland. „ in *HZ*, Vol. 220, pp. 324-356.
- 91 Paul Follenius and Friedrich Münch, *Aufforderung an Teutsche Auswanderer zu einer größeren und gemeinschaftlichen Ansiedlung in den Freistaaten von Nordamerika* (Gießen, 1833). Diss., *Aufforderung und Erklärung in Betreff einer Auswanderung im Großen aus Teutschland in die nordamerikanischen Freistaaten*. Zweite, mit den Statuten der Gießener Auswanderungsgellschaft vermehrte Auflage, (Gießen 1833); Thomas Nipperdey, „Die Funktion der Utopie im politischen Denken der Neuzeit,“ in *ibid.*, *Gesellschaft, Kultur; Theorie* (Göttingen, 1976), pp. 74-88; Paul Follenius and Friedrich Münch spoke in their *Aufforderung* on p. 7 ff. about „great hunting and fishing possibilities,“ of cattle and draft animals that were available at cheap prices; of fertile soil that can be compared to nothing in our region; of inexhaustible natural resources (salt, metals, phosphates, etc.); also that the turnover in money for most fruits of the soil was easy and that slaughtered cattle could be sold readily because of good accessibility to markets. Only on the basis of these representations can the self-assuredness of Follenius and Münch as expressed in the following sentence be explained: „It would be the fault of the immigrant himself if such expectations should not be realized. „ Just how difficult living conditions and the hard physical labor were on the intellectual Paul Follenius is evident from one of his last letters, of August 23, 1844 (sent to Christian von Buri). This letter is available in English translation by Ralph Gregory, „Paul Follenius“ in *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*, 33 (St. Louis, 1967), pp. 323-347, here 341-347.
- 92 Gall, „Liberalismus,“ p. 329.

- 93 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, April 3, 1850).
- 94 See also *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, July 17, 1850), „Der dritte Feldzug. „
- 95 Compare *Schleswigholsteinisches Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (Rendsburg, September 16, 1849); Article „Was ist Volkssouveränität? Seit den Revolutionen von 1848 ist wohl kein Wort in Deutschland so oft wiederholt worden wie das Wort ‘Volkssouveränität.’ „ [What is sovereignty of the people? Since the Revolution of 1848, there has probably been no word that is more often repeated in the whole of Germany than „sovereignty“ of the people.]
- 96 Hans Reimer Claussen, „Die Anschuldigungen, die Haft und das Strafverfahren wider den Schullehrer Davids zu Haßmoor,“ is the author of several articles in the democratic newspaper, *Das Volk* (Kiel, 1850), p. 37.
- 97 *Rendsburger Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (February 25, 1849).
- 98 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, July 7, 1849).
- 99 W. Hofman, *Ideengeschichte der sozialen Bewegung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1979), p. 78; Jürgen Schlumbohm, *Freiheitsbegriff und Emanzipationsprozeß. Zur Geschichte eines politischen Wortes* (Göttingen, 1973), pp. 61-62.
- 100 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, February 3, 1853). Copy in *Herriott-Collection (SHSI)*, Des Moines.
- 101 Gülich Speech in *Richter-Collection (SHSI)*, (Iowa City, 1887).
- 102 Schlumbohm, *Freiheitsbegriff*, p. 42.
- 103 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, July 17, 1850). Fichte was the first German to popularize the idea of a socialist state. „Freedom can be guaranteed by the state only if the state guarantees to every citizen the basic moral right to work. „ Johann Gottlieb Fichte, „Der geschlossene Handelsstaat“ quoted by Hans Joachim Störig, *Kleine Weltgeschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. 2 (Frankfurt/M. , 1973), p. 116.
- 104 Brandt, *Geschichte*, p. 242; *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (November 14, 1846): „... an attach of the most sinister type on personal freedom. „
- 105 *Correspondenz Blatt* (Kiel, October 18, 1846). Schleiden, *Erinnerungen*, 2 vols. , pp. 178-179.
- 106 *Correspondenz Blatt* (Kiel, October 15, 1846).
- 107 *Ibid.*
- 108 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (February 4, 1849).
- 109 In Imanuel Kant, *Kleinere Schriften zur Geschichtsphilosophie*, „Zum ewigen Frieden,“ [on eternal peace] (1795) (Stuttgart, 1955), p. 18.
- 110 Hegel, *Rechtsphilosophie*, paragraph 316, quoted in a note by F. Schneider, *Pressefrei-*

heit und politische Öffentlichkeit, Studien zur politischen Geschichte Deutschlands bis 1848 (Neuwied, 1966), p. 278.

- 111 W. Hock, *Liberales Denken im Zeitalter der Paulskirche* (Münster, 1957), p. 9.
- 112 Hans Rosenberg, *Politische Denkströmungen im deutschen Vormärz* (Göttingen, 1972), p. 80.
- 113 Hegel, *Rechtsphilosophie*, paragraph 316, quoted in a note by F. Schneider, *Pressefreiheit*, p. 278.
- 114 *Ständezeitung für Holstein* (1842), Supplementary Book II, p. 14.
- 115 *Das Volk* (May 30, 1849), Artikel: „Republikanische Linke“. Harro Haring, who was born north of Husum, arrived in New York on November 2, 1843. (Alexander J. Schem, ed., *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexikon, mit specieller Rücksicht auf das Bedürfniß der in Amerika lebenden Deutschen . . . 11 Vols.* (New York, 1869-74), here Vol. 16, p. 180. On May 31, 1845 he swore an oath to the American Constitution and became a citizen of the United States, *Das Volk*, (Rendsburg, July 14, 1849). In full awareness of being a famous poet, Haring traveled near the end of August and the beginning of September, 1846, to London, Harro Haring, *Biografisk Skitze* (København, 1863), p. 27. According to the report of a spy of October 16, 1846, he took part in revolutionary activities. „Among the Germans in London, much serious recruitment is taking place to secure a group who will travel by ship to Holstein and bring about a revolution there. Harry Haring, who has been in London once again for some time, is supposed to have sought out this senseless plan which, by the way, appears quite identical to his own and is supposed to find considerable resonance among the members of the handicrafts there, Hans Adler, ed., *Literarische Geheimberichte: Prokollle der Metternich-Agenten, Vol. 2, 1844-1848* (Cologne, 1981), p. 145 ff. In January 1847 he returned then to New York, Perke Heldt, „Autoren und Verleger - Die Literaten von New York und der Skandal um Harrings Roman 'Dolores' in: *Mitteilungen der Harro-Haring-Gesellschaft*, Book 2 (Husum, 1983), pp. 27-39, here 36). On the basis of a dedication in a book given to Capt. Paulsen from the Island of Föhr, and who brought his countrymen from New York to Europe, we know how Haring would have solved the Schleswig-Holstein question in February of 1846. [The dedication is in G. Beseler, *Die Unions-Verfassung Dänemarks und Schleswigholsteins: Eine geschichtlich staatsrechtliche und politische Erörterung von Uwe Lornsen* (Jena, 1841)]. He spoke out of conviction against Uwe Jens Lornsen who was calling for the unification of the two duchies (Uwe Jens Lornsen had demanded in 1830 a common representative constitution for the inhabitants of the duchy, Brandt, *Geschichte*, pp. 228-229. Haring's goal was „an eternally free fatherland from the North Pole to the shores of the Eider River! May Holstein (which has Teutonic roots) belong to Germany and as a free German province extend a brotherly helping hand to our Scandinavian friends. „ (In the private library of Frederik Paulsen, in Alkersum Föhr). The references to the ephemeral „German Party“—the later immigrants to America, Theodor Olshausen and Hans Reimer Claussen, were the foremost representatives—are quite clear. Since no one doubted that Holstein was German, they wanted to shore up a liberal constitution for the southern duchy and

- bind it more tightly to the German Federation („Deutsche Partei“ - the better known concept of New Holsteinism which was coined by the opponents of this pragmatic movement clearly indicates its ideology, Carr, *Schleswig-Holstein*, p. 133. *Correspondenz Blatt* (Kiel, May 15, 1839); Georg C. Burchardi, *Lebenserinnerungen eines Schleswig-Holsteiners* (Flensburg, 1927), p. 128; After Harring had learned of the outbreak of the revolution in the duchies, he left New York on April 25, 1848 and three weeks later was in Cowes, *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, May 9, 1849). After a 27-year absence he once again set foot on Frisian soil and immediately was greeted with misunderstanding by the German National majority. In a speech on the marketplace in Bredstedt on July 23, 1848, he encouraged his listeners to call for an independent North Frisian republic with close parallels to the Scandinavian Republic, Walter Grab, „Harro Paul Kasimir Harring,“ in *SHBL*, ed., Vol. 5 (1979) pp. 111-115; Ulrich Schulte-Sülwer, „Für Freiheit, Gleichheit und Humanität, Harro Harring—ein Revolutionär als Maler,“ *Nordelbing*, Vol. 48 (Heide, 1979), pp. 81-111.
- 116 Hedde, *Der Amerikanische Westen*, Book 1: Der Staat Nebraska (Kiel, 1874), p. 56.
- 117 *Deutsche Auswanderer Zeitung* (Bremen, December 3, 1855) in Nachlaß Olshausen ,GStAPK, Rep. 92; see also Ibid. , „Amerikanischer Conservatismus“ in *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, November 4-5, 1859) in *Herriott-Collection (SHSI)* (Des Moines).
- 118 *Freie Presse* (Burlington, March 16, 1854), „Die öffentliche Meinung und die deutsche Presse,“ in *Herriott-Collection, (SHSI)* (Des Moines).
- 119 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (January 17, 1852).
- 120 *Atlantische Studien*, von Deutschen in America, Vol. 7 (Göttingen, 1857), p. 23.
- 121 See the lists of all the works by Hegel and Feuerbach in the library catalog of the 1848er Adolf Strodtmann, who was born in Flensburg. *No. - der ausgewählten deutschen Leihbibliothek*, from Strodtmann and Lorey, No. 151 Nord Dritte Straße (Philadelphia, 1852), as well as his contribution, „Dr. Alexander, ein amerikanisches Erlebnis,“ *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (February 3, 1878). „This tendency was intensified by the fact that Hegel’s philosophy, preached from most university chairs at the time, lent itself beautifully to a debate between left and right. The very dialectical method—the notion of thesis opposed by antithesis and resolved into synthesis (the German term for this resolution ‘Aufhebung’ means equally ‘dissolution,’ ‘destruction’) which in turn becomes the new thesis, and so on—breathes paradox and ambiguity. „ Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany - Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1986), p. 12.
- 122 *Lowell Daily Journal and Courier* (Boston, MA, March 20, 1860), *Herriott-Collection (SHSI)* (Des Moines); Henry A. Pochman, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences 1600-1900* (Madison, 1957), pp. 262 and 267.
- 123 Loyd David Easton, *Hegel's First American Followers, The Ohio Hegelians: John B. Stallo, Peter Kaufmann, Moncure Conway and August Willich with Key Writings* (Athens, OH, 1966), p. 104.
- 124 E. Bahr, ed., *Was ist Aufklärung?*, Thesen und Definitionen (Stuttgart, 1974), p. 9.

- 125 Kant, quotes the note Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann. „Von politischen Drangsalen,“ *Kieler Beiträge*, Vol. 2 (1821), p. 387. See also „Die öffentliche Meinung will Politik im Namen der Moral rationalisieren,“ Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (Neuwied, Berlin, 1974), p. 127.
- 126 Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (Cleveland, 1964), p. 192; Pochmann, *German Culture*, p. 262.
- 127 Ziegler, *Die geistigen und sozialen Strömungen*, p. 16.
- 128 *Correspondenz-Blatt* (Kiel, May 27, 1847).
- 129 Franklin Kopitzsch, „Aufklärung und Schule. Zur Sozialgeschichte der Bildung und Erziehung in Norddeutschland,“ in *Siegener Studien*, Vol. 26 (Siegen, 1979-1980), pp. 80-128, here 111.
- 130 *Quellen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins*, ed., Deutscher Grenzverein und IPTS, Part 2 (Kiel, 1980), pp. 7-10. „Dahlmanns Waterloo Rede“ (Kiel, 1815).
- 131 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (July 23, 1846).
- 132 Justus von Olshausen, ed., „Briefe aus Schleswig-Holsteins schwerster Zeit“ in *ZSHG*, Vol. 69 (1941), p. 188.
- 133 K. Clausen, „Es könne passieren ...Es sind vorzuenthalten... Zensur deutscher und dänischer Lieder in Tondern 1830-1847. Ein Beitrag zur deutsch-dänischen Nachbarschaft im Liede,“ in *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, R. W. Brednids, ed. (Berlin, 1970), pp. 14-57.
- 134 Brandt, *Geschichte*, p. 234.
- 135 Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport*, p. 482.
- 136 Merl E. Arp, *Die Geschichte des Vereins der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Kampfgenossen zu Davenport in Idstedt und danach, Schleswig-Holsteiner in den USA*, Holger Andersen, ed., pp. 62-79, here 63.
- 137 *Democrat and Leader*, The Half-Century-Edition (Davenport, October 22, 1905), p. 55.
- 138 *Ibid.*
- 139 *Correspondenz-Blatt* (Kiel, April 29, 1847).
- 140 *Ibid.* (May 1, 1847).
- 141 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (July 23, 1846).
- 142 *Ibid.*
- 143 Moltmann, *Amerikaauswanderung*, p. 11.
- 144 Exact statistics are not possible because of gaps in the sources for Schleswig-Holstein.

- See also Klaus Richter, „Quellen des Hamburger Staatsarchivs zur Überseewanderung von Schleswig-Holstein im 19. Jahrhundert;“ in Sievers, *Amerikauswanderung* (Neumünster, 1981), pp. 67 and 74.
- 145 A family chronology table of the Olshausens is available from Eckehard Olshausen, Stuttgart, who kindly loaned me a copy of the piece that had been published privately.
- 146 „Vor fünfzig Jahren“ in *Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis, August 9, 1887) in *Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK.
- 147 *Ibid.*
- 148 Steven Rowan, „The Return of Henry Boernstein,“ in Henry Boernstein, *The Mysteries of St. Louis, A Novel Translated by Friedrich Münch, Steven Rowan und E. Sims*, eds. (Chicago, 1990), pp. vii-xv, here ix.
- 149 *Biographical History and Portrait Gallery of Scott County, Iowa*, American Biographical Publishing Company, ed. (Chicago, 1895), p. 369.
- 150 *Ibid.*; Letter from Theodor to Justus Olshausen, St. Louis (December 8, 1854) in *Nachlaß Olshausen* GStAPK.
- 151 *Ibid.* ; *Davenport Daily Gazette* (January 4, 1855).
- 152 Cazden, *Book Trade*, p. 512.
- 153 *Ibid.*
- 154 *Correspondenz-Blatt* (Kiel, April 15, 1847).
- 155 Karl-Heinz Schönfelder, „Introduction“ in *Thomas Paine, Common Sense and Crisis Papers*. (Halle, Saale 1956), pp. 1-37; Mark O. Kistler, „German-American Liberalism and Thomas Paine,“ *American Quarterly*, 14 (1962), pp. 82-84.
- 156 Compare *Republik oder Monarchie: Beantwortet durch Thomas Paines 'Gesunder Menschenverstand' und „Die Rechte des Menschen,‘* Johann Greis, ed. (Hamburg, 1848).
- 157 Claussen in ed. F. Wigand, *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituierenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt a. M.*, Vol. 1 (Frankfurt/M), p. 445; see also 234, 246, 273 and 295. In the debates of the National Assembly, Claussen represented the knowledgeable intellectuals who were informed about the American Constitution in the critical question in the Paul’s Church: the relationship between the federal and the individual states. Claussen’s proposal, which allowed the individual German states considerable independence in questions of internal politics, corresponded closely to the content of the tenth amendment to the U. S. Constitution. See again *ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 2980 and 2978; see also Eckhart G. Franz, *Das Amerikabild der deutschen Revolution von 1848-1849: Zum Problem der Übertragung gewachsener Verfassungsformen* (Heidelberg, 1958).f
- 158 Georg-Christoph von Unruh, „Die amerikanische Verfassung und europäisches

Verfassungsdenken - Ausstrahlung und Vergleich: Polen, Norwegen, Deutschland," *Amerikastudien*, 34 (1989), pp. 135-148. Von Unruh mentions the influence of the American Constitution on the Schleswig-Holstein basic law of September 15, 1848. See p. 148: Wilhelm Ahlmann, a representative to the Schleswig-Holstein State Assembly who belonged to Olshausen's Leftist faction, said that the U. S. Constitution, along with that of Norway, was praised „as the most praiseworthy in its general concepts. „ Joachim Krech, *Das Schleswig-Holsteinische Staatsgrundgesetz vom 15. September 1848* (Frankfurt/M, 1985), pp. 96 and 238 ff. Krech indicates that with the acceptance of the force of article 33 was incorporated a rejection of the principle of monarchy.

159 See Cazden, *Book Trade*, „Thomas Paine and the Germans," pp. 521-526. Until the turn of the century, the Schleswig-Holstein Turners in Davenport organized extensive events with impressive lectures for Schiller's and Paine's birthdays. See Hildegard Binder-Johnson, „German," p. 28.

160 *Correspondenz-Blatt* (Kiel, May 1, 1847); Andreas F. Hanssen in *Altonaer Mercur* (December 18, 1847): „Die Auswanderung nimmt immer mehr und mehr zu. „

161 Richter, *Geschichte*, p. 294; B. Peters in *Democrat and Leader* (October 22, 1905) .

162 Richter, *Geschichte*, p. 355.

163 *Iowa Reform*, Jubiläumsausgabe, (Davenport, June 8, 1905), p. 33.

164 Richter, *Geschichte*, pp. 294 and 330.

165 *Correspondenz-Blatt* (Kiel, May 20, 1847).

166 *Ibid.*

167 *National Intelligences* (Boston, May 27, 1847) in *Herriott Collection*, (SHSI) (Des Moines).

168 To this day a portion of Scott County bears this name.

169 Richter, *Geschichte*, p. 330.

170 H. E. Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County Iowa*, Vol. 1 (Chicago, 1910), p. 821.

171 Richter, *Geschichte*, p. 363; Fritz Treichel, „Claus (Nicholas) Johann Rusch," *Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, *SHBL* (Neumünster, 1974), pp. 235-236.

172 Franz Gundlach, *Das Album der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, 1655-1865* (Kiel, 1915) p. 116.

173 Charles Wilson Emery, „The Iowa Germans in the Election of 1860," *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. 22 (Des Moines, 1941), pp. 392-455, here 429.

174 Joseph Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa und deren Errungenschaften: Eine Geschichte des Staates, dessen deutschen Pionieren und ihrer Nachkommen* (Des Moines, 1900), p. 429.

- 175 Binder-Johnson, „German Forty-Eighters in Davenport,“ here p. 39.
- 176 Moltmann, „300 Jahre Auswanderung,“ p. 358.
- 177 Olshausen, „Briefe aus Schleswig-Holsteins schwerster Zeit,“ p. 172.
- 178 Louis Falge, *History of Manitowoc County* (Chicago, 1912), p. 442.
- 179 Francis Laurent, *Claus Oesau and his Descendants* (Madison, 1969), p. 9.
- 180 Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsin Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluß des 19. Jh.*, Vol. I (Milwaukee, 1900), p. 29.
- 181 Laurent, *Oesau*, p. 9.
- 182 Puchner, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 4 and 17.
- 183 See also Marcus Lee Hansen, *Der Einwanderer in der Geschichte Amerikas* (Stuttgart, 1948), p. 64.
- 184 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt*, „Winke betreffend die Ansiedlung in Amerika,“ (October 28, 1847) und „Für Auswanderer,“ (December 9, 1847).
- 185 *Ibid.*, (December 8, 1847).
- 186 Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsin*, Vol. I, p. 29.
- 187 Puchner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 11.
- 188 See in contrast the descriptions of encounters with swindlers upon first arrival in America: Dietrich Eicke and Joachim Reppmann, ed., *Amerika - Hoffnung und Sehnsucht: Aus alten Auswandererrathgebern* (Flensburg, 1983).
- 189 Manifest of Passengers List (New York, December 5, 1848) in Museum of the New Holstein Historical Society: Graphics by Dietrich Eicke, *New Holstein in Wisconsin, Eine Fallstudie zur sprachlichen, kulturellen und staatsbürgerlichen Assimilation von Schleswig-Holsteinern im Mittleren Westen der USA, 1848-1920*, M. A. Thesis (Bochum, 1984).
- 190 Puchner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 34.
- 191 Available in total at the *Area Research Center* (Green Bay, Wisconsin).
- 192 A. F. Hanssen, „Neuholstein in Wisconsin,“ in *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* (Rendsburg, April 18, 1850).
- 193 Kate A. Levi, „Geographical Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin,“ *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 14 (1898), 341-393, here 365. For her doctoral thesis she sent out 1,893 questionnaires. For New Holstein the answers were given by Rudolf Puchner. See the *Manuscript-Collections*, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.
- 194 Binder-Johnson in Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, p. 49.
- 195 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

- 196 *Calumet County Register of Deeds*, Book 2, Chilton City Hall, Wisconsin.
- 197 Eicke, *New Holstein*, p. 23.
- 198 *Laws of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1849), Chapter 59.
- 199 Hanssen, „Neuholstein,“ in *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* (Rendsburg, April 18, 1850).
- 200 *Platbook V*, Calumet County, in Court House Chilton, Wisconsin, p. 18.
- 201 Hanssen, „Neuholstein,“ in *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* (Rendsburg, April 17, 1850).
- 202 Ostenfeld in Louis Falge, *History of Manitowoc County*, p. 446.
- 203 Puchner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 49.
- 204 Hanssens second great New Holstein report appears in *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (February 23, 1853).
- 205 Puchner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 8.
- 206 Hermann Haupt, „Die Geschichte einer geplanten deutschen Republik in Amerika,“ in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier Vereins von Philadelphia*, Vol. 25 (1912), pp. 23-47; Herbert Reiter, *Politisches Asyl im 19. Jahrhundert: Die deutschen politischen Flüchtlinge des Vormärz und der Revolution von 1848-1849 in Europa und den USA* (Berlin, 1992) p. 75; Hawgood, *Tragedy*, p. 42. The Communist August Willich wanted to found a German state in Wisconsin during the early 1850s.
- 207 Robert H. Billigmeier, *Minorities in American Life - Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity* (Belmont, CA, 1973), p. 53; Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States, with Special Reference to its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence*, 2 Vols., New York (1909), here I, p. 443.
- 208 *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (February 3, 1878). Strodtmann's inclusive retrospect of his early five-year stay in America.

Annotations Chapter 3

- 209 Fock, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 23 and 27.
- 210 Lorenz von Stein, „Schleswig-Holstein bis zur Erhebung im Jahre 1848,“ *Die Gegenwart*, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1850), pp. 41-73, here 48.
- 211 Kurt Hector, *Die politischen Ideen und Parteibildungen in den schleswigischen und holsteinischen Ständeversammlungen 1836-1846* (Kiel, 1935).
- 212 J. Brock, *Die Vorgeschichte der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Erhebung von 1848* (Göttingen, 1925), p. 151.
- 213 Hermann Hagenah, *Revolution und Legitimität in der Geschichte der Erhebung Schleswig-Holsteins* (Leipzig, 1916), p. 58.
- 214 *Rendsburger Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (Rendsburg, March 4, 1849).
- 215 *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, September 27, 1848).
- 216 *Ibid* (September 30, 1848).
- 217 *Rendsburger Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (March 4, 1849).
- 218 See also L. Bergsträsser, *Geschichte der politischen Parteien in Deutschland* (München, 1960), p. 21.
- 219 *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (Rendsburg, August 30, 1849).
- 220 *Rendsburger demokratisches Wochenblatt* (October 1, 1848).
- 221 *Ibid*.
- 222 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, February 9, 1850).
- 223 *Ibid* (July 30, 1849). Reprint from the collection „Poems of the Times“ [„Zeitgedichte“], the income from which was supposed to be used for the cause of wounded Schleswig-Holstein soldiers.
- 224 *Ibid* (August 18, 1849).
- 225 Frolinde Balsler, *Sozial-Demokratie 1848/1849-1863, Die erste deutsche Arbeiterorganisation „Allgemeine deutsche Arbeiterverbrüderung“ nach der Revolution*, 2 Vols. (Stuttgart, 1965).
- 226 Danker, ed., *Demokratische Geschichte, 1986-1992*.
- 227 K. Birker, *Die Deutschen Arbeiterbildungsvereine* (Berlin, 1973), p. vii.
- 228 Brandt, *Geschichte*, p. 234.
- 229 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, April 17, 1850).
- 230 *Ibid*.

- 231 *Rendsburger Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (January 22, 1848).
- 232 Hagenah, *Revolution*, p. 67; Fock, *Erinnerungen*, p. 57.
- 233 Carr, *Schleswig*, p. 281.
- 234 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (September 27, 1848).
- 235 *Ibid.*
- 236 *Ibid.* (May 17, 1848).
- 237 *Ibid.* (October 7, 1848); see also *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, August 12, 1848); Andreas F. Hanssens Beitrag: „Wie verhält sichs mit der Unwissenheit der Arbeiter Schleswig-Holsteins? ... Wie wäre denselben schnell abzuhelpfen?“
- 238 *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, October 10 and 11, 1848).
- 239 *Ibid.*
- 240 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, July 4, 1849). Twenty folk societies formed the membership of the umbrella organization. *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (February 17, 1849).
- 241 *Ibid.*
- 242 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, August 2, 1849); compare also the consequences of the „Majestätsbeleidigung“ [the „Emperor’s New Clothes“ of the Danish king] by Theodor Gülich.
- 243 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (January 10, 1849).
- 244 *Rendsburger Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (December 31, 1848).
- 245 *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, October 29, 1848).
- 246 The membership list of the workers’ societies. See H.V. Regling, *Die Anfänge des Sozialismus* (Kiel, 1957), p. 84. Unfortunately Regling treats the entire hinted-at process of „Entbürgerlichung“ (removal of middle-class citizens) with only a very few lines. Friedrich Hedde successfully defended the leader of the Holstein rural workers’ movement, Marcus Mester, who was accused of „democratic and communistic agitation.“ Friedrich Hedde, *Mesters Prozeß und Freisprechung: Ein Bild aus dem östlichen Holstein* (Hamburg, 1853).
- 247 Schlechte, *Deutsche Arbeiterverbrüderung*, p. 322.
- 248 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, July 3, 1850).
- 249 *Ibid.* (May 11, 1850).
- 250 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, February 9, 1850).
- 251 *Ibid.* (April 10, 1850).
- 252 Hans Reimer Claussen, *Der Preßprozeß wider Rauch in Kiel* (Kiel, 1850), p. 13.

- 253 Cf. The Low German dialogue „Graf und Inste“ in *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* (April 26, 1849).
- 254 „Die Arbeiterfrage,“ *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, February 9, 1850).
- 255 Günter Moltmann, „Auswanderung als Revolutionersatz“, in Michael Salaweski, ed., *Die Deutschen und die Revolution* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 272-297.
- 256 W. Struve, *Geschichte des Kieler Männerturnvereins von 1844* (Kiel, 1894), p. 22.
- 257 Turnerideologie in Deutschland, see Horst Überhorst, *Turner unterm Sternbanner, Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit 1848-1918* (München, 1978), p. 23. Hannes Neumann, *Die deutsche Turnbewegung in der Revolution 1848/49 und in der amerikanischen Emigration*, Beiträge zur Lehre und Forschung der Leibeseziehung Vol. 32, (Schorndorf, 1968).
- 258 August P. Richter, *Die Davenport Turngemeinde* (Davenport, 1902), p. 18. See also the work of the famous 1848er, August Becker, *Geschichte des religiösen atheistischen Frühsozialismus., Erstausgabe des von August Becker 1847 und von Georg Kuhlmann eingelieferten Geheimberichts an Metternich und von Vinets Rapport.* Ernst Barnikol, ed. (Kiel, 1932).
- 259 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (March 28, 1848).
- 260 *Ibid.* (October 7, 1848).
- 261 *Ibid* (July 26, 1848).
- 262 *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, April 15, 1848).
- 263 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (April 19, 1848).
- 264 *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, April 19, 1848). „Aus dem Brief eines Studenten:“ Ernst Huhn, „Adolf (Adolph) Heinrich (II) Strodtmann,“ *The Society, SHBL*, Vol. 3, pp. 260-61.
- 265 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (June 26, 1858).
- 266 Adolf Strodtmann, *Lieder eines Kriegsgefangenen auf der Dronning Maria* (Hamburg, 1848), here „Marseillaise,“ pp. 20-22. Descriptions of the living conditions on the 'Dronning Maria' in *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, May 19 and 27, 1848).
- 267 Robert E. Ward, *Bibliography of German-American Writers* (White Plains, NY, 1985), p. 294; see also Adolf Strodtmann, *Gottfried Kinkel: Wahrheit ohne Dichtung, Biographisches Skizzenbuch*, 2 Vols. (Hamburg, 1850/51). The fee for this work went to Kinkel's children since their father had been arrested. See in this regard Eberhard Kessel, *Die Briefe von Carl Schurz an Gottfried Kinkel* (Heidelberg, 1965) (supplementary volumes for the Yearbook of American Studies, H. 12), pp. 55, 64, 72. Carl Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 3 Vols. (Berlin, 1906-07, 1912).

- 268 Printed in Adolf Strodtmann, *Brutus! schläfst du?* Poems of the Times (New York, 1863), pp. 198-200. Ouverture: „Die ‘Ostee-Zeitung’ enthält heute folgende Worte an ihrer Spitze: „Herr Professor G.K. trägt in Naugard die grau Züchtlingsjacke und muß spulen!“, *Nationalzeitung* (Stettin, October 13, 1849).
- 269 See also *Schleswigholsteinisches Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (Rendsburg, October 18, 1849).
- 270 *Flensburger Nachrichten* (March 23, 1929). For alerting me to this article I am indebted to the journalist Bernd Philipson of the *Flensburger Tageblatt*.
- 271 Trefousse, *Carl Schurz*, pp. 28-29.
- 272 Adolf Strodtmann, *Die Arbeiterdichtung in Frankreich, Ausgewählte Lieder französischer Proletarier* (Hamburg, 1863), p. vii.
- 273 *Ibid.*, pp. viii-xii. „Neither hatred nor revenge guide the arm of the proletarian in destroying or reshaping our social and political conditions; what arouses him to battle is rather the feeling of the immorality and injustice of contemporary society,“ p. ix.
- 274 Strodtmann, *Brutus*, pp. 281-285, here p. 282, poem: „Lied der Arbeiter - während des Decemberkampfes in Paris.“
- 275 Strodtmann, *Brutus*, p. 184.
- 276 Strodtmann, *Arbeiterdichtung*, last page (unnumbered).
- 277 Carl Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen*, Vol. 1, p. 153.
- 278 Ashton, *Little Germany*, pp. 118-119.
- 279 Hermann Rösch-Sondermann, *Gottfried Kinkel als Ästhetiker, Politiker und Dichter* (Bonn, 1982), p. 309.
- 280 Adolf Strodtmann, „Dr. Alexander: Amerikanisches Erlebnis,“ *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (February 3, 1878).
- 281 Cazden, *Book Trade*, p. 176.
- 282 *Die Lokomotive* (Philadelphia), p. 88, quoted in a note by William F. Kamman, *Socialism in German American Literature* (Philadelphia, 1917), p. 40. Unfortunately not a single copy remains. Wilhelm Weitling mentioned the promotional copies of the „Lokomotive,“ which were distributed in New York without success. *Die Republik der Arbeiter* (New York, September 9, 1854).
- 283 A. Strodtmann, *Lothar: Zeitarbesken* (Philadelphia, 1853).
- 284 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- 285 For example, Adolf Strodtmann, *Das geistige Leben in Dänemark, Streifzüge auf den Gebieten der Kunst, Literatur, Politik und Journalistik des skandinavischen Nordens* (Berlin, 1873).

- 286 L.M. Price, *The Reception of United States Literature in Germany* (Chapel Hill, 1966), p. 100.
- 287 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (November 3, 1852); Cazden, *Book Trade*, p. 350, previously assumed that „Die Deutsche Freie Presse“ of Philadelphia had first published a translation in excerpts in 1853.
- 288 *Weltbürger* (Watertown, WI, March 27, 1879). For the reference to this article I am indebted to Charles Wallman of Watertown, Wisconsin. Strodtsmann's translation appeared under the title: *Die Empire City, oder New York bei Nacht und Tag*, see Ward, *Bibliography*, p. 294.
- 289 *Weltbürger* (March 27, 1879). In this article he is described as having „long blonde hair and wearing glasses—a man whose appearance has remained fresh in our memories.“
- 290 Strodtsmann, *Brutus*, p. 301.
- 291 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (June 26, 1858).
- 292 See also L. Kellner, *Geschichte der nordamerikanischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 51.
- 293 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, September 8, 1849). In this article („Zeitungs-Literatur“) Harring once again expressed the democratic enlightenment viewpoint and pointed to the press as a „practical means of educating the people“ in America; he gave background information on publishing practices that had developed greatly in recent decades.
- 294 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (March 23, 1848). K. Lorenzen, ed., „Zu den Deutschen Preßzuständen,“ *Neue Kieler Blätter* (Kiel, 1844), pp. 202-213, here p. 209: „... durch die Censur wird doch nie erreicht, was durch sie erreicht werden soll; sie ist also unnütz.“ („by means of censorship there is no chance of achieving that which it is supposed to achieve. Therefore, it is a useless effort.“)
- 295 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, October 20, 1849).
- 296 *Ibid.* (April 7, 1849).
- 297 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (April 2, 1848).
- 298 F. Schneider, *Pressefreiheit und politische Öffentlichkeit: Studien zur politischen Geschichte Deutschlands bis 1848* (Neuwied, 1966), p. 230.
- 299 The other three were the right of the people to bear arms, trial by jury, and popular representation. See the „Liberal, Liberalismus,“ *Staats-Lexikon*, Vol. 9 (1840), p. 714.
- 300 Schneider, *Pressefreiheit*, p. 224.
- 301 Schwalm, *Volksbewaffnung*, p. 48.
- 302 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, September 28, 1849). Lexow: „I appealed to the basic law of the state (of Schleswig-Holstein, (author's comment)), according to which freedom of the press was to be limited by no concessions, and to paragraph 13 of Article 4 of the basic

- rights printed here and hence valid, namely: 'Freedom of the press may under no circumstances and in no manner be restricted, suspended, or abolished through preventive measures such as censorship, concessions, restrictions place on printers or on the book trade, postal prohibitions, or other hindrances to circulation.'"
- 303 Carr, *Schleswig*, p. 154.
- 304 In a letter from New York of August 18, 1851, which described the general conditions of emigration, the writer made the observation to the editor: „Ihr vielgelesenes Blatt, das fast in jedem Haus der Herzogthümer gelesen wird...“ („Your much-read paper, which is read in virtually every household of the duchies...“ In *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (September 17, 1851).
- 305 Brandt, *Geschichte*, p. 232.
- 306 Quoted in Trommler, *Amerika und die Deutschen: Bestaundsaufnahme einer 300-jährigen Geschichte* (Opladen, 1986), p. 314; see also Liselotte Löher, *Cotta: Geschichte eines Verlags, 1659-1959* (Stuttgart, 1959).
- 307 *Ibid.*, p. 320.
- 308 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (April 12, 1848).
- 309 *Ibid.*, March 23, 1848.
- 310 Davenport, August 20, 1851, in *Ibid.*, February 18, 1852.
- 311 *Ibid.*, March 30, 1848.
- 312 Theodor Mügge, *Streifzüge durch Schleswig-Holstein und im Norden der Elbe*, 2 Vols. (Frankfurt a.M., 1846), p. 31; Fock, *Erinnerungen*, p. 175. See also the Schleswig-Holstein 1848er, Jens Peter Stiboldt, commenting about the government press during the American Civil War in *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, January 14, 1864): „We point out further that the existence of a state-run press in a republic where the government is supposed to be the servant of the people, is a great evil.“
- 313 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (May 17, 1848); see also the criticism of the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, July 27, 1848): „The 'Mercur' is against the emancipation of schools. To remove them from control of the church is in its view 'one of the most unnatural misdeeds in the whole realm of spiritual life,' and amounts to 'murdering the mother along with the child.'“
- 314 Valentin, *Geschichte*, Vol. 1, p. 247.
- 315 *Das Volk* (July 7, 1849).
- 316 In addition to his difficulties with a strict Danish censorship, Olshausen was not permitted to print any advertisements. *Kieler Zeitung* (April 11, 1869). Otto Fock, „Nachruf für Theodor Olshausen,“ *Kieler Zeitung* (Kiel, April 14, 1869). Hans Reimer Claussen, „Biography of Theodore Olshausen,“ *Davenport Democrat* (March 22, 1879).
- 317 Andersen, *Idstedt*, p. 54.

