



Yearbook 2016

The Stoltenberg Institute for German-American Forty-Eighter Studies

Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany
Northfield, Minnesota, United States

1848er
Demokratie

Dedicated to Dr. Claus Peter Kölln.



Joachim Bodenstaff and Dr. Claus Peter Kölln,
October 2013, at the “Legacy of 1848” conference in
Wartburg College, Iowa.

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for German-American Forty-Eighter Studies

Portrait: Markus Dewanger, www.photodewanger.de (Yogi Reppmann).

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Foreword

Joachim Reppmann, Flensburg & Northfield, MN

Some debts – like the one owed to a mentor whose faith changed the arc of your life – can't be paid with euros or dollars. Gerhard Stoltenberg was such a mentor for me.

As a young student of history, Stoltenberg spent some time in the U.S. in 1953. There, he met the young Harvard history professor Henry Kissinger, and the two men established a close friendship. (Please, see Appendix 8: *Amerikanische Impressionen* and *Die Deutschen in Amerika*. 1953, by G. Stoltenberg. – Ulrich Erdmann, biographical service – www.erdmann-kiel.de - recently discovered these articles, which are a blueprint of my life.)

Fast forward 25 years. Perhaps remembering what his own U.S. visit had meant, Stoltenberg, now Ministerpräsident of Schleswig-Holstein, gave money to send a poor student and his college buddy, Dietrich (Dee) Eicke, from Flensburg to the *New World*.

Some years later, and now a professor myself in Minnesota, I received a call from newspaper editor Stephan Richter who had just published Stoltenberg's latest book. He was hosting a book party for the author and asked me to produce a short video interview with Kissinger as a surprise. Speaking in his native German "Heinz Alfred" Kissinger expressed his deep admiration for "Stolti," his German friend, historian, and colleague.

Watching the video, tears welled up in the eyes of the old politician, the man many thought would be Germany's next chancellor. Sadly, Stoltenberg died less than two years later (2001) with my "debt" to the great man still on the books.

March 30 – April 2nd, 2017, we are staging in Northfield, MN, a conference on the legacy of that most remarkable immigrant group, the 1848ers. It will be dedicated to the friendship of historians Kissinger and Stoltenberg. (Please, see also Appendix 8 and 9.)

Gerhard Stoltenberg's faith in me changed my life; I will always do what I can to honor his.

For this Stoltenberg Yearbook, we have chosen those talks from our latest 1848er conference, Wartburg College, Iowa, 2013, which concentrated on the democratic US Forty-Eighter revolutionaries from the northern German State of Schleswig-Holstein, e. g. Theodor Olshausen. Most of them came to Iowa, Missouri, and Nebraska. (Since 1994, Davenport, IA, "Claussen Centennial", we have been organizing these Forty-Eighter conferences.)



*From left to right: 1979, Yogi Reppmann, Basia Neil, Dee Eicke, Gov. Stoltenberg, and Christa Schacht.
(Today, Dee is a successful funeral speaker: www.trauerredner-eicke.de)*

Introduction

Don Heinrich Tolzmann, Cincinnati, OH



The *Achtundvierziger*, or Forty-Eighters, played an important role in the history of the German-speaking countries of Europe, so much so, that the Revolution of 1848 has been called a turning point in European history. In the U.S., this small but influential group exerted a great influence on American society and on German-American life as well. In 1948, the centennial of the Revolution witnessed the publication of important works by Carl Wittke and A. E. Zucker, followed in 1998 by its 150th anniversary, which became the occasion of numerous conferences, lectures, and publications dealing with the topic.¹

In 2013, the Stoltenberg Institute of Forty-Eighter Studies was formed to continue the task of exploring and explaining the history and legacy of the 1848 Revolution in Europe and those who participated in it, the fascinating and diverse group of individuals known as the Forty-Eighters. The Institute's goal is "to preserve the history of European democratic republican Forty-Eighter immigrants by actively collecting, preserving, interpreting, and presenting documents, artifacts and scholarly research and by promoting public involvement in and appreciation of this heritage through educational programming and community research."²

The Stoltenberg Yearbook of Forty-Eighter Research aims to be an international forum for scholarly research and discourse on the Forty-Eighters. In October 2013 the Institute sponsored its first conference dealing with "The Legacy of 1848" at Wartburg College, organized by Joachim Reppmann, Executive Director of the Stoltenberg Institute; and Daniel Walther, Gerald Kleinfeld Distinguished Professor of German History at Wartburg College. Supporting the Institute and its first conference was its newly formed Advisory Committee, which I was invited to chair, and whose members include Henry Kissinger, Eric Braeden, Walter Pfaeffle, and others prominent in the fields of German-American Studies and U.S.-German relations.

Having published widely in the field of German-American Studies and served as President of the Society for German-American Studies (SGAS) from 1981 to 2006, it has been a pleasure and honor to come on board the Institute.³ I have known its Executive Director, Joachim "Yogi" Reppmann for some time. We first met at the SGAS annual meeting and symposium in 1990 in Indianapolis, which was sponsored by the Indiana University-Purdue University there, and in 1994, I participated in and spoke at the conference he organized in Davenport, Iowa focusing on the Forty-Eighter Hans Reimer Claussen.⁴

More recently we worked together to coordinate the 2009 conference in Denison, Iowa, which also focused on the Forty-Eighter legacy. His research and publications on the topic have contributed greatly to an understanding of the Forty-Eighters, especially those from his native state of Schleswig-Holstein.⁵ As Historian for the Steuben Society of America, I was, therefore, pleased to nominate him for the Society's outstanding achievement award in 2014, which brought him to New York to speak about the Forty-Eighters and their influence on American society.

The Stoltenberg Institute aims to be a transatlantic center “espousing the Forty-Eighters’ conviction that we all embody moral values that should be publicly expressed, thereby making a meaningful contribution towards solving the myriad of challenges confronting the Western World.”⁶ With that in mind, we introduce this first volume of the Stoltenberg Institute of Forty-Eighter Studies. At the same time, we call upon our readers to mark their calendars for the Institute’s next conference, which will be held in Northfield, Minnesota in 2017. This represents an important anniversary date: the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, the 200th anniversary of the Wartburg-Fest, and the 200th anniversary of the Prussian Union of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, all of which will be taken into consideration as they relate to our focus on “The Legacy of 1848.”

Don Heinrich Tolzmann, Chairman

www.donheinrichtolzmann.net

Advisory Board

Stoltenberg Institute of Forty-Eighter Studies

Notes

1. See: Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952) and A. E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950). Regarding the 150th anniversary of the revolution, see my essay: “The German-American Forty-Eighters, 150th Anniversary,” in my: *German-Americana: Selected Essays*. (Milford, Ohio: Little Miami Pub. Co., 2009), pp. 25-28. Also, see the volume I edited for this anniversary: *The German-American Forty-Eighters: 1848-1998*. (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, Indiana University-Purdue University & Indiana German Heritage Society, 1997).
2. Joachim Reppmann, *Der Wilde Westen beginnt in Flensburg: Über Amerikas Seele und die deutsch-amerikanische Freundschaft*. (Northfield, Minnesota: Stoltenberg Institute for German-American Forty-Eighter Studies, 2013), p. 46.
3. See the author’s website, at *www.donheinrichtolzmann.net*
4. See: Lavern J. Rippley and Joachim Reppmann, eds., *Hans Reimer Claussen, 1804-1894: Eine Lebensskizze / A Sketch of His Life*. (Davenport, Iowa: Hesperian Press, 1994). By the same editors, also see: *Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle: Schleswig-Holsteinische Achtundvierziger in den USA*. (Wyk auf Föhr: Verlag für Amerikanistik, 1994).
5. Of his works on the topic, see especially his: *North Germans in the USA, 1847-1860: Freedom, Education and Well-being for All*. (Davenport, Iowa: Hesperian Press, 1999).
6. Reppmann, *Der Wilde Westen*, p. 46.

Opening Remarks: The Legacy of 1848 Conference

Joachim Reppmann, PhD



Executive Director
Stoltenberg Institute

Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa, October 18th-21st, 2013

Welcome to our conference, “Legacy of 1848 through today.” We’re so glad you could all join us in both honoring and learning from that most remarkable group of immigrants, the Forty-Eighters.

My name is Yogi Reppmann. I am a historian from Germany’s northernmost state of Schleswig-Holstein. After a US hitch-hiking tour, 1976, I again came to America in 1978 as a young college student, with aspirations of learning everything I could about the country that had fascinated me ever since I’d read Karl May’s Wild West novels as a child in Flensburg. After arriving in New York, I spent \$150 on an eight-cylinder car manufactured by the now defunct American Motors Company. Fittingly, the name of that car was “Rebel,” which was exactly what my German parents thought I was by traveling four thousand miles to America.

My travels took me deep into America’s Midwest to Iowa towns with names like Schleswig in Crawford County and Holstein in Ida County. I also spent a great deal of time in the Mississippi River town of Davenport, which a century and a half earlier had become the home for so many Forty-Eighters who’d emigrated from my home state of Schleswig-Holstein. My final research stop — three days at Davenport’s Putnam Museum — changed my life in ways I never could have imagined. A chance discovery of information about two very impressive men, Christian Müller and his father-in-law Hans Reimer Claussen, opened the door to my lifelong research into the remarkable legacy of the Forty-Eighters. I discovered that many of the achievements of this illustrious immigrant group had been consigned to the dustbin of history. My historical mission became to address this oversight.

One of the reasons the “Forty-Eighters” had fallen through the historical cracks was due to their relatively small number: there were only several thousand Forty-Eighters, and they emigrated in a very narrow window extending from the late 1840s until the early 1850s. Nevertheless, the indelible legacy carved out by the Forty-Eighters would dwarf their meager numbers. Having unsuccessfully fought for liberty, democracy, and national unity in

their homeland, they brought their considerable talents to America, providing an intellectual transfusion affecting not only their fellow German immigrants, but also the political and social history of America during one of its most critical periods.

Members of the Forty-Eighters made their mark in the fields of politics, education, business, journalism, the arts, and the military. Carl Schurz, perhaps the most well-known of the German Forty-Eighters who settled in America, achieved great success in no less than four of these areas. (His wife covered a fifth, helping develop the kindergarten in the United States.) During his long and illustrious career, he served as a United States senator (the first native-born German to hold this office), as an ambassador to Spain for President Lincoln, and as Secretary of the Interior under President Rutherford B. Hayes. His journalistic accomplishments were no less impressive, and included stints as the chief editor of the *Detroit Post*, editor and co-proprietor of *St. Louis' Westliche Post*, editor-in-chief and one of the owners of the *New York Evening Post*, and as an editorial writer for *Harper's Weekly*. Willing to use both sword and pen in defense of his adopted homeland, Schurz ably served the Union throughout the Civil War as a Brigadier General. Of perhaps the most lasting significance, however, were Schurz's high principles, moral conscience, and avoidance of political partisanship. These admirable traits, which were displayed by so many of his fellow Forty-Eighters, can teach us much about how to successfully deal with the many problems confronting all of us today.

One of these pressing problems is the steady increase in immigration, which has made it more important than ever to establish the proper framework for the absorption of newcomers. Schurz' solution — assimilation with the retention of each newcomer's ethnic heritage — is as valid today as it was in the nineteenth century when he first formulated it. The fusion of ethnic identities and American values is critically important, and Carl Schurz's life is a worthy paradigm for all immigrants to emulate.

Sadly, the extensive and extremely significant legacy of the extraordinary immigrant group known as the "Forty-Eighters" is little understood by most Europeans and Americans. Accordingly, the overarching purpose of our Forty-Eighter conference is to rectify this failing by inspiring teaching, research, and the erection of both an Institute for German-American Forty-Eighter Studies and informative and educational memorials throughout the United States and Germany. In short, the Legacy of 1848 Conference will highlight the timeless legacy of the democratic and moral values the Forty-Eighters brought to America.

In furtherance of this goal, we like to mention that Scott Christiansen is working on an extended biography, *The Forgotten Forty-Eighter: The Wilhelm von Schirach Story*. The life of von Schirach, which had previously escaped close analysis, teaches us a great deal about the hardships the Forty-Eighters overcame and how they became such an important ingredient in the cultural flavoring of America's storied melting pot. One of the things making von Schirach's biography particularly interesting is the myriad of direct and indirect ties he had to men both noteworthy and notorious. In the former group are luminaries such as President Abraham Lincoln; Christian Müller, "Iowa's *Turnvater*," Friedrich Hedde, the founder of Schleswig-Holstein's first *Turnverein*, and of Grand Island, NE; (please, see p. 70) two signers of the Declaration of Independence; the second president of the Continental Congress; the first two editors of Davenport's seminal German-language newspaper *Der Demokrat*; Carl Schurz, the most famous Forty-Eighter of them all; Joseph Pulitzer, the man whose will established the Pulitzer Prize; Nobel Prize winner Theodor Mommsen; and Schleswig-Holstein's most celebrated author, Theodor Storm. The latter group includes the infamous names of Charles Julius Guiteau, President James A. Garfield's assassin; and the Wild West figures of Doc Holliday and "Big Nose Kate."



Participants in the Legacy of 1848 Conference, Wartburg College, IA.

From left to right:

*Joseph Cofield, Naples, FL; Amanda Wolfson, St. Paul, MN; Tova Brandt, Elk Horn, IA;
Erik Grell, Carrboro, NC; Laurann Gilbertson, Decorah, IA; Joachim Bodenstaff, Berlin;
Niels Eichhorn, Fayetteville, AK; Karl Fink, Northfield, MN; Steve Rowan, St. Louis, MO;
Derk Janssen, Freiburg; Daniel Walther, Waverly, IA;*

*Christopher Brooks, East Stroudsburg, PA; Peter Mathews, Berlin; Yogi Reppmann, Flensburg;
Dorothea Nelson, Grand Forks, ND; Larry Grill, Schleswig, IA;
Klaus Lemke-Paetznick, Wilhelmshaven; Bill Roba, Davenport, IA;
Dr. h.c. Erik Bettermatnn, Berlin; Gitta Reppmann, Northfield, MN; Jan Jessen, Flensburg;
Scott & Carol Christiansen, Iowa City, IA; Mike Keen, South Bend, IN;*

*Edith Robbins, Grand Island, NE; Peter Lubrecht, Stanhope, PA; Bill Suckow, Naples, FL;
Kari Nelson, Vern Rippley, Steven Meyer, Northfield, MN; Michael Meyer, Pacific Palisades, CA.*

Not in the photo:

*Matthew Lindaman, Winona, MN; Terrence J. Lindell, Waverly, IA; Alison Orton, Chicago, IL;
Mark Schlenker, Indianola, IA; Hartmut Ihne, Bonn; Marvin Kissmer, Flensburg;
Antje Prey & Elisabeth Saunders, Leavenworth, WA;*

On the chairs, from left to right:

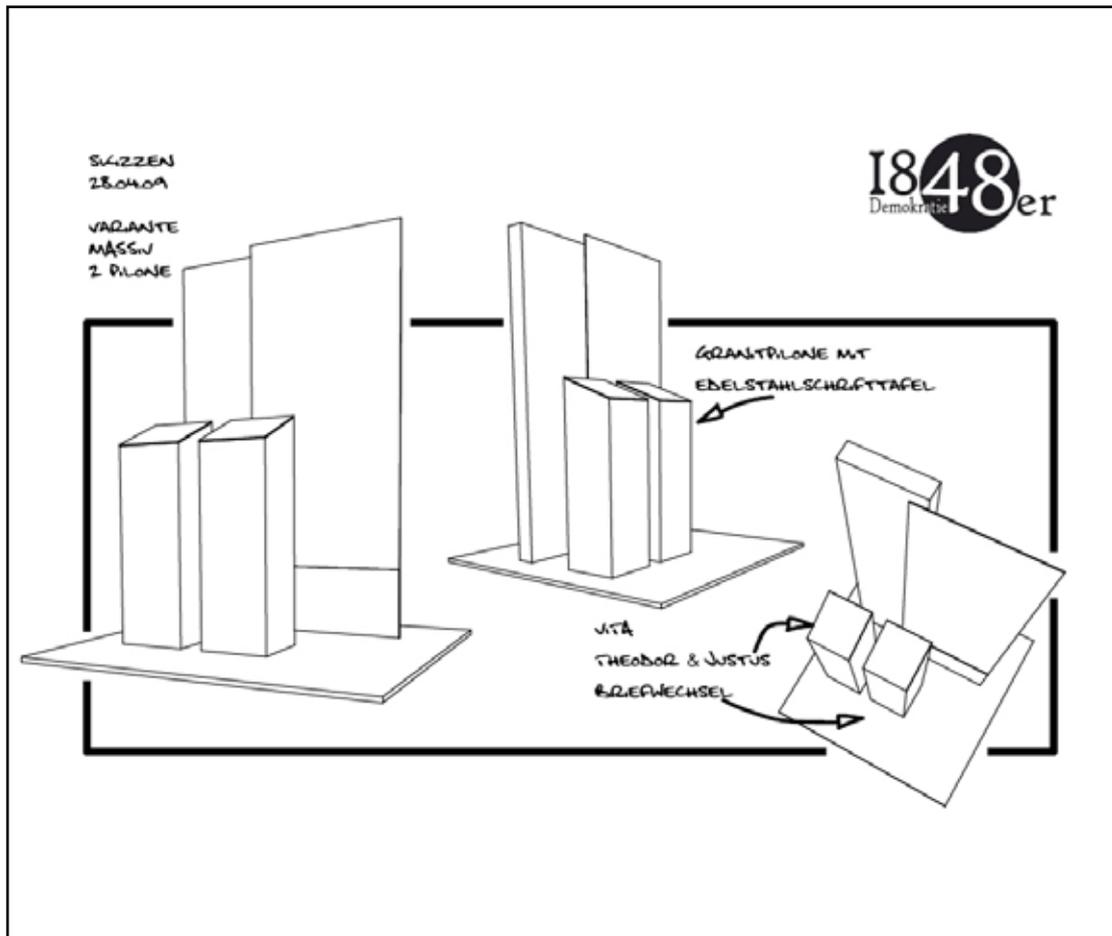
Martin Rackwitz, Kiel; David Ellis, Rock Island, IL; Daniel Nagel, Mannheim.

On the screen, from left to right:

Theodor Olshausen; Hans Reimer Claussen & Friedrich Hedde.