- 318 Eduard Alberti, *Lexikon der Schleswig-Holsteinisch-Lauenburgischen und Eutinischen Schriftsteller*, 2nd Section (Kiel, 1868), p. 147.
- 319 Alexander Scharff, „Schleswig-Holstein und die Auflösung des dänischen Gesamtstaates 1830-1864/1867,“ *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins*, ed., O. Klose, Vol. 7 (Neumünster 1975), pp. 22-23.
- 320 Fock, *Erinnerungen*, p. 26.
- 321 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (June 25, 1851).
- 322 Hermann Hagenah, „Vom alten Olshausen,“ *ZSHG*, 54 (Schleswig, 1924), pp. 444-459, here 449.
- 323 Compare „Zeitung für Arbeiter und Arbeiterfreunde. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Gewerbewesens“ von C. Riepen (Zimmermeister) und J.F. Kolls (Lehrer, Neumünster, s. Schlechte, *Arbeiterverbrüderung*, p. 328.
- 324 *Correspondenz-Blatt* (Kiel, July 27, 1847).
- 325 Graf v. Blome, quoted in a note by Scharff, *Auflösung*, pp. 23-24.
- 326 Valentin, *Geschichte*, Vol. 1, pp. 247-248. Hartmut Keil, „A Profile of Editors of the German-American Radical Press, 1850-1910,“ in Elliott Shore et alii, eds., *The German-American Radical Press: The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940* (Urbana and Chicago, 1992), pp. 15-30.
- 327 Compare Haring's contribution „Politische Bildung,“ in which he categorizes Mazzini: „No political character of Europe has maintained a similar undeniable harmony and consistency in word and deed since his first (indirect) appearance in 1830 right up to the present.“ [„Kein politischer Charakter Europa's bewährte eine ähnliche unläugbare Harmonie und Consequenz in Wort und That seit seinem ersten (indirecten) Auftreten 1830 bis zur Gegenwart“, *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, April 4, 1849).
- 328 *Ibid.* (April 4, 1849).
- 329 *Wisconsin-Banner* (Milwaukee, April 30, 1850).
- 330 On August 15, 1849 he took over Haring's publishing house. Friedrich Lexow, born in 1827 in Tönning, a printer in Rendsburg and author in America (Friedrich Lexow, *Novellistisches*, 3 Vols., E. Steiger (New York, 1872)), was sentenced in 1850 to eight years in prison because he had offended the kings of Prussia and Denmark. (See also Fock, *Erinnerungen*, p. 316). After his release from prison in February 1852, he emigrated in 1853 to New York to join his cousin, Rudolf Lexow. Schlechte, *Arbeiterverbrüderung*, p. 328.
- 331 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, March 16, 1850); see also Heinzen's article „Bittere Wahrheiten,“ *Das Volk* (February 6, 1850) and his analysis concerning the failed revolution in K. Heinzen, *Die Teutschen und Amerikaner*, o.O., (1867), p. 36.
- 332 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (February 5, 1851).

- 333 *Das Volk*, (Rendsburg, July 7, 1849).
- 334 *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, August 26, 1848).
- 335 Theodor Gülich and A. Nagel, eds., *Zeitgedichte* (Rendsburg, 1849). „The proceeds were intended to go to Schleswig-Holstein soldiers.“
- 336 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, October 22, 1849); Haring calls him „the beet.“
- 337 *Correspondenz-Blatt* (Kiel, October 18, 1849).
- 338 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (Köln, February 19, 1849).
- 339 Approximately 19, Schwalm, *Volksbewaffnung*, p. 44.
- 340 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, June 20, 1849).
- 341 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, July 1, 1848).
- 342 Stadelmann, *Revolution*, p. 73. The radical threads of the movement were everywhere. Schwalm, *Volksbewaffnung*, p. 25.
- 343 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (April 6, 1848).
- 344 Schwalm, *Volksbewaffnung*, p. 131. „A militia and a mobilization of the people were the liberal and democratic alternatives to the armies of the period of restoration, ...“ Harm-Peer Zimmermann, „Der feste Wall,“ p. 103.
- 345 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (Köln, July 1, 1848).
- 346 *Ibid.*, see also „Die Freischaren von Schleswig-Holstein. Während des Freiheitskampfes der Herzogthümer gegen Dänemark, im Sommer 1848,“ von Erdmann-Bodasch in *Das Volk* (June 1, 1850): „You good citizens of Schleswig-Holstein, ... you bear no guilt in the disgrace associated with our departure.“
- 347 *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (Rendsburg, August 23, 1849). The Hungarian refugees from the revolution, too, who later settled in Davenport and New Buda, Iowa, had to stay in their hotels in Altona and were not permitted to join the Schleswig-Holstein army as volunteers. Fock, *Erinnerungen*, p. 207.
- 348 *Ibid.*
- 349 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (August 15, 1849).
- 350 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, August 3, 1850).
- 351 *Wisconsin-Banner* (Milwaukee, August 30, 1850). Karl Marx' *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (Köln, February 22, 1849) saw in Hedde nothing more than a „liberal comedian“ and „a reliable lackey of the reaction,“ who through his leadership in the proletarian volunteer corp only wanted to gain influence with the working class. In contrast to this see Schlechte, *Arbeiterverbrüderung*, p. 322. Compare also Hedde's greeting offered shortly after his arrival in America: „... opponent of narrow-minded Schleswig-Holstein particularism, a powerful and most capable patriot still left in that unfortunate

land, has [now] left it. . . he stood on the side of the most determined Leftists, declared himself openly for the republic, was in favor up to the last moment vigorously carrying on the revolution, himself seizing a musket, ...". *New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, (November 3, 1854).

352 Compare the questionnaire concerning Henry Lischer ,born in Weingarten, who from 1856 was the publisher and editor of „Der Demokrat,“ Davenport, as well as the questionnaire of the Austrian officer and editor, Heinrich von Ramming, in Davenport. In the *Herriott-Collection*, (*SHSI*) (Des Moines).

353 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (April 2, 1851).

354 *Norddeutsche freie Presse* (Rendsburg, July 18, 1851).

355 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (April 23, 1851, January 7, 1852).

356 *Ibid.*

357 *Das tägliche Banner* (Milwaukee, May 2, 1851); see also Gerd Stolz, „Die Brummer - Schleswig-Holsteiner in brasilianischen Diensten,“ in *Die Heimat*, Vol. 93 (1986), pp. 133-144; Stolz, „Schleswig-Holsteiner unter britischer Flagge in Südafrika,“ in *Die Heimat*, Book. 6/7 (1990), pp. 157-167.

358 *Wisconsin-Banner* (Milwaukee, March 25, 1852).

359 H. Reiter, *Politisches Asyl.*, p. 197.

360 GStAPK (April 2, 1911), Nr. 493, Rep. 81 (Hamburg Vol. 1, Nr. 2): Nachweisungen politischer Flüchtlinge. Nr. 406: Unterstützung ehemaliger schleswig-holsteinischer Offiziere und Beamte für ihre Auswanderung (1851-1852).

361 *Ibid.* (April 2, 1911), Nr. 406.

362 Brandesburgisches Landeshauptarchiv Potsdam, Lit. H, No. 234 (Nr. 10450), Bl. 34 f., Rep from November 6, 1851.

363 GStAPK (April 2, 1911), Nr. 406, B1. 40, Letter from September 22, 1851.

364 For Hertzberg see *Landesarchiv Schleswig*, LAS, 22 III EE 99.

365 J.M. Parker, *Scott County History, Iowa*, Iowa Writers' Program, Scott County (1942), p. 37.

366 *Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK. Concerning the owner of the farm, Theodor Olshausen wrote on November 18, 1851 from St. Louis shortly before „the Bude“ was established: „In addition, there are a few officers of the Schleswig-Holstein army here, Gabain and Hertzberg, who are involved with drawing maps of St. Louis and the surrounding area, the former, however, without being able to make a living at it yet; the latter owns a farm in town that he, strangely enough, has others work, but without receiving any rent.“ Eduard Gabain, after a brief stay in Iowa, moved to New Orleans where he became editor of the „Deutsche Zeitung“ and died there of tuberculosis in 1858. Richter,

- Geschichte*, p. 396. Carl, the brother of Count Hermann von Hertzberg, following his departure from the Schleswig-Holstein army on July 6, 1851, led the Fourth Company to Rio Grande in Brazil. The 15th Infantry Battalion of the Brazilian army had a total of 957 officers, band members, and enlisted men from the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein. See Stolz, „Brummer,“ p. 136 and 143; Stolz, „Südafrika,“ pp. 157-167.
- 367 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (April 29, 1848); compare K. Rabe, Ch. Stoll, M. Vasold, *Von der amerikanischen Verfassung zum Grundgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (München, 1988), pp. 83-87.
- 368 *Schleswigholsteinisches Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (Rendsburg, August 30, 1849).
- 369 Schleswig-Holstein sent 11 representatives to Frankfurt. Dr. Niebour, „Die Vertreter Schleswig-Holsteins in der Frankfurter Nationalversammlung,“ *Die Heimat*, 26 Jg. (Kiel, 1916), pp. 22-27 and 50-53. It is noteworthy that the duchy of Lauenburg selected a Jewish lawyer for this task. Uwe Barschel, *Gabriel Rießer als Abgeordneter des Herzogtums Lauenburg in der Frankfurter Paulskirche 1848-1849* (Neumünster, 1987).
- 370 For example, Heinrich von Ramming and the Hungarians who associated with Theodor Rombauer. *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (October 14, 1848); „An unsere Wähler - Die Linke in Westendhall.“
- 371 Claussen, Degenkolb, Carl Gottlob, and Hermann, Friedrich Benedict Wilhelm v., in a debate of August 1, 1848, advocated a freely elected responsible federal president, as in America. *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituierenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt a.M.*, Ed., F. Wiegand, Vol. 1 (Frankfurt/M, 1849), p. 446; see also Valentin, *Geschichte*, Vol. 2, p. 572.
- 372 *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 445; compare also pp. 234, 246, 273, 295 and Vol. 8, p. 6085 (the session of March 28, 1849).
- 373 Alberti, *Lexikon*, p. 112. At the end of his time as a student he got to know Theodor Olshausen of the law faculty. In 1824 there were 38 enrolled in the field of law from among 117 students in Kiel.
- 374 Andersen, *Idstedt*, p. 36.
- 375 Compare Korth, „Revolutionär aus Dithmarschen,“ pp. 49-73. addendum: *ibid.*, Jg. 1974, Book 1; pp. 16-18. Martin Steinhäuser, „Hans Reimer Claussen, der Dithmarscher,“ *Der Schleswig-Holsteiner*; Yr. 11, Book 9, pp. 193-199.
- 376 See the bibliography of Claussen.
- 377 Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischer und Holsteinischer Advocatenverein, eds., *Juristische Zeitschrift*, Hans Reimer Claussen verantwortlicher Redakteur, Yr. 2. (Kiel, 1844) and Yr. 3. (Kiel, 1845).
- 378 *Stenographische Berichte*, Vol. 4, p. 2980; Antrag *Ibid.*, p. 2978; see also Franz, *Amerikabild*, p. 129.

- 379 Claussen, quoted in Korth, *Revolutionär*, p. 50; see also „The spirit of freedom has almost the same power over politically educated and ethically noble minds that religion once had.“ Claussen, *Vertheidigungsschrift* (Olshausen), p. 8.
- 380 Claussen, *Die Anschuldigungen (Davids zu Haßmoor)*, p. 37. See also Rousseau: „Hundreds must give up their possessions if thousands demand it.“
- 381 Steinhäuser, „Claussen,“ p. 195.
- 382 Ernst Moritz Arndt, „Briefe von E.M.A. aus dem Frankfurter Parlament,“ *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. 81 (Berlin, 1894), pp. 138-163, here 147
- 383 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, December 5, 1849). Claussen, *Anschuldigungen*, p. 10: „What did our national assembly do . . . that palladium of German liberty? . . . Nothing! Nothing! And once again nothing!“
- 384 *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, August 25, 1848).
- 385 *Schleswigholsteinisches Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (Rendsburg, August 30, 1849); *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (February 4, 1849).
- 386 *Zeitung für die Vereinigte Ständeversammlung* (1848), p. 425.
- 387 *Ibid*, p. 336 ff.
- 388 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, August 15, 1849).
- 389 *Ibid*.
- 390 *Correspondenzblatt und Kieler Wochenblatt* (March 5, 1851).
- 391 Reiter, *Politisches Asyl*, pp. 174-176; Merle Curti, „The Impact of the Revolutions of 1848 on American Thought,“ in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 93 (1949), pp. 209-215.
- 392 *New York Herald* (September 22, 1848).
- 393 *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, July 14, 1848).
- 394 *Ibid*.
- 395 *Wöchentlicher Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis, January 6, 1849). The newly-founded associations supporting freedom and revolution were attempting to build up an organization that would encompass all of America. Carl Friedrich Huch, „Die Deutsch-amerikaner und die deutsche Revolution,“ *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Ver-eins von Philadelphia*, 17 (1910), pp. 25-33, here 25.
- 396 *Ibid*. Only in exceptional cases did American volunteers actually go over to Europe. (See *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, August 22, 1849)), and if they did go, it was frequently a question of radical German-Americans such as Karl Heinzen who left New York on March 25, 1848 and tried in vain to join the parliamentary sessions in the Paulskirche as a representative from Hamburg. Carl Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen (1808-1880)* (Chicago, 1945), p. 43.

- 397 *Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis, August 9, 1887), „Vor fünfzig Jahren“ v. Arthur Olshausen.
- 398 Armin Tenner, ed., *Amerika: Der heutige Standpunkt der Kultur in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Berlin, 1884), see *Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis, August 9, 1887).
- 399 Huch, „Die Deutschamerikaner,“ p. 44; Reiter, *Politisches Asyl*, pp. 219-222.
- 400 *Wöchentlicher Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis, March 24, 1849).
- 401 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, May 9, 1849).
- 402 *Ibid* (August 10, 1849), p. 255, ‘Correspondenz (New York, July 8, 1849).’
- 403 *Ibid*. The American envoy to the Prussian court, Donelson, presented the Imperial Foreign Minister a letter from the President which expressed the „most fervent interest“ of the United States in the German efforts toward establishing a constitution, along with the hope that it would bring Germany „the same blessings which the American people now enjoyed.“ *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung* (Rendsburg, September 14, 1848).
- 404 Valentin, *Revolution*, Vol. 2, p. 570; Franz, *Amerikabild*, p. 106 and 108.
- 405 Moltmann, *Blockpolitik*, p. 58.
- 406 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 407 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, May 9, 1849).
- 408 *Ibid*.
- 409 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, January 7, 1864).
- 410 *Ibid*. (January 22, 1864).
- 411 He was born on December 24, 1813 in Kopenhagen to parents of the nobility. He studied at the Latin school in Hadersleben before beginning his studies in Kiel. His activities against the Danish state had very severe consequences. On the one hand, he was disowned by his Danish-minded family and, on the other, he was able to escape imminent arrest in 1847 only by emigrating. Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, p. 48 and 129.
- 412 Born on April 19, 1816, in Tondern, he served as a teacher in Hornsmühlen and emigrated in 1847. Eiboock, *Die Deutschen*, pp. 429-430.
- 413 Born on December 18, 1826 in Gulde. A soldier in the Ranzow Free Corps, he emigrated in 1851. Eiboock, *Die Deutschen*, pp. 422-424.
- 414 Born in Keitum on the island of Sylt on March 20, 1825, he came to America as an unemployed lawyer in 1852. *History of Scott County: Iowa - History of Iowa* (Chicago, 1882), p. 363.
- 415 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, January 28, 1864).
- 416 *Ibid*.

- 417 Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington, KY, 1957), p. 75 ff.
- 418 *Ibid.*
- 419 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 420 The prohibition is printed in Wolfram Siemann, ed., *Der Polizeiverein deutscher Staaten: Eine Dokumentation zur Überwachung der Öffentlichkeit nach der Revolution 1848-1849* (Tübingen, 1983), p. 157 ff. It was, of course, not published, at the express wish of the Minister of the Interior, but it could not be kept secret either. For example, it was published in the *New York Herald* on July 1, 1858.
- 421 *New York Herald* (May 5, 1849).
- 422 Compare Ashton, *Little Germany*, p. 20.
- 423 These attacks concentrated above all on Bernhard Domschke, who published several unsuccessful Republican and very strongly abolitionist newspapers in Milwaukee in the 1850s. The *Banner* was democratic.
- 424 *Wisconsin Banner* (Milwaukee, August 25, 1850).
- 425 *Wisconsin Banner* (Milwaukee, September 17, 1850).
- 426 Jochen Bracker, „Die dänische Sprachpolitik 1850-1864 und die Bevölkerung Mittel-schleswigs, *ZSHG*, 97 (1972), pp. 127-225, 98 (1973), pp. 87-213.
- 427 *Wisconsin Banner* (Milwaukee, July 11, 1851, July 23, 1851).
- 428 *Wisconsin Banner* (Milwaukee, May 23, 1851). See also (July 23, 1851, March 27, 1851).
- 429 *National-Demokrat* (Dubuque, October 4, 1858). Concerning the „National-Demokrat“ see Wittke, *German Language Press*, p. 140 ff.
- 430 *Wisconsin Banner* (Milwaukee, July 9, 1852, August 21, 1855).
- 431 The *Wisconsin Banner* reported concerning the proposal on May 8, 1851 and on June 29, 1851 concerning the deportations.
- 432 *Wisconsin Banner* (Milwaukee, April 12, 1852).
- 433 On October 4 it was reported in the *Banner* that even though the complaints from Schleswig-Holstein were dying down, the pressure that was weighing on the Germans had not ceased.
- 434 According to the *National-Demokrat* (Dubuque, November 16, 1858, December 30, 1858).
- 435 For example, *The Demokrat* (Davenport, August 16, 1860, August 24, 1860).
- 436 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, August 31, 1860), as excerpted from the *Westliche Post*, which was being published since July of 1860 by Theodor Olshausen in St. Louis.

437 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, March 20, 1860).

438 In this article from the *Wisconsin Banner* (July 21, 1855) Europe's ability to adopt Republicanism was not denied, though its ability to copy the American form of self-government was.

439 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, January 7, 1864).

440 Concerning the Davenport Society for Veterans of the Revolutionary War, compare Merl E. Arp, „Die Geschichte des Vereins der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Kampfgenossen zu Davenport,“ in Andersen, *Idstedt und danach* (1987), pp. 62-79

441 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, January 28, 1864).

Annotations Chapter 4

- 442 Horst Dippel, *Germany and the American Revolution 1770-1800, A Sociohistorical Investigation of the Late 18th Century Political Thought*. Chapel Hill: Univ. of N.C.Pr. (1977), p. 341. In contrast to the French Revolution, the American Revolution was not understood by Germans as a call for them to take action themselves. Concerning the theme of revolution in Schleswig-Holstein in 1848 and America in 1776, see Fock, *Erinnerungen*, p. 53.
- 443 Franz, *Amerikabild*, p. 4. See also Hildegard Meyer, *Nordamerika im Urteil des deutschen Schrifttums bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg, 1929), p. 66 ff.
- 444 In the person of Lenau, this notion turned out to be an utter fiasco. See Meyer, p. 26 ff.
- 445 See Friedrich Kapp, „Zur wissenschaftlichen Literatur über die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika,“ in *HZ*, 31 (1874), pp. 241-288; Gerhard E. Sollbach, *Reise des schwäbischen Schulmeisters Gottlieb Mittelberger nach America 1750-1754*, Verlag für Amerikanistik (Wyk auf Föhr, 1992).
- 446 See Franz, *Amerikabild*, p. 4, annotation 7 und 8.
- 447 Friedrich Münch, „Das erste Geschlecht und die folgenden Geschlechter der Deutsch-Amerikaner,“ in *Der Deutsche Pionier*, Vol. 2 (1871), pp. 370-374, here 371.
- 448 See Reiter, *Politisches Asyl*, p. 157 ff.
- 449 See Harald Winkel, „Der Texasverein. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert,“ in *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 55 (1968), pp 348-372; Kurt Klotzbach, *Die Solms-Papiere: Dokumente zur deutschen Kolonisation von Texas*, Verlag für Amerikanistik (Wyk auf Föhr, 1990)
- 450 Franz, *Amerikabild*, p. 17.
- 451 See *ibid.*, p. 30 ff, with bibliographical references and annotations.
- 452 Hansen, *Atlantic History*, p. 419, calls Duden's report „the most important piece of literature in the history of the German immigration.“ The organizers of the Gießen Emigration Society had relied on Duden's reports. For an example of contemporary criticism of the exaggerated and optimistic reports of Duden, see Gustav Körner, *Schilderung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der westlichen Staaten Nord-Amerika's . . . Ein Schriftchen für den gebildeten Auswanderer in einer vollständigen Beleuchtung von Duden's Bericht* (Frankfurt, 1834); Traugott Bromme, *Ratgeber für Auswanderungslustige: Wie und wohin sollen wir auswandern.*, Hoffmann'sche-Verlagsbuchhandlung (Stuttgart, 1846), p. 123 takes up the defense of Duden and says that the state of Missouri owes three-quarters of its German population to him. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, ed., *German Pioneer Life: A Social History* (Bowie, MD, 1992).

- 453 Federal land was available for the price of \$1.25 per acre—an acre contains a flat territory of 160 English Ruthen which equates with 16.5 feet, according to this antiquated measurement system.
- 454 See Franz, *Amerikabild*, p. 36 ff. Duden's report was first published in a printing of 5,000. The second printing was commissioned by of a Swiss emigration society. Concerning guide books, see Eicke and Reppmann eds. *Amerika - Hoffnung und Sehnsucht* (Flensburg, 1983); Ingrid Schöberl, *Amerikanische Einwanderungswerbung in Deutschland 1845-1914* (Stuttgart, 1990).
- 455 Karl Andréé, *Nordamerika in geographischen und geschichtlichen Umrissen* (Braunschweig, 1851). The Claussen letter of September 17, 1852 appears in Andersen, *Idstedt*, p. 87. Theodor Olshausen on the other hand, criticizes Andréé's book, „which reads very well, but contains serious errors in reference to the West.“ Letter to Justus Olshausen in St. Louis, November 16, 1851 as contained in *Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK.
- 456 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (September 3, 1853). Likewise a report from Hamburg dated May 16, 1851, which appeared in the *Wisconsin Banner* (Milwaukee, June 19, 1851).
- 457 „German Emigration to the United States during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century as a Social Protest Movement“ in Hans L. Trefousse, *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration* (New York, 1980), pp. 103-110; „Auswanderung als Revolutionsersatz,“ in Michael Salewski, *Die Deutschen und die Revolution* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 272-297.
- 458 Moltmann, „Auswanderung als Revolutionsersatz,“ p. 292.
- 459 Letter to Neuholstein in *State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (February 7, 1851). See also the letter from Theodor Olshausen to his brother Justus, who was expecting his dismissal as professor in Kiel at the time: „The same abominable conditions still seem to prevail where you are... as I read in the newspapers,“ *Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK, Rep. 92, C.C. II. 4 (St. Louis, November 16, 1851).
- 460 See William G. Bek, „The Followers of Duden,“ *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 19 (October, 1924), pp. 114-129; George Helmuth Kellner, *The German Element on the Urban Frontier, St. Louis, 1830-1860*, Ph.D. Diss. (University of Missouri, 1973), p. 179.
- 461 Hansen, *Der Einwanderer*, p. 62.
- 462 Letter of Andreas F. Hanssen (Neuholstein, July 5, 1850), in *SHSW*.
- 463 Hansen, *Der Einwanderer*, p. 63.
- 464 *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, April 7, 1849).
- 465 Letter of November 20, 1851 in *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (January 17, 1852). Theodor Olshausen also praised the climate in the middle west and compared it to Germany: „...for it is in any case much better than the climate we have in North Germany and

- especially what you have in Prussia. The winter is barely half as long, and that alone is in my eyes an inestimable advantage." Letter to Justus Olshausen, *Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK, Rep. 92, C.C. II. 4 (St. Louis, April 10, 1854).
- 466 Surveyor Ingwersen in *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (October 30, 1852).
- 467 *Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK, Rep. 92, C.C. I. 4 (St. Louis, July 30, 1853).
- 468 Olshausen's first letter from America to his brother Justus, *ibid* (St. Louis, November 16, 1851).
- 469 Bromme, *Ratgeber für Auswanderungslustige* (1846).
- 470 See Christine Hansen, „Die deutsche Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert - ein Mittel zur Lösung sozialer und sozialpolitischer Probleme?“ in Moltmann, *Amerikaauswanderung* (1976), pp. 8-61.
- 471 Franz Löher, *Aussichten für gebildete Deutsche in Nordamerika* (Berlin, 1852), p. 91.
- 472 *Atlantische Studien*, Vol. 1 (1854), p. 18. The author of the article expresses the opinion that the portrayal of Charles Dickens comes closer to American reality than that of Friedrich von Raumer.
- 473 Not all the pamphlets were written by Germans, so that in some instances there was „negative advertising“ due to the use of inaccurate words. Thus the landscape in central Kansas was described as a „heath“ which might not have had a very strong attraction for the German farmer. David M. Emmons, *Garden in the Grasslands: Boomer Literature of the Central Great Plains* (Lincoln, 1971), p. 109.
- 474 *Ibid*.
- 475 Friedrich Hedde, First Essay: „The State of Nebraska,“ *Der amerikanische Westen* (Kiel, 1874), p. 57. Concerning Hedde's activity as an agent of the Burlington Railroad and the Immigration Bureau of Nebraska in Hamburg at the beginning of the 1870s, see Schöberl, *Einwanderungswerbung* (1990), pp. 91, 73, 179 ff. and 198. M.N. Spencer, *The Union Pacific's Utilization of its Land Grant with Emphasis on its Colonization Program*, Diss. (Lincoln, 1950), p. 206. Hedde confirmed the mistrust in Germany and after his trip to Germany, which he had undertaken as a „literary and immigration commissioner of the state of Nebraska,“ he recommended to U.S. authorities that they have Schleswig-Holsteiners who had already emigrated write letters which could then be distributed to those considering emigrating. See Edith Robbins, „Friedrich Hedde, Grand Island's Forty-Eighter, Pioneer and Leader,“ in *YGAS*, Vol. 20 (1985), pp. 97-105, here 101 ff.
- 476 Wolfgang J. Helbich, Walter D. Kamphoefner, Ulrike Sommer, eds., *Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer schreiben aus der neuen Welt 1830-1930* (München, 1988), p. 7.
- 477 *Ibid*, p. 32. „Approximately 200 million letters were sent from the U.S. to Germany (borders of 1871) between 1820 and 1914.“ *ibid.*, p. 31, compare also Wolfgang J.

- Helbich, ed., „*Amerika ist ein freies Land ...*,“ (Darmstadt, 1985). Wolfgang Nübling, ed., *Von der Donau an den Mississippi*, Briefe aus Amerika, Erlebnisse und Schicksale von Familienmitgliedern (Roßdorf b. Darmstadt, 1988). Leo Schelbert and Hedwig Rappelt, eds., *Alles ist ganz anders hier - Auswanderschicksale in Briefen aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (Olten and Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1977).
- 478 *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. 4: „Emigration Conditions in Europe.“ (Washington, 1911), pp. 56, 59. *National Demokrat* (Dubuque, December 23, 1858). The significance of emigrants' letters is also stressed by Kai Detlev Sievers. He speaks of a „multiplication effect“ which letters had as information and propaganda material in Schleswig-Holstein. See Sievers, ed., *Amerikaauswanderung*, p. 96.
- 479 Hedde, *Nebraska*, p. 57.
- 480 *Ibid.*, p. 57 ff.
- 481 Kamphoefner, *Westfalen*, p. 88. See also Kathleen Neils Conzen in Klaus J. Bade, *Auswanderer-Wanderarbeiter-Gastarbeiter, Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 2 Vols. (Ostfildern, 1984), here Vol. 1, pp. 350-377.
- 482 Theodor Olshausen, *Der Staat Iowa geographisch und statistisch beschrieben* (Kiel, 1851). The material for the appendix, an overview of the most important laws and the legal system of the state of Iowa, had been compiled by Olshausen's friend Hans Reimer Claussen of Davenport. *Ibid.*, p. vii. Olshausen wrote other books about the United States, the state of Missouri, and a history of the Mormons. The letter exchange with his brother Justus, who acted on his behalf in his dealings with German publishing houses, documents the constant arguments with the publishers. In resignation he wrote on April 20, 1855: „As you can see from all this, the work of the writer is a miserable business from here to Europe, and even more so here than there,“ *Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK, Rep. 92 C.C. II. 4. (St. Louis, April 20, 1855).
- 483 *Scott County History*, Compiled and written by the Iowa Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Iowa (1942), p. 37, attributes great significance to emigrants' letters on the growth of immigration in the county.
- 484 Hanssen had also made a general appeal for emigration to New Holstein in a public letter, at least according to his letter of June 17, 1850. See „Neuholstein in Wisconsin,“ *Norddeutsche freie Presse* (Rendsburg and Altona, April 18, 1850).
- 485 June 17, 1850 in *SHSW*.
- 486 January 12, 1852 in *SHSW*.
- 487 One of his main complaints was the shortage of cash money in the new settlements, „the greatest inconvenience in these new regions.“ The general lack of cash made it possible for loan sharks to demand up to 50% interest which was, of course, ruinous to the poor people who fell into their clutches (Feb. 7, 1851). His political friend and surveyor, Ingwersen, visited him before he settled in Davenport. „A gentleman from

- Altona by the name of Hanssen, who edited the North German Free Press at the beginning of the revolution, also lives in New Holstein. You cannot even imagine how even this gentleman has adapted himself to the life of an American farmer.“ Letter to Ingwersen’s father in *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (October 30, 1852).
- 488 From 1829-1848 a journalist with the „Altonaer Mercur“ and later, along with Theodor Olshausen, publisher of the North German Free Press.
- 489 February 7, 1851 in *SHSW*.
- 490 *Ibid.* Similarly in a letter from Detlev Schmidt-Petersen: „Those who really ‘amount to something’ here, as it is called—that is, achieve wealth—are just as few and far between as in all Europe. But through hard work and prudent activity anyone can secure a good living here, but only the condition (sic),“ in *Privatbibliothek Paulsen* (Davenport, May 16, 1854).
- 491 January 12, 1852 in *SHSW*. In this letter also there is a preliminary description for his brother as to how to organize the emigration; for example, how much money to take along, etc.
- 492 May 6, 1852 in *SHSW*.
- 493 Each of Hanssen’s letters contains exact information either about his life as a farmer or rather general questions about land speculation, the political status of the immigrants, prohibition, etc.
- 494 Undated (beginning of letter missing), in *SHSW*.
- 495 *Nachlaß Olshausen* GStAPK, Rep. 92, C.C. I.s.
- 496 Charles August Ficke, *Memories of Fourscore Years* (Davenport, IA, 1930). „Descriptive letters from immigrants played a vital part in including others to make similar ventures.“ Theodore Blegen, „The competition of the Northwestern States for immigrants,“ in *WMH* 3, (1919), pp. 3-29, here 3.
- 497 Born in Keitum on the island of Sylt. Joachim Reppmann, „Bleik Peters - Amerikaauswanderer und Revolutionär,“ in *Sylt 90 Magazin* (Rendsburg), pp. 24-25.
- 498 Carondolet, in *Stadtarchiv Westerland* (St. Louis, May 13, 1855). I am indebted for this reference to Dr. Erich Voß of Lübeck.
- 499 See also Rolf Weber, ed., *Land ohne Nachtigall: Deutsche Emigranten in Amerika, 1777-1886* (Berlin, 1981).
- 500 Franz, *Amerikabild*, pp. 104-108, 134-138.
- 501 See also his article, which led to the arrest of two Schleswig-Holstein journalists.
- 502 Marcus Lee Hansen saw in this behavior a „fateful mistake. „ See Hansen, *Einwanderer*, p. 106-107.
- 503 Heinzen, *Teutschen*, pp. 3-5. The famous 1848er Friedrich Hassaurek confirms this

- view in his lecture of May 25, 1875, published under the heading „The liberation of Europe undertaken from Amerika: They view ‘Malerika’ as only a provisional, forced domicile, a temporary exile that could last for an extremely long time . . . sooner or later the revolution had to begin. Things simply couldn’t continue the way they were. Hearts and minds were turned toward Germany as they listened with anxious longing for the expected sound of alarm bells from across the ocean.“ Friedrich Hassaurek, „Das 7. Stiftungsfest des deutschen Pionier-Vereins,“ in *Der Deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati, July, 1875), pp. 112-115.
- 504 Joachim Reppmann, „Revolutionär und Weltbürger: Theodor Gülich aus Schleswig,“ in *KChSF* (1987/88), pp. 51-53.
- 505 In: letter from Hans Reimer Claussen to the Kieler lawyers August Friederici and August Wichmann (Davenport, September 17, 1852), reprinted in: Andersen, *Idstedt*, pp. 81-91, here 91.
- 506 *Vereinigte Ständezeitung* (1850), pp. 512-513. Cf. also: “The Left in Schleswig-Holstein spoke of revolution in contrast to the conservatives, who preferred the term „uprising.“ „It (the provisional government) is founded not on formal historical law but on the right of revolution—a right which any egregiously wronged people has always asserted and will continue to assert.“ In Friedrich Hedde, *Kein schimpflicher Vertrag mit Dänemark* (Kiel, 1848), pp. 6-7. Andreas F. Hanssen in New Holstein, Wisconsin also believed in a possible second revolution in Germany. In his letter of January 12, 1852: „This did not lead him to consider a return to Germany, however; rather, he hoped that his brother in Göttingen would come with his family to join him in the United States. Cf. his letter of January 12, 1852: „If it should happen that the horrors of the coming revolution drive you from Germany, I advise you without hesitation to emigrate, as long as you have a bit over \$4,000 at your disposal. Your farming will have to be limited to dairy and cattle-raising, which will not require the assistance of any farm hands.“
- 507 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, June 12, 1852). Abschrift in *Herriott-Collection*, (SHSI), DM. Zum „Revolutionsbund“ s. Reiter, *Politisches Asyl*, pp. 309-331.“
- 508 *Ibid.*, June 17, 1852.
- 509 *GStAPK*, Rep. 92, C.C.II.4 (St. Louis, November 15, 1851). Olshausen turned out to be right. Kinkel was not successful in gathering a significant enough sum. The money donated was not spent for political activities, but put into safe investments in 1867 by a finance committee of which Olshausen was a member. Later on the Social Democrats received this so-called „Nibelungen treasure of the German Revolution.“
- 510 See also Ruge’s extensive memorial address for Olshausen on the title page of the *Danziger Zeitung*, evening edition, *GStAPK*, Rep. 92 (September 8, 1869).
- 511 *New Yorker Criminalzeitung und Belletristisches Journal* (May 28, 1852); Cf. Gottfried Kinkel’s remark shortly before his departure from New York: „We expect a new and powerful republican movement throughout Europe in the near future, one that will

- consummate what the Revolution of 1848 merely prepared in its weak beginnings and vague outlines.“ *Wisconsin Banner* (Milwaukee, March 8, 1852).
- 512 *Ibid.* (March 24, 1854 and March 21, 1856).
- 513 See Moltmann, *Atlantische Blockpolitik*, p. 266 ff.
- 514 Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen*, Vol. 2, p. 1.
- 515 „Allerhöchstes Patent betreffend die Amnestie,“ in *Quellen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins*, Institut für Regionale Forschung und Information, Vol. 2 (Flensburg, 1980), pp. 54-55. See also Philipp Wagner in his memoirs: „The '48ers did not come here as voluntary emigrants; they were driven from their homeland,“ Philipp Wagner, *Ein 48er: Erlebtes und Gedachtes* (Leipzig, 1882), p. iv.
- 516 Thomas P. Christensen, „A German Forty-Eighter in Iowa,“ *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. 26, no. 4 (Des Moines, 1945), pp. 245-253, here 247; cf. also: „Olshausen ist am 16. Juli 1851 mit dem Auswanderschiff 'Deutschland' von Hamburg nach New York abgegangen. Die allgemeine Teilnahme, nicht bloß seiner politischen Freunde, begleitet ihn in die neue Heimat,“ (Olshausen departed from Hamburg to New York on July 16, 1851.) A strong sympathetic response, and not only from his political friends accompanies him to his new homeland.“ *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (July 23, 1851).
- 517 On November 1, 1850 Ahlmann introduced in Schleswig-Holstein one of the first examples in a German state of a postal system with stamps and mailboxes. Werner Pfeiffer, „Hans Wilhelm Ahlmann,“ in *SHBL*, Vol. 1 (1970), pp. 24-25. He became publisher of the „North German Free Press“ on April 1, 1849 (editor Theodor Olshausen); Fock, *Erinnerungen*, p. 172.
- 518 Undated letter written a few hours before his departure for Le Havre in the summer of 1851, in *Ahlmann Nachlaß*, (SHLB).
- 519 Puchner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 67.
- 520 New Holstein, 7. Februar 1852; in SHSW.
- 521 From later reactions which are available in various newspapers, we know that these reports did not have their intended effect. *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (October 30, 1852).
- 522 Theodor Olshausen, *Das Mississippi-Thal, Der Staat Missouri*, Vol. 2 (Kiel, 1854), p. vii.
- 523 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (February 18, 1852).
- 524 *Ibid.*, Hans-Arthur Marsiske, *Eine Republik der Arbeiter ist möglich: Der Beitrag Wilhelm Weitlings zur Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika 1846-1856*, Forschungsberichte des Hamburger Instituts für Sozialforschung, Vol. 5 (Hamburg, 1990), pp. 111-126.
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- 525 Cf. Franz. *Amerikabild*, pp. 103 and 125.