Olshausen Monument in Kiel, 2009

*Joachim Bodenstaff, Kiel & Berlin, Germany
Slides follow the article.*



1. *Who were the Olshausen Brothers?*
2. *Why is there a stele on the campus of Kiel University dedicated to them?*
3. *What is this stele's message for today's university students?*

Who were the Olshausen Brothers?

Slide 1: Picture of memorial

Every student and every single member of the alumni knows the name of “Olshausenstraße” from every day’s trip to the city of Kiel’s Christian-Albrechts-University. This street was named in memory of the brothers Justus and Theodor Olshausen. To keep their memory alive, a monument was dedicated to them; erected on June 5th, 2009. This was initiated by Dr. Joachim “Yogi” Reppmann – the very same man to whom we owe thanks for today’s conference.

In the course of my paper, I’d like to unfold the meaning and the background both of the memorial and the Olshausen brothers, as well as the reasons why their convictions and their actions can serve as an example for today’s students to help build a positive political future of their own country. Above all, there is the question: Why do we need a positive memory of the first fragile blossoms of German democratic history in the 19th century – apart from the important constant reminder of the Nazi catastrophe in German history.

Slide 2: Image of Theodor Olshausen

Theodor Olshausen was born on June 19th, 1802 in Glückstadt (on the river Elbe). He died on March 31st, 1869 in Hamburg. He was a member of the provisional Schleswig-Holstein government in Kiel, a staunchly Republican politician and newspaper editor. He, who had been a student of law in Kiel and Jena, was one of the spokesmen of the 1848 “March Revolution” in Schleswig-Holstein, which he had helped to prepare as the managing editor of the newspaper “Kieler Correspondenzblatt”. The political aim of this revolutionary movement was Schleswig-Holstein’s secession from Danish rule. As a former member of the Provisional Schleswig-Holstein Government he faced the prospect of being imprisoned by the Royal Danish authorities; therefore, he took refuge in the U.S.A. in the year 1851. In America, he became managing editor and joint owner of the German newspapers “Der Demokrat” (1856-1860) in Davenport, Iowa and “Westliche Post” (1860-1865) in St. Louis, Missouri – the newspaper which saw the beginnings of the career of a certain Joseph Pulitzer. In the U.S.A., too, he fought for his Republican concepts and published for the abolition of slavery.

Slide 3: Image of Justus Olshausen

Theodor’s older brother Justus Olshausen was born on May 9th, 1800 in Hohenfelde and he died on December 28th, 1882 in Berlin. In 1817 he had taken part in the *Wartburgfest* and in 1848 he was the first vice-president of the Schleswig-Holstein constitutional parliament in Kiel. He was a Republican linguist (Oriental languages) and “Vortragender Rat” (i.e. a reporting councillor) of the Prussian Ministry of Education in Berlin. Like his younger brother, he actively supported the movement for independence within the dukedoms of Schleswig and Holstein, which were Danish at the time. In the year of the 1848 Revolution he became Curator to the University of Kiel and, at times, very influential within the political leadership of the Schleswig-Holstein parliament. After the failure of the Schleswig-Holstein uprising he was sacked by the Danish government in 1852. On recommendation of his friend Alexander von Humboldt this successful linguist, who had proved a very able organizer during his time as President of Kiel University, was appointed chief librarian and professor in Königsberg (East Prussia). From 1858 to 1874 he was reporting councillor in the Prussian Ministry of Education, and from 1860 he was a member of the Prussian Royal Academy.

***Why is there a stele on the campus of Kiel
University dedicated to them?***

Slide 4: Picture of Yogi Reppmann and living descendants of Justus Olshausen

The official inauguration with the unveiling of the memorial was preceded by a festive ceremony, which was attended by high-ranking personalities. Yogi Reppmann had been very successful at inviting illustrious guests; among them representatives of the city of Kiel and the president of Kiel University. Apart from papers about the latest research on the revolution of 1848 in Schleswig-Holstein, there could be encountered living descendants of Justus Olshausen, who had been found by Yogi Reppmann: a retired professor of law, who still carries the name of Olshausen, gave a talk in which he combined the history of his own family with the happenings of the year 1848.

The President of the City of Kiel, Kathy Kietzer, put into very apt words the merits of the young Republicans around the Olshausen Brothers within both the political and the historical context.

Slide 5: Picture Kietzer – Fouquet

From the curriculum vitae of Theodor Olshausen, president Kathy Kietzer said in her speech at the ceremony on June 5th, 2009:

“Theodor Olshausen, born on June 19th 1802, became a student of law in 1820 and studied in Kiel as well as in Jena. Here, he was the only student from Kiel who joined the “*Jünglingsbund*” (association of young men), who stood for changes in contemporary society – which meant more liberty and democracy. The Prussian Ministry of the Interior even put him on a “Wanted Ad” because of his political activities. He fled to Paris where he worked as a private teacher under a false name...

... Theodor Olshausen was an imperturbable, courageous and straightforward person, who worked for free thinking. Many inhabitants of Kiel don't know which meritorious masterminds of our own democracy can be found in our city. We must be more aware of the roots of our democracy.

Especially the young people of our country should know more about positive aspects of our past. By this, a more relaxed – but at the same time not uncritical – approach to another aspect of our past can be made possible. Simultaneously, this could be an important step to counteract the general lack of interest in politics. Today we can learn: without steadfastness and activity there can be no democracy.”

It is of considerable interest, here, that president Kietzer comes from a Danish family background. Even today it is not easy for many citizens of Danish descent in Schleswig-Holstein to view the activities of the 1848 protagonists with respect to their contemporary relevance, because these 48ers didn't want anything short of a complete secession from the “Danish Comprehensive State”. The “uprising of 1848”, as it is called in Schleswig-Holstein and by German historiography, is in Denmark still labeled as a “rebellion”. During the war that followed the happenings of 1848, the Danish monarchy lost about one third of its territory and a major part of its population to the winners; i.e. Prussia and Austria in 1864. This included Denmark's second-biggest town Altona, which is now a part of Hamburg. This loss has always been remembered by what can be called “the collective consciousness” of Denmark.

President Kietzer's analysis, which was put forward neutrally and soberly, as well as her stress on the republicanism and the democratic activities of the Olshausen brothers, is – in my opinion – the correct approach. The main thing is to look forward into the future and to offer young young people orientation, i.e. the awareness of “What is politically desirable?” and “Where can we find political role models?”

Slide 6: Picture of Theodor Olshausen as an old man

In a letter to his brother Justus, Theodor Olshausen wrote on April 18th, 1864 from St. Louis:

“Another reason to return to Germany could have been the situation in Schleswig-Holstein. In mid-December I received an invitation to come back to Schleswig-Holstein by half a dozen of old Democrats, because they lacked any form of leadership. For me, however, it appeared obvious right from the beginning, that things would turn out just as they had in 1848, because people again clung to the Duke of Augustenborg and the other German Princes; and that – given the fact of the German “blind trust” – nothing could be done about it. If one doesn't want to act radically, one should leave it altogether.”

These lines summarize the general political Situation of the day. Yet they prove, at the same time, that liberty and democracy could be achieved elsewhere; i.e. in the U.S.A.

For me, another fact is important to be noted at this stage; in order to be able to illustrate the special role of the revolutionaries of 1848. This is their being rooted in what is called Vormärz (pre-March, which means the period between the end of the Napoleonic Wars

and March 1848). In her speech, president Kietzer mentioned the *Jünglingsbund*, which even today is something hardly known in Germany. The *Jünglingsbund* was a secret organization of about 120 young fraternity-brothers, democrats and revolutionaries of German universities in the early nineteenth century – whose traditions are still being kept in some academic clubs of today. The political aims of the original organization were the abolition of the feudalistic governments in the German “micro-states”, as well as their amalgamation in order to form a unified German state. In 1823, the *Jünglingsbund* was grassed on and dissolved by the Prussian police before it had been able to carry out any actions. Its members were imprisoned and sentenced to long incarcerations – especially in Prussia.

These revolutionaries of the early nineteenth century, and today’s academic associations who keep their traditions at German universities, form the decisive link with which the realization of Yogi Reppmann’s “stele – project” has been possible.

Slide 7: Design of the stele

Why the stele is there and makes people ponder can be explained easily: Yogi Reppmann had the idea, he found sponsors and supporters; an architect made the final design; a stone mason produced it and a construction company did the installation.

More interesting is the question, how this idea was turned into reality and how Yogi Reppmann managed to get the attention of the students of Kiel in order to motivate them into participating in the event of the memorial’s inauguration – especially because of the fact that this took place at noon of a Friday; when most students have normally disappeared into the weekend. Yogi Reppmann succeeded in keeping the students longer at their university on that specific Friday – and not only historians, but also students of economics, law, geology and medical studies attended the ceremony.

As for me, I could add a small part to the realization of this project and today I can speak to you as an eye-witness. It was in the summer of 2009, I study politics at Kiel University (CAU) and I was helping the Governor of our state government, Peter-Harry Carstensen. In the Governor’s Office, I worked Frank Trende, who was writing the Governor’s speeches. He has been in government service since the 1980s and is currently managing the cultural department in the Ministry of Education. He has a passion for Local History and meanwhile one could have the impression that half the books about our beautiful Schleswig-Holstein have been written by him. During a work session at a breakfast table we started talking about private matters and I told him about my interest in 1848ers from Schleswig-Holstein.

First and foremost, my interest in the 1848ers stemmed from the fact that the majority of them used to belong to my own student fraternity, Teutonia Kiel. This fraternity is one of the above-mentioned clubs which was founded by young Republicans – among them Justus Olshausen – in the first half of the 19th century: the *Vormärz*. In the case of my fraternity, Justus Olshausen and people around him walked to the big political fest on the Wartburg castle and – inspired by the big celebration of “400 years Lutheran Reformation” and “4 years Battle of the Peoples” (*Völkerschlacht*) near Leipzig – founded this fraternity. This was in 1817. Theodor Olshausen became a member, too.

At the time of 2009, I was a passive member of this fraternity, after having been an active member from 2002 to 2004. Meanwhile, I am one of the “Old Boys”. The “ancestral research” within my fraternity automatically led me to the 1848ers, most of whom knew each other from their time at Kiel University in the 1810s and 1820s. One could say that the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein was something like an alumni-network of the CAU. All protagonists had attended Kiel University and had met through their fraternities who had been home to nearly all students in Kiel. Today the fraternities have to compete with other leisure time entertainments; and they are rather existing as a sort of niche.

Slide 8: Picture of the Provisional Government, 1848

Frank Trende was the person who gave me the very useful piece of advice to go and see his friend Yogi Reppmann in Flensburg (on the Danish border). Contact was established easily, and just a short time later Yogi gave a talk about the Olshausen Brothers, their lives from the Wartburg-Fest through their fraternity years into the Revolution of 1848 and, finally, into the liberty of America. All this took place at my fraternity's house, Kiel-Düsterbrook, Moltkestraße.

First Yogi Reppmann came to see us out of "zoological interest", i.e. he had had some doubts, as to how conservative a bunch we all might be. That is to say, a fraternity, founded in 1817, in which even today young men are submitted to drinking and fighting duels versus other fraternities with sharp swords. He then quickly realized that we are rather a liberal and friendly circle of mates who are avoiding nationalist sentiments and who like to celebrate traditional togetherness among young and old academics of Kiel University.

This tradition has been kept by my fraternity since 1817 – with certain breaks because of external reasons. The hardest cut in our history was the time between 1933 and 1945, when our fraternity was seen as an élite male organization which didn't fit the Nazis' view of *Volksgemeinschaft* (i.e. their idea of a commonwealth of Germans). For this reason, we had to keep up our traditions in strict secrecy. - Freedom, therefore is the value which is treasured most in our fraternity; right from the start when our young brothers join.

Slide 9: The Active Members

This our claim, which is to make young university students of all denominations familiar with political and historical developments and phenomena, has been carried out by our fraternity brothers with considerable success. Consequently, it was no problem whatsoever to recruit all our active members, whose numbers are five to six per semester, for the support of Yogi Reppmann's stele project. What followed were long evenings, in which Yogi Reppmann and the young students made a joint effort to get things going and to master all logistic challenges. Then there were uncounted lunch breaks at the university's refectory,

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Von Oliver Stenzel

Der eine war ein bedeutender Gelehrter, der andere ein umtriebiger Journalist und Verleger. Gemeinsam war Justus und Theodor Olshausen ihr engagiertes Eintreten für die Demokratie in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Während der Kieler Orientalistik-Professor Justus 1848 nicht nur



Spurensuche nach den demokratischen Wurzeln der Stadt: Universitätspräsident Gerhard Fouquet, Stelen-Initiator Joachim Reppmann und Stadtpräsidentin Cathy Kietzer vor der neuen Gedenkstele.
Foto Molter

Kieler Nachrichten, June 6, 2009. The daily newspaper of Kiel, the capital of Schleswig-Holstein.

which were spent handing out flyers to attract attention for the planned ceremony and to motivate fellow students to attend it.

Slide 10: Picture Inauguration (audience)

The success was quite remarkable. An audience of more than a hundred thronged in a lecture theatre which was originally designed for about eighty people. The media were present, too. The *Kieler Nachrichten*, i.e. the biggest local newspaper, published a long article about the inauguration, and a student-run on-line broadcasting station as well as the local TV produced and broadcast video reports. It might be worth noting that the *Kieler Nachrichten* are direct descendants of the *Kieler Correspondenzblatt*, a newspaper once founded by Theodor Olshausen in 1830.

What is this stele's message for today's university students?

Slide 11: Yogi Reppmann in front of the stele, and the article of Kieler Nachrichten

For five years the Olshausen stele has been a familiar sight on the campus of Kiel's Christian-Albrecht-University. It stands on every student's way to the first matriculation and to every renewal of it. The stele invites every passer-by to stop and consider the question: "What is the link between the students of today and the brothers Justus and Theodor Olshausen?"

The stele's concept has been (successfully) copied twice in Kiel. One stele was erected in honor of Wilhelm Hartwig Beseler, the President of the Provisional Schleswig-Holstein Government in 1848. The other one was erected in honour of the banker, politician and scientist Wilhelm Ahlmann who was the Secretary to the Provisional Schleswig-Holstein Government in 1848.

Slide 12: Yogi Reppmann and Wolfgang Börnsen, MdB with Brandenburg Gate

Another idea is slowly bearing fruit; that is to say, the idea of commemorating the year 1848 nationwide: The uprising in Berlin, the provisional government in Kiel, the first parliamentary congress of St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt. This was the very first attempt to establish in Germany a truly parliamentary democracy.

Wolfgang Börnsen, a member of the German parliament who, like Yogi Reppmann, comes from Flensburg, works on a project to establish the 18th of March as a national memory day of German parliamentary history – even after his retirement from the Bundestag. His idea is being welcomed by members of all political parties. It will be interesting to see what will be the outcome of his initiative. The number of its supporters is constantly rising.

The concept of putting side by side the important reminders of our political catastrophes in the twentieth century and their democratic "counter-design" of the year 1848 is, in my opinion, a very good one. Let us protect our democracy – in many parts of the world today it is anything but self-evident!

It is of crucial importance to explain to our young people the roots of our democracy; and to show which shortcomings there were in this first try; and to point out which of them led to its ultimate failure; in order to make the point: If you fail, try again – try harder!

The stele is a wonderful complement to Kiel University's motto: PAX OPTIMA RE-RUM – peace is the most precious of things. The Christian Albrecht's-University in Kiel was founded in 1665 as a university for the whole country – still under the impressions of the catastrophe of the Thirty-Years-War (1618-1648), which had laid to waste complete territories and annihilated their population. The university's motto is a reflection of this

yearning: “peace is the most precious of things”. The yearnings for freedom of the 1848ers who emigrated are based on this, because one can’t separate peace and freedom.

The stele of the Olshausen brothers is to remind us of the 1848ers’ strife for freedom; a struggle that couldn’t be won at home – yet it could finally be accomplished in the U.S.A. It is, furthermore, to remind us of the willpower of single personalities which can precede great successes – yet it is, finally, to remind us not to put freedom at risk light-heartedly; getting it back – or achieving it – is always a fierce struggle.

An American proverb says: “Freedom isn’t free”. This is entirely correct because freedom has to be defended – every day anew.

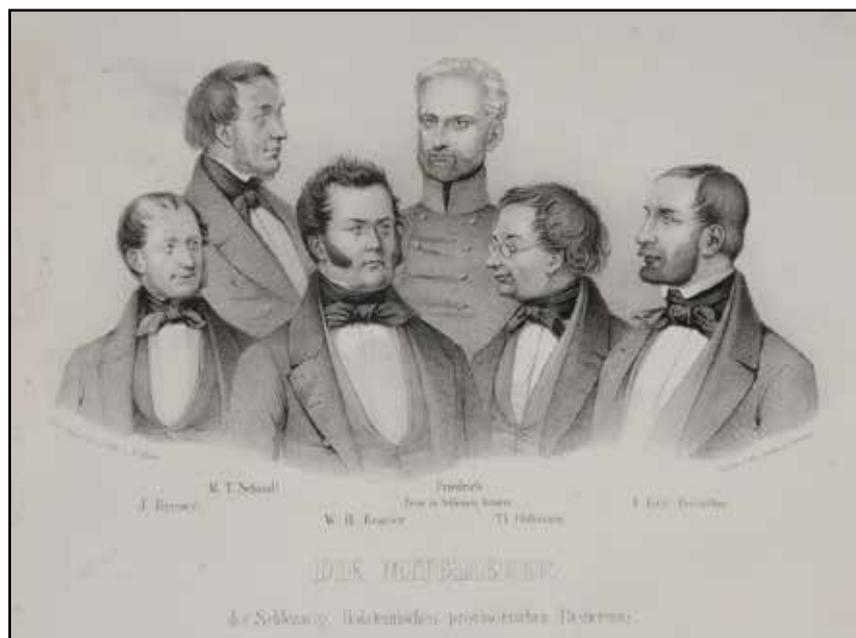
The task of keeping peace and freedom can be supported by memorials. The stele of the Olshausen brothers can be such a support because it makes young people think about these values.

At the end of my paper, let me quote the Austrian songwriter and cabaret singer Fritz Grünbaum, who was born in 1880:

“For me, the German word *Denkmal* (i.e. Memorial) is a life-long imperative that consists of two words: *Denk* (i.e. Think!) and *mal* (i.e. at least once).