- 526 *Protokoll Buch* of Colony Community, Communia Workingman's League. Catalog No. BJC 737; and Amelia Murdock, „Reminiscences of Early Days in Clayton County, Iowa“ (44 typewritten pages), in *Communia Papers*, (SHSI), DM: Kamman, *Socialism*, p. 18.
- 527 Cf. the newspaper *Die Republik der Arbeiter*, published in New York by Wilhelm Westling, No. 4 (May 10, 1851); No. 27 (October 18, 1851), No. 34 (August 21, 1852); cf. Marsiske, *Eine Republik*, pp. 119-120.
- 528 Hawgood, *Tragedy* (1940).
- 529 Olshausenbrief, *Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK, Rep. 92, C.C.II.4 (St. Louis, November 16, 1851).
- 530 *Ibid.*, in GStAPK (St. Louis, April 3, 1852).
- 531 Schöberl, *Einwandererwerbung*, p. 212.
- 532 William Penn, *Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft Pennsylvania in America, Welche jüngstens unter dem grossen Siegel in Engelland an William Penn... übergeben worden* (Amsterdam, 1681); Charles R. Haller, *Across the Atlantic and Beyond*, The Migration of German and Swiss Immigrants to America (Bowie, Maryland, 1993), pp. 119-122.
- 533 Schöberl, *Einwandererwerbung*, p. 19.
- 534 *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 41 Vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911, reprint, New York, Arno Press, Vol. 39 (1970), pp. 644-645. In 1852 and 1854 Iowa Governor Stephen Hempstead had unsuccessfully suggested the appointment of a „commissioner of emigration“ to the state legislature. Stambaugh's *The Messages and Proclamation of the Governors of Iowa*, Iowa City, Vol. 1 (1903), pp. 430, 459, 460.
- 535 Marcus Lee Hansen, „Official Encouragement of Immigration to Iowa,“ *IJHP*, Vol. 19 (1921), pp. 159-195, here 168. Until 1862 Rusch did not perform his duties as Lieutenant Governor, since concerns arose as to whether Iowa's constitution would permit a combination of both functions. *Ibid.*, Anm 24.
- 536 *Report of the Commission of Immigration, to the Governor of the State of Iowa, for the Year Ending December, 1861*, Iowa Documents (1860-1861), p. 4.
- 537 Hans Reimer Claussen wrote especially for readers from Dithmarschen concerning the subsequent Vice-Governor from Davenport on October 21, 1852: „Herr Rusch is no doubt well-known in your region; he now owns a farm of 320 acres . . .; the whole farm is probably worth \$6,000 now, although the land was purchased as Congress land about five years ago for [only] \$400.“ In the same letter he pointed out the enormous speed of development and the simultaneous increase in value of the land and property of well-known Schleswig-Holsteiners: „Theodor Olshausen's brothers once fished and hunted in areas (in St. Louis-author's note) where the most beautiful and stately rows of houses now stand.“ *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (April 30, 1853).

- 538 Undated Letter, probably end of 1852, in *SHSW*.
- 539 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (January 18, 1848).
- 540 *Ibid.* (December 9, 1847).
- 541 *Ibid.* (February 23, 1853).
- 542 *Ibid.* (March 23, 1853). On the author of this report, cf. Francis W. Laurent, *Claus Oesau and his Descendants* (Madison, 1969). An example of how highly Iowa was praised: „The working class in Wisconsin gets only half as much pay as here, and all the crops farmers raise there are always much cheaper than here in Iowa; for these reasons many farmers come here from Wisconsin every year and are happier than there, where there is nothing but impenetrable forest. In general, Wisconsin has been praised so much only by speculators.“ Wilhelm Fischer in a letter from Davenport (August 27, 1851), reprinted in Richter, *Geschichte Davenports*, pp. 443-454.
- 543 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (March 23, 1853).
- 544 *Ibid.*
- 545 *Ibid.* (February 23, 1853).
- 546 *Raum und Bevölkerung in der Weltgeschichte ...*, Vol. 2, p. 143 (see G. Moltmann, ed., *Amerikaauswanderung*, Christine Hansen, p. 9); Andreas Brinck, *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1993).
- 547 Richard Irwin, „Changing Patterns of American Immigration,“ in *International Migration Review*, 6 (1972), pp. 18-31, here 19. „An sich ist es naturgemäß, daß aus einem Lande, wo es viele,... zu viele Menschen gibt, Leute in ein Land wandern, wo noch ungleich weniger Menschen leben, als dort Raum und Erwerb finden können.“ August Becker, „Die Auswanderer in Amerika,“ *Atlantische Studien*, Vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1854), pp. 16-31, here. 16. The political economist Gunter Schmoller also considered the most important reason for the mass emigration always to be ‘the relative overpopulation in the home country.’ Gustav Schmoller, *Grundriß der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1923), p. 182.
- 548 Michael Just, „Politische Flüchtlinge gehen nach Amerika,“ *ZFK* (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 435-439, here 437. In the year 1854 the ‘Deutsch-Amerikanische Verein’ in Hamburg estimated the German-language population of the world at nearly 6 million. Deutsch-Amerikanischer Verein, *Die Welt der Verbrechen, Merkwürdige Criminalgeschichten und interessante Strafrechtsfälle der alten und neuen Welt aus Vorzeit und Gegenwart* (Hamburg, 1854), p. 16.
- 549 Vgl. Wilhelm Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (Jena, 1912), pp. 11-12; *Der tägliche Banner* (Milwaukee, June 19, 1851), emphasized the „devaluation of labor.“
- 550 Karl Obermann, „Wirtschafts- und sozialpolitische Aspekte der Krise von 1845-47 in

Deutschland, insbesondere in Preußen," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte*, 7 (1972), pp. 141-174.

551 The still controversial question as to the extent to which political or economic motives influenced the enormous increase in emigration following the 1848 revolution still occupies the attention of immigration scholars. See in this regard Reiter, *Politisches Asyl*, pp. 63-64; economic reasons are emphasized by Karl Obermann, „Die deutsche Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika im 19. Jahrhundert, ihre Ursachen und Auswirkungen,“ in *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1975)/II, pp. 33-55, here 45.

552 Struve, *Diesseits*, p. 29.

553 Kapp, *über Amerika*, p. 309.

554 e.g.: Wolfgang J. Helbich, „Die deutsche Auswanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Aussage der Auswandererbriefe zu Information, Motivation und nichtinstitutioneller Fürsorge,“ in Michael Rehs, ed., *ZFK* (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 266-278, here 273. Joseph Scheben, *Untersuchungen zur Methode und Technik der deutschamerikanischen Wanderungsforschung an Hand eines Vergleichs der Volkszählungslisten der Township Westfalia, Clinton County, Michigan vom Jahre 1860 mit Auswanderungsakten des Kreises Adenau (Rheinland)* (Bonn, 1939). Kamphoefner, *Westphalen*, p. 112. Cf. also the excellent study on chain migration by Kettenwanderung von Jon Gjerde, *From Peasant to Farmers: The Migration from Norway to the Upper Middle West* (New York, 1985). Cf. the following two studies in reference to migration researched in general and/or theories of spatial mobility: June Akerman, „Theories and Methods of Migration Research,“ *From Sweden to America: A History of the Migration*, in Harald Runblom und Hans Norman, ed. (Uppsala, 1976), pp. 19-75; Günter Albrecht, *Soziologie der geographischen Mobilität* (Stuttgart, 1972). Albrecht analyzes in detail the phenomenon of migration and defines the emigration of the 1848ers as a mixed form of free mass movement and forced exile.

555 Thomas Peter Christensen, *A History of the Danes in Iowa* (Solvang, California), pp. 72-73.

556 Concerning sources in Schleswig-Holstein, cf. two essays: Klaus Richter, „Quellen des Hamburger Staatsarchivs,“ pp. 67-72; and Reimer Witt, „Quellen des Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesarchivs zur Überseewanderung aus Schleswig-Holstein,“ pp. 73-87.

557 see e.g., *Census Returns of the Different Counties of the State of Iowa for 1856* (Iowa City), p. 353.

558 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (June 23, 1852). The figures for other ports of departure, such as Le Havre and Rotterdam, were not mentioned.

559 Richter, *Geschichte*, p. 605. An American eyewitness emphasizes the financial situation of the 1848ers: „Our German fellow-citizens began to come to Davenport in large numbers, and many of them possessed a good deal of money,“ J. M. D. Burrows, 50

- years in Iowa (Davenport, 1888), p. 69.
- 560 Fischers' letter reprinted in *Ibid.*, p. 446.
- 561 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (November 8, 1851).
- 562 Eggert Schmidt from Scott County, Iowa, in *ibid.* (April 6, 1853).
- 563 *Watertown Anzeiger* (Wisconsin, September 10, 1853).
- 564 *Das tägliche Banner* (Milwaukee, March 10, 1851). In connection with his book projects, which contain detailed descriptions of individual states, Theodor Olshausen confirmed this development to his brother Justus: „Most Germans are now immigrating to the states of Iowa and Wisconsin. . .“ *St. Louis, Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK (November 16, 1851).
- 565 See Rosenberg, *Iowa on the Eve*, p. 11, who describes the German [language] immigration as part of an overall mass movement. Schleswig-Holsteiners also settled in San Francisco - *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (March 30, 1853), Canada *ibid.* (September 29, 1852), but also in Brazil - *ibid.* (October 25 and November 20, 1851) - Brazilian officers were successful in recruiting Schleswig-Holstein soldiers and officers as mercenaries. *Das tägliche Banner* (Milwaukee, April 17, 1851).
- 566 The American local press in Iowa reported about only 1,980 persons who had returned from New York to Europe in the last two months. *Davenport Gazette* (June 14, 1855). The theme of return migration has not yet been sufficiently treated by researchers. Concerning Nordfriesland, there are two investigations available; these, however, treat a later time frame, for the most part. Gerhard Kortum, „Untersuchungen zur Integration und Rückwanderung, nordfriesischer Auswanderer,“ in *Nordfriesisches Jahrbuch*, N.F. 14 (1978), pp. 45-91; *ibid.*, „Migrationstheoretische und bevölkerungsgeographische Probleme der nordfriesischen Amerikarückwanderung,“ Sievers, *Amerikauswanderung* (1981), pp. 111-201. On famous returnees of the '48 revolution, cf. Vaagts, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Rückwanderung*; Vaagts, „The ebb-tide of immigration Germans returning from America,“ *American German Review*, 21 (1954-1955), pp. 30-33.
- 567 William Petersen, „Population Advance to the upper Mississippi Valley, 1830-1860,“ *IJHP*, Vol. 32 (October, 1934), pp. 319-345, here 330-333.
- 568 G. Grünewald, *Die deutschen Auswanderungen: Eine politisch-nationalökonomische Abhandlung* (Frankfurt/M., 1847), pp. 14-15. „The farmer whose home village has always been his whole world and who cannot help feeling somewhat disconcerted even when visiting the nearest city will not find it so easy to decide to face an uncertain future in a distant part of the world and in unaccustomed surroundings ...“
- 569 Peter Assion, „Abschied, Überfahrt und Ankunft. Zur brauchwürdigen Bewältigung des Auswanderungsverlaufs,“ *Hessische Blätter für Volks- und Kulturforschung*, NF 17 (1985), pp. 125-150.

- 570 Greta Walsh, „Nun ist die Zeit und Stunde da, wir ziehen nach Amerika ...“ *Alt-Homburg*, 27, Nr. 2 (1984), pp. 25-28. Complete text in Peter Assion, *Von Hessen in die Neue Welt: Eine Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der hessischen Amerikaauswanderung* (Frankfurt/M., 1987), pp. 193-194.
- 571 The America song is said to have contributed significantly to a positive expectations before and during emigration to the USA. See Ina Maria Greverus, *Der territoriale Mensch: Ein literaturanthropologischer Versuch zum Heimatphänomen* (Frankfurt/M., 1972), pp. 140-146.
- 572 Günter Moltmann, „Das Risiko der Seereise. Auswanderungsbedingungen im Europa-Amerika-Verkehr um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts,“ *Festschrift für Eberhard Kessel zum 75. Geburtstag* (München, 1982), pp. 182-211; in the winter of 1867/68, for example, 108 passengers out of 544 on the sailing ship „Leibniz“ died of cholera. *ZFK*, 32 (Stuttgart, 1982), p. 387.
- 573 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (November 8, 1851); see also *ibid.* (September 17, 1851 and April 6, 1853); Zucker, *Forty-Eighter*, p. 52 a.
- 574 *Ibid.* (July 9, 1851).
- 575 Twenty bodies, including the mother and sister of Mr. Hagge, had to be buried on the banks of the Mississippi. *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (August 11, 1848).
- 576 See the similar report in Theodor Olshausen's *Correspondenz Blatt* (Kiel, January 22, 1848), which spoke of epidemics in Iowa. „For this reason it does not appear advisable for them to settle in Davenport.“
- 577 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (January 3, 1848); cf. his similar text in *Correspondenz-Blatt* (Kiel, January 22, 1848).
- 578 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* quoted in a footnote to Kröger's commentary a letter from Davenport of August 14, 1847 in which Irish immigrants are supposed to have brought to America the „disease which at the moment is unfortunately befalling new immigrants without discrimination in all the states.“
- 579 The German Society in New Orleans confirmed this claim and admonished travelers frequently in its „Rules of Conduct for Emigrants“ to enter the city in summer or fall. E.g. *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (September 11, 1852).
- 580 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt*, January 3, 1848.
- 581 Letter from Friedrich and Wilhelm Stolley (Davenport, November 12, 1849) to their father, the organist in Warder near Segeberg; printed in *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (January 19, 1850).
- 582 *Democratic Banner* (Davenport, September 10, 1852); cf. *Davenport Gazette*, (July 25, 1850).
- 583 Burrows, *Fifty*, p. 69.

- 584 „Neuholstein, im Staate Wisconsin, den 14ten Jan. 1853.“ *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (February 26, 1853); cf. the article „Das gelbe Fieber in Neworleans: „From morning till evening the blade hearses rumble through the streets, sometimes accompanied by muffled drums if a member of the army or the militia has succumbed to the pestilence . . . At the moment this disease is raging in the city worse than ever before.“ *Ibid.* (December 20, 1847).
- 585 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (May 18, 1849).
- 586 Agnes Bretting, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City, 1800-1860* (Wiesbaden, 1981), p. 1.
- 587 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (July 23, 1851).
- 588 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (April 6, 1853).
- 589 From 1856 on the emigrant could choose between the cheaper sailing ship and the more expensive steamship. Brigit Gelberg, *Auswanderung nach Übersee: Soziale Probleme der Auswandererbeförderung in Hamburg und Bremen von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg, 1973), p. 48 ff. Hans Reimer Claussen and his family traveled on the Rhine by way of Rotterdam to Le Havre and on an American mail ship to New York. See the Claussen letter to Ahlman in: *Ahlmann Nachlaß*; see also Assion, *Von Hessen*, p. 198; Eleanor L. Turk, „The Business of Emigration: The Role of the Hamburg Senate Commission on Emigration 1850-1900,“ *HGASt*, Vol. 24 (1989), pp. 27-39.
- 590 Brigitte Köhler, „Ursachen und Wirkung des amerikanischen Passage-Gesetzes (1847),“ *Beiträge zur Erforschung des Odenwaldes und seiner Randlandschaften II: Festschrift für Hans H. Weber* (Brenberg-Neustadt, 1977), pp. 459-476, here 467-468.
- 591 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (February 5, 1848); Assion, *Von Hessen*, p. 200; see the diary (April 3, 1853) which was translated into English, aboard the sailing ship „John Hermann:“ „As we left Altona the passengers sang: ‘Schleswig-Holstein,’ but the captain made them quiet, since we had not yet passed the Danish ‘guard-ship,’ and did not want to be stopped by it.“ Charlotte von Hein, „From Hamburg to New York,“ *The Palimpsest*, Vol. 36 (1955), pp. 104-126, here 104. Charlotte von Hein traveled to her fiancé Graf Hermann von Hertzberg in Davenport; on April 18, 1849 he joined the Schleswig-Holstein army as officer cadet. After its dissolution on March 26, 1851, he returned to the Prussian army as a Lieutenant and a short time later went to America. *LAS*, 22 III EE 99; For this information I thank Hartmut Läßle, Westerrönfeld.
- 592 Puchner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 18.
- 593 *Ibid.* (December 15, 1847); see Moltmann/Sievers, ed., pp. 29-30. In many matters „and for taking care of all sorts of things,“ Theodore Olshausen recommended Commissioner I.G. Witte (from Lübeck) in New York. Witte, *Refugees*, p. 54, mentions without any evidence that there was a special support association in New York for Schleswig-Holstein immigrants. This information has not been corroborated yet. In 1854 Schleswig-Holsteiners in Davenport tried unsuccessfully to establish a society

for the protection of German immigrants. *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, April 8 and June 17, 1854). In August 1866 Emil Geisler was finally successful with such a society, which provided work and information to German immigrants. August Richter in *Democrat and Leader* (Davenport, May 15, 1921), p. 9; cited in H. Binder-Johnson, „German,“ p. 13, Anm. 10.

594 The direct land route through Illinois to Davenport was recommended in Chicago to another immigrant group that arrived in Davenport in 1851. Those making the suggestion were „several Schlewig-Holsteiners who had taken part in the campaign of 1848 and 1849.“ *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (April 17, 1852).

595 See Egge-Tagebuch, *Werkmeister Collection, State Historical Society of Nebraska*, Lincoln, and Karl Friedrich Meyer's diary, *State Historical Society of Missouri*, (Columbia).

Annotations Chapter 5

- 596 Robert N. Manley, *The Town Builders* (Grand Island, 1985), p. 16.
- 597 Eiboek, *Deutschen*, p. 385.
- 598 Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport Past and Present* (Davenport, 1858), p. 32.
- 599 Loren N. Horton, „Town Planning, Growth and Architecture in selected Mississippi River Towns of Iowa, 1833-1860,“ Ph.D. Diss. (University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1979), pp. 179-180.
- 600 Downer, *History of Davenport*, p. 821.
- 601 *Ibid.*
- 602 *Ibid.*
- 603 *Ibid.*, p. 822.
- 604 John Clark Fetzer, *A Study in City Building* (Davenport, Iowa, 1945), p. 9; Eiboek, *Deutschen*, pp. 440-441.
- 605 George E. Waring, Jr., ed., *Report on Social Status of Cities*, Part II (Washington, D.C., 1987), p. 720; Paris Denny, *Census of Davenport* (Davenport, 1858), p. 5.
- 606 Horton, *Town Planning*, pp. 189-191.
- 607 Size: 455 US-square miles = 291.200 acres: Thomas Peter Christensen, „An Industrial History of Scott County, Iowa,“ *Annals of Iowa*, Vol 22, No. 2 (Des Moines), pp. 87-127. *Acts of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature* (Belmont, 1836, 1837, 1838), pp. 132-138. Leland L. Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames, 1974), pp. 80-92.
- 608 *Democratic Banner* (Davenport, September 10, 1852).
- 609 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, July 25, 1860). Following the establishment of the *American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society* on January 8, 1989, chief columnist Bill Wundram wrote in the *Quad City Times* (Davenport, January 18, 1989): „ . . . circa 350.000 people in all.“ Scharlott Goetsch Blevins, Project Coordinator, Scozz County Heritage Book Committee, ed., *Scott County Heritage* (Dallas; TX, 1991), p. 120.
- 610 Marlys A. Svendsen u. Martha H. Bowers, *Davenport, where the Mississippi runs west; A survey of Davenport History & Architecture* (Davenport, 1982), p. 7.
- 611 See the table in Oszuscik, *Urbanization*, p. 80. Two years earlier the proportion of German-speakers in Davenport's population of about 12,000 was only 20%. Manley, *Town Builders*, p. 16.
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- 612 Paula Groenwoldt, *German Immigrants in Davenport*, unpublished seminar paper, Augustana College (Davenport, 1973), p. 2. Danes from Schleswig were frequently categorized by the census takers as Germans, and vice versa. George T. Flom, „The

- Danish Contingent in the Population of Early Iowa," *IJHP*, Vol. 6 (1906), pp. 228-252, here 242.
- 613 Svendsen, *Davenport*, p. 8.
- 614 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 615 Mark W. Friedberger, *Corn belt and River City: Social Change in a Midwest Community, 1885-1930*, Ph.D. Diss. (University of Illinois, Chicago, 1973), p. 115; August Richter, *Davenport Demokrat* (May 23, 1920).
- 616 Svendsen, *Davenport*, p. 9.
- 617 Eiboeck, *Deutschen*, p. 385. Merl E. Arp, „Die Probstei in Amerika," in *Jb. Plön*, 1992, pp. 159-166.
- 618 Emil Klauprecht, *Cincinnati, oder Geheimnisse des Westens* (Cincinnati, 1854-1855). See George C. Schoolfield, „Emil Klauprecht," *Cincinnati Historical Bulletin*, 20 (1962), pp. 41-56, here 44. The novel tells about Washington Filson, who was born in the U. S. but studied in Germany and participated in the war against Denmark.
- 619 Horton, *Town-Planning*, p. 279.
- 620 See also Philippe Oszuscick, „A History of the Architecture and Urbanization of Nineteenth Century Davenport, Iowa," unpublished Diss. (University of Iowa, 1979), p. 129. In the study the supposition is made that North German masons introduced the „round arch" into the architecture of Greek revival. The aspiring city already had 3.4 kilometers of paved streets, 20.8 kilometers of firmly graveled pathways, and 250 street lights by 1856. See Manley, *Town Builders*, p. 16.
- 621 Wilkie, *Davenport*, pp. 88-89.
- 622 Kampfhoefner, *Westphalen*, p. 86.
- 623 General settlement models that do not, however, go into the topic of ethnic differences, are offered by David Ward, *City and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America* (New York, 1971), pp. 51-83. Presentations concerning changes taking place in the course of the emigration process include: Hansen, *Atlantic Migration*; Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration*; Philip Taylor, *The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the U. S.* (New York, 1971); Leo Schelbert, *Einführung in die schweizerische Auswanderung der Neuzeit* (Zürich, 1976).
- 624 Richard K. Nedder and Lowell E. Gallaway, „The Settlement Preferences of Scandinavian Emigrants to the United States, 1850-1860," *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, Vol. 18 (1970), pp. 159-176; James A. Dunlevy and Henry A. Gemery, „Some Additional Evidence on Settlement Patterns of Scandinavian Migrants to the United States: Dynamics and the Role of Family and Friends," *Scandinavian Economic Review*, Vol. 24 (1976), pp. 143-152.
- 625 Harald Runblom and Hans Norman, eds., *From Sweden to America: A History of the*

Migration, University of Minnesota Press (1976), a collective work of the Uppsala Migration Research Project; Odd S. Lovoll, ed., *Nordics in America: The Future of Their Past* (Northfield, MN, 1993).

626 Kristian Hvidt, *Flight to America, The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York, 1975), pp. 173-175; see also John Mark Nielsen and Peter L. Petersen, „Collecting and Preserving the Danish-American Story,“ Lovoll, ed., *Nordics in America - The Future of Their Past* (Northfield, MN, 1993), pp. 100-113; see Robert P. Swierenga, „Local Patterns of Dutch Migration to the United States in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,“ in Vecoli, ed., *Century*, pp. 134-157.

627 The Schleswig-Holstein 1848er Emil Geisler, a free thinker and Republican born on April 11, 1828 in Lunden, Dithmarschen, traveled by way of New Orleans to Davenport in 1852. As a land agent, he and four friends founded the city of Marne, Iowa in 1875. Andersen, *Idstedt*, p. 39.

628 Art Rix, ed., „*We can remember*“ - *A History of Manning's First 100 Years* (Odebolt, Iowa, 1981).

629 Keystone Centennial History Book Committee, eds., *The First 100 Years, 1881-1981*. Elaine Joy Anderson, *Old World Iowans - Transplanted Europeans Loyal Americans in Iowa*, [„Germans at Keystone,“ pp. 11-19] (Mason City, Iowa).

630 Anton Eickhoff, *In der Neuen Heimath* (New York, 1884), p. 355.

631 Lilian M. Jakso and Emma L. Struck, *Schleswig, Iowa: The First 75 Years* (Denison, 1974). Virginia Degen et al., eds., *1882 - The Holstein Centennial Book - 1982* (Odebolt, Iowa, 1981); Virginia Degen et al., eds., *1982 - Holstein Centennial Book Update* (Holstein, 1991). (Includes biographical data on the first Schleswig-Holstein settlers.)

632 Dieter Eicke and Joachim Reppmann, *Schleswig-Holsteinische Städtenamen im Mittleren Westen der USA* (Kiel, 1979), pp. 8-12 (Privately printed).

633 The author thanks Johannes Gerds, Wedel, for his information that Volquart Martin Thomsen, born in Hattstedt, Nordfriesland in 1846, gave the name of Husum to a new town in Washington, not far from the Pacific Ocean on the Rattlesnake River in 1880. Thomsen had gotten to know Müller in his old homeland and had fled [by devious routes] to England in order to escape Prussian military service. From there he emigrated to America. See Helga Entz v. Zerssen, „Abenteurer ohne Chancen,“ *Logo Schleswig-Holstein*, Nr. 7 (Rendsburg, 1989), pp. 6-9; see also *Vollständiges Orts-Lexikon der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika*, Bibliographisches Institut in Hildburghausen (1852).

634 The author thanks Corinne Heiberg of Northfield, Minnesota for the reference to the village of Kanoranzi in the southwest part of the state.

635 Eickhoff, *Heimath*, p. 355.

636 Squatters did not own the land they cultivated, and therefore paid no taxes.

- 637 A selection: Wilhelm Stolley, „History of the First Settlement of Hall County, Nebraska,“ *Nebraska History* (April, 1946), pp. 1-90; Friedrich Hedde in R. J. Barr, ed., *History of Hall County Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1920), pp. 10-21.
- 638 Gerd Hagenah, „Ein Bürger aus Warder gründet eine Stadt in Nebraska - Wilhelm Stolley, 1831-1911,“ in *Jb. Segeberg* (1989), pp. 93-103.
- 639 Robbins, „*Friedrich Hedde*,“ p. 99.
- 640 Struve, *Geschichte*, p. 18; Gerichtsprotokoll, Newspaper Clipping, in *Stuhr Museum of Prairie Pioneer* (Grand Island, NE).
- 641 Jens-Holger Andersen, „Schleswig-Holsteinische 1848 in Amerika: Zur Lebensgeschichte von Friedrich Hedde.“ Paul G. Buchloh, *Schleswig-Holstein/Nordamerika: Versuche eines interdisziplinären Ansatzes*, Brigitte Dix und Eitel Timm, eds. (Kiel, 1982), pp. 101-108, here 102. Edith Robbins, „A Forty Eighter on the Town-Building Frontier,“ in Brancaforte, ed., *Forty-Eighters* (1989), pp. 67-78.
- 642 Buechler, *History*, p. 722.
- 643 Before the uprising Georg Stolley was an assistant in the Kiel Museum. In America he worked for the famous natural [scientist] Louis Agassiz and gathered geological samples in the Middle West. See the letter from Theodor Olshausen to his brother Justus in St. Louis, *Nachlaß Olshausen*, GStAPK, Rep. 92, C.C.I.4 (May 26, 1853).
- 644 Buechler, *History*, p. 725.
- 645 *Ibid.*, Stolley, „History of the First Settlement,“ p. iv.
- 646 Buechler, *History*, p. 725. In this short biography, the ship filled with immigrants is reported as „having been pursued from the outset by Danish war ships.“
- 647 See also the letter from Richard Goehring, Grand Island, February 12, 1929, to Prof. W.H. Werkmeister, in *Werkmeister Collection, SHSN*.
- 648 Esther Bienhoff, *The Original German Settlement at Grand Island - 1857-1866* (Lincoln, NE, 1929), p. 9, unpublished M. A. thesis. This estimation is confirmed: „Stolley was a born frontiersman, while Hedde, the academic, loved the quiet of his study.“ Unknown Author, Manuscript, p. 1, in *Werkmeister Collection, SHSN*.
- 649 Friedrich Hedde, „Narrative of Frederick Hedde,“ Buechler, *History*, pp. 10-11; Wilhelm Stolley, „The Dream of Future National Capital,“ *ibid.*, pp. 18-19. See the Egge diary. The American participants in the pioneer endeavor believed firmly in the imminent completion of the railroad connection. Joshua Smith, one of the few Americans in the Schleswig-Holsteiner settlement society, does not, however, say anything in his letter about the nation's capital possibly being moved: „A party of five of us left Davenport . . . expecting . . . to make our everlasting fortune in an incredibly short space of time.“ *Independent* (Grand Island, November 22, 1926).
- 650 As early as 1853 Theodor Olshausen had viewed the states along the Mississippi and/

or the Midwest as the future power center. Due to the increasing concentration of German immigrants in this area, coupled with a new major traffic artery to the West, „the mid-point, the punctum saliens, of America and of the whole world“ would soon be in its geographical center. Theodor Olshausen, *Mississippi-Thal*, Vol. 1 (1853), especially „Stimmen aus Deutschland,“ in the Appendix, Vol. 2 (1854).

651 W. Hagge, born in Pratsdorf, Holstein on April 3, 1834, was in the larger group of emigrants who left their north German homeland with three of Stolley's brothers on April 9, 1849. See Buechler, *History*, p. 750. He had been in Davenport since 1856 working for a real estate company with the son of a former Schleswig-Holstein appeals judge, C. B. von Schirach; see *Davenport City Directory*, 1856-57. Hedde and W. Schirach in 1844 signed a petition after the founding of the Kiel Turnverein that demanded sufficient space for exercise from the city administration. See Robbins, „Friedrich Hedde: Grand Island's Forty-Eighter,“ pp. 97-105. A year later he was working with Harold Zell as a notary and land agent.