Fritz Grünbaum died in 1941, murdered in Dachau Concentration Camp, in the center of Germany; but far from peace and far from freedom.

Denk-mal: THINK – at least this once!



1848, Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein;
second-from-right, Theodore Olshausen.

Olshausen Monument Kiel



Mr. Reppmann, living descendants of Justus Olshausen and me at „Förde Club Kiel“



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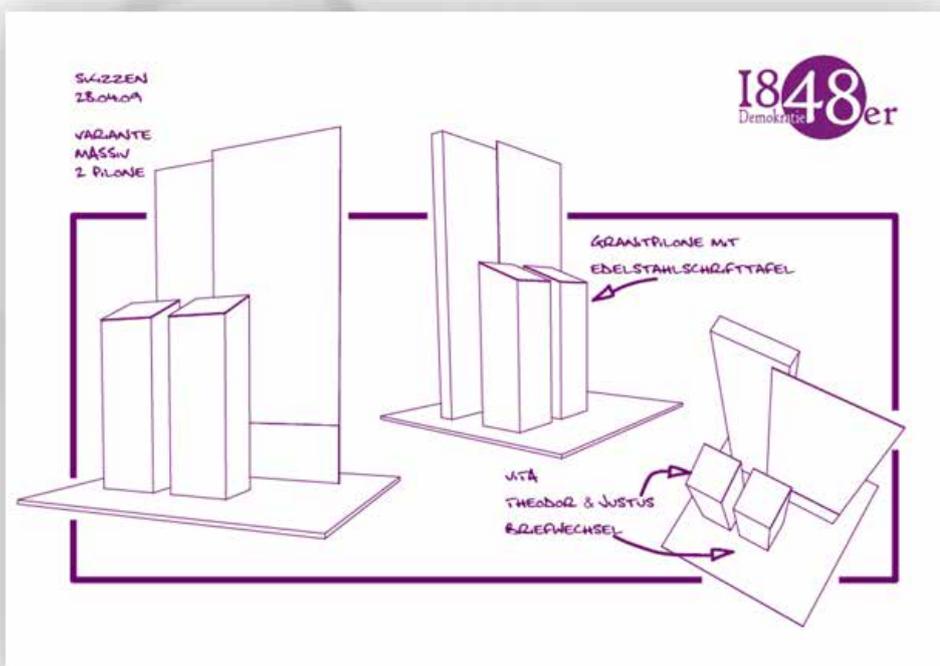
Mrs. Kietzer & Prof. Dr. Fouquet



Theodor Ohlshausen



The draft of the stele



Justus Olshausen * 1800 - † 1882



Justus Olshausen
1830—52 Professor in Kiel



Inauguration of the stele



Inauguration of the stele

Kieler Nachrichten Landeshauptstadt Kiel / Roman 27

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Beide bezahlten nach dem Scheitern der Revolution für ihr Engagement. Justus Olshausen verlor 1852 Katalanen- und Lehramt, sein Bruder ging ins amerikanische



Spurensuche nach den demokratischen Wurzeln der Stadt: Universitätspräsident Gerhard Fouquet, Stele-Initiator Joachim Reppmann und Stadtpräsidentin Cathy Kießler vor der neuen Gedenkstele. Foto: Moller

Exil. Dort wurde er Redakteur und Mitinhaber mehrerer demokratisch ausgerichteter Zeitungen, während Justus als vortragender Rat Referent für alle geistlichen Universitäten im preussischen Kultusministerium wurde. Im In- wie im Ausland konnten sie dementsprechend weiterhin Akzente setzen.

Auf diese beiden eindrucksvollen Biografien kann seit gestern jeder stützen, der das Verwaltungshochhaus der

Christian-Albrechts-Universität passiert. Rechts vor ihm steht nun die Gedenkstele, die in Worten und Bildern kurze Porträts der Olshausen-Brüder präsentiert. Georg Wawerla vom Kieler Studio 3B hat sie klar und minimalistisch gestaltet, die Kosten von rund 12.000 Euro wurden maßgeblich von der Sparkassenstiftung Schwabwig-Holstein sowie der Provinzial und der Investitionsbank Schleswig-Holstein getragen.

„Ich freue mich, dass der Name der Landesuniversität auf diese Weise mit dem Beginn der Demokratie verbunden wird“, unterstrich Gerhard Fouquet, Präsident der Kieler Universität, gestern bei der Einweihung der Stele. Staatsrätin Cathy Kießler hob dagegen die demokratischen Wurzeln Kiels vor dem Hintergrund aktueller rechtsextremer Vorfälle hervor.

Angeregt wurde die Errichtung der Stele durch den aus Flensburg stammenden Historiker und Unternehmensberater Joachim Reppmann, der in seiner zweiten Wahlperiode in seiner zweiten Amtsperiode auf die Geschichte Theodor Olshausens stieß und sich von ihr faszinieren ließ. Getragen wird das Projekt zudem von dem Verein „Gedehertes Erbe“ und der „Gesellschaft für Kieler Stadtgeschichte“. Vor dessen Hintergrund scheint in Zukunft auch die Errichtung weiterer Stele denkbar.

Mr. Reppmann and Wolfgang Börnsen MdB with Brandenburg Gate



Harro Harring – Revolutionary and Poet of Freedom

Peter Mathews, Berlin, Germany



Even specialists in German literature and history who focus on the 19th century occasionally have doubts whether or not I am being serious when I speak to them about Harro Harring.

I have asked colleagues who study contemporaries and companions of Harro Harring such as Büchner, Heine and Börne, but no one could or would remember him, or thought him worth mentioning.

I assure you, under the circumstances, Harro Harring did exist, and his work is worth reading.

His bibliography includes more than one hundred works, like the thousand-page autobiographical novel “Rhonghar Jarr;” he also wrote reviews about plays and poems. Songs, doggerel, hundreds of leaflets, and letters to his friend Todsens, are in the National Library in Kiel. He was clearly there during the first half of the 19th century appearing whenever there was an opportunity to comment during the turmoil of the pre-March revolution. But he was often in the wrong place at the wrong time. His works were popular - for decades in the 19th Century they were in the knapsack of every craftsman, but most were quickly banned and ultimately forgotten.

He also had powerful enemies such Prince Metternich and Karl Marx who persecuted and mocked him during his lifetime. And after the censors did their job, his books were banned, and the author imprisoned and deported. But his vision of a free Europe ultimately prevailed. Here is a brief outline of his life's work.

Harro Paul Harring was born on August 28, 1798 on the Ibenschhof at Husum (the largest city on the west coast of Schleswig-Holstein) and died at the age of 71 in 1870 by his own hand on the isle of Jersey.

His father, a dykemaster, died when Harro was ten years old. Five brothers died, also of consumption. Death was his childhood companion, and a “death-wish” probably drove his lifelong search for adventure and despair, so that he sought “freedom and/or death.”

His father’s death and debt forced the ten year old, his mother and a brother to leave the house on the dyke. He was apprenticed in the customs office in Husum and learned to read, write, and draw there. He quickly decided that if he wasn’t going to die, then he wanted to be an artist.

First, a battle painter. He studied painting, first in Copenhagen where, on the recommendation of the painter Dahl, the Danish Crown Prince gave him a scholarship, and later in Dresden, where he met his idol Caspar David Friedrich. He wore the livery of those revolutionary demagogues, the *Giessener Schwarzen*. He was enlisted by his friend Bolde-
mann, a member of the fraternity in Jena, to carry seditious letters to Vienna and Prague. In Vienna, Metternich’s police cut his hair, otherwise his long hair and black dress would have been recognizable as the uniform of the revolution. He was one of those Biedermeier German Don Quixotes who tilted at the windmills of repression in the name of freedom. At the Wartburg Festival in 1817, where not only Luther and German unity was recalled and affirmed, but also progressive books such as the Code Civil were burned, the cause of “unity and freedom” first began to find its followers among students. The young enthusiasts were not just drunk on freedom and nationalism, but were also willing to do violence. In the same manner that modern terrorism seeks symbolic targets, the fraternity brother Carl Sand murdered the poet Kotzebue, because he thought Kotzebue was a spy and a traitor to the nationalist cause. The Carlsbad Decrees, which sharply curtailed the freedom of the press and democratic organizations, were the result. In the spirit of the times, the students in particular applauded the assassin both covertly and openly; Börne thought the assassination was an act of stupidity. Karl Follen, the spiritual instigator, had called for an armed struggle. He was forced to emigrate in 1820 and made a career teaching at Boston University. “We must win the people’s freedom by any means at our disposal. Rebellion, tyrannicide, and all that is identified as a crime and is justly punished in ordinary life, one may include as the means ... as those weapons, against tyranny remaining available to us.”

Strong stuff, but insurgency in the 34 small states of the German League seemed illusory. In the Dresden salons and pubs where Ludwig Tieck and Arthur Schopenhauer philosophized about God and the world, Schleiermacher said, “No one who requires a holy scripture to practice a religion actually believes, but those who require none to believe could probably write their own” and all the world, including Harro, said: “...I am God.” (Safranski, *Romantik* p. 103)

There developed in that era the idea of a “religion of freedom”. The struggle for freedom became a divine mission. As a spiritual movement, it became an important expression of a type of political/religious romanticism, or liberation theology, which was present into the late 30s.