652 Stolley, *History*, p. 2.

653 Stolley's reaction to a shorter article in Hedde's newspaper, *The Independent* (January 1, 1898) - „Glimpse of Early Days. Early History of Grand Island and Hall County - The Grand Island Settlement.“

654 I am indebted to Edith Robbins for referring me to this manuscript.

655 Stolley, *History* (1946), pp. 9-10.

656 The diary contains important information about the events which led to the conflict between Hedde and Stolley. These authentic notations include the period from May 1, 1855 - the departure of the ship, *North America*, with Capt. Peters from Hamburg - up to his later visit to Germany on April 15, 1867.

657 Egge's diary, in *Werkmeister Collection*, SHSN.

658 Bienhoff, *The Original*, p. 10.

659 1 acre is 4,046.9 m².

660 The contract is printed in Stolley, *History*, pp. v-vi.

661 Stolley, *Nebraska History* (1946), p. 18.

662 From the duchy of Holstein: Heinrich Egge, Christian Menck, Kay Ewold, Heinrich Schöl and wife, Peter Stuhr, Hans Wrage, Heinrich Jöhnck and wife Margarethe, Max Stelk, Friedrich Doll and wife, Wilhelm A. Hagge, George Schulz, Friedrich Vatje, Johann Hamann, Friedrich Hedde, Detlef Saß, Cornelius Axelsen, Wilhelm Stolley; from the duchy of Schleswig: Christian Andresen, wife and child; Friedrich Landmann, Mecklenburg; Theodor Nagel, Waldeck; Hermann Vafold, Thüringen; Joshua Smith, David P. Morgen and Wm. Seymour, Davenport; Lorenz and R.C. Barnard, Washington, D.C.; the name list is in Wilhelm Stolley, *Geschichte der Ersten Ansiedlung von Hall County in Nebraska* (Grand Island, 1907), p. 6.

- 663 In agricultural terms, a wooden harness for draft oxen. Bibliographisches Institut, eds., *Meyers Lexikon*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, July, 1926), p. 527. *Geschirr*: For oxen this is part of the yoke (a bent piece of wood with a ring for fastening the tongue of a wagon) or the yoke system for the brow, made of wood and leather straps connected in the front by iron (especially for the stronger oxen with high brows). A back belt with rings served for attaching the tongue of the wagon *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 30.
- 664 Many wagons and all draft animals had been bought by the bank. Christian Menck, „An Early Hall County Bridal Couple,“ in Buechler, *History*, pp. 16-18, here 16.
- 665 Stolley, *Geschichte von Hall County*, p. 5.
- 666 Stolley in Buechler, *History*, p. 20. Stolley first came to Grand Island on July 5, 1858.
- 667 See also „Whether or not Mr. Barnard engaged Mr. Hedde to lead the colonists west, I am unable to say.“ Stolley, *Another Independent Souvenir*, in *Stuhr Museum*, p. 1.
- 668 Menck, „An early Hall County Bridal Couple,“ in Buechler, *History*, pp. 16-18, here 16.
- 669 „The Tree of Progress,“ *Omaha Daily Tribune* (August 15, 1923).
- 670 Egge-Tagebuch (June 30, 1857), in *Werkmeister Collection, SHSN*.
- 671 *Ibid.* (January 26, 1858).
- 672 *The Independent*, Grand Island (January 1, 1898).
- 673 *The Independent*, Grand Island (January 1, 1898); cf. also the following: „in Number 39 of the *Criminalzeitung* of December 17, 1858, I find a completely false report concerning the shortest and best way from the Missouri River to the gold mines on Cherry Creek (Colorado, not far from Denver and Aurora). In the interest of truth I consider it my duty to point out to you that the travelers agree without exception that there is no point on the Missouri from St. Louis upward from which the road to the mines is better or shorter than from Nebraska City via Fort Kearney,“ (Grand Island lies between these two towns), *New York Criminalzeitung und Belletristisches Journal* (February 4, 1859). A report from Council Bluffs, Iowa, on December 9, 1858, which describes in detail the route from Omaha to Cherry Creek, states: „Gold excitements are nothing new at present.... Even if they are founded in truth, those who are making a good living should not allow themselves to be blinded by them.“ *Ibid.* (January 13, 1859). The Schleswig-Holsteiners did not allow themselves to become infected by gold fever.
- 674 Extensive material for additional study of the first settlers in the Grand Island area is available in Charles G. Robbins, *A Physicist Looks at the 1860 and 1870 Hall County Censuses*, in *Stuhr Museum*, 2 Vols., Prairie Pioneer Press (Grand Island, NE, 1983, 1985) (privately printed).
- 675 Bernd Goldmann, „Adalbert (as author Adelbert) Heinrich Graf von Baudissin,“ *SHBL*, Vol. 4 (1976), pp. 18-19.

- 676 Lecture manuscript of Prof. Adolph Schroeder, topic: „Holsteinische Städtegründer“ (Columbus, Missouri). Lecture given on September 15, 1989 at the Institut für Regionale Forschung und Information, Flensburg.
- 677 Letter from Keppler, in private possession of Dr. H. v. Rumohr (Drütl near Kappeln/Schlei).
- 678 Sketched in *Callaway County Atlases* (1876, 1889, and 1911).
- 679 (Portland, Missouri, November 8, 1863). Samantha Baker writing to James W. Baker; letter in private possession of the great-grandson of James Monroe Baker, Elvin D. Lythe, 16630 Yukon Ave., Apt. E, Torrance, California 90504.
- 680 His most important publication from the time of his stay in Portland is *Der Ansiedler im Missouri-Staate*, dedicated to the German immigrants (Iserlohn, 1854). Baudissin returned to Europe in 1862 and settled in Altona and later in the city of Schleswig, where he published two novels about his experiences in Missouri. *Peter Tütt: Zustände in Amerika* (Altona, 1862), and *Hüben und Drüben: Lose Blätter aus einem Menschenleben* (Hanover, 1862).
- 681 See Rippley, *German-Americans*, p. 51.
- 682 Letter in Library of Congress, Archives Division, Washington, D.C., quoted in Hinners, *Exil und Rückkehr* (Stuttgart, 1987), p. 52.
- 683 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (January 17, 1852).
- 684 See Theodor Olshausen's letter to his brother Justus in *Nachlaß Olshausen, GStAPK* (St. Louis, November 16, 1851). „A lot of petty vanity becomes apparent in the process, and German quarrelsomeness finds fruitful soil here... In the journals, the Germans and the Americans, on the one hand, and the Germans among themselves - even though almost all of them profess to be republicans - are at each other's throats and abuse each other in the most vulgar way.“
- 685 From the extensive literature concerning the disagreements between the 1848ers and the 1830ers, see Irmgard Erhorn, *Die deutsche Einwanderung der Dreißiger und Achtundvierziger in die Vereinigten Staaten und ihre Stellung zur nordamerikanischen Politik* (Hamburg, 1937). For Walter Kamphoefner, the disagreement between the 1830ers and the 1848ers in America is an invention of the scholarly research. See Walter D. Kamphoefner, „Dreißiger and Forty-Eighters: The Political influence of Two Generations of German Political Exiles,“ Trefousse, *Germany and America: Essays*, pp. 89-102.
- 686 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, April 24, 1852); handwritten note in *Herriott Collection, SHSI, DM*.
- 687 *Ibid.* After more than 15 years of discussion, the U.S. Congress made the Homestead Act into a law during the Civil War.
- 688 See 's positive position concerning presidential democracy, *Stenographischer Bericht*, Vol. 1, p. 446 and Valentin, *Geschichte*, Vol. 2, p. 572.

- 689 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, May 1, 1852).
- 690 Consider for example the fondness of Theodor Olshausen and Karl Allhusen for Thomas Paine.
- 691 *The Gazette* (Davenport, February 15, 1855); cf. the influential Iowa newspaper, *Muscatine Daily Journal* (August 1, 1856): „These German ingrates are known as busybodies and mischief makers in every community where they reside. They were driven out of Germany in '48 for their Danishness and meddlesomeness. They ignore the Bible and all religion . . . , and act on the infidel motto 'live while we live.'“
- 692 Theodor Olshausen letter to Justus, in *Nachlaß Olshausen, GStAPK* (November 15, 1851).
- 693 Eiboeck, *Deutschen*, p. 198; *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, November 11 and 14, 1851).
- 694 Richter, *Geschichte*, p. 472; see Cazden, *Book-Trade*, p. 374.
- 695 Theodor and Justus Olshausen, in *Nachlaß Olshausen, GStAPK* (St. Louis, 20. April 1855).
- 696 St. Louis, 3. April 1852; „It's a miserable story as far as the literary context is concerned, all the way from here to Europe— even worse than there on the spot,“ [Eine kümmerliche Geschichte ist es, wie Du aus allem siehst mit der Schriftstellerei von hier nach Europa hin - noch mehr als dort am Platze], in *Nachlaß Olshausen, GStAPK* (St. Louis, April 20, 1855).
- 697 Bleik Peters' letter to Carondelet, in *Stadtarchiv Westerland* (May 13, 1855). I thank Dr. Erich Voss, Lübeck for calling the letter to my attention; see Joachim Reppmann, „Bleik Peters - Amerikaauswanderer und Revolutionär,“ in *Sylt 90 Magazin* (Rendsburg), pp. 24-25.
- 698 Fritz Treichel, „Hans Christian Dreis“ in *SHBL*, Vol. 3, pp. 85-87.
- 699 *Nachlaß Olshausen, GStAPK* (St. Louis, July 7, 1852). Hans Christian Dreis, born June 24, 1809 in Kiel-Gaarden, studied geography in Kiel and Berlin. In 1847 he left Meldorf's Teachers College as a „subrector“ in order to complete his degree in Heidelberg. Dreis returned after the Paris February Revolution and—in his own words— „the sudden change in ideas that had occurred and their repercussions on the German situation“ was included in the Olshausen faction of delegates for the Constitutional Convention in 1848. In 1851 he became a teacher at the Free Danish School in St. Louis. On behalf of his brother who, however, did not emigrate, he founded a brewery in Davenport in the latter months of 1852. See Treichel, „Dreis,“ *SHBL*, pp. 85-87. Fock, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 227, 305 and 313. Theodor Olshausen: „Elise's sister—the much desired woman by the name of Zöeckler—seems now, after long hesitation—to have decided to marry our own Dr. Dreis.“ [Elise's Schwester - die vielbegehrte Zöeckler - scheint sich jetzt entschlossen zu haben, unseren Dr. Dreis zu heirathen - nach langem Schwanken.] (Davenport, May 12, 1856).

- 700 *Nachlaß Olshausen, GStAPK* (St. Louis, October 13, 1852)
- 701 *Ibid.* (May 26, 1853).
- 702 *Ibid.*
- 703 Hanssen's letter in *SHSW* (New Holstein, Wisconsin, May 15, 1851).
- 704 *Deutsche Auswanderer Zeitung* (Bremen, December 3, 1855) in *Nachlaß Olshausen, GStAPK*.
- 705 *Ibid.* (November 15, 1851).
- 706 Letter from Davenport, July 11, 1849; in *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (December 20, 1849).
- 707 (Davenport, May 12, 1856). See the letter from G.D. Anderson of Davenport, May 18, 1854, to Mrs. L.M. Gottburgsen in Horstedt near Husum: „Now the lobbyists are crying to the whole world, here we have freedom, this child of the gods that we so miserably missed in Europe! Let me say again 'a thousand times no!' We have here only enough freedom to lead a life without worry.“ [Nun rufen die Lobbyweiser in die Welt hinaus, wir haben hier die Freiheit, dieses Götterkind, was wir in Europa so schmerzlich vermißt haben! Wiederum sage ich nein! tausendmal nein! Wir haben hier gerade nur soviel Freiheit. . . ., um ein sorgenfreies Auskommen möglich zu machen.] The letter is in the private possession of Dr. Frederick Paulsen of Alkersum on the island of Föhr.
- 708 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (February 23, 1853).
- 709 Neuholstein (June 17, 1850) in *SHSW*.
- 710 Hanssen's report, „Neuholstein,“ appears in *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (February 23, 1853).
- 711 In 1905 the Society had 805 members (Davenport had about 35,000 inhabitants). Hildegard Binder-Johnson described the Davenport Turnverein as „the outstanding German society,“ the second largest and in the financially strongest „North American Turner Society;“ see „German,“ *IJHP*, pp. 16 and 20.
- 712 Richter, *Geschichte*, p. 485. The members of the founding party were Theodor Gülich (President); Gustav Holzborn (Vice President); Christian Müller (Chief Gymnast); Adolph Gerdtzen (Secretary); Louis Hansen (Treasurer); John Daldorf; Carl Eyser; Herr Willhoph; Matthias Staak; Johann Ramm; Conrad Frickel; Jochim Arp; Ludwig Weyhe; Matthias J. Rohlf's, *A Short History of the Davenport Turner Society (Turngemeinde)* (Davenport, July 3, 1884), p. 3, unpublished handwritten manuscript, p. 2, in *Putnam Museum, Turner Collection* (Davenport, IA); see Gert Meyer, „The Turner Society of Keystone, Iowa,“ *ASHHS Newsletter*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (Davenport, 1992), pp. 9-11.
- 713 Theodor Gülich, quoted from August P. Richter, *Die Davenport Turner Gemeinde*, commemorative publication for its golden Jubilee, (Davenport, August 5, 1902). Concerning the choice of the word „homeland,“ one must bear in mind that Gülich had already been living in America for 25 years. At the time of the founding of the society, the members used paraphrases like „temporary place of residence“ or „exile.“ Cf. the

- appendix of this study: „List of the Members of the Davenport Turners' Society 1858" and „List of guards (from 1859-1863), in *Turner Collection, Putnam Museum*, XII, (Davenport, Iowa).
- 714 Eduard Müller, *Das Turnen: Ein Leitfaden für die Mitglieder des sozialistischen Turnerbundes und alle Freunde der Leibesübung* (New York, 1853), p. 6. See Cazden, *Booktrade*, p. 393.
- 715 Überhorst, *Turner*, p. 44; Erhorn, *Achtundvierziger*, p. 32; *Faust*, II, p. 389. The „Socialist Turnverein" of New York was founded on June 6, 1850, and since November 15, 1851 had been publishing „Die Turn-Zeitung," which appeared at the end of the '50s in Davenport's sister city to the north, Dubuque, Iowa. See Wittke, *Refugees*, pp. 149-150; Cazden, *German*, p. 647.
- 716 Müller did not explain what „external threat" he considered possible in America. Apparently he was thinking about the nativists and the church institutions which the Turners considered were the „greatest enemies of mankind." Müller, *Das Turnen*, pp. 79.
- 717 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 718 Überhorst, *Turner*, p. 68; see Wilhelm Rapps editorial in *Die Turn-Zeitung*, (November 1, 1853).
- 719 Wittke, *Refugees*, p. 151; see Neumann, *Turnbewegung* (Schorndorf, 1968).
- 720 *Atlantis* (Milwaukee, October 10, 1855). See August Willich: „The Turner societies ought to expressly declare themselves in support of the red banner of socialism... [Die Turnvereine sollen sich ausdrücklich und mit Recht zur roten Fahne des Sozialismus bekennen...] in H. Neumann, *Turnbewegung*, p. 85.
- 721 *National Demokrat* (Dubuque, October 5, 1858).
- 722 Quoted by H. Metzner, *Geschichte des Turner-Bundes* (Indianapolis, 1874), p. 11.
- 723 Metzner, *Geschichte*, pp. 7 and 8.
- 724 Cf. Members of the Davenport Turnverein in 1858 in the Appendix of this publication.
- 725 Rohlf's, *History*, pp. 4-5 in *Turner Collection, Putnam Museum* (Davenport, IA).
- 726 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 727 Richter, *Davenport Turnergemeinde*, p. 20. Elfriede Claussen, Louis Schirach, Henriette Dietzen and Mrs. P.B. Harding had artistically stitched together a flag which took them months to complete and which was presented to the society in the largest meeting room of the Le Claire Hotel. See Rohlf's, *History*, p. 6.
- 728 In his concluding remarks, Heinzen, together with other radical Republican refugees in St. Louis, strongly condemned slavery and the influence of the church in public life in America. He also demanded universal suffrage and the emancipation of women. The greatest provocation for all conservative American as well as German institutions was

the demand to do away with the office of president. See Wittke, *Refugees*, pp. 163-164; also Hinners, *Kapp*, pp. 63-67.

729 In a side remark he mentioned the „three-day civil war“ in Cincinnati in April of 1853, in which militant nativists had killed several Turners; Gülich viewed the Catholic Church as the mastermind behind all anti-Turner activities. Wittke, *Refugees*, p. 187. Philistines were in the eyes of the Socialists the conservative enemy politicians.

730 A copy of Gülich's manuscript is in the *Richter Collection*, SHSI, IC.

731 *New York Times* (September 20, 1853).

732 Valentin, *Geschichte*, Vol. 1, pp. 167 and 281.

733 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, January 22, 1853).

734 *Ibid.*; this idea was not made into a law until 1862 (Homestead Law).

735 Überhorst, *Turner*, p. 101; compare also the history of this concept in Hans Müller, *Ursprung und Geschichte des Wortes Sozialismus und seiner Verwandten* (Hanover, 1967); Karl Grünberg, *Der Ursprung der Worte „Sozialismus“ und „Sozialist“* in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Vol. 2 (1912).

736 Karl P. Heinzen, *Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika: Ausgewählte Vorträge und Flugschriften von Karl Heinzen*, ed., „Verein zur Verbreitung Radikaler Prinzipien“, Vol. 3 (Milwaukee, 1875), pp. 204-205; compare Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, p. 98; Cf. the definition of socialism in the *Itzehoer Wochenblatt*, (August 4, 1852). „Socialism also wants a democratic constitution, not as its highest and only purpose, but as a means to an economic one. It seeks the rule of work over capital.“ [Der Sozialismus will gleichfalls die demokratische Staatsverfassung, nur nicht als höchsten, letzten Zweck, sondern als Mittel zu einem wirtschaftlichen. Er will die Herrschaft der Arbeit über das Capital.] Compare Ludwig H. A. Geck, „Das Aufkommen des Wortes social im Deutschen.“ In *Muttersprache* (Zeitschrift zur Pflege und Erforschung der deutschen Sprache), 71 (1961), pp. 306-309.

737 Gülich's speech in the *Richter Collection*, SHSI, see also Gülich's lecture „Position of Women,“ to the Davenport Turner Society on March 1, 1857. Binder-Johnson, „German,“ p. 54; see *Our Heritage, A History of Ida County*, Chapter 19 (Ida Grove, 1977), p. 16. In Germany at the end of the 18th century the first voices were raised which demanded the same legal freedom with reference to emancipation of women. See Theodore G. Hippel, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber* (Berlin, 1792), pp. 19, 183, 190 ff; vgl. E. Epstein, *The Genesis of German Conservatism* (Princeton, New York), p. 229 ff. Mari Jo Buhle, *Feminism and Socialism in the United States, 1820-1920*, Diss., (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1974), p. 42.

738 Rippley, *German Americans*, p. 56. Anneke and her husband had been publishing the radical *Deutsche Frauenzeitung* in Cologne since 1848; from 1850 onward it appeared in Milwaukee and later in New York. See Maria Wagner, ed., *Was die Deutschen aus Amerika berichteten, 1828-1865* (Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 18-21 („Frauenrechte, 1858“).

- Concerning Mathilde Anneke's husband, Andreas F. Hanssen reported from New Holstein on January 12, 1852 to his brother: „The former Prussian lieutenant and communist Anneke is the librarian of a library not yet in existence at the state library of Wisconsin in Madison.“ [Der frühere preußische Lieutenant und Kommunist Anneke ist Bibliothekar einer noch nicht existierenden Staatsbibliothek Wisconsins in Madison der Hauptstadt.] in *Special Collection, SHSW*.
- 739 Moltmann, *Blockpolitik*, p. 316. Extensive detail about Heinzen and the Louisville Platform is available in Wittke, *Against the Current*, pp. 94-95 and Chapters 9 and 10.
- 740 A detailed presentation of this radical and utopian program, which included also a kind of world revolution under American leadership, can be found in Theodor Pösche and Charles Göpp, *E Pluribus Unum* (New York, 1852) and *Das neue Rom oder die Vereinigten Staaten der Welt* (New York, 1853); see also Goebel, „Political Prophecy,“ p. 462. „The *New Rome* is an amalgam of Hegelian Philosophy, American Manifest Destiny, and scientific prophecy...“ Cazden, *Booktrade*, p. 603.
- 741 Speech by Gülich, 1887, in *Richter Collection, SHSI, IC*. The „Republican Freedom Society“ in Pittsburgh also proclaimed America to be the center of the world revolution.
- 742 *Ibid.*, Speech by Gülich (1887).
- 743 Gülich's fondness for Paine's thoughts were sharply criticized by the Americans in Davenport. *Democratic Banner* (Davenport, February 6, 1855).
- 744 Speech by Gülich, 1887, in *Richter Collection, SHSI, IC*; see „Der liberale Freiheitsbegriff.“
- 745 From the time of the fraternity movement these colors had symbolized the goals of all national liberal forces in Germany. „They decked themselves in the black, red and gold colors symbolic of the struggle out of the night of slavery, through the red blood of battle to the golden day of liberty.“ Carr, *Schleswig-Holstein*, p. 10.
- 746 The lecture list is in the Turner Collection of the Putnam Museum, Davenport. In the same year Friedrich Hedde also lectured to the socialist Turners during his short stay in Iowa. Hildegard Binder-Johnson evaluates the extent of the selection of topics and the lecturers (among them Friedrich Hecker, Otto Reventlow, Carl Heinzen, Franz Sigel, John Bernhard Stallo, Fritjof Nansen) in comparison to other German-American Turner and reading societies as „remarkable.“ In this connection, see „German,“ p. 25.
- 747 Rohlfs, *History*, p. 7 in *Turner Collection, Putnam Museum*.
- 748 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 749 Richter, *Davenport Turnergemeinde*, p. 29.
- 750 Contact with the Turner movement in Germany, however, continued to be intensively cultivated. Invitation „to the German Turners in North America,“ *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, July 25, 1861). On the occasion of the celebration(s) for the 50th year of the Kiel Turnverein, the Schleswig-Holstein emigrant 48er Friedrich Hedde received an

- invitation in Nebraska. See the *Grand Island Daily Independent* (June 29, 1894).
- 751 See Wittke, *Refugees*, p. 157.
- 752 The lecture list in *Turner Collection, Putnam Museum*.
- 753 Eiboock, *Deutschen*, p. 230.
- 754 See Reinhard R. Doerries, *Iren und Deutsche*, pp. 153-154 and 189-189; Wolfgang Hardtwig, „Strukturmerkmal und Entwicklungstendenzen des Vereinswesens in Deutschland 1789-1848,“ in *Vereinswesen und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland*, Otto Dann, ed. (München, 1984), pp. 11-50.
- 755 Fishman, Joshua A., „The Historical and Social Contexts of an Inquiry into Language Maintenance Efforts“ in Fishman, et al., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague, 1966), pp. 21-33, here 27.
- 756 Oscar Handlin, „Immigration in American Life. - A Reappraisal,“ in H.S. Commanger, ed., *Immigration and American History* (Minneapolis, 1961), pp. 8-25, here 13.
- 757 Reinhard R. Doerries, „The Americanizing of the German Immigrant: A Chapter from U.S. Social History,“ in *Amerikastudien*, 23 (1978), pp. 51-59, here 54.
- 758 Gordon, *Assimilation in American*; p. 54; Ernest Bruncken, „Die Amerikanisierung der Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten,“ in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Vol. 8 (1908), pp. 37-41 here 38.
- 759 *Nachlaß Olshausen, GStAPK* (St. Louis, November 16, 1851).
- 760 Ficke, *Fourscore Years*, p. 104.
- 761 Eiboock, *Deutschen*, pp. 392-393; William F. Betterton, „Early Choral Groups,“ *The Palimpsests*, Vol. 45 (Iowa City), pp. 283-293, here 284-285. A 'Liederkranz Low German Society' were founded by the Schleswig-Holsteiners in Grand Island, Nebraska, singing [choral] society and the 'Fraternal and Social Organizations of Hall County,' Buechler, *History*, pp. 368-392.
- 762 *National Demokrat* (Dubuque, June 25, 1858).
- 763 *Ibid.* (June 14, 1858), the article is from the Davenport newspaper „Der Demokrat.“
- 764 *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* (Altona, April 18, 1850).
- 765 This supposition is corroborated inasmuch as there had been similar institutions, such as the readers' society, in Schleswig-Holstein after the prohibition of the fraternities by the Karlsbad Acts of 1819. See Korth, „Revolutionär,“ p. 49; The philologist Carl Grüning, a co-founder of New Holstein, had been a member of this particular society in Kiel. *LAS*, 47, Nr. 662.
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- 766 Puchner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 75.
- 767 A.F. Hanssen, *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* (Altona, April 18, 1850); in a letter to his

- brother Georg, Hanssen wrote on May 6, 1852: „Our beer breweries are in Sheboygan, Waisheta and Fond du Lac; they supply excellent beer at five cents a glass, and I must say, three of these can make my head swim,“ in *SHSW*.
- 768 *The Democratic Banner* (Davenport, June 4, 1852); see Hans Reimer Claussen in a letter to Wilhelm Ahlmann, Kiel (Davenport, September 17, 1852): „In the winter we Germans have discussions once a week on political topics.“ Andersen, *Idstedt*, p. 87.
- 769 Überhorst, *Turner*, p. 48; Cazden, *German*, p. 512. For example, the Schleswig-Holstein 1848er, Andreas F. Hanssen, wrote on February 7, 1851 from New Holstein, Wisconsin: „Wäre unser armes Schleswig-Holstein nicht auf eine so niederträchtige Weise dazu bestimmt, das Bad zu kühlen, so könnt ich mich fast darüber freuen, daß es immer trostloser im lieben deutschen Vaterlande wird, weil dann doch endlich an des letzten Pfaffen oder Junkers Gedärm den letzten König saugen zu sehen. Aber bis dahin wird sich die himmlische Geduld des guten Michels noch manche Ohrfeige, noch manchen Fußtritt gefallen lassen müssen.“
- 770 Some 1848ers declared Thomas Paine, who was very controversial in America, to be their own „founding father.“ Cazden, *German*, p. 497.
- 771 Wittke, *Refugees*, p. 124, Cazden, *Book Trade*, p. 497.
- 772 *Ibid.*, pp. 122 and 505.
- 773 See Jörn Bredelow, „Lichtfreunde“ und „Freie Gemeinden“: *Religiöser Protest und Freiheitsbewegung im Vormärz und in der Revolution von 1848/49* (München, 1976).
- 774 H.G. Reissner, „Begegnung zwischen Deutschland und Juden im Zeichen der Romantik,“ in Hans Liebeschütz and Arnold Pancker, eds., *Das Judentum in der deutschen Umwelt 1800-1850* (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 340-343. In this group there was also a Jew named Abraham Hertz, a nephew of the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn.
- 775 Theodor Olshausen, *Entwurf einer Bittschrift an deutsche Fürsten* (Kiel, 1830), p. 81.
- 776 C.F. Huch, „Die freireligiöse Bewegung unter den Deutschamerikanern,“ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, Vol. 11 (1909), pp. 1-33, here 13.
- 777 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (February 23, 1853); see Harro Haring's long essay „Die freie katholische Kirche,“ which he wrote for Georg Friedrich Seidensticker's newspaper „Der Bürgerfreund“ in Philadelphia. Reprint and commentary in Robert Clemens' *Vorwärts* (Columbus, Ohio, September, 1847 to January 1848). *Das Volk* (Rendsburg, April 7, 1849): „Nord-Amerika in kirchlicher Beziehung ist nur eine Übersetzung des Anglikanischen Pfaffenthums in einige hundert isolierte Editionen eben so exclusiver Sekten,...“ in religious affairs North America is nothing more than a translation of Anglican „poperly“ into several hundred isolated editions of equally exclusive sects...]
- 778 Theodor Olshausen, *Entwurf einer Bittschrift an deutsche Fürsten* (Kiel, 1830), p. 81.
- 779 Huch, „Freireligiöse Bewegung,“ pp. 11-12, Cazden, *Book Trade*, p. 510; Wittke, *Refugees*, p. 122. For Kathleen Conzen the Turners were also „freethinking organizations.“ *Ibid.*, *Immigrant*, p. 179.

- 780 Binder-Johnson, „German Forty-Eighters,“ p. 40.
- 781 Richter, *Geschichte*, p. 358. Since 1841, Protestant preachers in Germany, called „Friends of Light“ by the [common] people, had been founding church communities on the principle of free investigation and development in contrast to the new pietistic Orthodoxy. See Brederlow, „Lichtfreunde“ und „Freie Gemeinden“ (1976).
- 782 Olshausen, *Iowa*, p. 68; Ficke, *Fourscore Years*, pp. 106-107. Beginning in 1879, parsons were trained in Schleswig-Holstein for pastoral work in the U. S. See Martin Pörksen, *Pastoren für Amerika: Aus der Geschichte des Breklumer Martineums* (Brekum, 1980), p. 11; see also Helmut Talazko, „Aus der Geschichte der evangelischen Arbeit für Auswandernde und Ausgewanderte,“ *ZfK*, Michael Rehs, ed. (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 345-353, here 349.
- 783 Eiboeck, *Deutschen*, p. 301. Shortly before the beginning of construction, for which \$600 had been collected, the *Democratic Banner* wrote „If Yankee and German children are brought together in school, they will without trouble learn to speak both languages,“ (Davenport, February 4, 1853). See Bettina Goldberg, „The Forty-Eighters and the School System in America: The Theory and Practice of Reform,“ Brancaforte, *German Forty-Eighters* (1989), pp. 203-218.
- 784 Richter, *Geschichte*, p. 483. In many states freethinkers were the founders of German private schools. Cazden, *Book Trade*, p. 268.
- 785 Minutes of the Town meetings of New Holstein in *ARC*, (Green Bay, WI), Bernard J. Weiss, *American Education and the European Immigrant 1840-1940* (Urbana, Chicago, London, 1982).
- 786 Doerries, „Eingliederungsprozesse,“ p. 271; Robert H. Billigmeier, *Minorities in American Life; Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity* (Belmont, CA., circa 1973), p. 271.
- 787 Kamphoefner, *Westphalen*, p. 4.
- 788 See Ficke, *Fourscore* (St. Louis, January 23, 1865), p. 21.
- 789 Minutes of the Town meeting of New Holstein in *ARC*, (Green Bay, WI).
- 790 Only two people voted against the introduction of the English language. *Ibid.* (June 15, 1850).
- 791 Robert Buchheit, „The Decline of German Settlement Dialects on the Great Plains between the two World Wars: Some Socio-Cultural and Linguistic Factors,“ in *Schatzkammer der deutschen Sprache, Dichtung und Geschichte*, Vol. 8 (1982), pp. 48-71, here 63.
- 792 Louis Folge, *History of Manitowoc County* (Chicago, 1912), p. 442.
- 793 Concerning the founding of the first Fröbel kindergarten in Kiel, Olshausen's and Hedde's former newspaper wrote: „The overall significance of the Fröbel Kindergarten is that the first years of a child - previously left up to pure chance - be subjected to a

- systematic development of [human] intelligence, [of aptitude for] art, and maturity . . . [and that] differences of birth and station be overcome... in preparation for the development of the intellect." In *Correspondenzblatt und Kieler Wochenblatt* (March 26, 1851); see Wittke, *Refugees*, p. 307, and the report of his visit in the Fröbel kindergarten, in *Itzehoeer Wochenblatt* (February 10, 1850).
- 794 *Der Pionier* (Boston, June 7, 1860).
- 795 Jubiläumsausgabe, *Iowa Reform* (Davenport, July 12, 1909), p. 93.
- 796 Joseph S. Schick, „The German Theater," *Palimpsest*, pp. 24-44, here 25.
- 797 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 798 *Iowa Reform*, p. 93.
- 799 Joseph S. Schick, „The German Theater," *Palimpsest*, pp. 24-44, here 26; until 1910 there were regular productions which, beginning in 1858, were also performed in the beer gardens in the summer. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.
- 800 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- 801 Joseph S. Schick, „The American Theater," *Palimpsest*, (1950), pp. 8-23, here 11f.
- 802 Bernhard Guttman, „Friedrich Schiller," in H. Heimpel et al., eds., *Genius der Deutschen - die großen Dichter/Philosophen* (Berlin, 1968), pp. 98-115; see also Harold E. Briggs and Ernestine Briggs, „The early Theater on the Northern Plains," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Society*, Vol. 37 (1950-51), pp. 231-264, here 243.
- 803 Rippley, *German-Americans*, p. 132; Überhorst, *Turner*, p. 49; see also Fritz A. Leusch, *The Early German Theater in New York, 1840-1872* (New York, 1966).
- 804 *WStHS*, in *Levi-Collection*; see also Kate E. Levi, „How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 12 (1892), pp. 299-334.
- 805 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, December 15, 1893). On July 5, 1857 the first parade of the „German Rifle Company" took place. *Davenport Weekly Gazette* (July 2, 1857).
- 806 *Ibid.*
- 807 , *Special Collection, Putnam Museum*. The founders of the club were H. Berg, Ernst Winter, Louis Lorenzen, Fritz Beidlers, Chr. Roeschmann, John Grevesmuehl, Emil Schauenburg, H. Christoffer, Chr. Ehlers, Fritz Stuehmer, Johann Martens, Johann Langbehn, Franz Bills.
- 808 *Ibid.*
- 809 *Ibid.*
- 810 *Ibid.* The festive opening took place on June 20, 1870.
- 811 *Ibid.*, Author unknown. I have not found any additional sources.
- 812 Helbich et al., *Briefe*, p. 27; Faust, *Element*, Vol. 2, pp. 365-366; Karl Schurz: „It is the

task of the German press to explain things American to those of our countrymen who do not know English," in *Der deutsche Pionier*, 18 (1886), p. 156; quoted in a footnote by Rainer Sell, „The German-Language-Mirror of the German American Struggle for Identity as reflected in ‘Der Deutsche Pionier (1869-1887),’ and the activities of ‘Der Deutsche Pionierverein von Cincinnati,’” in *Journal of German-American Studies*, Vol. 9 (1976), pp. 43-72, here 58.