At the beginning of 1821 Greeks, led by Alexander Ypsilanti, a Greek in Russian service, advocated military force to liberate Greece from Turkish domination, which caused a solidarity movement throughout Europe. Progressive forces believed they could achieve that in Greece which, due to their own weakness, they were unable to do in their homelands: to overthrow the ruling powers.

One had the Greece of antiquity and the return to the rule of the people in mind. In no time, Greek societies were founded, particularly in Germany, money was collected, and volunteers came forward to support the fight for freedom. The euphoria did not only include students, who could no longer advance the revolt in Germany, but also a wide circle of the middle classes and former soldiers, and princes like the Bavarian king supported the cause. The Greek society had nearly 90,000 members and soon corps of volunteers were

assembled and sent off to Greece. Even Harro Harring caught the Greek fever, tossed aside his studies and went to Marseille to sail with the volunteer corps into battle.

But the campaign for the liberation of Greece that fighters known as “Philhellenics” from all across Europe celebrated and prepared for with such enthusiasm was a disaster. Harring and a motley troop of enthusiastic soldiers landed at Navarino on a desolate beach after an uncomfortable sailing. The Greeks, to whom they wanted to offer help, ignored them or fleeced them, and the provisions were appalling. So, Harro and his companions spent three weeks in the country suffering from diarrhea and fever. The soldiers’ equipment was liberated by Greek thieves and the only way they saved themselves was by finally taking a passage to Italy. Harro developed a fever for the German and Danish artist’s colony in Rome, who reveled there in classicism. Harro was disappointed in the Greeks, but stayed well-disposed to them.

The British poet Lord Byron, who probably spoke with Harring in Livorno about the disaster in Greece, although the source documentation isn’t very clear, did not deter him from his descriptions of the mission. Harring was in Livorno at the same time Byron cremated his dead poet friend Shelley on a beach-side funeral pyre. Byron later went to the Peloponnes with a private army and died – not from a Turkish soldier – but from typhus.

Only in 1827 were the allied French, English, and Russians victorious at the naval battle at Navarino and the way for a new Greece was open. A Bavarian, Otto I, was crowned the Greek king, but the rebirth of ancient Greece it was not.

In the following years Harro Harring described and analyzed the situation in Greece very accurately in essays and reports and made Greece his theme in literary writings and poems. His works were successfully performed in Munich and then in Vienna. Even King Ludwig received him and their friendship for Greece united them.

He went to Vienna as a dramaturgy, failed there and even the “Philhellenic’s” reputation was suspicious to Metternich and the Viennese police. He was placed under surveillance and ultimately expelled. In Prague he tried but failed to liberate Ypsilanti who was still imprisoned in the fortress in Theresienstadt . In 1828 Harring returned to Munich, where he became acquainted with Heinrich Heine and wrote for the paper that Heine edited about the situation in the Peloponnes. Heine abstained from referring to Harring’s name as the German League’s censoring agencies had become alerted to it and Heine wanted to prevent any unpleasantness. Nevertheless, Heine found Harring’s opinion so interesting that he printed the contributions in the annals. In Heine’s *Reisebilder*, specifically in “Die Bäder von Lucca”, are to be found literal items about Napoleon that Harring had written the previous year. Harring respected Heine, wrote lengthy reviews about Heine’s books, and even tried to mimic Heine’s slightly ironic and amusing writing style. When Harring read Hans Christian Andersen’s writings, he found much in them that was reminiscent of Heine.

Harro, like Harry, who were about the same age, were both wrong about the assessment of the Russian rulers. Heine believed the tsars to be enlightened monarchs and Harring fled to Warsaw, after he completed and published “Rhonghar Jarr”, his thousand page memoir in the form of a novel which took him thirty years. He wanted to crusade with the Poles against the Turks and earn a title so that he could marry his love, Lyudmila, a Bohemian duchess. But what a mistake. The Philhellene was captured at the border and forced into the Russian controlled army. He led the life of a nobleman for a year, could furnish detailed information about the political relationships in Poland and found, on the other hand, so much trust from his superiors, that some tried to hire him as an influence agent.

He was supposed to gather information in the revolutionary circles of Europe and at the same time spin intrigues in the interest of Russia. Harro declined in disgust and so his only option was to flee. Not to his duchess, however, as she had married someone more

suiting to her rank. In 1830 he arrived in Dresden, then went to Leipzig, where he became a Freemason and wrote his "Memories of Poland under Russian Rule." The book was the first comprehensive report about the circumstances in Poland, which by then was completely cut off from the outside world. Published conspiratorially by Reklam, the book was a great success and contributed to the Polish enthusiasm in Germany and resulted in lifelong scrutiny from the Russian authorities.

Out of the Philhellenic Harring developed the Polish Harring. The book was immediately banned by the Prussian administration, but it took Europe by storm and was translated into many languages. He left Poland in June of 1830, just ahead of the Warsaw Uprising in November. Polish freedom fighters staged a coup against the Russian crown prince Constantin and thus began a war that lasted over a year. The Poles lost their bid for freedom and thousands of Poles went into exile, forming from then on a kind of revolutionary reserve army in Europe.

Harro wrote more books, poems, theater pieces and appeals for the Polish cause. The Poles became his soul brothers, who remained loyal to him until his death and even paid him a small pension. However, his conscription in Poland caused him to lose his Danish passport and he was, as he later wrote "San nation et sans patrie." without a nation and a home country. Börne remarked similarly about himself, he was "born without a home." Thus these "homeless compatriots", as they would later be disparaged, appeared as historical examples of the current debate of whether one has a German or European identity.

During Harring's lifetime there was a constant shift between Germanism, internationalism, Frisian patriotism, Scandinavianism and cosmopolitan views like the ebb and flow on the coast, because for him there was only one homeland: Freedom. But freedom for Harring was, as Kris Kristofferson wrote in 1968 and Janis Joplin sang: "Freedom is just another word, for nothing left to lose."

In 1831, Harring went to Strassburg, where the German refugees had gathered. Georg Büchner was studying there at the same time and even if no direct encounter was recorded, Büchner took part in the activities that Harring initiated. Even their concepts to lead the struggle against authority were similar in their formulations. Harring edited a newspaper entitled "The Constitutional Germany" that he renamed "Germany". Even here one could feel how the revolutionaries prepared themselves for a united and free Germany of the future. They practically created a governmental program that would assure "Germany's rebirth". After the uprising in Warsaw and Paris, they believed Belgium's declaration of independence to be an advanced and liberal example of the next step in the revolution. They placed great hope on the Hambacher Fest of May 1832. For some it should have been the signal for the creation of a counter government, but the collective citizens didn't trust themselves. They waited for a signal from Paris that had gone off two years previously from the barricades. Now they wanted a unified strike. But in Paris they only went into the streets in July of 1832 and the collection of democrats, craftsmen, businessmen and vinters from the German lands could not agree on an agenda. They didn't feel competent. Ludwig Börne and Harro Harring, the one a Jew, the other a Frisian by birth, were celebrated at the festivities with a torchlight procession, Harro's songs were sung, his flyers read, but were not adequate as representatives. Harro, as a Dane, was never once accepted, which infuriated him. At the time of the festivities, however, that was not important, he was ready for an armed rebellion. His followers sang his verses. One went:

We cannot tolerate it any longer / Up! Let us go forward! / People to arms! German people, strong and brave / must join the fight / Salvation blooms for you / Wait no longer!

The festival's initiator, the journalist Siebenpfeiffer, charged the European people with friendship, but it did not result in any binding action or organization. Only the German League, acting under the presidency of Prince Metternich, maintained that peace in the

country was more important than the song of freedom. After the festival the ringleader was arrested and indicted, the press association was banned, and censure of the press was increased. Anyone who possessed any of Harro's writings was in danger of imprisonment.

They even tried to arrest Harro and others at the festival and it was only through the solidarity of the people and the deployment of citizens that his arrest was hindered.

Now he could only live and travel undercover and had to constantly change his name. In total, as he wrote a year later, he was arrested, imprisoned or expelled 23 times between 1830 and 1835.

At the Hambacher Castle, that where a large exhibition is dedicated to the democratic festival, one finds Börne's name, but one searches for the name Harro Harring, or his pseudonym of that time Louis Haubenstircker, in vain.

Harro hid for a time in France, preparing again for an armed rebellion that was to have begun with a raid on the treasury in Frankfurt. But this action was betrayed by an informer and failed. The taking of the Kehl fortress by militant Strassburg students under Harring's leadership also failed. He went to Switzerland along with the "holy flock" of nearly 500 Polish soldiers. There he met Giuseppe Mazzini, who had just fled Italy for Switzerland following a failed coup. Mazzini was, like Harring, a free-mason and well-versed in conspiracy. Switzerland, which had recently deposed its own aristocracy, gave the combined forces asylum. The revolutionaries used this opportunity to plan a new rebellion, to be launched with an invasion of Savoy, where they would overthrow Prince Karl Albert. But dilettantism and betrayal also stymied the rebellion in Switzerland. The French secret service bribed General Ramorino, who commanded the insurgents by Mazzini's personal appointment, to delay his preparations. Instead of marching his forces to Italy, they paraded on Lake Geneva, until the Swiss National Guard could do nothing else but arrest and expel them. That was in January of 1834.

Harro fled back to France and wrote his memories of the campaign and furious poems about Ramorino in French. Mazzini stayed active in Switzerland. On April 15, 1834 he founded the secret society "Young Europe" in Bern along with five Germans, five Poles, and six Italians. The society decided to fight for a Europe without borders and princes using any means under the rallying cry of "Freedom, Equality, and Humanity." They wanted equal rights, human rights, and co-determination. It was the first international coalition that espoused the slogan "Democrats from every country unite!" foretelling the birth of modern Europe. But it was, to stay in the language of medicine, a premature child, and not really viable.

The revolutionaries were inspired by the Frenchman Pater La Mennais, who, in the same year, defined "the Religion of Freedom" with a new Sermon on the Mount, an alternative testament justifying the democratic movements as the cause of the people and the cause of God. The "Religion of Freedom" gave democratic reform a theological dimension. Pope Gregory the 16th, who could only save the Vatican from bankruptcy with Austrian support, reacted promptly and in the spirit of Metternich. He banned revolutionary thoughts from the church in an encyclical. But the cause gained momentum. Ludwig Börne translated the text immediately into German and Harring applied himself by translating La Mennais' ideas into political action. In the summer of 1834 he wrote his "Words of a Man", translated La Mennais' ideas into a political program and developed a bizarre Utopia built on eleven forms of government. Harro also wrote about religion and philosophy in that year, that the spirit of the age was detaching itself from absolutism. Georg Büchner interpreted the unrest more radically. His "Hessian Messenger" began with the legendary call "Peace to the shanties! War on the chateaus!" With the sentence "In 1834 it looked like "the Bible was punishing lying..." Büchner was, however, first a poet. His leaflet was the very best

of political literature, but was concerned that Mazzini's European Manifest and Harring's dreams placed their faith more in the governors than in the workers and farmers.

Metternich and the German League reacted nervously to these developments. They responded with sharper censorship of the press and went after the revolutionaries. In 1833 Metternich responded to the failed attempt to take over the Frankfurt treasury by establishing "the first official centralized political-police news service organized on German soil". Created specifically to keep the movement of "Young Europe" in check and headquartered in Mainz, this service covered all of Europe in a net of paid fiduciaries and informers who collected and analyzed accounts from informers. By 1835 the "Mainz Information Bureau" and later the Vienna based "Central Information Committee" were already following and informing on the members of over 200 republican clubs and other suspects in seven countries. I found reference to Harro Harring alone in over 60 informant's accounts in the state archive of Baden-Württemberg. When we marvel over the monitoring of telecommunications and Internet, we find here a historical example. Metternich's monitoring system was everywhere at that time, even internationally, and they collected everything. Even then there was justification for the war on terrorism. Maybe the NSA is the legacy of the response to the Pre-March Revolution.

The Swiss League was under pressure to cancel the asylum of the political refugees because of their support of the "Youth of Europe". But the Swiss defended themselves bravely. Only when Austria, Russia, France, and the German League threatened to declare Swiss passports null and void, and made all Swiss travel and business in Europe impossible did they bend to the pressure. The migrants were deported, over their strenuous objections. France granted them safe conduct and even Harring had to leave the country. London became for years the place of exile for the revolution.

Harro Harring was then 36 years old and the "wanderings of the Odysseus of freedom", as the historian Walter Grab called him, were just beginning. I would like to note the following years in catch phrases, however, because what this man lived through is not only too much for just one life, but also for a lecture.

Harro didn't stay long in London. He went to Helgoland, was expelled from there because of conflict, went back to Switzerland, was arrested with Mazzini, expelled, went to Bordeaux, and was given a job writing about slavery in Brazil for the British newspaper "The African Colonizer". At this point, he hardly had an income. His books were banned, he painted portraits on commission, and starved. In 1840 he went to Rio de Janeiro as a ship's translator, documented the conditions in the "most unfortunate nations of West Africa" in pictures and published his report in an English paper and in "Tropical Scenes". It was the first report about slavery in Brazil ever.

He returned to London, painted portraits of British dignitaries, went back to South America in 1842, met Mazzini's comrade Giuseppe Garibaldi and suggested that they found the United States of South America. Garibaldi first wanted to unite Italy and ordered Harring to go to New York in order to organize a ship for the Italian revolutionaries who wanted to return to support Italy. Arriving in New York he experienced that even this uprising had been informed upon. Harring wrote the novel "Dolores" about the situation in South America. Harring was accused of profanity and the book could not initially be printed. Representatives of the Methodist church accused him of blasphemy because the lifestyle of the novel's main character, Dolores, encouraged living in sin. The case was brought to court and is noteworthy because many protestant Christians migrated to the USA to gain religious freedom. They appeared to claim religious freedom as something belonging uniquely to them, an interpretation that persists to this day.

But Harring had prominent advocates like the diplomat Everett and the author Margaret Fuller, who took up his cause, helped him with money, and published the book. It had many editions.

Harring was finally acknowledged; he became a US Citizen and went to Philadelphia. He had barely gotten settled there in 1848 when he heard that the revolution in Germany had broken out. He left, and returned to Schleswig-Holstein along with many other refugees. Finally the revolution had arrived.

After, his long odyssey Harring was greeted jubilantly on July 13, 1848 in Tönning. He delivered a speech in a cabin, wearing the black uniform and the golden star of the “Youth of Europe”, that proved that he was caught between two worlds. In spite of their democratic rhetoric, the discussion was not about democracy and freedom, but rather whether or not Cymbria, (as Schleswig-Holstein was called at that time) should join with the German League or stay with Denmark. Harring, who represented the European idea of an international community without borders, pledged surprisingly for a Frisian free state in a unified Scandinavia. He wanted to vanquish the “princely government” and considered the “border question” a trivial matter. That didn’t go over well and all of his soaring plans to stay in North Friesland were dashed in this conflict.

Harro went to Norway, where he served as a Mazzini’s representative and became the publisher of the newspaper “Folket Röst”, the “Voice of the People”, was famous in short order and suspicious to the local authorities. He was arrested yet again under protests from the young Henrik Ibsen, among others, and transported by ship to England. Once again he wandered around, tried to work as an artist, hypnotist, and realtor, but his time was up. In 1855 he moved to the channel island of Jersey, which at that time was the place of exile for his friends Victor Hugo and Conrad Schramm, and stayed there with a few excursions until his death. Mazzini, who managed along with Garibaldi to unite Italy, remained his steadfast friend, even as Harring sank slowly into depression and confusion. On May 15, 1870 Harro Harring plunged a dagger into his chest in his cottage at St. Heliers on Jersey.

Admittedly, such a life is confusing, even for the observer. It would be suitable for a study about multiple personalities using the motto “I am many.”

Harring used nearly a dozen pseudonyms in his life, of which “Hamlet” seems the most appropriate. He was an apprentice customs officer, painter, poet, novelist, correspondent, soldier, hypnotist, translator, ship maker, and above all, a career revolutionary. Born a Friesen, he was and considered himself to be a Dane, German, Philhellenic, Pole, Scandinavian, and European – and was finally a cosmopolitan – without a country or a home.

When one reads his works, one feels a great need to belong and to be recognized. In Harring one can see what happens with talented people, who are denied an identity or affiliation. They go mad. Harro Harring was a European intellect, an artist, whose work has been disregarded. His poems and songs accompanied the struggles of the revolution until 1848. They belong to that cultural heritage.

As a painter he was a talented dilettante, as an author, a brilliant observer, as a poet he found the voice of the people even if he was often emotional and overshoot his target. He often lost his own unique language, as Heine and Büchner had, he was too impetuous and couldn’t keep himself out of the story, and the content was usually more important to him than the form.

Yes, it is also true that his idealism was often greater than his capability to finish what he started. He had a talent for the unintentional comedy of life and was deadly serious about it. One of his first and best friends, the Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini, once called him in a letter his “agony”, said he was “the best man in the world” and at the same time “the most excruciating idiot of the age.”

If it is true, that one learns mostly from defeat, then Harring is one from whom we can learn that an idea isn't necessarily bad because it is ahead of its time. And that men with faults and weaknesses can definitely foster great thoughts.

Harring was a wanderer, who was driven through life by the fear of proximity, and who always thought it would be better to be somewhere else. He only had friends about him as long as they didn't come too close. His love for his mother could calm him, but ultimately his inability to trust or love drove him mad and at the end the world consisted only of real and imagined spies, and life as a path to the grave.

Ultimately, however, Harro Harring is the victor. His dream of a united Europe—which seemed so crazy in 1834—became a reality, and the ideas of the young Europe were ultimately more sustainable as those of the social revolutionaries and communists, for the people Harring and Mazzini had considered “bourgeois”.

He is one that we can proudly name one of the first modern Europeans or citizens of the world.

Harro Harring was an “Odysseus of Freedom”, a Don Quixote, and dramatic hero like Hamlet. We read his life like a novel about freedom. As a young man he wrote: “The greatest thing in life is love. But without freedom, life is nothing.”

Special Dank to Brian Pfaltzgraff and Sally Malcolm, Wartburg College, IA, for the quality translation of my talk.



Harro Harring

“Why did the Schleswig-Holstein Question lead to the failure of the German National Parliament in 1848?”

Dr. Martin Rackwitz, PhD, Kiel, Germany

Slides follow the article.