- 813 Wittke, *Refugees*, pp. 262-263; see also the tabular lineup of the German language newspapers in the year 1856. A report from the Hungarian 1848er colony of New Buda, Iowa, in *Der Tägliche Demokrat* (Davenport, March 11, 1856), a handwritten copy in *SHSI, DM*.
- 814 Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control* (New York, 1922), pp. 310-320; Karl J. Arndt, Mary E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955: History and Bibliography* (London, 1945), pp. 250-251, 454-455, 399-400, 587-588. With four daily publications in 1850, New York had more daily newspapers than Berlin or Leipzig, and until 1872 the „New Yorker Staatszeitung“ with a publication run of 55,000 copies was in its own estimation the largest German language newspaper in the world. Almost 80 percent of the immigrant press in the USA before the year 1900 was German.
- 815 *State Census of Iowa* (Des Moines, 1885), pp. 273-289; Arndt/Olson, *German-American*, pp. 130-157; see also Hildegard E. Frese, *German-American Journalism in the State of Iowa* (Des Moines, 1935), p. 53 (map).
- 816 Hansen, *Der Einwanderer*, p. 108; Cf. also the categorization of the '48ers according to profession. Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, p. 270; Wittke, *Refugees*, p. 61.
- 817 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Über die Demokratie in Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1962), Vol. 1, pp. 129-131; Vol. 2, p. 138; Habermas, *Strukturwandel*, p. 132.
- 818 Billigmeier, *Minorities*, p. 63; R. Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (New York, 1949), p. 150.
- 819 Ruth Steward, *The Foreign Language Press in Iowa*. Federal Writers' Project (Des Moines, circa 1940), p. 6. The first editor, Anton Eickhoff, later was head of the „New Yorker Staatszeitung“ and became a representative to Congress. See also Eickhoff, *Heimath*, p. 352. Not until 1856 did „The National Democrat“ establish itself as a German-language weekly in Dubuque. Joseph Eiboeck, who had initially gotten his instruction as a printing apprentice at the „Nordwestlichen Demokrat,“ claimed that the late success of the newspaper was due to the great differences between the city's German-language immigrant groups, whereas he mentions the homogeneous Schleswig-Holstein colony in Davenport and the vicinity as the basis for the rapid growth of that newspaper. Eiboeck, *Deutschen*, p. 223.
- 820 *Ibid.*, p. 224
- 821 D.C. Mott, „Early Iowa Newspapers,“ *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1928), pp. 177-179; Frese, *German-American Journalism*, pp. 12-16.

- 822 Eiboeck, *Deutschen*, p. 224; Theodor Rombauer came to the USA in 1850; from 1851 to 1854 he lived in Davenport and died in 1855. William Hyde and H.L. Conrad, eds., *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*. See the letter from August P. Richter to Herriott dated September 5, 1905, in handwritten manuscript in the *Herriott Collection*. At the end of 1849 many Hungarian political refugees lived in Altona for some time before immigrating to the U.S.; during their stay there they made friends with Republican Schleswig-Holsteiners. See Fock, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 206-209.
- 823 Richter, *Geschichte*, pp. 470-477.
- 824 *Itzehoer Wochenblatt* (June 12, 1852); Friedrich Hedde evaluated the „public press“ of the U. S. as the most important driving force for all material and intellectual progress: „Along with the public schools, the newspaper is one of the most important means of educating the American people. It is effective right down to the lowest levels of society, to a degree completely unknown in Europe;“ ders., *Nebraska*, pp. 11 and 56.
- 825 Stewart, *Foreign*, p. 22.
- 826 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- 827 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- 828 Claussen's ad for subscriptions to his translation of the Iowa laws is an example of the advertisements.
- 829 Stewart, *Foreign*, p. 23.
- 830 Quoted *ibid.* A complete collection of the „Democrat“ from November 15, 1851 until 1918 was kept in a fireproof safe in the Davenport Public Library until 1955. From there the complete edition was brought to Micro Photo of Cleveland, Ohio, and there „upon authorization of the publishers, the files of *Der Demokrat* were disposed of without being microfilmed.“ Letter from Perry Bourell, Micro Photo, Cleveland, August 19, 1957, and May Olson; see also William J. Petersen, *The State Historical Society of Iowa*, (Iowa City, October 12, 1959) and Olson; Harald Goldstein, *Davenport Public Library* (February 12 and 20, September, 1957), letters in possession of Karl J.R. Arndt, see the *German-American*, p. 136. For the period from November 15, 1851 until 1862, then, we are dependent in the case of the Davenport *Democrat* for the most part on the handwritten excerpts of Prof. Herriott.
- 831 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, July 1, 1854).
- 832 Memorial article for Rudolph Reichmann, „Ein Pionier der deutschen Presse in Iowa“ (from the „Davenport Democrat,“ April 12, 1908); in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Year 8 (Chicago, 1908), pp. 99-101. During an audience on the island of Föhr during the summer season of 1847, the Danish king, Christian VIII denied him a concession to open a printing press because he was „not of pure Danish intent.“
- 833 Andersen, *Idstedt*, p. 58.
- 834 *Wisconsin Banner* (Milwaukee, April 26, 1852).

- 835 Richter, *Geschichte*, p. 492.
- 836 Eiboeck, *Deutschen*, p. 224. The format of the 'Daily Democrat' was 46 x 56 cm., smaller than the weekly edition.
- 837 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, October 12, 1860); *Olshausen letters* (Davenport, May 12, 1856). From 1878 „The Democrat“ also appeared bi-weekly. See Arndt/Olson, *Deutsch*, p. 136. With just what kind of difficulties the newspaper publisher had to battle in the country is seen from the description of „The National Democrat,“ Dubuque, of February 1, 1858: „why do so few German farmers subscribe to newspapers? In Germany, reading the newspaper is simply not in 'style' among farmers. At the most, the minister, the schoolmaster, the owner of the pub, and the village mayor subscribe to a newspaper there. They're not allowed to get involved in politics, they don't need to be concerned about social matters and there they say, 'government, you take care of it,' or 'the government will take care of it: and if, for a change, they want to hear some news, they go to the pub, where they might happen to run into the schoolmaster... God forbid, what do they care about the county, the state, matters of government; bread is the main thing. Another grouping of our German farmers are those who like to read and who read a lot, those who have had a need to read since childhood... this type prefers to subscribe to big newspapers from New York.“ A complete edition of the 'National Democrat' of Dubuque for the year 1858 was found only a short time ago in an attic in Iowa.
- 838 Gülich's later biographies judge him as „... a man of idealistic aggressiveness;“ see August Richter in *Davenport Democratic Leader* (May 16, 1920) in *Herriott-Collection, SHSI, DM*, Vol. 22: „It seems he has made many a political mistake.“ Eiboeck, *Deutschen*, p. 358.
- 839 *Der Tägliche Demokrat* (Davenport, April 30, 1856). *Olshausen letter* (Davenport, May 12, 1856).
- 840 In addition to statistical works about U.S. geography, among others concerning Iowa and Wisconsin, Olshausen had written the first book about the *History of the Mormons or the Latter Day Saints in North America*, (Güttingen, 1856).
- 841 *Nachlaß Olshausen, GStAPK* (St. Louis, November 16, 1851). Concerning the German press in St. Louis see Steven Rowan, „German Language Newspapers in St. Louis, 1835-1974,“ in Howard Wight Marshall and James W. Goodrich, eds., *The German-American Experience in Missouri* (Columbia, 1986), pp. 45-61. After a visit to Germany Arthur Olshausen was until January 1, 1880 part-owner of the „Westliche Post“ at St. Louis, where Carl Schurz was editor and Joseph Pulitzer a reporter. See *Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis, August 9, 1887), in *Nachlaß Olshausen, GStAPK*.
- 842 Olshausen's letter (Davenport, May 12, 1856). Olshausen withdrew from his life as a writer rather disappointed. By May 1856 he had received no report from his publisher, the Goethe researcher Salomon Hirzel, concerning his manuscript „Die Geschichte der Mormonen,“ even though he had sent it off from St. Louis in the middle of April 1855. See Olshausen's letter from St. Louis, April 20, 1855. It did not get lost in the mail, since the 244-page book appeared in 1856. He also expressed himself with great

disappointment concerning the US sales of his works about Missouri and Iowa which he planned on marketing himself. „In addition, the transportation costs along with customs and so on have turned out to be very high (over \$50), so that I will break even at best.“ Letter from Davenport (May 12, 1856) in *GStAPK*.

843 *Ibid.* (St Louis, April 20, 1855).

844 *Ibid.*, „Davenport mit Rock Island und einige kleinere nahegelegene Ortschaften—Moline und East Davenport—die bald zusammenwachsen und jetzt schon den gemeinschaftlichen Namen Twin-City führen, werden ohne Zweifel eine große Stadt werden. Schon jetzt haben sie circa 25.000 Einwohner.“ [Davenport along with Rock Island and some smaller areas like Moline and East Davenport, which collectively have the name of Twin Cities, will some day result in a very large city. They already have 25,000 people.]

845 *Ibid.*, Olshausen planned at the next opportunity to change the name of the newspaper because it was „naturally Republican.“

846 *Ibid.* (Davenport, November 27, 1859).

847 Concerning the person of Pleyel, see also *Wöchentlicher National Demokrat* (Dubuque, May 10, 1860).

848 Prussia's prohibition of the German language American newspapers (May 22, 1858). See HStA Stuttgart E 143 Büschel 4171, handwritten and metallographically duplicated, printed in Wolfram Siemann, ed., *Der 'Polizeiverein' deutscher Staaten: Eine Dokumentation zur Überwachung der Öffentlichkeit nach der Revolution von 1848-1849* (Tübingen, 1983), pp. 157-158. The *New York Herald* (July 1, 1858); in *Herriott Collection, SHSI, DM*, commented on the decision of Prussia to confiscate the „Democrat“ at the border, along with the large daily newspapers from New York, Chicago and St. Louis: „Newspaper Proscription in Germany“ (headline) „There must be something rotten in the state of Prussia.“

849 *Nachlaß Olshausen, GStAPK*, Rep. 77, Tit. 343 A, Nr. 81, B1. 12, quoted by Reiter, *Politisches Asyl*, p. 371.

850 Ernst Rudolf Huber, „Zur Geschichte der politischen Polizei im 19. Jahrhundert,“ in *Nationalstaat und Verfassungsstaat: Studien zur Geschichte der modernen Staatsidee* (Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 156-159. Siemann, „Deutschlands“ pp. 345-349.

851 „Abschiedswort“ by Theodor Olshausen in *Der tägliche Demokrat* (Davenport, June 13, 1860). The „Westliche Post“ appeared on Monday, May 18, 1860, „for the first time under the firm title ‘Th. Olshausen und Co.’,“ *Der tägliche Demokrat* (May 21, 1860). Concerning the „Westliche Post,“ which was founded in 1857 by Carl Dänzer, Heinrich Börnstein, long time Editor-in-Chief, see Harvey Saalberg, *The Westliche Post of St. Louis: A Daily Newspaper for German-Americans, 1857-1938*, unpublished Diss. (University of Missouri, Columbia, 1967).

852 The argument often split families, and public life was not stabilized until Lincoln

decided to dismiss General John C. Fremont as commander of the West. Concerning the important role of the Germans in St. Louis at the beginning of the Civil War, see Nagler, *Fremont*, pp. 18-46.

853 *Nachlaß Olshausen*, *GStAPK* (St. Louis, September 8, 1861).

854 *Ibid.* (April 18, 1864); see Saalberg, *Westliche Post*, p. 79 and Faust, *Deutschtum*, p. 439.

855 *Ibid.* (April 18, 1864).

856 *Ibid.*, see Steven Rowan, *Germans For a Free Missouri: Translation from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1857-1862* (Columbia, 1983).

857 Olshausen did not decide to settle down in Zürich until during his visit to Germany, but he worked until his death on March 31, 1869 as a freelancer for his former newspaper in St. Louis. Saalberg, *Westliche Post*, p. 123.

858 Letter, *Nachlaß Olshausen*, *GStAPK* (St. Louis, January 23, 1865). Four years before, he had Lincoln's praise as a „blessing for the country.“ See *Westliche Post* (St. Louis, November 10, 1860). One year later he became one of the most important leaders in the opposition to Lincoln. See Ralf Bärner, „A Forty-Eighter Who Returned,“ in Brancaforte, ed., *German*, pp. 93-102, here 97-98.

859 St. Louis, January 23, 1865. A sketch of the political party landscape of Iowa and opinions concerning Lincoln would be intriguing, but it cannot be treated in the scope of this study.

860 Eiboeck, *Deutschen*, p. 225.

861 *Ibid.*, Jens Peter Stiboldt was born on December 24, 1813 to parents of the nobility and attended Latin school in Hadersleben before taking up studies in Kiel. During his studies he took part in activities against the Danish kingdom, whereupon he was disinherited by his Copenhagen parents. In the face of the threat of being arrested, he emigrated to the USA as did Nikolaus Rusch. The first four years he tried his hand as a Latin farmer in Missouri before publishing various newspapers in Illinois: the radical anti-slavery weekly „Freie Blätter“ of Altona, a political and very active monthly magazine called „Amerika“ in Galena, and the „Deutsche Zeitung“ in Peoria. See *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, September 19, 1860), Binder-Johnson, „German,“ p. 15; Zucker, *Forty-Eighter*, pp. 48 and 129.

862 *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, October 2, 1861).

863 *Davenport Democratic Leader* (April 20, 1920).

864 Arndt/Olson, *German*, pp. 345-346; Cazden, *Book Trade*, p. 392, see pp. 226, 390 and 639.

865 Alexander Schem, *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations Lexicon*, Vol. 6, p. 519.

866 *Ibid.*

- 867 Wittke, *Language Press*, p. 187. The *Wisconsin Banner* (Milwaukee, February 2, 1852), summarized the intention of the initial phase. „Es soll dies Blatt ausschließlich den Criminalsachen gewidmet sein, das Thun und Treiben der Behörden benachrichtigen, den Unschuldigen beschützen und das Laster, in welcher Gestalt es sich zeigen möge, unterdrücken. Zugleich wird das Auswanderungs-System mit den unendlich vielen Mißbräuchen einer sorgfältigen Beleuchtung unterworfen.“ [This paper will be dedicated exclusively to criminal matters, report the acts and efforts of the officials, protect the innocent, and suppress vice in whatever form it might appear. At the same time, the emigration process with its endless misdeeds will be exposed to careful examination. The weekly newspaper cost, in addition to postage, „\$3.00 per year.“
- 868 *Ibid.*
- 869 Rudolf Lexow, *Amerikanische Criminal-Mysterien, oder, das Leben der Verbrecher in New York* (Stuttgart and New York, 1854). The mystery novels that were very popular at the time treated the theme of emigration to the US and went back to Eugène Sue's book, *Les Mystères de Paris* (1842). See Barbara Lang, „The Mystery-Novel: The Enigma of the New World,“ in *The Process of Immigration in German-American Literature from 1850 to 1900*, American Studies, A Monograph Series, Vol. 64 (München, 1988), pp. 41-63, here 41.
- 870 Arndt/Olson, *German*, pp. 345-346; Wittke, *Language Press*, p. 187. The large daily newspapers in Germany up to 1872 had a press run that was not greater than 55,000. Helbich, *Briefe*, p. 27.
- 871 Ernst D. Kargan, *St. Louis in früheren Jahren* (St. Louis, 1893), p. 157, quoted in Cazden, *Book Trade*, p. 226.
- 872 Samuel Ludvigh in *Die Fackel*, XI (New York, 1858-1859), pp. 198-202, quoted in Cazden, *Book Trade*, p. 258.
- 873 A.E. Zucker judged Reinhold Solger in his short biography as „probably most gifted author among the Forty-Eighters.“ Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, p. 344; Reinhold Solger, *Denkschrift zur Schleswig-Holstein-Frage* (Cincinnati, October, 1864).
- 874 Cazden, *German*, p. 639. Concerning Weydemeyer see Karl Obermann, *Joseph Weydemeyer: Pioneer of American Sozialism* (New York, 1947).
- 875 Regarding Rudolf Lexow, see *Deutsch-amerikanisches*, Vol. 6, p. 519.
- 876 *Ibid.*
- 877 Schlechte, *Arbeiterverbrüderung*, p. 328.
- 878 Schem, *Deutsch-amerikanisches*, Vol. 6, p. 519; see also Friedrich Lexow, *Novellistisches*, 3 Vols. (New York, 1872); „Meyers Monats-Hefte; Deutsch-Amerikanische Zeitschrift für Literatur, Kunst und Gesellschaft,“ New York, whose first editor was Rudolf Lexow. See Arndt/Olson, *German*, p. 353.
- 879 *BLHA*, Pr. Br. Rep. 30, Berlin C, Polizeipräsidium, Tit. 94, Lit. Z, No. 163 (No.

- 14395): „Die nordamerikanischen Zeitungen ‘New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung,’ ‘Neue Zeit,’ ‘Anzeiger des Westens’ und die Unterbindung ihrer Verbreitung 1854-1863;“ Edmund E. Miller, „Das New Yorker Belletristische Journal, 1851-1911,“ in *The American-German Review*, Vol. 8 (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 24-27.
- 880 Robert E. Cazden, „The ‘American Liberal’ (1854-55): Radical Forty-Eighters’ Attempt to Breach the Language Barrier,“ *YGASt*, Vol. 22 (Lawrence, Kansas, 1987), pp. 91-99, here 91. Heinz Förster, ed., *Was ist ein Amerikaner? - Zeugnisse aus dem Zeitalter der amerikanischen Revolution* (Leipzig and Weimar, 1987).
- 881 Franklin’s failure to neutralize the influence of the German publisher Christoph Saur: *Die Hoch Teutsche und Englische Zeitung. The High-Dutch and English Gazette* (Philadelphia, August 10, 1751 to June 25, 1752).
- 882 Quoted in a footnote by Cazden, *Book Trade*, pp. 256-257 in Arthur Olshausen’s *Wöchentlicher Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis, February 8, 1851).
- 883 Arndt/Olson, *German*, Vol. 1, p. 250.
- 884 *Wöchentlicher Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis, May 10, 1851). Arthur Olshausen sold the *Anzeiger* to Börnstein and Dr. Gempp on May 4, 1851.
- 885 *Atlantis*, New Series 1 (Milwaukee, June 1854), p. 232.
- 886 Ralph Gregory, „Count Baudissin on Missouri Towns,“ *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, Vol. 37 (St. Louis, January 1971), pp. 111-124. This was the first newspaper which found a good readership in Washington, Franklin County. The Buchanan administration put him in charge of the local post office between 1859 and 1860. In addition, he was interested in the stock market, mining and making pottery. The two years before his return to Germany in 1862 he headed up a book business in St. Louis.
- 887 Buechler, *History*, p. 396.
- 888 *Ibid.*
- 889 *Grand Island Independent*, (August 12, 1896). There is no indication that Hedde took part in the earlier foundings of German newspapers in Nebraska, although he had had comprehensive journalistic experience in Schleswig-Holstein. The first German newspaper in Nebraska, then, was founded on April 4, 1861 by some 20 prominent German-Americans. F. Renner, „Reminiscences of Territorial Days,“ in *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, Second Series, Vol. 5 (Lincoln, 1892), pp. 60-68, here 60 and 61. Rudolf Reichmann, a printer from the city of Schleswig and the first partner of Theodor Gülich’s „Democrat“ in Davenport, also founded an English newspaper. After he started as a Latin farmer in 1855 in Tama County, Iowa, he achieved prosperity and owned land even in the state of Washington; he then turned to his initial activity in the U.S. and published a paper in the local language in a county that had a high number of Schleswig-Holsteiners. See Richter, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, p. 101.

- 890 After a mere two years there were 850 subscribers, and since 1919 the newspaper has been called the „New Holstein Reporter.“ *Book of Subscribers*, in the editorial offices of the „New Holstein Reporter.“
- 891 „... to get an intimate glimpse into the world of the immigrants. Reading some of these foreign papers is like looking through a key-hole into a lighted room.“ Park, *Immigrant Press*, p. 113. (Since this view through the keyhole is not possible, we are dependent upon individual statements and the conclusions they let us draw.)
- 892 See Hobart Kletzien, *New Holstein When I Was a Boy* (New Holstein, 1974), p. 29: „We received two newspapers - the Milwaukee Sentinel and the Milwaukee Herald (German).“
- 893 „... where he established a large circulation.“ Eiboeck, *Deutsche*, p. 267. The *Nachrichten aus Schleswig-Holstein* from 1889 to 1944 seem to be available in a complete edition only on microfilm in the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago.
- 894 Holstein, Iowa had 24 subscribers, Kiel, Wisconsin 18, Schleswig and Marne, Iowa 16 each. It should be pointed out, however, that at the turn of the century two of these towns had a German-English paper for a few years (the „Holstein Advance“ and the „Schleswig Leader“). Stewart, *Foreign Language*, p. 80, and Frese, *German*, p. 22. On the other hand, there was (since 1893) the purely German-language „Kiel National Zeitung“ in the town of Kiel near New Holstein with its regular column „From New Holstein“ — which, however, had scarcely any readers in the target group.
- 895 Henry A. Pochmann, „The Migration of Ideas,“ in Henry Commager, ed., *Immigration and American History* (Minneapolis, 1961), pp. 106-152, here 107 and 152.
- 896 See also Fishman, „Historical and social,“ p. 27: The new immigrants arrived in the United States without any knowledge „(of) the slogans, the anthems, the banners, the crusades, the poets, the saints, the entire fiery sword and flaming ideology of cultural and political nationalism“ of the new country.“
- 897 Handlin, „Immigration in American Life,“ p. 13.
- 898 Two factors—closely connected to each other—that make assertions about the degree of assimilation of an individual or a group, are the existing prejudices and the „sense of peoplehood.“ See Gordon, *Assimilation*, p. 69 ff.
- 899 Andreas F. Hanssen to his brother Georg in Göttingen (Neu Holstein, July 5, 1850) in *SHSW*.
- 900 Frederick Jackson Turner, „The Significance of the Frontier in American History,“ in Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), pp. 1-38, here 37. For example, American prejudices about domestic servants from Ireland were very strong. See Ulrike Sommer in „Dienstbotinnen,“ in Helbich, ed., *Briefe*, pp. 493-569, here 495. Adolf E. Schroeder and Carla Schulz-Geisberg, *Jette, a German Immigrant Life in Letters* (Columbia, 1988).
- 901 Andreas F. Hanssen (Neu Holstein, February 7, 1851) in *SHSW*.

- 902 *Ibid.* (January 12, 1852).
- 903 See Eicke and Reppmann, *Hoffnung und Sehnsucht*, pp. 36-49.
- 904 „Thus he quickly abandoned European dress,“ observed Luebke, who qualifies this statement, however, stating that the acculturating immigrant remained German at heart. Frederik Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900* (Lincoln, NE., 1969), p. 34; Turner, „The Significance,“ p. 37.
- 905 In addition, Turner, *Frontier*, (1920); Peter Kivisto and Dag Blanck, eds., *American Immigrants and their Generations, Studies and Commentaries on the Hansen Thesis after Fifty Years* (Urbana and Chicago, 1990).
- 906 Andreas F. Hanssen (Neu Holstein, February 7, 1852) in *SHSW*. This personal statement can definitely be generalized.
- 907 Puchner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 84.
- 908 „American holidays, such as the Fourth of July, were sometimes more enthusiastically celebrated by the early Germans than by their American neighbours.“ Wittke, *We who built America*, p. 209.
- 909 Puchner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 84.
- 910 Gretchen Kletzien, ed., *New Holstein Centennial Souvenir Book* (New Holstein, 1948), p. 32.
- 911 The first report was on March 17, 1905, with a reference—in the English language—to a performance in New Holstein by the „German Theaters“ of Milwaukee.
- 912 *Calumet County Reporter* (Wisconsin, May 2, 1909).
- 913 Adams, „Die Assimilationsfrage in der deutschen Einwanderungsdiskussion 1890-1930,“ in *Amerikastudien*, 27 (1982), pp 275-291; „... and how are they, former subjects of monarchs and lords, going to partake in the business of governing themselves?“ Markus Lee Hansen, *The Problem of the third Generation Immigrant*. Augustana Historical Society Publication No. 8 (Rock Island, IL., 1938), p. 53. Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., „German Working-Class Culture, Ethnicity, and the Dominant Society,“ in „Introduction,“ Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Chicago: A Documentary History of Working-Class Culture from 1850 to World War I* (Urbana and Chicago, 1988), pp. 9-15.
- 914 Bruncken, „Die Amerikanisierung der Deutschen,“ p. 39; Hermann Deutsch, on the contrary, denies that the German-Americans accepted even the trappings of democracy: „Yankee-Teuton Rivalry in Wisconsin Politics of the Seventies,“ in *WMH*, Vol. 14 (1930), pp. 262-282, here 264 ff.
- 915 Even Hense-Jensen says in this regard: „Im allgemeinen standen die Bürger deutscher Abstammung dem politischen Leben ziemlich fremd gegenüber. Ihr Interesse ging selten über die nächsten Kirchtürme heraus.“ [On the whole, citizens of German descent kept

their distance from political life. Their interests seldom extended beyond the nearest church towers.] Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsins Deutsch-Amerikaner*, p. 287.

916 Increase A. Lapham, *Wisconsin: its Geography and Topography, History, Geology and Mineralogy* (Milwaukee, 1846), repr. (New York 1975), p. 159.

917 Andreas F. Hanssen, „Neuholstein in Wisconsin,“ *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* (Rendsburg, April 18, 1850).

918 Collected in the Area Research Center, Green Bay, Wi.; incomplete set also in *NHHS*; Merle E. Curti, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, CA., 1959), p. 295.

919 Town minutes, *ARC* (Green Bay, WI, May 15, 1849).

920 *Ibid.*

921 Bradley Webster, who at the time was living as a renter at the home of Dr. Bock. See Puchner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 39.

922 Andreas F. Hanssen, „Neuholstein in Wisconsin,“ *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* (Rendsburg and Altona, April 18, 1850).

923 Town minutes, *ARC* (Green Bay, WI, April 2, 1850).

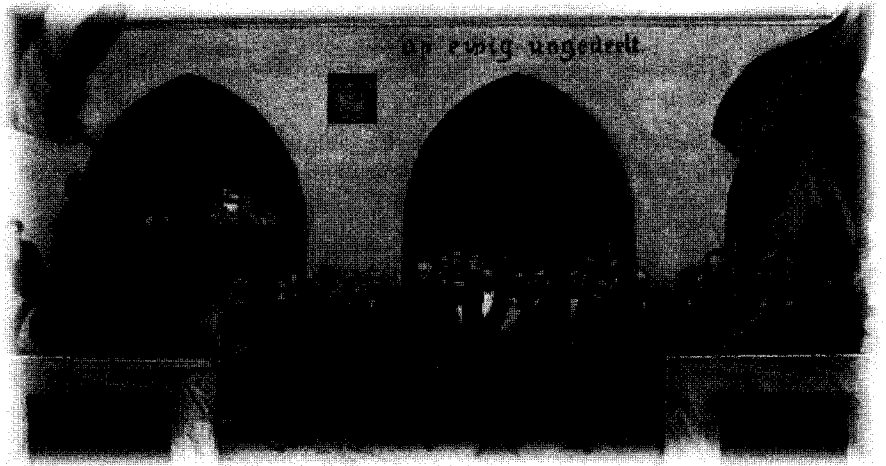
924 Andreas F. Hanssen (New Holstein, June 17, 1850) in *SHSW*.

925 The minutes of this meeting apparently got mixed in with the town minutes by accident. They are also written in the English language.

926 See Curti, *Making of an American Community*, p. 321.

927 *Ibid.*, p. 319.

Appendix A: Pictures and Facsimiles



Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein



Hans Reimer Claussen



Theodor Olshausen



Friedrich Hedde



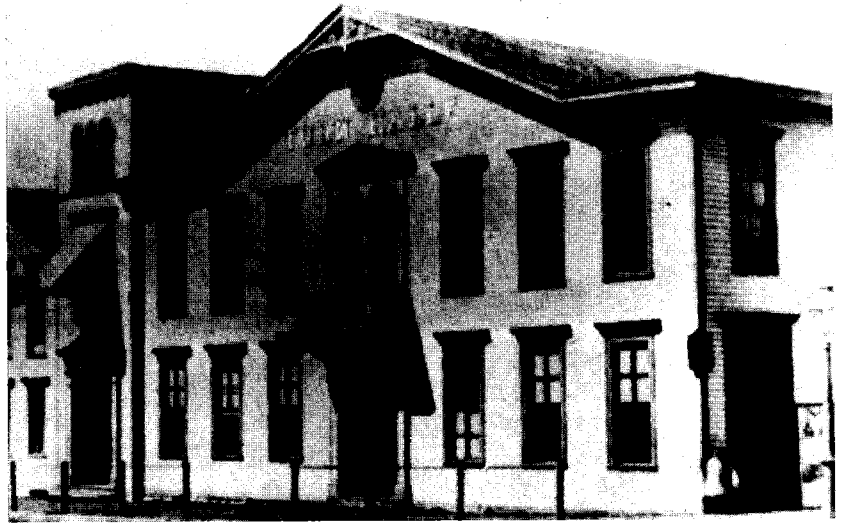
Theodor Gülich



Uwe J. Lornsen



Hans Reimer Claussen



The first Turnhalle in Davenport, IA, inaugurated 1857



The negative stereotype of German-Americans after WWI



The founders of the "Socialistischer Turnverein" Davenport. From left: Theodor Gülich, Louis Hansen, Charles H. Eyser, Matthias Staack, Christian Müller



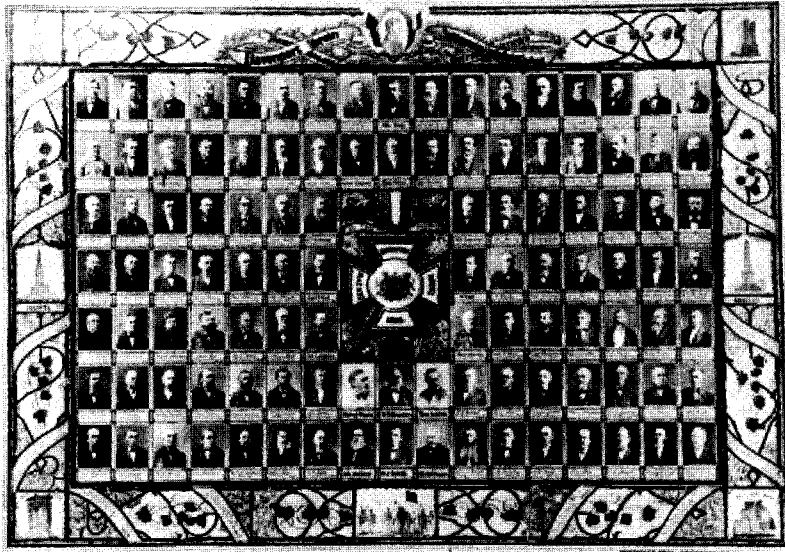
Johann Nicolaus Rusch



Cristian Müller



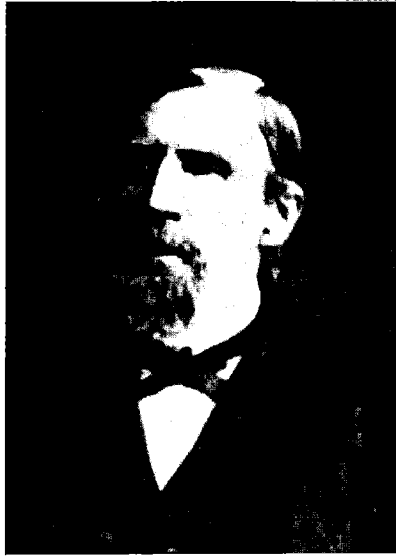
Wood-carving for the title of the German newspaper "Der Demokrat" in Davenport.



The "Schleswig-Holsteinische Kampfgenossenverein, 1848-1850" in Davenport, IA



Emil Geissler



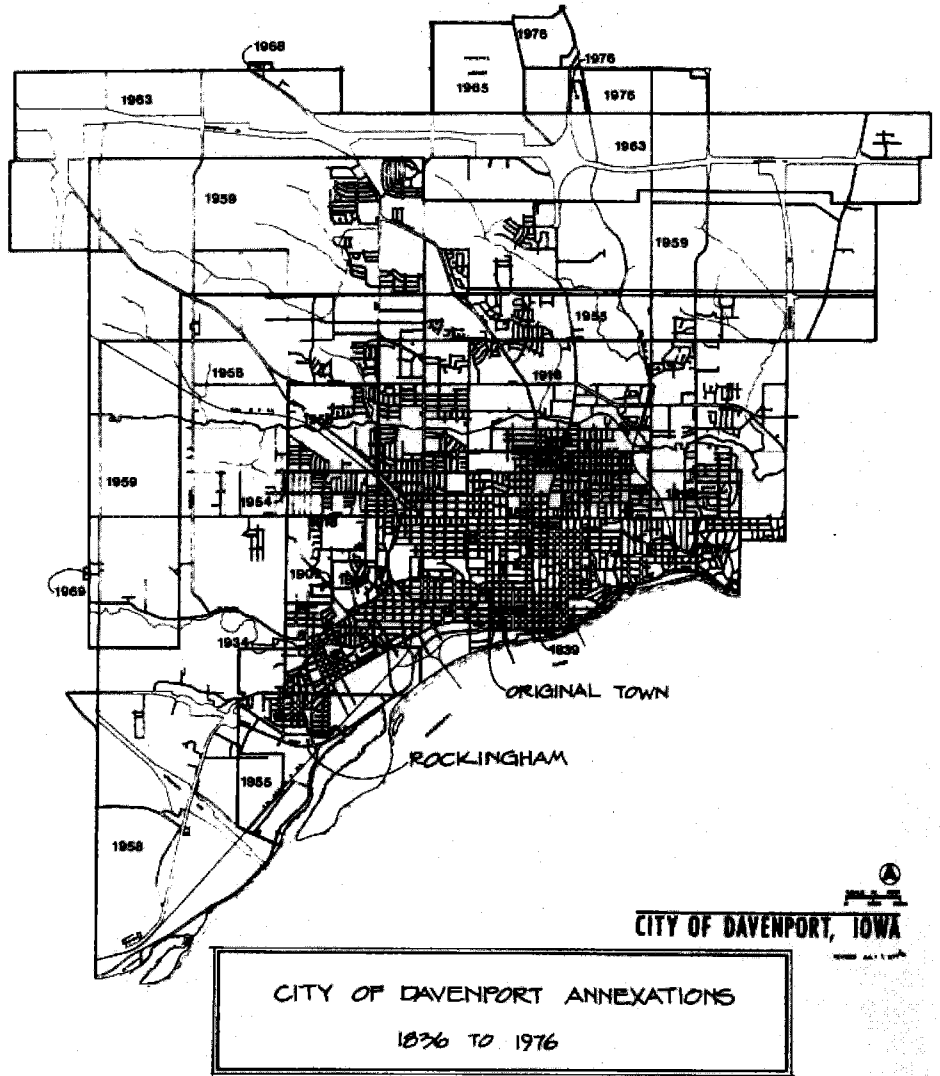
Matthias J. Rohlf



Joseph Pulitzer



Friedrich Hedde



The growth of Davenport, IA 1836- 1976

Appendix B: Abbreviations

ASHHS Newsletter	American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter
ARC	Area Research Center, Green Bay, Wisconsin
ASHHS	American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society
BABS	Bochumer Auswandererbriefsammlung
BLHA	Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv Potsdam
FJbSH	Familienkundliches Jahrbuch Schleswig-Holstein
GStAPK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv/Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IJHP	Iowa Journal of History and Politics
Jb. Eut.	Jahrbuch für Heimatkunde Eutin
Jb. Geest	Jahrbuch für die schleswigsche Geest
Jb. Plön	Jahrbuch für Heimatkunde im Kreis Plön
Jb. Segeberg	Heimatkundliches Jahrbuch für den Kreis Segeberg
KChSF	Kreischronik Schleswig-Flensburg
LAS	Landesarchiv Schleswig
MVHR	Mississippi Valley Historical Review
NHHS	New Holstein Historical Society, Wisconsin
NHPLS	New Holstein Public Library, Wisconsin
Rep.	Repertorium
SGAS Newsletter	Society for German-American Studies Newsletter
SH	Schleswig-Holstein
SHBL	Schleswig-Holsteinisches Biographisches Lexikon
SHLB	Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek, Kiel
SHSI, IC	State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City
SHSI, DM	State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines
SHSN	State Historical Society of Nebraska, Lincoln
SHSW	State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison
WHC	Wisconsin Historical Collection
WMH	Wisconsin Magazine of History
ZA	Zentralarchiv
ZfK	Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch
ZSHG	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte
WHC	Wisconsin Historical Collection
WMH	Wisconsin Magazine of History
YGASt	Yearbook German-American Studies

Appendix C: H.R. Claussen: Biography of Theodor Olshausen, Davenport Democrat, March 22, 1879

When Theodore Olshausen died, on March 30, 1869, in Hamburg, the friends of liberty throughout Germany, and the liberal German population in America felt deeply the loss of a man who had particularly, in Schleswig-Holstein, labored with indefatigable zeal for the liberty and prosperity of the people, and, with rare disinterestedness, had dedicated his whole life to the promotion of the welfare of the country. Schleswig-Holstein was the principal theatre of his actions. He left his dear fatherland only when he was exiled there by a tyrannical Danish government, which then ruled over Schleswig-Holstein.

The life of Theodore Olshausen is as intimately interwoven with the history of Schleswig-Holstein, as is the life of President Lincoln with the history of the United States. If American readers desire to learn the character of one of the best patriots of Schleswig-Holstein, they must make themselves acquainted with the modern history of that little country, which was, in 1864, by two great powers - Prussia and Austria- forcibly taken from Denmark, and is now a Portion of Prussia and the German Empire. The difficulties between the King of Denmark and his German provinces, Schleswig-Holstein, brought upon Denmark a war in 1864, in consequence of which the vanquished Denmark had to transfer Schleswig-Holstein to the victors - Prussia and Austria; and when these two great powers disagreed about the administration of the conquered country, a second war ensued in 1866 between Austria and Prussia, in which vanquished Austria ceded in the fight over Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia and waived all objections to the establishment of the North German Confederacy (Norddeutscher Bund). With this Confederacy were in 1870, during the German-French war, the South-German States, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and Hessen united, and thereby was the German Empire established. Thus it is apparent that by a singular combination of circumstances out of the difficulties between the Danish King and his Schleswig-Holstein subjects the unity of Germany and the German Empire arose. Had the people of Schleswig-Holstein yielded to the demands of the Danish king, there would have been no occasion for the interference of Prussia and Austria. Denmark would probably rule today over Schleswig-Holstein as it had ruled over it centuries ago, and we might still see a disrupted Germany with Austria presiding over the old rotten German Confederacy. The hardy tenacious opposition of the Germans in Schleswig-Holstein against the tyranny of the Danes is the germ out of which the tree of German liberty and unity arose. In that opposition Theodore Olshausen was one of the principal actors.

Theodore Olshausen was born June 19, 1802, in Glueckstadt, a town on the Elbe, in Holstein, where his father was a Lutheran minister, and a man of more than usual education, to whom in later times the superintendence of the principality of Luebeck (Eutin) was intrusted. The father of Theodore has left several distinguished sons; the one (Justus) still living, was professor of Oriental languages in Kiel, and from there transferred to Berlin to superintend public instruction throughout the Prussian monarchy. Herrmann was a cel-

celebrated professor of theology in Königsberg and Erlangen. A third was a distinguished rector at a gymnasium in Schleswig, and Dr. John J. Olshausen is a well-known physician in Davenport. Arthur Olshausen is one of the publishers of the *Westliche Post* in St. Louis.

Theodore O. received a college instruction at the gymnasium in Glueckstadt and Eutin. At the time when he was a boy there prevailed throughout Germany great political enthusiasm in consequence of the great wars - in October, 1815 at Leipzig, and in June, 1815 at Waterloo - by which the tyrannical yoke of Napoleon I, who had ruled with an iron rod over a great portion of Germany, was shaken off. In October, 1517, Dr. Martin Luther had proposed his theses, three hundred years thereafter, in October, 1817, there was in Eisenach, Saxony, a gathering of students from nearly all the German universities to celebrate the freedom of the German people from the tyranny of the French conqueror and the Roman popes. The idea of German unity took root in the youthful minds of the German students, who formed in all German universities associations for German unity and liberty. But these associations, called *Deutsche Burschenschaft*, became soon obnoxious to the reactionary and powerful Prince Metternich, the Austrian chancellor, who effected a prohibition of the same through the old German confederacy. The members of these associations were prosecuted by criminal courts and many thousands of these students, who were enthusiastic for German unity and liberty, had to suffer long imprisonment for their patriotic zeal. Theodore Olshausen, at that time became a student in Jena, and also a member of this association, for which he was criminally prosecuted. He succeeded, however, in escaping from long imprisonment, though he had to leave his country. He lived for a number of years in Holland, France and Switzerland, but was amnestied in 1828. He then studied law in Kiel, passed a rigorous examination in the fall of 1829, and was admitted to the bar in 1830, then nearly 28 years of age.

And now commences the political career of Theodore Olshausen. He cared very little for law practice, but he published, in 1831, a political paper at Kiel, where he resided. That paper - *Kieler Correspondenzblatt* - has exercised a great influence on the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein. It was the only opposition paper then existing in Schleswig-Holstein. It had to struggle with immense difficulties, of which an American reader can hardly conceive an adequate idea. The despotism in Germany, and particularly in Schleswig-Holstein, was then about as rigorous as it is now in Russia. Every printed paper had to be previously approved by a censor appointed by the Danish King. The public affairs were secretly conducted by government officers. The people were informed what amount of taxes they had to pay, what military services they had to perform; but it was generally unknown for what purposes the taxes were expended. All laws were enacted and all taxes were imposed by the arbitrary will of the absolute King alone. There was not even a shadow of a representation by the people; the King ruled absolutely - greatly influenced, however, by a powerful bureaucracy, which in reality governed in the name of the King. Under such an absolute government, Theodore Olshausen commenced his *Correspondenzblatt*, for which he had to obtain a license at any time revocable by the arbitrary will of the bureaucracy. The license was very strict: Theodore Olshausen was not permitted to publish advertisements, because in Kiel another paper had an exclusive privilege for advertisements. He had not the right to publish political news; for instance, the debates in the English or French parliaments, the

message of the President of the United States. His discussions were confined to local affairs, to the internal administration of counties, cities, and of the state. How an editor thus fettered by his license and by a state censor could live and publish a paying paper will be a riddle to American readers. The pay from the subscribers did not indeed exceed much the actual expenses of the paper; but Theodore Olshausen, who never was married, did not need much for his life as a bachelor. He had, moreover, a certain income as a director on a railroad running between Kiel and Altona. The great difficulty for Olshausen was to publish his liberal ideas in opposition to a powerful bureaucracy, which ruled the King and the country. He had to publish the misdemeanors of incapable or tyrannical officers; he had to criticize the maladministration and injustice of the royal government; and thereby excited against him a bitter hatred of the whole bureaucracy. In his criticism he had to avoid almost every harsh expression, or else the censor would strike the whole article. It required all the disinterested devotion to the welfare of the people; all the dispassionate calmness of mind and courtesy which Theodore Olshausen possessed, in order to keep an Opposition paper alive against the almighty power of the King and the royal officers. Olshausen's paper continued to live from 1831 to 1848, during all the time of a terrible reaction. There was no man in Schleswig-Holstein who had upon public opinion in that country such a powerful influence as Theodore Olshausen by his *Correspondenzblatt*. He himself highly educated by his long residence in France and Switzerland, by his residence and studies in Kiel, the best of a university and the focus of intelligence, was indefatigable to frame and mould public opinion and to educate the people for liberty. After years of very hard struggling his paper became a power; it was feared and respected by the bureaucracy and highly estimated by the people. Olshausen became in 1848, when in Schleswig-Holstein a revolution against the Danish government broke out, a member of a revolutionary government. He was, thereby, for a while one of the rulers of the country. He was, moreover, from 1848 to 1851, very active, and his actions greatly beneficial. But his activity as an editor, from 1831 to 1848, is, in my estimation, the most meritorious; and the seventeen volumes of the *Kieler Correspondenzblatt*, the best monument of his patriotic devotion and of his rare abilities. It need, however, hardly be stated that he alone did not write all the articles. He intended to offer and succeeded in furnishing an organ of communication for every man who had something to say, which might promote the welfare of the country and check their abuses of official power. Thus was the editor of the *Kieler Correspondenzblatt*.

In 1834 the Danish King granted a kind of representation. Four legislative assemblies - one for Holstein, one for Schleswig, and two for Denmark - were introduced. These assemblies had only a consultative vote and no power whatever; their meetings were, moreover, not public. These institutions were, however, very effective for awaking a public spirit. The government communicated to these assemblies the budget and all the general laws to be enacted on personal liberty and on property. The communications of the government and the debates in the Danish and German assemblies furnished ample material for discussions in the *Correspondenzblatt*. Public opinion was aroused. By the budget communicated by the government it became apparent that Schleswig-Holstein was overburdened, and that the taxation of Denmark was much lighter, while the money raised in Schleswig-Holstein was nearly all expended in Denmark, particularly in Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark. This matter was continually discussed in the *Correspondenzblatt* and in other German papers

published in Hamburg. Great discontent arose thereby in Schleswig-Holstein, whose people looked with longing eyes to the time apparently approaching when the Duchies would by a different law of succession, be entirely separated from Denmark. The American readers will remember that in 1837, when Queen Victoria accented the English throne, Hanover, up to that time a province of England, became a separate kingdom under Ernst August the Duke of Cumberland, because under the German law of succession the females and descendants from females are excluded from the government. A similar difference in the law of succession prevailed for Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein. Therefore, when the son of Christian VIII should die without make issue, the succeeding King of Denmark called by the Danish law of succession to the throne, was of right no ruler for Schleswig-Holstein. This was the general opinion in Germany among the most learned men. The matter was very learnedly and thoroughly discussed by the professors of law in Germany. But this opinion was not adopted by the Danish King Christian VIII, who maintained in an open letter, as he called it, the same succession for Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein. This open letter issued July 8th, 1846, created an immense excitement throughout Germany and particularly in Schleswig-Holstein. The King tried to apply the gag law, to muzzle the press and to prohibit all meetings in which this matter was discussed. But Theodore Olshausen openly defied the prohibition. He called a meeting, in which he delivered a speech, which was moderate in terms, but fearless in the candid expression of his opinions. His imprisonment was thereupon ordered and he was kept in the fortress of Rendsburg under military surveillance. But by an appeal to the supreme court at Kiel, H.R. Claussen, then attorney at law in Kiel, succeeded in releasing his friend. The royal judges of the supreme court were by no means liberal; they were decorated by royal orders and titles, and greatly devoted and submissive to their sovereign. A pamphlet, however, discussing the illegality of Olshausen's imprisonment was scattered over Germany, gained a favorable public opinion for Olshausen, and aided perhaps greatly to overcome the scruples in the loyal minds of the supreme judges. When Olshausen, by a decree of the supreme court, was released he entered Kiel in a triumph. The mayor and the city council met him at the depot, and conducted him through an illuminated city to his residence, which was decorated with flowers and emblems by the fair hands of the ladies. This was a just tribute to the patriotic devotion and fearlessness of Theodore Olshausen, and at the same time a demonstration against the tyranny of the Danish Government.

King Christian VIII died Jan. 20, 1848, and his son succeeded him as Frederick VII. He was the last and only suffixing heir to the throne in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein. After his death (which occurred November 5, 1863) Schleswig-Holstein became lawfully a separate state, as completely disconnected from Denmark, as Hannover now is from Great Britain. This event of entire separation from Denmark was ardently desired by the Germans in Schleswig-Holstein, who ill brooked the tyranny of the Danish yoke. But the Danes were equally covetous, to keep the wealthy German provinces under their dominion, and draw rich revenues therefrom.

On the 23d day of February, 1848, a little over one month after the death of Christian VIII, a revolution broke out in France, the King Louis Philip was expelled and a republic was established. This event worked in Europe like a spark injected into a barrel with gunpowder.

Great discontent of the people with their rulers prevailed nearly, everywhere in Europe. Successful revolutions broke out in Vienna, Berlin, Hungary, Dresden, Hannover, Bavaria and other places; the almighty Chancellor Metternich and also the present Emperor William (then Crown Prince of Prussia) had to leave Germany for their personal safety and seek protection in England. This revolutionary spirit raised also to a certain extent the sedate and quiet mind in Schleswig-Holstein. The members of the legislative bodies in Schleswig-Holstein assembled in March 1848, in Rendsburg, to deliberate upon measures of safety against imminent aggressions by the Danish Government, which was now, under the new King, in the hands of Danish fanatics. A resolution was adopted, that Schleswig-Holstein should have an entirely separate government, with German finances, a German army and German ministers, such as Hungary now has under the Emperor of Austria. A deputation to present these demands to the Danish King was selected out of the assembled legislators, one member representing the nobility and possessors of noble estates Mr. V. Neergard, one member representing the superior officers, Regierungsrath Engel and three members, Theodore Olshausen, Dr. Guelich (the father of Theodore Guelich), and H.R. Claussen, representing the people at large. When these five delegates arrived at Copenhagen, the Danish people were in a feverish excitement. The people of the capital in large numbers assembled before the palace of the King and escorted from him the appointment as ministers of radical, comparatively young men. The Danish people flushed with a recent victory over the King, looked upon this German delegation as upon criminals who ought to be tried for high treason. When the representatives of Schleswig-Holstein drove to the palace of the king to present the grievances of the Germans, they were in great danger of being mobbed by an infuriated population which surrounded the coaches were, however, among the crowd, other reasonable men, who, by their great efforts, prevented any mischief. The delegation could easily perceive that the Danish king was impotent to grant the claims of his German subjects, even if his sympathies had been with Schleswig-Holstein, which, however, was not one case the king being an enraged Dane, and fully sympathizing with the Danish people. After the delegates had presented the grievances of Schleswig-Holstein to the king and had made also some fruitless attempts to transact with his ministers, they were transported upon a Danish man-of war and safely brought into the harbor at Kiel. In Copenhagen they had been kept in a kind of respectable confinement, had been compelled to give up their lodgings in a hotel, and to accept against their will the hospitality of a rief merchant, Consul Hagen, a friend of Orla Lehmann, one of the new ministers. Consul Hagen watched the doings of the delegates closely, and never allowed them to go out without his company and a guard surrounding them.

When the delegates arrived at Kiel they learned that in Schleswig-Holstein a revolution had broken out, that a revolutionary government had been established that the soldiers (all Germans), the civil and military officers, and the whole people had recognized this government, and that the Danish rule in Schleswig-Holstein was in fact abolished. The new professional government consisted of one Prince of Augustenburg (the brother of the pretender to the throne in Schleswig-Holstein), one Count Reventlow (then one of the most distinguished men in Schleswig-Holstein); of two conspicuous attorneys at law (Beseler and Bremer) and of one merchant (M.T. Schmidt). The radical fraction in Schleswig-Holstein was not represented in this government. The numerous friends of Theodore

Olshausen obtained, however, for him a place in this government, which was very conceded, particularly by the Prince of Augustenburg. This revolutionary government was in a revolutionary time, in the start of 1848, recognized by all German governments, particularly by Prussia, which sent military aid into Schleswig-Holstein and repelled therefrom the invading Danish army. Thus became Schleswig-Holstein for a while de facto independent from Danish rule.

Theodore Olshausen remained only for several months a member of this provisional government, in which he worked to the best of his ability for the liberty and prosperity of the people. But his views remaining so often in the minority, he voluntarily resigned, and took during the whole time that Schleswig-Holstein was independent, a very active and prominent part as a member of the legislature, which had to provide for an army and its support in defense of the country against the aggressive armies of the Danes. In Germany was at that time full liberty of the press, which was used by Olshausen in the establishment of a large daily paper, called the Free Press, which had an extensive circulation in Schleswig-Holstein, and was very influential. There were numerous bloody battles fought between the people of Schleswig-Holstein and the Danes, none of which was decisive on either side. But in January, 1851, Austria and Prussia side their armies into Schleswig-Holstein, and compelled the people of that country to dissolve its army, its legislative body and its government. The two great powers delivered the country over to the tyrannical rule of the Danes. A terrible reaction took place in Germany, France and other countries. The Danish king issued a decree of general amnesty, of which, however, were excepted members of the provisional government and about twenty other citizens, and among them Dr. Guelich and H.R. Claussen. Theodore Olshausen was then exiled from his fatherland, which was so dear to him, and for whose liberty and prosperity he had worked so strenuously for about twenty years.

Olshausen immigrated into the United States in the summer of 1852; he resided several years in St. Louis, where he published two pamphlets, containing an accurate description of the States of Missouri and Iowa. He was, moreover, occupied with some other literary pursuit. In the year 1856 he moved to Davenport and edited the *Der Demokrat* for about six years. Then he went again to St. Louis as co-editor of the *Westliche Post*. In May, 1865, he left for Europe, resided partly in Zurich, Switzerland, partly in Hamburg, where he died March 31, 1869. He had an ardent love of liberty, hated slavery intensively, his mind had a great tendency to idealism, he was strongly guided by principles and was much more free from egotism than generally human frailty is. Neither money, nor glory could allure him; he was mainly guided by his sense of duty and love of liberty. And yet he was banished from his native country which he loved so well.

Appendix D: Officers

I. Prussian Officers

a) Offiziere, die aus dem aktiven Dienst für 3 bis 6 Monate ab April 1848 in die s-h Armee kommandiert wurden (31 Offiziere)

1. Knobelsdorff, Carl Siegismund v., pr. PrernLt. des 32. Inf.Rgt. (Thüringen) v. 29.8.48- Nov. 48. Hptm. u. Cp.Chef, 2. Jägercorps.- Möller: Nach Nordamerika ausgewandert. Gräf.- Nach Nordamerika ausgewandert.
2. Salm-Salm, Durchlaucht, Felix Prinz zu, Pr. SecLt. 11.HusRgt.- Möller: Zurück preuß. Armee, später oestr. Armee, BrigGeneral Secess. Krieg Nordamerika, 1866 Flügeladjutant bei Kaiser Maximilian v. Mexico, bei dem er bis zu dessen Erschießung blieb. 1868 zurück preuß. Armee, am 10.12.1868. Als Btl.-Cdr. im 4.GdGrenRgt am 18.8.1870 bei St. Privat gefallen. Seine Gemahlin Agnes, Tochter des amerik. Oberst Le Clerg, begleitete ihn stets. Sie heiratete nach seinem Tode Charles Heneage (amerik. Botschafts-Secretär) in Stuttgart. **Roman:** Wilder Lorbeer, v. Juliane v. Stockhausen, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt Stuttgart 1964. Slesvigland 85/1, S.24: Erinnerungen einer südjütischen Dame..... tanzte sie Ende 1849 mit S-S in Flensburg.
3. Stückradt, Leopold v., preuß. SecLt d. Kaiser Alexander GrenRgt, s-h Armee v. April 48- 9.9.48.- *Möller:*- Nahm 1851 Abschied, Captain Deutsch-Engl. Legion, dann nach Nordamerika, wo er jetzt noch ansässig. Gräf.- 97- Nordamerika.

b) Pr. Offiziere, die aus dem aktiven Dienst für zwei Jahre in die s-h Armee kdt. wurden, aber am 13.4.1850 nach Preußen zurückgerufen wurden (insgesamt 31 Offiziere)

c) Pr. Offiziere, siehe b), die aber z. Teil bereits vor dem Rückruf nach Preußen fest in die s-h Armee eintreten, andere traten nach dem Rückruf fest in die s-h Armee, einige kehrten aus Preußen zurück, um dann fest in die s-h Armee einzutreten (insgesamt 17 Offiziere)

1. v.d. Heyde, Friedrich Heinrich Sigismund, 1851 Cdr. der Brasilianischen Fremdenlegion, dann 1852 zurück preuß. Armee.
2. Schroer, Ferdinand August, * 1 6.3.181 1.- *Möller:* Ging nach Amerika (Nord), kehrte aber bald wieder zurück, übernahm 1855 Cdr.-Stelle, DEL, 1.Jäger-Regiment, nach Auflösung Postbeamter, trat dann als Oberst in die Armee der Nordstaaten. Nach Kriegsende kehrte er nach Deutschland zurück. †1875 Wiesbaden. *Weitere Quellen:* Rodowicz v. (schrieb ein Buch über die Deutsch-Englische Legion, Titel: Unter Englands Fahnen), Rodowicz wird bei den preuß. Offizieren der Landwehr angeführt.

d) Offiziere der preuß. Armee, die aus der preuß. Armee den Abschied nahmen, um in die s-h Armee einzutreten (ohne Gewähr, daß sie wieder Aufnahme in der preuß. Armee finden würden)

1. Brinkmann, Otto Carl Ferdinand, *21.5.1824 (Vater General a.D.), v.13.3.1850-Mai 1851 s-h Armee. PremLt.- *Verzeichnis Gräf.*- Brasilien; Heimat 5/1986.
2. Döring, Friedrich Wilhelm, *30.9.1825, s-h Armee 9.10.49-28.3.51.- Möller: Heirat in Hmbg, Auswanderung USA, nach Jahresfrist zurück. *Gräf.*- Berlin.- LAS51 (AXVI) Kriegs Departm. Polizeibehörde Hmbg., nach Brasilien; LAS 22 IV DDII Nr.7211 Ende 63 Generalbevollmächtigter der Frankfurter Versicherungsgesellschaft Providente (würde „sic“ bei Einstellung mit Freuden fahren lassen); LAS 55 (BA) Nr.55 Liste d. Offz (für Aufstellung Holst Bund. Kontinent), nicht empfohlen.
3. Gabain, Eduard v., *4.12.1824, ev., s-h Armee v. 31.5.1850-31.1.1851.- *Möller*: Im Jahre 1859 als Redakteur d. deutschen Zeitung in New Orleans (Louisiana) am gelben Fieber gestorben. *Gräf.*- 54, † 1 859 New Orleans.- LAS 22-III-EE 90 Amerika.
4. Held, Guido v., *5.9.1819, preuß. 6. Art.Rgt, (Vater: Oberzoll-Rat Berlin), s-h Armee v. 2.7.1850-31.3.1851. 1851 Mai Kaiserl. brasilian. Armee (BFL), nach Auflösung zurück Preußen.
5. Hertzberg, Wilhelm Carl Albert, Graf v., * 11.1.1824 (Brandenburg) s-h Armee 30.11.1850 (nach Idstedt) bis 22.2.1851.- *Möller*:- Hptm. d. Inf. BFL, nach Auflösung 1852 übernahm er das seit vielen Jahren von seinem Schwiegervater (Maj. a.D. v. Suckow von der alten deutschen Legion) geleitete Fuhrwesen und Reitinstitut u. Besetzung in Rio de Janeiro. *Gräf.*- 59/- Rio de Janeiro.- LAS 22 111 EE 90 Brasilien. Idstedt u. danach (Holger Andersen), S.87 (danach muß er 1852 in Davenport/Iowa gewesen sein).
6. Hicksch, Franz Robert, * 27.9.1826-24(?), S-H Armee v. 2.7.50-28.3.51.- Möller: Ist Beamter des Gouvemements-Bureaux der Colonie Viktorie in Australien. *Gräf.*- 60/- Australien.-LAS 22 - III EE 90 Hamburg.
7. Humbrecht, Anton Emil Herrmann, * 20.12.1818, Minden, 15. pr. Inf.Rgt. Minden, S-H Armee 30.11.50-25.11.51, Holst. Bund.Kont.- Möller: 1855-1856 Cp.Chef, DEL, lebt abwechselnd in Berlin u. Westphalen als Pensionär. *Gräf.*- 61.- LAS 22 IV DD II Nr. 7211, Brief vom 25.II.1864 aus Muhl's Gasthof in Kiel, gibt sich als OberstLt aus, Nov. 51 als Hptm II. CL, ausgeschieden. *Rodowicz*: 1855 DEL Hptm. III Light Rgt. 1 Kp.- LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55: Liste d. Offz. HBK: tüchtig, zuverlässig, sehr empfehlenswert.
8. Kaminietz, Carl von, * 15.5.1825 ev., (Vater: preuß. Offz. a.D.), s-h Armee von Sept. 1850-28.3.51.- LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55, Liste d. Offz. (HBK), nicht empfohlen.- Möller: wanderte aus, soll im Staate Tennessee leben. *Gräf.*- - 171 Ohio.
9. Keßler, Julius, * 23.7.1810 (Berlin), preuß. PremLt, s-h Armee Hptm 11.09.1850-5.11.50, Abschied Mai 51.- *Möller*: Nach Frankfurt a.M., bis 1854 Generalagent, Frühjahr 1855 DEL als Capt. u. Cp.Chef, zur Krim, dann Südafrika, 1870 zurück nach Europa † Wiesbaden. *Gräf.*: 64-t Wiesbaden. Heimat 6/7 1990. *Rodowicz*: Unter Englands Fahnen Teil II.
10. Klaß, Friedr. Wilh. Hugo v., * 5.10.1827 (Vater preuß. GL), s-h Armee 4.7.1850-31.10.50, PreniLt.- LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55, Liste d. Offz., brasil. Legion 6.Kp.- *Möller*: 1851 Kaiserl. bras. Legion (Fremden), später Feldmesser. *Gräf.*- 88- Brasilien.- LAS 22 III EE 90 Brasilien.
11. Koeniger, Friedr. Wilh., * 6. i 1. 1825 (Schlesien), s-h Armee 3.9.49-26.3.5 1.- LAS 22 IV DD 11 Nr. 7211, v. 12. Jan 1964: War DeL-Capt, jetzt Lehrer f. Mathematik u. neuere

Sprachen am Newry College in Irland 333/1882.- *Möller: dito. Gräf.- 116-*

12. Kornatzky, Leonhard Friedr. Christ. v., * 26.9.1820 Ostpreußen, (Vater OTL z.D.)- Nationale LAS 51-45 Nr. 36, s-h Armee v. 1.7.1850-25.3.51.- *Möller:* 1852 als Pol-Lieutn. in Berlin angestellt, nahm 1862 seine Entlassung, ging nach London (wo sein Bruder als Musiker lebte), später USA, um am Secessionskrieg teilzunehmen, soll dort auf dem Schlachtfeld geblieben sein. *Gräf.- 64.- LAS 22 III EE 99: Brasilien (stimmt nicht).*
13. Langner, Robert Friedrich Alexander, * 15.7.1814 (Schlesien), S-H Armee 11.3.1850-28.3. 1851.- Nationale LAS 51-46-Nr.8. LAS 22-III EE N.99, Amt Trittau/Holstein.- *Möller:* lebt in der Provinz Posen als Gutsbesitzer. *Gräf.- 66.- Zeitschrift für Heereskunde Nr. 338/339 Juli-Okt. 1988: Artikel von Albert W. Haarrmann (US-Amerikaner): Deutsche Regimenter i.d. Armee d. Union 1861-1865, S. 88-113. Hauptmann R. Langner entlassen am 30. Juli 1862, 31. unabhängige Btrr. bei Artillerie.*
14. Lemmers-Danforth, Fedor v., * 17.12.1813, (Vater Oberst NL-Dienst.) Nationale LAS 51-46 Nr.15 v. 20.10.49, S-H Armee 7.3.49-25.3.51.- *Stolz: Brummer, Heimat 86.- LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55: Liste d. Offiziere BFL; LAS 22 III EE Nr. 99: Namensliste, als Major brasilian. Dienste.- Möller:* 1851 als Major Kais. brasilian. Legion (Fremden), 1853 nach Auflösung nach Preußen zurück, später Besitzer eines kleinen Landgutes bei Neisse, soll sich z.Zt. abwechselnd in Dresden u. Berlin aufhalten. *Gräf.- 66-167, †1885 Charlottenburg.- Nationale v. 20.10.49 LAS 51-46 Nr.15.*
15. Marwitz, Eduard v.d., *1.8.1818 Pommern, (Vater Rittm. u. Gutsbesitzer.)- Nationale LAS 51-46-9, s-h Armee 3.8.50-31.3.51; LAS 55 (BA) Nr.55, Liste Offz. brasilianische Legion 5.Kp.Vermeta.- Heimat 5/1986. *Möller:* Brasil. Fremdenlegion, nach 1 Jahr Abschied, Rio de Janeiro am Gelben Fieber gestorben. *Gräf.- 68, † Rio de Janeiro.*
16. Riedel, Eduard, * Dec. 23, S-H Armee v. 24.9.50-26.2.51.- Nationale LAS 51-47-R25, aus *Cölln.- Möller:* diente v. 1855-56 als Cpt u. CpChef Deut.-Brit. Legion. *Gräf.- 71.- DEL Heimat 6/7 1990.*
17. Schleyer, Albrecht, * Nov. 23(?), (Vater: preuß. Generallt.)- Heimat 5/1986, s-h Armee v. 5.7.1850-26.2.1851. *Möller:* Trat 1851 in die brasilianische Fremdenlegion. *Gräf.- 73.- LAS 22 III EE 99 Brasilien. Nationale LAS 51-48-3-24.*
18. Schmidt, Rudolph, * 19.10.1828, (Vater Major d. Artillerie.)- Nationale LAS 51-48-S31.Heimat 5/1986.- LAS 55 (BA), Liste der Offizier HBK, besonders empfohlen. LAS 55 (5A), Offz. BFL 4.Kp. LAS 22 III EE Nr. 99, Liste auswärtiger Offiziere: Brasilian. Dienste.- *Möller: 127. Gräf'-. 127.- Könnte Adjutant bei dem Württemberger Schmidt, August, LtCol in der Indischen Armee gewesen sein.*
19. Siber, Carl Eduard, * 16.8.1819, luth. Nationale LAS 51-48-S74, Lübben, Prov. Brandenburg, (Vater: Direktor preuß. Kreisgericht), 25.5.50 bis 31.3.1851 s-h Armee als Hptm. LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55 Liste der Offiziere d. Brasil. Legion 6.Kp.- *Möller: 7.4.1851 In Folge besonderer Vereinbarungen nüt der brasilianischen Gesandtschaft zu Hamburg auf 4 Jahre in brasilianische Dienste in der brasilian. Legion. Nach Auflösung der Legion: Nilit. Ingenieur. 1855 verabschiedet zurück nach Europa, lebte zeitweise in England. 1861 nach Amerika in den Dienst der Nordstaaten; sowohl als Organisator als auch als Truppenführer spielte er eine große Rolle. Avancierte zum Brigade-Commandeur, zeitweise Division Cdr,*

Rang Generalmajor. Focht 1862/63 unter Grant und Sherman, mußte dann wegen zerrütteter Gesundheit im Jahre 1864 nach Europa zurück. Zweites Mal in die USA, Redakteur u. Mitarbeiter verschiedener Blätter. 1871 zurück nach Europa, Pensionär in Friedrichshagen bei Berlin. †1883.- LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55 Liste der Offiziere des HBK: besonders empfohlen. Vordienst: Mai 1837 preuß. Dienst, 14.10.1838 SecLt 39.Inf.Rgt. bis Juni 1849. Nicht außer Dienst gewesen. LAS 51-48 Zeugnis d. Allgemeinen Kriegsschule Berlin 1842-1845. LAS 22 III EE 99: nach Brasilien.

e) Offiziere der preuß. Armee, die bereits längere Zeit aus dem preußischen Dienst verabschiedet waren

1. Canabäus, Ernst Wilhelm Carl, * 13.7.1818, ev., (Vater Art.Major.) Nationale 51-42-1, s-h Armee v. April48-31..3.51, Hamburg 1883, gründete 14.5.1864 den S-H Kampfgenossenverein in Altona u. vermachte dem Verein 1500,-M, geboren Glatz-Schlesien.- LAS 22 III Ea Überweisung von Offizieren a.D. v. 20.11.1848. LAS 22 IV DD II Nr. 711/31, als Lehrer in Hamburg-Altona (Altona 1.12.1863).
2. Drigalski, Fedor v., * 12.9.1821.- Nationale LAS 51-D 20, 1838-1847 preuß. Dienst, Offz. ab 5.3.1842, 1848-1850 oestr. Dienst, ungarischer Feldzug, Okt. 1850, östr. silberne Tapferkeitsmedaille, Eintritt s-h Armee 1. Hälfte Okt. 1850, 3 Brüder i.d. s-h Armee.- *Möller*.- Ging 1851 nach Indien und 1852 in die Türkei, wo er Lehrer d. Topographie an der Artill.-Schule wurde. Dann General-Inspekteur d. Europäischen Donau-Commission. Durch Verleihung aufgrund seiner Verdienste zum Pascha ernannt, jetzt persönlicher Adjutant des Sultans.- *Gräf*.- 83-170.
3. Ehrenkreutz, Herrmann v., * 22.7.1820, Beamter auf d. Eisenbahn.- LAS 22-111 Ea 41 v. 8.8.1850 (Nationale).- *Möller*: 1851 als Hptm u. CpChef in die Kaiserliche brasilianische Fremdenlegion eingetreten, nach Auflösung dort verstorben.- *Gräf*.- 84, †brasilien.- LAS 22III EE 90 Brasilien.- Heimat 5/1986.
4. Fischer-Treuenfeld, Carl Heimbart v., * 17.7.1814, ev., (Vater preuß. OberstLt.)- Nationale LAS 51 F 11. LAS 22-III Ea 41 v. 3.11.49. LAS 22 IV DD II Nr. 72'vll. Brief um Wiedereinstellung. U.a. 2x Reise um die Welt, vornehmlich Süd-Australien (im Interesse anderer!). LAS 22-111 EE-99 in Kiel (zur Auskurierung einer Verwundung nach Idstedt. LAS 22-111 EE 99: Invalidenrente v. 800,- jährlich.- *Möller*: hat längere Zeit in Hannover gelebt.- *Gräf*.- 53166, †1886 in Hannover.
5. Frankenberg, Benno Franz Moritz v., Nationale LAS 51-F15 (Ludwigsburg), * 28.4.1818, ev., S-H Armee v. 28.3.49 bis 31.3.1851. LAS 51 (AX-VI) Dep. d. Krieges, N16 v.d. Hamburger Pol- Behörde: reist am 15.7.1851 nach Brasilien.- *Möller*: wanderte im Sommer 1851 nach SüdBrasilien aus und ließ sich in der Kolonie San Francisco nieder, deren Direktor er später wurde u. wo er 1881 gestorben ist. Über die Kolonie gibt es ein Buch von dem Hptm. u. Ingenieur-Geograph und ebenfalls s-h Offizier Theodor Rodowicz-Oswiecimsky: „Die Colonie Dona Francisca in Süd-Brasilien“, Hamburg 1853.
6. Frankenberg-Ludwigsburg, Ewald Moritz Carl Stanislaus v. (Bruder v. Benno), * 8.5.1817 Provinz Posen.- Nationale LAS 51-F46 v. 29-34 Kgl. Ritterakademie Liegnitz, S-H Armee v. 9.11.1849 bis 25.3.51. Beruf: Landmesser in Preußen u. Techniker. LAS 51 (AXVI) Dep. des Krieges Nr. 15 Hamburger Polizei-Behörde. Beide Frankenberg nach Amerika. War zuletzt bei den Chaussee-Bauten v. Ratibor bis Piebs. Ist nicht mit in die Colonie Dona Francisca gegangen. LAS III EE 90: Amerika. (Dieser Frankenberg hatte am 1.7.1843 seinen Abschied ten wegen „Familienverhältnissen“, was immer man darun-

ter verstehen muß. Er versuchte dann vergeblich, in russische Dienste zu kommen.) Er ist nicht in der Colonie Dona Francisca gewesen.

7. Gilsa, Leopold Carl Wilhelm Bogislaw v., * 15. Aug. 1824, Erfurt.- Nationale LAS 51 Nr. 15. S-H Armee v. 28.7.1850 bis 31.3.1851. Abschied preuß. Armee Febr. 1850 mit sehr guter Beurteilung. LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55 Liste der Offiziere f. HBK: Sehr zu empfehlen.- Möller: Beim Ausbruch des Secessionskrieges bereits 1861 in den USA ansässig, trat in die Unionsarmee ein, bekleidete zuletzt die Stellung eines Brigade-Generals. Nach Beendigung des Krieges übernahm er 1864 die Stellung eines Correspondenten u. Buchhalters in einem industriellen Etablissement in New York und verstarb 1870.
8. Hake, Adolph Wilhelm Erdmann v., * 1. Jan. 1792, verheiratet, 3 Söhne und 6 Töchter aus 2 Ehen (4.4.1815 oo Juliane Gräfin v. Rödem; 2.Ehe Albertine v. Rosenberg-Grazcyski).- National 22 III Ea 39. Kgl. preuß. Hptm. a.D. im IV. v.d. Tannschen Freicorps, dann Major und Btl-Cdr. des 9. s-h InfBtl, das einzige Btl, das bei Aufstellung Juni/Juli 1848 einschl. aller Offiziere nur aus ehemaligen Freicorps-Kämpfern bestand. (Führer war damals v.d. Tann.)- Heimat Nr. 6/7 1990, S. 157. Deutsch-Englische Legion, Rodowicz, v.: Unter Englands Fahnen.
9. Lattgau, Louis Theodor Otto Ottokar, *29.8.1810, aus Breslau.- National LAS 22-111 Ea 42 v. 19.10.49. Deutsch-Englische Legion, verstarb bei der Überfahrt in die Türkei in Gibraltar.
- 10a) Strantz, Louis v., * 26.5.1820 bzw. 21, soll 1873 in Berlin an Cholera gestorben sein.- National LAS 22 III Ea 39 u. 43. Soll in die USA ausgewandert sein und im Secessionskrieg Höherer Offz gewesen sein.
- 10b) Strantz, Mortimer v., * Mai 1819, PremLt.- National LAS 22 III Ea 42, später Pol.Offz. in Berlin. Brüder, deren Lebensläufe von Major Lübeck verquickt worden sind, so daß man nicht weiß, wer was ist.
11. Bigneau, du, ohne National.- LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55 Liste Offz. der brasilian. Fremdenlegion: 4.Kp. LAS 22 111 EE 90 Brasilien.- Heimat 5/1986.- Möller: trat 1851 in die Kaiserliche brasilian. Fremdenlegion, lebte später als Lehrer an einem Mädchen-Institut in Rio de Janeiro.Gräf.- 99 Rio de Janeiro.

f. Offiziere der preuß. Armee, die in der Landwehr Dienst getan hatten

1. Boltenstern, Carl v., * 6. Nov. 1817, National.- LAS 22-III Ea 41 v. 17.11.50, S-H Armee v. ? bis 26.2.1851 (erst nach Idstedt eingetreten).- Möller: nach Berlin, später Lübeck, 1854 Auswanderung nach Brasilien, Staatsexamen als Feldmesser, Domizil zuletzt Maccio, Hauptstadt d. Provinz Allagöas.
2. Borell de Vernay, * 29.12.1826, kath., National.- LAS 22-III Ea, S-H Armee 1.11.1850-26.2.1851. Möller.- Kais. bras. Fremdenlegion, später dortselbst Ingenieur und Landmesser angestellt.- Gräf.- 82 Brasilien.- Heimat 5/1986.
3. Hertzberg, Herrmann Ewaldt Otto Aegidius Gottlob v., *15. Aug. 1820, ev., Nationale LAS 51-44 H 40; LAS III EE 99 (nach Amerika), 3x schwer verwundet.- Möller: kehrte nach Preußen zurück, al.Lt. in preuß. Armee, starb 10. Mai 1862.- Gräf.- 59/-, †1862.
4. Raczkowsky, Vincent v., Nationale LAS 47-R1.- Heimat 5/1986.- LAS 22 III EE Nr. 99 Namensliste in brasilian. Diensten.

5. Rodowicz, Theodor v., * 25. Juni 1814, kath., preuß. SecLt u. Ingenieur-Geograph des Großen Generalstabes. Nationale: LAS 51-47-R32, (Vater Particulier in Potsdam), verheiratet mit einer Tochter des v eben s-h Offizier OberstLt Job. v. Lange, Eckernförde, S-H Armee . 19.9.184831.3.1851.- LAS 22-111 EE 99: nach Amerika gegangen. LAS 22-IV DD II Nr. 72. Bewerbung um Eintritt in die evtl. aufzustellende S-H Armee 1863/64.- Nach Angaben v. Stud. jur. Wolbert Smidt junior (verwandt mit Rodowicz über dessen Frau geh. Lange) war Rodowicz Mitglied im Hamburger Colonisations-Verein und auch Grundbesitzer in der Colonie Dona Francisca, war ein Jahr dort, reiste über Mexico nach Europa zurück, 1853 veröffentlichte er ein Buch über „Die Colonie Dona Francisca in Süd-Brasilien“, herausgegeben von Theodor Rodowicz-Oswiecimsky, Hauptmann u. Ingenieur-Geograph a.D. Ritter des Leopolds-Orden, z.Zt. Grundbesitzer in Brasilien und Mitglied des Colonisation-Vereins vom Jahr 1849 in Hamburg, Preis 1 Spezies Holstein oder 11/2 Thaler preuß. Couvert, Hamburg, gedruckt bei F.H. Nestler und Melle 1853. Er ist noch Herausgeber verschiedener Bücher (z.B. das erwähnte Buch: „Unter Englands Fahnen“, das einmal die Überfahrt in die Türkei, der Nichteinsatz bei Sewastopol, da der Frieden eingebrochen war und die Reise und das Leben der Legion in Südafrika schildert. Sein Todesjahr ist nicht bekannt, seine Witwe lebte um 1900 noch in Borby/Eckernförde, dem Heimatort der v. Langes, die aus Hessen stammten.
6. Scheffler, Wilhelm, * 25.1.1822 in Brieg, preuß. SecLt a.D. in der 6.ArtBrig.- LAS 51-48S13, S-H Armee seit April 1848-31.3.1851.- Möller: Grundbesitzer in Californien.- Gräf.73-169 Californien.
7. Seelemann, Friedrich Ernst Rob.-Rud., * 3.12.1820. Nationale LAS 51-48 S 65.- Möller: 1855/56 Cpt u. CpChef DEL, später Sekretär der Regierung in Schleswig, †1873.- Gräf.-dito. Die Heimat 6/7 1990, S. 166.
8. Uckermann, Hugo v., Nationale LAS 51-49, S-H Armee v. Okt. 1849-28.3.51.- LAS 55 (BA) 55 Liste der Offiziere der Brasil. Fremdenlegion. LAS 22 111 EE Nr. 99 Liste Auswärtige in brasil. Diensten. LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55 Liste d. Offz HBK: nicht empfohlen.- Möller:-Gräf.—. (vermutlich nicht BFL).

g) Preuß. Offiziere, die über die Einjährigen-Dienstzeit Landwehr-Offiziere geworden u. im Reserve-Verhältnis standen.

1. Anker, Julius, * 17.10.1828, Beruf: Spediteur in Rußland, S-H Armee v. 12.11.50 bis 26.2.51. Nationale LAS 22-III Ea-42, stammt aus Memel.- Möller: trat 1851 in BFL ein, soll in Rio de Janeiro leben.- LAS22-III EE Nr. 99: In brasilianischen Diensten. LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55 Liste der Offiziere Brasilian. Fremdenlegion. 6.Komp.- Gräf.- 100.- Heimat 5/1986 SecLt.
2. Behrends, Ernst, * 28.10.1822 Leba. Nationale LAS 51-41"B. LAS22-III EE Nr. 99 nach Amerika ausgewandert.- Möller: San Francisco.- Gräf.- 101 San Francisco.
3. Billig, Georg Carl Ludwig, * 25.1.1825 Ostpreußen. Nationale LAS 51-4III Geometer, (Vater Fabrikbesitzer).- Möller.- New York.- Gräf.- 101 New York.- Zeitschrift f Heereskunde Nr. 338/339 1988. Albert Haarmann: Deutsche Regimenter i.d. Armee der Union: 1. Light.Art.Btr., Btr.Cdr.) Hauptmann George C.L. Billig. Schied aus 2. Jan. 1862.
4. Duwe, Hugo Carl, Kgl. preuß. Reg.-Referendarius, * 16.10.1817, Corvey i. Westfalen.

Appendix D

- Nationale LAS 51-D26.- Möller: wanderte 1851 nach Amerika aus und betreibt in Chicago ein Zigarrengeschäft.- Gräf.- 83- Chicago.
5. Klebs, Carl Hermann Moritz, * 25.6.1820 Elbingen. Nationale LAS 51-45 Nr. 21. LAS 22 III EE Nr. 99: nach Brasilien.- Heimat 5/1986, S-H Armee v. 28.7.50-26.2.51.- Möller: Wanderte 1851 nach Brasilien aus und ist dort bald gestorben.- Gräf.- 116 Brasilien †.
 6. Küntzel, Julius Fr.H., s-h Armee 17.10.50-26.2.51. Nationale LAS 51-45 Nr. 46.- Möller: War in einem kaufm. Geschäft in St. Louis, Montana angestellt. 1856 gestorben.- Gräf.- 1856 gestorben.
 7. Matzdorff, Wilhelm Alb(w)in. Nationale LAS 51-46-Nr.15, * 10.12.1824, Beruf Geometer, SH Armee v. 27.2.1849-28.3.51.- Möller: wanderte nach den USA aus, Kaufmann, während des Secessionskrieges Captain i.d. Nord-Armee, später zurück nach Deutschland und Bürgermeister in Dobvilugk (Kreis Luckau, Reg.Bez. Frankfurt/Oder, (1890: 1492 Einwohner, meist ev.), Feldzug 1870/71, seit 1871 Beamter in Elsaß-Lothringen.- Gräf.- 91-172, † 1887 Colmar, Landwehroffizier.- LAS 22-111 EE 90: Hamburg. Liste d. Offiziere (HBK) nicht empfohlen. LAS (BA) Nr. 55. Heereskunde: Nr. 338-339 Juli/Okt. 1988, Seite 114.
 8. Mischke, Franz Viktor. Nationale LAS 51-46-M27 v. 13.2.1851, S-H Armee v. 24.8.1848-26.3.1851. Landwehr-Offizier. LAS 22-III EE 90 Rendsburg; * 19.3.1822 in Marienburg/Westpr., Heimat 6/7 1990, DEL, ging mit nach Capland.- Möller.- 1855 Cpt. u. Cp.Chef DEL, Konstantinopel, ging dann mit dem Rest zum Capland. 1864 Rückkehr, Anstellung als Kirchspielsvogt der Grafschaft Rantzau, auch gegenwärtig.- Gräf.- 68 Grafschaft Rantzau.- Stolz: Heimat 6/7 1999, S.157.- Rodowicz: Unter Englands Fahne u.a. S.203.- LAS 22 IV DDII Nr. 721 Brief an du Plat in Kiel: Vom Cap aus Meldung zur Aufstellung der s-h Armee am 2.5.1864. Verzeichnis der Offiziere, die 1905 noch lebten, danach lebte er noch am 9.9. 1905. Wie Möller u. lebt als Privatmann in Eutin, Bahnhofstr. 34.
 9. Ochs, Theodor Otto Reinhold, kgl. preuß. SecLt. a.D. (Landwehr), * 1 2.1.1824, protest., kgl. preuß. Berg-Expectant, 10. Landw.Rgt., Nationale LAS 51-47-0/1.- Stolz: Brummer: Heimat 5, 1986.- Möller: 1851 in Bras. Fremnd.Legion, später wiederholt in Deutschland gewesen betreffs Auswanderung nach Brasilien, dort die Stellung eines Regierungs-Ingenieur in Brasilien.- Gräf.- 92 Brasilien.- Hans Groth Hebbel: Kriegserinnerungen eines 48er, Glückstadt, Max-Hansen-Verlag: Erwähnung v. Ochs, die nicht gerade von großer Tapferkeit zeugte.LAS 55 (BA) Offizierliste f. HBK, nicht empfohlen, d.h. ohne Bemerkung, daß er für das HBK besonders geeignet war.
 10. Schlobach, Robert. Nationale LAS 51-48-S25, * 29.11.1814, S-H Armee v. 9.11.49 bis 25.3. 1851, seit 4.6.50 PreniLt.- Möller: 1851 nach Brasilien, Privat Ing. Provinz Mines-Geraes, 15 Jahre lang kaiserl. Reg.Ingenieur. Für Verdienste vom Kaiser Rosenorden. Er kam in nur von Wilden bewohnte Gebiete des Inneren Brasiliens. Seit 1867 wieder in Deutschland, als Ingenieur in Leipzig, †1882.- Gräf.- 96, † 1882 in Leipzig.- Rodowicz: Die Colonia Dona Franciska, S. 150: Auf kurze Zeit war zur schnelleren Förderung geometrischer Arbeiten Lieutn. a.D. Schlobach engagiert, ohne in das Beamtenverhältnis zu treten. (Er kaufte sich dort ein Haus, Nr. 104).

h) Offiziere der preuß. Armee, die aber in der s-h Armee (aus nicht immer ersichtlichen Gründen) nicht als Ofrizier eingestellt worden sind.

1. Gerber, Gustav v., * 1825, ev., anscheinend in Stralsund, das zu der Zeit (1815) an Preußen gekommen ist. (Vater war noch schwed. OberstLt. d. Artillerie). Offz-Ausbildung (Cadettenhaus Berlin, Divisions-Schule).- Nationale LAS 22-111 Ea-42, 1.2.1849 als PortFhr eingestellt, 9.5.49 zum SecLt befördert, 20.8.1851 als Ganzinvalide verabschiedet. LAS 22 III E Nr. 99 Invaliden-Rente jährlich 500M.- *Rodowicz*: Unter Englands Fahnen, über Konstantinopel-GB-Südafrika.- *Rodowicz*: Unter Englands Fahnen, als Nachricht: Hptm. v. Gerber in Nordamerika vor einem Gasthaus erschlagen.- DEL- Heimat 6/7 1990.- *Möller*:- *Gräf*:- † Washington.
2. Kaas, Maximilian Joseph Julius. Nationale LAS 51-45-KI, * 1826 in Posen, war bereits 28.6.1848 SecLt. d. Art. in Preußen. LAS 22 III EE Nr. 99, Liste der nach dem 1. 1. 1851 entlassenen Offiziere. Hatte Abschied eingereicht und ist ohne Urlaub abgereist. Dienst-Eintritt 29.7.1850 als Offz., 31.12.1850 zum SecLt. befördert, 23.2.1851 Nachgerückte Dienstentlassung bewilligt. Amtsblatt f.d. Herzogtümer S. u. H. 1851, 1.Stück. LAS (BA) Nr. 55 Liste der Offiziere brasilian. Legion 1.Battr.- Heimat 5/1986. Als Civil-Ingenieur 1854 in Bombay gestorben.- *Gräf*:- †1854 Bombay.- LAS 22-III EE 90 Brasilien. LAS 22-III EE 99: Liste der nach dem 1.1.1851 entlassenen Offiziere.
3. Mantey (oder Mantei), Ferdinand Ludwig August, *4.3.1825. Nationale LAS 51-46 Nr. 5. Vater: (Major a.D.), 28.2.50 zum Portepee-Fähnrich befördert, 2.4.50 zum SecLt. im 4.Jägercorps befördert (Amtsblatt 19. Stück), 4.4.50 ins 9. Inf.Btl. versetzt n. Lübeck. Gesuch Mantey's um Einstellung an General v. Bonin v. 15.4.1849: Hat wegen Schulden Abschied genommen und möcht nun „auf dem Schlachtfeld meine getrübe Ehre versuchen zu restaurieren“.- *Möller* ist in Südbrasilien gestorben.- *Gräf*:- 121-, † Brasilien.

II. AUSWANDERUNGEN

a) Norddeutsche Bundes-Staaten

Hannover: Als Offizier eingetreten insgesamt: 32 Offiziere.- Davon: Deutsch-Englische Legion (Nur bis Türkei): 30ffz.; Deutsch-Englische Legion mit Cap (1 zurück): 3 Offz.; Türkei Ottoman. Armee: 1 Offz.; Gueyaquil/Ecuador: 1 Offz. vermißt; Brasilie: Colonia Dona Francisca: 1Offz. mit Rückkehr; 1 Offizier (Basson) Administrator überseeischer Dampfschiffe, große Reisen nach Amerika u. Ostu. West-Indien.- Nicht als Offizier eingetreten, in s-h Armee Offz geworden:20.- Waßmann, Friedrich, kgl. Han. Feuerwerker.- *Gräf*:- 99-173 Washington- Nord Amerika.

Braunschweig: Als Offizier eingetreten: 6 Offiziere; DEL - Süd-Afrika: Offizier; In d. s-h Armee erst Offz. geworden: 14; Brasilien:2 (1 Colonia Dona Francisca); DEL u. Cap: 1; DEL: 1, Amerik. Nordstaaten:1.

Oldenburg: Als Offizier eingetreten: 9; Nicht als Offz eingetretene; 1 Offz Peru, 1 Offz. Brasilien.

Mecklenburg (Schwerin u. Strelitz): Als Offz. eingetretene; Nicht als Offz. eingetreten: 8.

Hansestädte: Als Offz. eingetreten: 7, DEL o. SA 1 USA 1; Nicht als Offz eingetreten: 5.

b) Süd- und Mittel-deutsche Bundes-Staaten

Baden:

(als Offizier eingetreten) 7; (als Nicht-Offizier eingetreten) 1.- Brasilien: 1 Offz: Racklitz, nach LAS 22 III EE Nr. 99 (gleich 1851), nach Rodowicz: Unter Englands Fahnen BD.II, Seite32: Deutsch-Engl. Legion, Chef einer Kompanie.

Bayern:

(als Offz. eingetreten): 18; 1.Dall'Anüs, Ludwig Ritter v., gefallen im Secessions-Krieg (Möller); 2.Thumser, DEL - bis Türkei; (Nicht als Offz. Eingetreten).

Frankfurt a. Main: als Offz: eingetreten: 4.

Hessen-Darmstadt.- als Offz: eingetr.: 1.

Kurhessen: Als Offz eingetreten: 8; Nicht als Offz eingetreten: 6.- Als Offz eingetreten: Möller: Noessel, Eduard: 1851 Peru, †1857 Klima-Fieber.

Lippe-Detmold. Als Offz eingetr.: 3; Nicht als Offz eingetr.: 3.

Hessen-Homberg: Als Offz eingetr.: 1.

Nassau: als Offz eingetr.: 4; NO: 1.

Oesterreich: Als Offz: eingetr.: 18; ausgewandert BFL 2; DEL 1; USA 1; nicht als Offz eingetr.: 1. Fast alle erst nach Idstedt eingetreten o. Freicorps. Siehe Notiz Ende der Aufstellung Süd- u. Mittel-Deutsche Staaten.

Kgr. Sachsen: Offz: 2; NO: 3. Amerika LAS 51 (A XVI) KriegsDeß. Nr. 15 Pol Hamburg.

Württemberg: Offz: 4, NO: 1; 1 USA, LAS 22 III EE Nr. 99.

Anhalt-Küthen: Offz: 1.

Reuß-Schleiz: Offz: -; NO: 1.

Sachsen-Altenburg: NO: 1.

Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha: Offz: 2, NO 3.

Sachsen-Meiningen: Offz: 1.

Sachsen-Weimar. Offz: 3, NO: 4.

Schwarzburg-Rudolf-Stadt. Offz: NO 2, 1 USA Californien, Möller.

Schwarzburg-Sondershausen: Offz: 2, 1 Bras. F.Leg., Möller; NO 2, 1 Brasilien, Möller.

Waldeck: Offz: 2, 1 Architekt New Jersey, USA, Möller; NO 2, 1 Holl. Kolonialdienst Sumatra, Möller.

Nachschrift: Oesterreichische Offiziere

Hacke, Amold R.R., *21.2.1821; Eintragung Möller: Nordamerika; Eintragung LAS 22 III

EE 99 Brasilien; Eintragung LAS A XVI Dep. d. Krieges Nr. 16, 15.7.51 nach Brasilien, Deutsch-Engl. Legion; Möller u. Gräf: †1854 Mittelmeer.

Hörmeier, Josef; Heimat 5/1986; LAS IH EE 99 Brasilien; Möller u. Gräf. †1873 Wien.

Mathey, Johann v.; LAS 22 IH EE 99 nach Amerika; LAS 55 Berliner Angabe Nr. 55: wird durch Polizei in Hamburg gesucht wegen Geld-Leihens von Mannschaften.

Remminiz v. Riedkirchen, Heinrich, * 4.5.1822; Möller u. Gräf: †1862 New Orleans.

Riesenfels, Rudolph Freiherr v., *22.3.1827; Möller u. Gräf: nach Brasilien, Rio de Janeiro; LAS 22-III EE 99 nach Brasilien.

c) **Schleswig-Holsteiner**

Ehemals dänische Offiziere, die 1848 im aktiven Dienst des dänischen Königs standen

1. Clasen, Friedrich Ludolph v., *2.6.1813, Dä PremLt., zuletzt S-H Major u. BtlCdr.; 1855 DEL (Stolz: Heimat 6n 1990, S.165); Rodowicz: Unter Englands Fahnen Teil II, Kap.4, Unter Kaffern, III.Rgt. DEL.
2. Gönner, Wilhelm Georg Heinrich v., * 5. Febr. 1817, Dä PremLt.; 1855 DEL (Stolz: Heimat 6/7 1990, S.165); Rodowicz: Unter Englands Fahnen Teil II, In alle Welt, S.204, II. Rgt. Lager Breidbach, †1875 in Preetz (Möller u. Graef).
3. Jefs, Friedrich v., * 20.7.1817, Dä. PnnLt.; 1855 DEL (Stolz: Heimat 6/7, 1990, S. 65); Möller.
4. Wenck, Friedrich Christian Coelestinus v., * 6.4.1816, Dä. PremLt.; Möller: 1855 5.Inf.Rgt. der DEL, Heimat 6n 1990, S.166.
5. Brockenhuus, Christian Friedrich v., * 28.1.1826, Dä SecLt. d. Artillerie; Möller: Major d. Artillerie, brasilian. Fremdenlegion, 1864 brasil. Ing. Corps attackiert, Direktor f. öffentliche Bauten Provinz Para, IngOffz bei Obidas (Fortification), 1860 Civil Ing-Dienst, 1864 zurück; Heimat 1985 Nr.5; LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55 Offz d. brasil. Legion.
6. Irminger, Heinr. Malte v., * 6.10.1822, Dä. SecLt, ehem. 1.DragRgt.; Möller: 1852 nach Australien, †1852 auf hoher See, Typhus.
7. Aller, Hans Hornemann van, * 25.11.1811, Dä. PremLt. Jägercorps, 1853 Eintritt türkische Armee als Hayder Bay, focht gegen Rußland, im Stabe von Omer Pascha, 1855 DEL, Cdr. 2.Inf.Rgt., nach Auflösung nach Hannover.
8. Wasmer, Detlef Heinrich v. (Julius, Lucian, Wulf) von, * 12.4.1822, Dä. SecLt.- Möller: Wanderte nach den USA aus, kehrte 1858 zurück (Iowa?).
9. Bassewitz, Christian Siegfried v., * 24.10.1812, Dä PremLt, trat 1856 in die Deutsch-Engliche Legion ein, aber bereits im gleichen Jahr wieder aus unter Protest, weil seiner Meinung nach den Mannschaften von ihrem Handgeld zuviel Geld für die „Equipierung“ abgezogen wurde. War später der einzige vormärzliche Offizier, der in preußische Dienste

(allerdings nur in der Gamisonsverwaltung) eingestellt wurde. Mehr über ihn auch bei Rodowicz: Unter Englands Fahnen Teil I; Auf Helgoland, S.72ff.

10. Baudissin, Julius Otto Graf v., * 22.6.1822, Dä. SecLt d. Dragoner, wanderte 1852 mit seinem Bruder Adalbert Graf von Baudissin in die USA aus, wo er sich als Farmer niederließ.kehrte 1863 zurück.

Notiz:

Wasmer, Gebrüder Baudissin und Graf Hertzberg bei Davenport als Gentlemen-Farmer.

Ehemals dänische Offiziere, die nicht mehr, da pensioniert, in einem Dienstverhältnis zu ihrem König standen und deshalb auch 1851 nicht exiliert wurden.

1. Koch, Johann Peter, 1848 zum OTL befördert und zum Chef aller zu errichtenden Freicorps ernannt.- Möller: wanderte mit der ganzen Familie: 2Söhne, SecLt. Koch I u. II, und seinem Schwiegersohn Giese nach Nordamerika aus.- bei Holger: Idstedt u. danach, S.51, nur 1 Sohn und der Schwiegersohn Giese aufgeführt.
2. Lilienstein, Carl Arthur v., * 28.5.1807, Deutsch-Engl. Legion, Capt. u. Cp.Chef, ging erst Türkei, dann Capland.- DEL: Heimat 6/7 1990, S.165, Unter der Flagge Englands TeilH, Rodowicz.

d) Hgztr. Holstein u. Schleswig

Erst in der s-h Armee Offizier geworden:

aa) Holsteiner:

1. Bertouch, Aug. Theod. Sophus v., * 27.7.1825, Landmann, (Vater: Zollverwalter, Ottensen.)- LAS 51-4111, SecLt. 13. Inf.Btl.- *Möller u. Gräf*- lebt als Kaufmann in Australien.
2. Bertouch, Carl Anton Rudolf v., Bruder zu 1., kein LAS, Vater wie oben.- Möller- Kaufmann in Australien (leichter Zweifel).
3. Bockmeyer, Hermann Carl Rudolph, * 1.12.1832, (Vater Prediger), SecLt. 2.Jägercorps seit 7.12.50.- LAS 22 III Ea 44.- *Möller*: lebt als Plantagenbesitzer in Brasilien.- *Gräf*. 104.- Heimat 5/1986, SecLt. in der Brasil. Fremdenlegion.
4. Giese, Johann Friedrich August, Student, * 19.6.1823, (Schwiegervater war der Führer aller Freicorps 1848: Koch, RA in Segeberg.)- Möller.- wanderte mit Schwiegervater u. 2 Schwagern (Koch) nach Nordamerika.- *Gräf*. 108.- Idstedt u. danach v. Holger Andersen, S.96, Mitglied d. Davenporters Vereins der Kampfgenossen.
5. Gottesleben, Friedrich Wilhelm, * 1.3.1824 o. 1.5.1824, Handlungsdienner.- LAS 51-G 29.- *Möller*: hat sich 1851 in Bahia als Kaufmann niedergelassen und ist später nach Deutschland zurückgekommen.- *Gräf*.—.

6. Jacobsen, Jacob Heinrich Christian, * 28.12.1824 in Rendsburg, (Vater: Bodenmeister bei dem IngCorps in RD.)- LAS 51-45.- *Möller*: Diente während des Secessionskrieges als Offizier in der Unions-Armee, starb 1871 im Hospital in New York.- *Gräf*.- 115/178, †1871 New York.
7. Kasch, Adolf Wilhelm, * 22.6.1827, (Vater Gutsbesitzer.)- LAS 22-111 Ea Nr.42.- *Möller*: Diente in der brasilian. Fremdenlegion (1851) und DEL (1855).- *Gräf*'.- 117, 180, + Berlin.
8. Möller, Adolph Heinrich, * 1827?, Zollbevollmächtigter, Vater: (Comptorchef.)- LAS 51-46-M29. LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55: Liste der Offz. der brasil. Legion.- *Möller*.- Seit 1875 Betriebsinspektor der Bodensee-Dampfschiffahrt in Lindau.- *Gräf*.- Lindau.- LAS 22 IV DD II Nr. 7211111: nahm am Feldzug in Brasilien gegen Roßas teil, kam 1853 zurück, dann Anstellung Bodensee-Schiffahrt. Seit 1857 Leitung des gesamten Betriebes: Schiffswerft, Reparaturwerkstätte usw. (vgl. bair. Dampfschiffahrts-Verwalter).
9. Rißler, Carl Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, * Juni/Juli 1829, (Vater Arzt in Plön.)- LAS 51-47 R29.-*Möller*: Als PremLt DEL, ging nach Capstadt, kaufm. Geschäft in Grahamstown, Buchhalter Cap-Bank, jetzt Telegraphenbeamter.- *Gräf*.- 126 Capstadt.- Heimat 6/7 1990, Lt. im 1.Inf.Rgt. Woolridge, S. 165, Stolz.- LAS 22 IV DD 11 Nr. 721: 2. Clerk in der Cape-Commercial Bank.
10. Scherff, Gustav Daniel Emmerich, *28.5.1829 Altona, (Vater Ökonom, Kellinghusen.)- LAS 5148-15. Bauführer im Chaussee-Bau.- *Möller*: in Amerika gestorben.- *Gräf*.- 128, † Amerika.
11. Strothmann, Emil Johannes, * 12.11.1828, (Vater Dr. med. Str., Hohenwestedt,) Beruf. Comptorist in Hamburg.- LAS 51-48-S.- *Möller*.- † New Orleans.- *Gräf*.- † New Orleans.

Alle direkt in die s-h Armee eingetreten (ohne Freicorps), 11 von 50 in außereuropäische Länder ausgewandert.

bb) Holsteiner und Freicorps-Dienstzeiten

1. Asmussen, Carl, * 31.10.1830, (Vater Professor in Kiel), SecLt. 3.IgC., vorher v.d. Tann'sches Freicorps.- *Möller*: Geschäftsmann im nördlichen Iowa[USA.- *Gräf*.- 100/174.- Idstedt u. danach, S.87 (Sohn d. Professors aus Segeberg).
2. Beck, Wilh. Heinr. Joh. Franz, *12.2.1826.- LAS 51-41', (Vater: Förster.)- *Möller*: Kaufmann in Sedalia/Missouri.- *Gräf*.- 103-175 Sedalia/ Missouri.
3. Bluhm, Carl, *11.5.1827, Kaufmann in einem Manufaktur-Geschäft, (Vater Dr. phil. Bluhm), Freicorps Jensen-Tusch.- LAS 22 III Ea 43.- *Möller*:- *Gräf*.- 104 Capland.
4. Burchardi, Ernst Wilhelm, *16.05.1828.- LAS 22 HI Ea 43 Ökonom, (Vater: Ober-Appellations-Gerichtsrar, Kiel), Freicorps: Studentencorps.- *Gräf u. Möller*: † 6. 03.1876 San Francisco.- Schreiben des Vaters: Sohn hat bei Chicago alle Papiere mit einem eingebühten Rantzen verloren. Vater erbittet 8.12.1851 eine Ersatzausstellung der Militärpapiere.- Idstedt u. danach, S.35, LebensmittelGeschäft in San Jos6/Californien.

5. Dau, Ludwig Anton Christoph Malte v., *31.1.1826, (Vater: Oberst, Dän., Cdr. d. s-h IngCorps.)- LAS 22 III Ee 43. Studentencorps.- Möller: als Geometer in brasil. Eisenbahn-Diensten, Mitte 1860t.- *Gräf.*- †1860 Brasilien.- Heimat 5/1986.
6. Delfs, Marcus, Student, * 30.1.1828. (Vater Landmann), v.d. Tann'scher Freicorps.- *Möller: soll in Amerika gestorben sein.- Gräf.- 106.*
7. Falck, Theodor Nikolaus August, * 19.2.1830, (Vater: Professor u. Etatsrat Falck, * 1784, † 1850), Studentencorps.- LAS 51 F2.- *Möller:* Ging nach Amerika, kämpfte gegen die Süd-Staaten. Später Besitzer einer Fabrik in Louisiana, z.Zt. Krankenhaus Lübeck.- LAS 22 IV DD II Nr. 721,1 4.3. 1864(?). Soeben in Holstein angekommen u.s.w. Bietet Dienste in evtl. aufzustellender s-h Armee an. USA als Volontär Utah-Expedition. Bei Ausbruch des Krieges gegen die Konföderierten. In der West-Armee als Offizier 10.Ohio-Rgt., 3 Schlachten: Valverde, New-México, Homville u. Chettanogo, Tennessee (letztere als CpChef).
8. Heckscher, Peter Friedrich Wilhelm, *15.4.1821, Kaufmann in Amerika.- LAS 22-111 Ea 39 dto 43.- *Möller:* von 1851-1853 Landmann Hannover, Dirigent einer Spinnerei u. Weberei d. Stadt Hannover. Nach Amerika ausgewandert, Direktor einer Anthrazit-Kohlen-Zeche (Pennsilvania) Hamburg Omnibus-Fuhrwesens 1881 † New York.- *Gräf.- 86, † 1886 New York.*
9. Kauffmann, Harald George Christian v., * 3.2.1825, Pharmazeut, (Vater: Maj. im fr. Oldenburg. Inf.Rgt.)- LAS 51-III Ea 41.- *Möller:* Lebt als prakt. Arzt in Iloilo auf Philippinen.- *Gräf.- 116-180 am Rhein.*
10. Kelter, Eduard Ludwig, * 13.4.1830.- LAS 22-III Ea 44. (Vater: Kammerrath in Langenfelde), Beruf Zollassistent.- *Möller:* Trat 1854 Hamburger Bundeskontigent, 1866 Hptm u. CpChef, 1867 8. Disp.- *Gräf.- 117-180: Wandsbek.- Heimat 5/1986, Die Brummer - Brasilien 1851.*
11. Kirchhoff, Carl Theodor, * 8.1.1828, (Vater: Justitarius, Hanerau.)- LAS 51- Nr. 45, Nr. 19.- *Möller:* 1851 nach Amerika, lebt als Kaufmann in San Francisco, beschäftigt sich mit literarischen Arbeiten, Rantzausches Freicorps.- *Gräf.- 116-178 San Francisco.- Idstedt u. danach, S.48, Holger Andersen.*
12. Koch, Gustav Adolf, * 23.3.1830, (Vater: Advocat u. OTL, Rendsburg.)- LAS 22-III Ea 41. Freicorps.- *Möller:* wanderte nach Brasilien aus und soll dort gestorben sein.- *Gräf.- † Brasilien.*
13. Koch, Peter Theodor, * 27.9.1825, studjur., (Vater: wie vor 12- *Möller:* Wanderte nach Brasilien aus (offenbar falsch).- *Gräf.- 116-179.- Idstedt u. danach, S.51, Farmer, Drogist, Apotheker u. Banquier.*
14. Köhler, Otto Johann Georg, * 17.10.1821, evgl., (Vater: Kaufmann), Rantzau'sches Freicorps, dann 1. JägC.- LAS 51-45 Nr. 28. Altona.- *Möller:* Als Kaufmann † Rio de Janeiro.- *Gräf.- 116, † 1863 Rio de Janeiro.- Heimat 5/1986 (Adj. bei v.d. Heyde).*
15. Kühl, Heinrich Peter Ehmke, * 6.8.1829, Gymnasiast, (Vater: Dr.med. in Schönberg, Probstei), Scharfschützenkorps.- *Möller:* Ging nach Amerika, wo er gestorben sein soll.- *Gräf.- 117 Nordamerika.*
16. Paulsen, Hans, * 11.11.1823, stud.theol., (Vater: Prediger, Albersdorf), Studencorps, 5. JgCorps.- *Möller:* Nach Amerika gegangen u. dort gestorben.- *Gräf.- 123, † Amerika.*

17. Rohwer, Hans Jürgen, * 27.3.1829. Artillerist, 7.12.50 SecLt.- *Möller*: lebt als Besitzer einer Farm in Calhoun, Washington-County (Nebraska Nord-Amerika), † 20.2.1882.- *Gräf*.- 126 Nordamerika.- Holger Andersen: Idstedt u. danach, S.58, mit Bild.

18. Volquardsen, Johann Georg, * 12.8.1829, Meldorf, (Vater: Lehrer).- *Möller*: war als kaiserl. Justizrat im Privatkabinett d. Kaisers Maximilian v. Mexico. Lebt jetzt als Arzt in St. Louis/ Mexico.-*Gräf*.- 123-188, St. Louis.

Insgesamt 98 : 18

cc) Holsteiner, erst in der s-h Armee Ofrizier geworden, aber bereits vorher im dänischen Cadettencorps

1. Risler (Rißler), Theodor Ferdinand Wilhelm, * 1.4.1832, (Vater: Dr.med in Plön).- LAS 22-III Ea 4 v. 19.10.49.- *Möller*: Deutsch-Englische Legion, Cpt u. Adj. beim General Woolridge, 1858 Registrar of Deeds Office, Chef d. Katasteramtes.- Heimat 6/7 1990, DEL v. Stolz: Adj. v. Woolridge.- *Gräf*.- Capstadt (Bruder dto).- LAS IV DD II Nr. 72v, Schreiben seines Schwagers JensenTusch.

dd) Schleswiger: Erst in der s-h Armee Offizier geworden - ohne Freicorps

1. Baudissin, Adalbert Graf von, LAS 22-111 Ea 39 u. 44, * 25.1.1820, verh., Gelehrten-schule SL, 3 Jahre Studium Freiberg-Sachsen, Vater Carl Graf Baudissin, Mutter Henriette, geschiedene v. Gähler, geh. Kunniger (nach Degn), einige Bücher aus Amerika 1862 Zustände in Amerika, Altona 1862. *Möller*: wanderte 1852 nach Amerika-Nord aus, 1859 zurückgekehrt.
2. Fischer, Hermann Wilhelm Ludwig, * 19.4.1825, Kaufmann, (Vater: Particulier in Augustenburg).- LAS 51-F Nr.9.- *Möller*.- Lebt in Altona als Direktor der Holsten-Braue-*rei*.- *Gräf*.- 107-176.Heimat 5/1986.
3. Göttig, Lorenz Paul Eduard, * 28.3.1827, Kaufmann, (Vater: Kaufmann in Altona).- LAS 51 620. Flensburg.- *Möller*: 1851 nach San Francisco, v. 54-56 Buchhalter u. Cassirer Dampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft. Gründete 1868 in San Francisco eine deutsche Spar u. Leihkasse, deren Präsident er seit 1868 ist. Jetzt ist er Präsident der deutsch. Bank „Berlin“ in San Francisco.- *Gräf*.- 110-177 San Francisco.- Andersen: Idstedt u. danach, S.41.
4. Marquardsen, Theodor Otto, * Juli 1827 Hadersleben, 22.10.50 SecLt., (Vater: RA u. Sachwalter, Hadersleben).- *Möller*: † in Itzehoe.- *Gräf*.- in Itzehoe.- Heimat: 5/1986.
5. Meyer, Herrmann Adolf Julius, *6.6.1830 Flensburg, (Vater: Kunstgärtner, Flensburg).- *Möller* u. *Gräf*.— Heimat 5/1986, Meyer SecLt o.A.
6. *Möller*, Bernhard August, * 17.1.1826, Handlungsbevollmächt., (Vater: Oekonom Taubstummennanstalt, Schleswig).- *Möller*: lebt als Direktor d. Hypothekenbank in Hamburg.- *Gräf*.- 122, † 1882 Hamburg.- Heimat 5/1986.
7. Schumacher, Carlos Friedrich Magnus, * 12.8.1824, (Vater: Direktor der Gelehrtschule in Flensburg).- LAS 22-III Ea 39+42.- *Möller*: 24.6.1874 in Chicagot.- *Gräf*.- Chicago.
8. Setzer, Carl Otto Herrmann, PostFw 1.JgC., * 6.8.1832, (Vater: Amtsverwalter, Amt-

- mann u. Actuar).- *Möller*: lebt als Eisenbahnbeamter auf Long-Island.- Gräf.- Long Island b. New-York.
9. Tarp, Lauritz Hansen, * 13.9.1828, (Vater: Landmann, Apenrade).- *Möller u. Gräf.*— Schmid, v. Cdr. 4.Jäg.Corps (akt. preuß. Offz), ausgewandert nach Californien.

e) Schleswiger, vor Eintritt s-h Armee in einem Freicorps

1. Greisen, Stephan Heinrich, * 13.3.1827, stud.theol., (Vater: Kfm., Hadersleben).- LAS G 34., wanderte 1866 (Frühjahr) mit Familie nach Nordamerika., US-Staat Iowa.- *Möller*: † 1890 1 1. Juli in Davenport, v. Krogh'scher Freicorps u. v.d. Tann'scher Freicorps.- Gräf.- 109-177 Nordamerika.- Idstedt u. danach, S. 100 u. 102.
2. Gude, * 23.7.1830 Beneleve, (Vater: Lombardverwalter, Schleswig), v.d. Tann'sches Freicorps. *Möller*:Buchhalter in einem Geschäft in New York.- *Gräf.*- 109-177.
3. Hedemann, Carl Julius von, * 1.12.1830, Zollassistent, v.d. Tann-Freicorps, 9.5.49 SecLt. 4.Inf.Btl. v. d. Tann'sches Freicorps.- *Möller*: nach Amerika eingewandert.- *Gräf.*-111.
4. Henningsen, Burghard Heinrich Anton, * 5.11.1826, studjur., (Vater: Glasermeister in Schleswig) -Studentencorps.- LAS 51-44 H37, Uni Kiel + Heidelberg.- Andersen: Idstedt u. danach; wanderte nach Auflösung der Armee nach USA aus u. lebt als Notar in Lyons, Iowa.
5. Hensen, (G), * 21.3.1824, Studentencorps, (Vater: Vorsteher der Taubstummen-Anstalt, Schleswig), Medizin-Studium.- LAS 22 III Ea 39.- *Möller*:- 1862 nach Neuseeland, 1863 als PmiLt. Colonial-Dienst, 1871 Hptm. d. Miliz, Professor u. Lehrer der deutschen u. lateinischen Sprache, Mathematik, Lehrer an d. Damenhochschule.- Gräf.- 112- Auckland Neuseeland.
6. Johannsen, Christian Friedrich, * 19.II.1826, (Vater: Amtmann in Hadersleben).- LAS 51-45-1 1 la (LAS 22-III Ea 39).- *Möller*:- DEL PmiLt. 1855, 1857-1864 Farin des General Stutterheim am Cap verwaltet, zurück nach S-H, S-H Gendarmerie 1866 pensioniert.- *Gräf.*- 115- Jürgenslust b. Hadersleben.
7. Lange, Carl Ferdinand Heinrich, * 9.5.1825, Theologie-Student, (Vater: Pastor).- LAS 51 Nr. 46 6a, Studentencorps.- *Möller*: 1852 n. Süd-Brasilien, in wohlhabenden Verhältnissen in Joinville, Prov. Santa Chaterina (Brasilien).- Gräf.- 119-181 Brasilien. Mitgliederverzeichnis Corps Saxonia Kiel 1921.
8. Nielsen, Hermann Andreas Johann Heinrich, * Nov. 1830, 6.5.1850 SecLt 4.Inf.Btl, (Vater: Kaufmann).- LAS 51-47-N4a, v. Krogsche Freicorps.- *Möller*: Als Kaufmann in New York 1885 gestorben.- Gräf.- † 1885 New York.- LAS 22 IV DD 11 Nr. 72, Brief von Kapf (Württemberg) und US-Colonel: Nielsen, Inhaber eines Mahagony-Geschäftes 171 Street NY.
9. Röhe, Heinr. Harry, * 2.5.1824, Oekonom, 13.7.49 SecLT.- LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55, Liste Offiziere brasilian. Legion; LAS 51-47-R33.- *Möller*:- lebt als Schullehrer in einer deutschen Colonie in der Nähe der Stadt Porto Allegre.- Gräf.- Brasilien.
10. Schjött, Hans Adolf Zacharias, * 1827, Schiffbauer in Elmshom, Elementar-Schule Schleswig.LAS 51-48-S20.- *Möller*: trat in die deutsch-brasilianische Legion, nach Auflösung derselben Kaufmann Porto Allegre.

11. Schmidt, Wilhelm Comelius Theodor, * 19.5.1830, (Vater: Hauptprediger), 18.Aug. 1848 z. SecLt. befördert, 1.DragRgt.- LAS 51-48-S35.- *Möller*: 126 de Cuba.- Gräf.- Trinidad.
12. Schütt, Friedrich Christian, * 21.12.1825, (Vater: Organist in Satrup), studjur.- LAS 22-III Ea42 Schleswig.- *Möller*: Am 1.1.1858 in Milwaukee gestorben.- *Gräf*:- † 1858 Milwaukee.- Heimat 5/1986.
13. Franck, Georg Alexander, * 19.8.1828, Dorpat, (Vater: Professor).- LAS 51-F14 (Naturalisierter Däne).- *Möller*:- lebt seit 1870 als Rechtsanwalt in Porto Allegre/Brasilien in Süd-Brasilien.- Gräf.-108: Porto Allegre, Hafen u. Hauptstadt v. Rio Grande del Sol, Brasilien.
14. Müller, Wilhelm Maximilian, * 13.6.1806, verheiratet, 5 Söhne, 4 Töchter, (Vater: Doktor der Medicin in Meldorf), Akt.Uffz., Bildung elterl. Haus, Latein-Schule Medorf bis Prima. Hat früher die Malerei betrieben.- LAS 51-46-M37, Holsteiner, 28.4.48 z. SecLt. befördert und 11.3.1850 zum PremLt, 25.6.1850 Abschied mit Zivil-Versorgung als Postmeister ab 1.7.1850 bewilligt. *Möller*:- wanderte 1852 nach Nord-Amerika aus.- *Gräf*:- Davenport.- (Vom 1.8.1826 bis 24.3.1848 (dann wurde er Offizier) alle Unteroffiziersgrade durchlaufen.) 1.Drag.Rgt. (Schleswig).
15. Schöpzinski, Hans Ludwig Christian, * 27.11.1824, Akt. Uffz. (Oberfeuerwerker), 21.1.1850 zum SecLt. befördert.- LAS 51-48-S48.- *Möller*:- trat in die brasilianische Fremdenlegion ein und ist jetzt in Rio Grande gestorben.- *Gräf*:- 128, † Rio Grande.
16. Ohlsen, Heinrich Ferdinand, * 20.4.1815 (o. 20.2.1816), Akt. Uffz. (Vater: Ratsdiener, Flensburg), April 48 zum SecLt. befördert, 9.7.49 PremiLt. u. CpChef im 1.Inf.Btl., 5.7.1850 zum Hptm bef.LAS 22-111 EA 39. Gamison-Schule Rendsburg, Bürgerschule Rendsburg u. Flensburg; LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55, Liste d. Soldaten für die dänische Armee: Liste wurde erstellt 1851 für die Aufstellung des von Holstein zu stellenden mil. Aufgebots für die deutsche Bundesarmee. Holstein war, ebenso wie Lauenburg, ein Teil des deutschen Bundes, für den der dänische König das sogenannte Bundeskontingent stellen mußte (fast 4000 Mann). - *Möller*:- fand Anstellung im bair. Staats-Telegrafendienst, von dort zur Deutsch-Englischen Legion. Nach Auflösung siedelte er mit den Resten der Legion im Capland, wo er in der Nähe von King-Williams Town beraubt und erschlagen wurde. Ort wurde nach ihm benannt.- Gräf.- 1857 in Capland †.- Heimat 6/7 1991, S.165.
17. Schneider, Johann Wilhelm Carl, Commandier-Sergeant im Jägercorps, * 14.6.1821, verheiratet, 1 Sohn, 1 Tochter, (Vater: Consistoralbote).- LAS 55 (BA) Nr. 55, Liste der Soldaten für die Dän. Armee: s. o.. April 48: zum SecLt befördert, 24.3.1849 PremLt, 5.7.1850 Hptm. im 1. Jägercorps.- *Möller*:-, Bahnhofsinspektor bei d. Hambg-Berliner Eisenbahn, Frühjahr 1855 als Captain u. CpChef DEL, nach Capland, Besitzer einer Farm bei Grahamstown.- Gräf.- 74, GrahamstownHeimat 6/7 1990, S.165, DEL-Cap.

Zur Verdeutlichung: Es gab 1205 Offiziere in der s-h Armee. 42% S-H, 38% Preußen und die restlichen 20% verteilen sich auf die damaligen Staaten des deutschen Bundes, wobei bei den Preußen die Anzahl derjenigen, die kamen und bereits Offiziere waren überwog, während es bei den S-H umgekehrt war.

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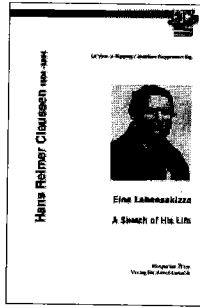
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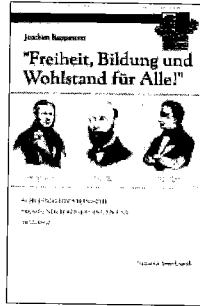
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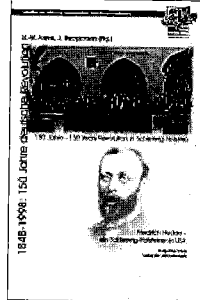


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Colin F. Taylor, Ph. D.

Catlin's *O-kee-pa*

**Mandan Culture and Ceremonial
The George Catlin *O-kee-pa*
Manuscript in the BRITISH MUSEUM**

**Foreword by Prof. Dr. W. Raymond Wood,
University of Missouri-Columbia**

The *O-kee-pa* ceremony of the Mandan was the most important ritual of this influential nation. It represents a religious ceremonial of outstanding significance in this tribe's religion. This complex and elaborate ritual of the Upper Missouri region, manifested the mythology and cultural history of the Mandan and was replete in symbolism which included fertility, decline and resurrection. It was strongly connected with the calling of the buffalo and may have had an emphatic effect on the Sun Dance ceremony on the Great Plains.

George Catlin, highly esteemed as a picture chronicler of the Native Americans in the 19th century, was one of the few white men ever permitted to observe the entire *O-kee-pa* ceremony. He never published his full impressions for the general public. However, he documented his observations in a manuscript which consists of **8 detailed water colours and 10 hand-written pages** of explanations for limited circulation due to the nature of the material. This manuscript, which was finally presented to the BRITISH MUSEUM, was deemed by Catlin for men of science only. This decision remained to the present day. By arrangement with the BRITISH MUSEUM the VERLAG FUER AMERIKANISTIK presents this important material now in a bilingual edition (*English/German*).

From the contents: *History and Culture of the Mandan (Mandan Villages, Early History, Lifestyle, Dress, Decorated Buffalo Robes, Headdresses, Household Industries) - Mandan Ceremonial (Religion, Sacred Enclosures, the Medicine Lodge, The Sacred Shrine, The Sacred Turtle Drums, The Medicine Pipe, The Lone Man Bundle and Regalia) - The pirated O-kee-pa version of 1865, reprinted for the first time - Catlin's Protest - The George Catlin Manuscript in the British Museum (completely published for the first time) (Discussion) - Mandan Country Today - Footnotes, Bibliography, Index.*
172 pp., 80 ill., several in colour, size 21 x 27 cm, clothbound, coloured jacket.

D-Marks 126,— / 80 US-\$ / 50 Stlg.

Payments can be made by VISA or MASTERCARD.

The Forty-Eighters had Ancestors and Descendants - On either Side of the Ocean.

Since 1983 it has been the author's objective, with the help of his friend Dietrich Eicke, to bring residents of the United States and Germany together. Not only on the background of family research... It began when a single group of farmers from Holsein, IA, travelled to Schleswig-Holstein, their ancestral home-state in Northern Germany. This tour was organized as a „thank you“ for people whose hospitality had substantially helped Yogi Reppmann and Dee Eicke during their two field-research trips to the USA in 1978 and 82. Following the Centennial Celebration in Holstein, IA, the idea was born to create a Heritage Tour. Since then, Yogi Reppmann and Dee Eicke have organized a large number and variety of group tours. These newspaper clippings provide a glimpse into just a few of them. Inspired by the success of this cultural exchange, the author and Mr. Eicke have founded **moin-moin** to organize cooperative tours and projects between the USA and Germany.

**GERMAN 232
ABROAD**

INTERIM IN NORTHERN GERMANY AND BERLIN, JANUARY 1997

INTRODUCTION:

Total Cost: only \$1,

Die Zeit, West-Germany's most prestigious weekly newspaper. With a touch of witty irony, reporter Markus Asam zeroed in on the twenty participants from fifteen states noting that the "Bildungsreise" sometimes overtaxed participants and directors. With its play on the educational novel, *Wilhelm Meister* by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the headline also incorporated a pastoral pictorial scene with sheep on the Halligen Islands with the caption that American teachers were being confronted with the "real" picture of Germany; they were of course encountering the northern flatlands with its particular culture rather than the traditional American preconception of the Rhine, Heidelberg, Munich and the Alpine mountains. Publisher of *Die Zeit*, is former Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, together with Countess Marton Dönhoff, of Hamburg.

TRANSLATION: Oktober 28, 1988

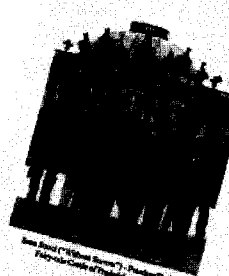
Die Zeit -- Oct. 28, 1988

A full dose of Germany. American teachers of German investigate Schleswig-Holstein. By Markus Asam

Children of farm families up in Montana have to take a powerful hold of things if it's a question of setting posts for cattle fences. It just could be that they would rather be with Inge, their teacher of German. But Inge is far, far away.

Inge is sitting on the deck of a motor boat which is destined for the Hallig Island of Gröde. She has set herself the task of brushing up on the German language. What does "Blanker Hans" (glittering Hans) mean? O I see, the North sea! The German ocean. In Montana there is nothing but prairie and mountains, and on the open flatlands larger than both Germany are living less people than there are inhabitants of Colorado. Montana is smaller than Husum. Isn't that funny?

For two weeks Inge and 20 other teachers of German are in Schleswig-Holstein, North German country, in particular Schleswig. This is no sight-seeing tour. The region is being confronted with American teachers.



**St. Olaf College
Northfield, MN
German Department**

Eine zweite Heimat für US-Studenten

Von KRISTINE KRÜGER

TRAPPENKAMP - Für elf Studenten aus Northfield, Minnesota, war Trappenkamp zur zweiten Heimat geworden. „Jetzt gehts wieder nach Hause“, sagten die jungen Leute des St. Olaf-College, wenn sie von Ausflügen wieder in die Landesturnschule Trappenkamp zurückkehrten. Nach 25-tägigem Intensivkursus in und über Deutschland ging es für die Amerikaner wirklich in die Heimat zurück. Am Sonntag der vergangenen Woche flogen sie wieder in die USA.

Die die Gemeinde Trappenkamp mitteilte. „A ... in einer ...“
Po. ... in einer ...“
ein Dorf fest nach ...

Durch die gute Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Gemeinde Trappenkamp und der Landesturnschule sowie den Beziehungen des Reiseleiters der Gruppe, Dr. Joachim Reppmann, Gastprofessor am St. Olaf-College, wurde den Studenten ein volles Programm geboten.

Der 25-tägige Aufenthalt der Amerikaner endete mit einem Abschiedessen bei der Familie Stender aus Trappenkamp. Die Stenders hatten die jungen Studenten während ihrer Zeit in Deutschland betreut.

Page 6B Wednesday, July 26, 1995 Northfield, Minn.



Discussing Baltic trip

Cabiate von Malmsten-Tillich (second from left), Midwest council general for the Republic of ... visited St. Olaf College recently to discuss preparations for a college-sponsored study-trip ... five Baltic nations next January. Malmsten-Tillich, whose office is in Chicago, met with ... President Mark U. Edwards Jr. (left) and members of the St. Olaf German department, ... visiting German faculty member Joachim Reppmann (second from right). Malmsten-Tillich ... accompanied by Joe Hinzliten (right), honorary consul for Germany in Minneapolis. The Jan ... 28, 1995, trip will take participants to Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to ... learn about entrepreneurial lifestyles that have emerged during the nations' conversion ... information may contact Reppmann at 646-3381 or Vern Rippey at 646-3235.

UNKT

Nr. 11-1998 / 14. März 1998

Besuch aus der berühmten Mayo-Klinik in Trappenkamp



(E.D.) Der bekannte Radiologe Heinz Wahner von der Mayo-Klinik in den USA besuchte privat seine Freunde Klaus Daneka und Erwin Dammeyer, Bürgermeister Pechbrenner ließ es sich nicht nehmen, den bekannten Mediziner zusammen mit fünf amerikanischen Studenten unter der Leitung von Ingo Reppmann ins Bürgerhaus zur Eintragung in das Goldene Buch zu bitten. Heinz Wahner ist gebürtiger Oberlesler und seit über 30 Jahren an der wohl bekanntesten Klinik

der fünf Studenten vom Sankt-Olaf-College in Minnesota betreuen. Die jungen Leute machen einen Intensiv-Deutschkurs in Kiel und arbeiten daneben als Praktikanten in Trappenkamp Firmen und Behörden, z.B. in der IGS, der Kreissparkasse Segeberg, der Gönnebecker Gärtnereigenossenschaft und im Bürgerhaus. Am Wochenende stand ein Ausflug nach Lübeck und Travemünde unter der Leitung von Willi Meyer von der EUROPA-

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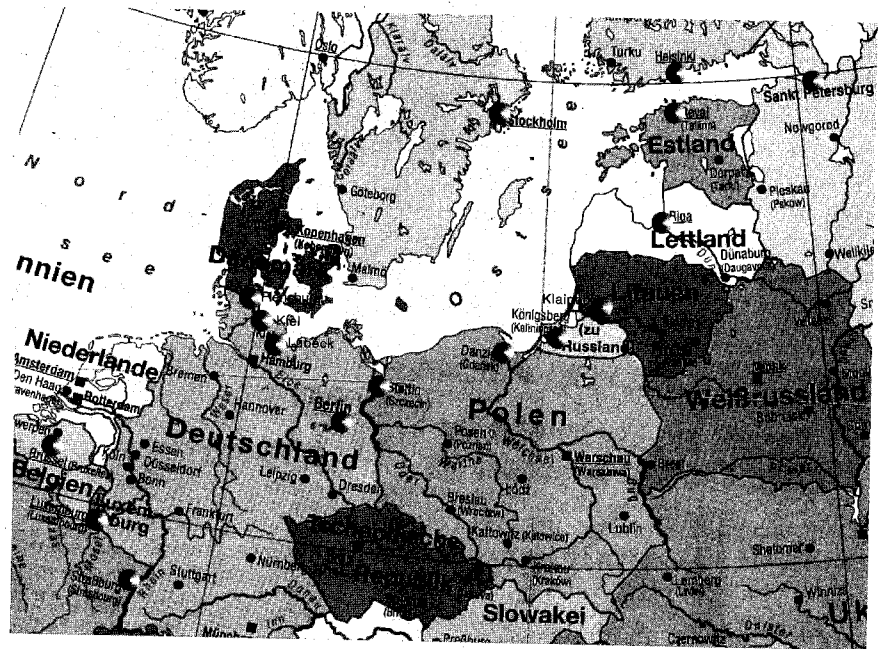
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Press Release

**European Union / Baltic Sea Growth Region / Russia / NATO:
An Off-Campus Studies Program**



With the introduction of the Euro in 1999, it has become increasingly clear that Europe is on the road to greater economic unity. Economic cooperation, however, is not a new concept in Europe. With this in mind, we would like to introduce a new study abroad program: an intensive, in-depth, on-site, English-language tour of contemporary and historic economic centers of the European Union and the Baltic Sea growth region. With our home base in Northern Germany, we will visit the European Commission in Brussels, Belgium, the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France, and young democracies in the Baltic Sea region, e.g. Lithuania, Estonia and Poland. In Northern Germany we will travel to the Baltic seaport of Lübeck, the World Economic Institute in Kiel, and the Institute for European Minority Studies in Flensburg, border town with Denmark.

Lübeck is of particular interest because it is the historic center of the erstwhile Hanseatic League of Nations, founded by Duke Henry the Lion, and is now home to the Baltic Sea Cooperation, an alliance stretching across the entire rim of the Baltic Sea that has a very promising future. Tying together the nations surrounding this great sea, it is the most extensive economic network to be centered in Europe since the Hanseatic League collapsed. **Already today, ten years after the reunification of Germany and Europe, German trade with countries in the Baltic Sea region has reached the volume of its trade with the United States and Japan taken together.**

With the former border between East and West Germany running one mile east of Lübeck, we will be able to study the transformation of a state-run, communistic economy and agricultural system to a free market system. At the Institute for European Minority Studies in Flensburg, a border region between Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, we will study the brutal history of minority suppression, discrimination, and the wars that have resulted.

The teachers and mentors to the students in this program will be business leaders, scholars, professors, students of economics, bank managers, and cultural historians. We will emphasize on-site learning, and will include a significant classroom component as well.

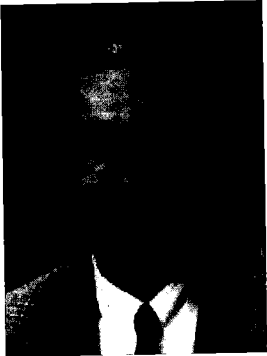
On request, we can offer individual group tours around the Baltic Sea and to European Institutions, according to your own individual needs.

Trips since 1983

- 1983: 44 Farmers from Holstein, IA, traveled to Schleswig-Holstein (S-H), Germany, and Austria.
- 1987-1990: American teachers of German traveled to S-H, Hamburg, East and West Berlin, and visited German minorities in Southern Denmark; these experiences provided an antidote to the common misconception that all "German" culture is Bavarian. Each tour consisted of 25 US participants.
- 1988: 45 Schleswig-Holsteiners explored sites where immigrants from North Germany settled in the US and participated in homestays in Schleswig and Holstein, IA; New Ulm, MN; and Davenport and Scott County, IA. As a result, the American/S-H Heritage Society (ASHHS) was founded on January 6, 1989, an organization that now has nearly 1000 members in 44 US states and North Germany.
- 1989: A group of Americans traveled to S-H and the Rhine area to do genealogical research.
- 1989: 39 Schleswig-Holstein natives traced S-H/German-US emigration [e.g. "German Athens" Milwaukee, WI], taking homestays in Kiel and New Hosten, WI. As a result, participant Jochen Meggers located nearly 1000 American relatives and learned of a moon crater named "Meggers Crater" after one of his US relatives who had done short-wave radio research for NASA.
- 1990: Four week lecture tour by invitation of the IA-Community Colleges on the theme "Fall of the Berlin Wall/Iron Curtain."
- 1991: 33 members of the Megger family from Klein Bennebek, S-H, traveled to WI and IA to attend two very large family reunions, where they met a total of 650 US relatives. The oldest documentation of the Megger family dates from 1491.
- 1992: Four week lecture tour by invitation of IA-Community Colleges; Topic: "Germany in the European Union."
- 1993: 36 American College Professors and Administrators traveled to S-H to examine the "Dual" educational system in Germany, an alternative to systems in the US.
- 1994: 29 American students of Criminal Justice went to S-H to study criminal science and methodology of law enforcement.
- 1994-1997: 24 students from St. Olaf College, Northfield, MN, completed a four week German language program in S-H, Glaisin, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (M-V), and Berlin.
- 1994: Hans-Reimer Claussen Centennial/Symposium in Davenport, IA, drawing 120 participants (3-days)

- 1995: Exhibition: German Contribution to US agriculture and beer brewing, presented by the German Embassy in Washington; [the exhibit has migrated to many places of the USA and until now attracted more than 1 Mio visitors. It is expected to tour Germany starting in the year 2000]
- 1998: 54 American Football Players from Carleton College, Northfield, MN, toured S-H and M-V.
- 1997 and 1999: 25 St. Olaf College Students explored S-H and the Southern Rim of the Baltic Sea while participating in a seminar conducted in English on the Hanseatic League, the transition from Communism to Capitalism, and the inclusion of East European nations in the European Union.
- Dec. 1997: 11 Mayo-Clinic physicians and administrators visited S-H and Hamburg in a program entitled "The German Health Care System."
- 1998: Fred Hedde Symposium in Bad Segeberg: "150 Years After the Revolution in S-H/1848 Revolutionaries in the USA," with Heinz-Werner Arens, President of the State Parliament.
- August 18 to 28, 1999: Supporters of the Classical, non-profit radio station 89.3 WCAL (St. Olaf College, Northfield, MN) will tour S-H during its annual Music Festival

The other person of moin-moin:



Dietrich Eicke, MA, born 1954 in Lübeck, Schleswig-Holstein.

Mr. Eicke studied English, European History and American Literature at the University of Kiel with Professor Joachim Reppmann. He presently is a freelance lecturer in the fields of adult education, management communications, time-schedule efficiency, cross-company negotiations, and in various computer graphic programs, and communication systems. He also is teaching courses in business and technical English as well as in company discourse, and in mediation skills.

Since 1983 he has been organizing both individualized language study abroad programs and educational exchanges between the US and Germany. These groups from the USA came to North Germany where he accompanied them with professional training. These were groups diverse and included farmers from Holstein, Iowa; American teachers of German; college football players; and physicians and managers of the Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minnesota.

Between 1847 and 1856 more than one million Germans emigrated to the USA. In Schleswig-Holstein, the "Land Between Two Seas", the failed Revolution of 1848 became a pivotal experience catalyzing a mass migration from the North.

Excluded from the general amnesty given by the Danish King, the leaders of the Schleswig-Holsteinian uprising of 1848 were forced into political exile. Before the revolution (and after, as well), the two Duchies were part of the Danish kingdom. This bitter expulsion from their native soil led them to the New World, to settlements like Davenport, Iowa, New Holstein, Wisconsin, and Grand Island, Nebraska.

In their new home they continued to fight for human rights, freedom, and democracy. As co-founders of the Republican Party and well-respected politicians and journalists, the North-German 1848 revolutionaries supported Abraham Lincoln and the abolition of slavery. These charismatic personalities are now nearly forgotten in the Midwestern United States, as well as in their place of birth.

First published in Germany, this study documents this mass movement from Schleswig-Holstein to the U.S., the founding of educational institutions and newspapers, the confrontation of the idealistic political refugees with the reality of the American way of life, and their ultimate adjustment and acculturation. This work fills a gap in the academic study of emigration and keeps another chapter in German-American history from falling into oblivion.

Joachim Reppmann, Ph.D., born 1957 in Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany's northern-most state, studied History, American Literature, and Philosophy in Kiel. Professor at St. Olaf and Carleton Colleges, Northfield, Minnesota, since 1992. He served for three years as Schleswig-Holstein's managing director for the nonpartisan Europe-Union and in 1989 co-founded the American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society. Since 1983 he has organized both individualized language study abroad programs and educational exchanges between the US and Germany for groups as diverse as farmers from Holstein, Iowa, American teachers of German, college football players, and representatives of the Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minnesota.