In the night from 23rd to 24th of March 1848 politicians from the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein proclaimed in Kiel a provisional government and split with the King of Denmark as their ruler. At the same time the new government declared that both duchies will join Germany and become a part of a new German nation state. The breakaway of Schleswig and Holstein from the Danish state was the starting signal to a three-year war of the two duchies with Denmark.

Why did the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein break away from Denmark in the spring of 1848 and which impact did it have on the course of the German revolution of 1848?

In the spring of 1848 Germany was no nation state but – as you can see on this map – a loose confederation of 35 independent states and four cities that were ruled by more or less authoritarian kings and dukes who did not really take care about Germany but most of all acted according to their own political interests and advantages. In most of these individual German states – particularly in the biggest German state, the kingdom of Prussia – the people had been denied basic civil liberties for decades. There were neither democratically elected parliaments nor liberal constitutions that granted basic civil liberties to the people. Freedom of speech and freedom of the press did not exist. On the contrary, the newspapers were censored, progressive political parties were prohibited and the liberal opposition was suppressed and driven into exile.

However, this dire political climate was suddenly to change, when the German revolution started in Berlin on the 18th of March 1848. The revolutionaries in the streets of Berlin and in many other cities demanded a unified German nation state based on a liberal constitution, plus liberal reforms and general elections to a national assembly.

The German people living in Schleswig and Holstein did not want to miss that window of opportunity and wanted to become a part of the revolutionary national and democratic movement that was to shape a new liberal German state. But their decision to break with the Danish king and to join Germany also marked the beginning of the military conflict with Denmark. In this conflict the German federation supported the German-speaking people in the two duchies. However, the northern part of the duchy of Schleswig was populated by Danish speaking people who did not want to become German citizens and who considered themselves to be Danish. Unfortunately, neither the provisional government in Kiel nor the Danish King in Copenhagen was willing to divide the duchy of Schleswig according to the national identity of the people. In April 1848 the war began and the troops of the newly founded Schleswig-Holstein army, supported mainly by troops from Prussia, quickly moved deep into Jutland and Danish territory. In the summer of 1848 it looked as if the German side was to win the war.

While the soldiers from Schleswig-Holstein and other German states moved deep into Denmark, the German national parliament was constituted on the 18th of May 1848 in the Paulskirche at Frankfurt.

In the following weeks the German national parliament passed several resolutions that the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were integral parts of a new German state. Moreover, the parliament repeatedly declared that it was to support the duchies in their struggle

against Denmark. However, the German national parliament faced one big problem. The German troops fighting alongside the Schleswig-Holstein army against Denmark were not commanded by the German national parliament in Frankfurt and the central government it backed, but by the rulers and generals of the individual states the troops came from. The further the German troops, particularly those from Prussia, moved into Jutland, the more Russia and Great Britain increased their pressure on the Prussian King to withdraw his troops from Jutland back south of the border of the duchy of Schleswig. Russia and Britain – represented by foreign secretary Lord Palmerston – feared that in case Prussia would defeat Denmark that it was to take control of the entrance to the Baltic Sea. In that case the British fleet would no longer be able to move into the Baltic Sea, and the Russian fleet would be stuck in the Baltic Sea. So both superpowers had a vital interest in preventing Prussia from crushing Denmark and therefore increased their pressure on the Prussian King. On the 28th of May 1848 the Prussian King bowed to the international pressure and began to withdraw his troops into positions south of the border of Jutland, while at the same time the Schleswig-Holstein army continued its fight against the Danish army. As the international pressure on Prussia increased, Swedish diplomats initiated secret peace talks between Denmark and Prussia in the southern Swedish city of Malmö. On the 26th of August 1848 the Danish and Prussian diplomats signed an armistice treaty lasting for seven months and ending the war between both countries. Neither the provisional government of Schleswig-Holstein in Kiel nor the German national parliament in Frankfurt had been involved in the peace negotiations in Malmö, and both of them were utterly surprised about the conditions of the armistice because in nearly every point Prussia had bowed to the Danish demands.

According to the treaty, Prussia was to withdraw its troops from the duchies, and the Schleswig-Holstein army was also to withdraw from Denmark and the disputed duchy of Schleswig into its garrisons in the duchy of Holstein. Moreover, Prussia did no longer insist on the duchies being a part of a future German nation state. Instead, the duchies should be demilitarized and for the next seven months be put under a joint government of politicians from Denmark and the duchies, supervised by politicians from Prussia, Denmark and Sweden. In this caricature from September 1848 we can see the King of Prussia in the blue uniform jacket and the King of Denmark in a red jacket drinking champagne. On the chair on the right side there is a piece of paper saying “Armistice treaty of 26th of August”. The King of Prussia asks his Danish counterpart “Are you being pleased?”, referring to the very favourable conditions of the armistice treaty to Denmark. This caricature thus illustrates that most Germans, particularly those in Schleswig and Holstein, felt betrayed by the Prussian King.

When the news of the armistice and the conditions attached to it were published in the German newspapers in early September 1848 the public was infuriated. In Kiel massive protests against Prussia’s solo effort broke out and Prussian officers were forcefully driven out of the town. In Frankfurt the German national parliament immediately summoned its members for the 5th of September to debate the armistice.

On the 5th of September 1848 the German national parliament came together. Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann, the leading conservative member of the parliament from Schleswig-Holstein and professor of history and constitutional law at the University of Bonn, gave an impressive speech, asking his fellow members of parliament whether they could justify it to their conscience to agree to the armistice and let the people in Schleswig-Holstein alone in their struggle for independence from Denmark. He then reminded his fellow MPs of the numerous declarations they had unanimously passed in support of the duchies in recent weeks and asked them to reject the treaty. He finally explained to the parliamentarians that the German people will no longer trust their parliament in case it should not defend the duchies against Denmark, after they had been left alone by Prussia. This was undoubtedly Dahlmann’s most important speech in his life. After a fierce

debate the parliamentarians rejected the armistice treaty by 238 votes to 221 votes. Although Dahlmann was a conservative, in this ballot he was supported mainly by left-wing parliamentarians and thus paved the way for the rejection of the armistice treaty by the German national assembly.

In this caricature which is entitled “Solemn burial of a seven-month child” we see Dahlmann as the third person from the right in a funeral procession following behind a tiny children’s coffin. On the coffin the words are written “Waffenstillstand / armistice” and the first person in the procession tells us that the child was born on the 26th of August at Malmö, which of course is the day and the place the armistice between Prussia and Denmark had been signed, and that the child was buried at Frankfurt on the 5th of September 1848, the day the armistice was rejected by the German national parliament. Dahlmann is accompanied by left-wing politicians and the child’s coffin is carried by Robert Blum, the leader of the political left in the parliament.

Immediately after the ballot in parliament the conservative German Prime Minister Fürst von Leiningen, who had voted in favour of the treaty, and his government resigned. In this caricature we can see Leiningen and his ministers at the end of the funeral procession.

Dahlmann had caused the government to resign and he was now asked to form a new government because it seemed that he was supported by a majority of the parliamentarians.

For four days Dahlmann talked to the leaders of the different parliamentary parties and factions – but to no avail. In this contemporary caricature we can see him as an organ-grinder, playing the “Schleswig-Holstein-Lied”, the unofficial national anthem of the duchies and begging with a cap in his hand the MPs for political support. Around his feet there are a number of left-wing parliamentarians dancing, among them their leader Robert Blum. However, the left-wing and progressive MPs were unwilling to support the conservative Dahlmann, and after four days, on the 9th of September 1848, Dahlmann gave up and returned the task to form a new government to the provisional head of state, the liberal archduke Johann of Austria. Dahlmann had been able to bring together a majority in the German national assembly against the armistice treaty of Malmö, but he was unable to find a majority in the assembly that was willing to support him as prime minister. Now Germany was in a deep political crisis, as it had no government and the national parliament was blocking the creation of a new government. Moreover, to make things even more complicated, on the 9th of September the parliament of Schleswig-Holstein in Kiel had passed a liberal constitution for the duchies and had declared them for an independent state in order to save the democratic achievements of the revolution in Schleswig-Holstein of March 1848. Thus the government and the parliament in Kiel took a decision that was directly opposite to the decision of the Prussian government. From now on, the governments in Kiel and Berlin were no longer allies in their struggle against Denmark but had become political opponents in regard to the political and national future of the duchies.

At the same time Prussia increased the pressure on the German national parliament in Frankfurt to accept the military and political reality and to agree to the armistice treaty in a second vote. So on the 16th of September 1848 the German national parliament met again and voted by 258 votes against 237 votes in favor of the armistice. Immediately after accepting the armistice, the old government was reinstated to power.

In this caricature, titled “The resurrection of September 16th”, we can see in the middle Heinrich von Gagern, the speaker of the parliament, orchestrating the resurrection of the ministers of the old government from their graves. The cross in the foreground bears the inscription “died on the 5th of September”, the day the parliament had initially rejected the armistice treaty and the government had resigned.

Once it became known that the German national assembly had caved in to the pressure from Prussia and passed the armistice, riots broke out all over Germany. The worst rioting took place in Frankfurt, the seat of the national parliament. The people – particularly republicans, the progressive left and the workers – felt betrayed by their parliament and tried to storm the Paulskirche as you can see on the next illustration.

The members of parliament, especially those who had voted in favour of the armistice, had to flee from the building to save their lives. Many of them asked Prussia and Austria to send troops from nearby towns to Frankfurt in order to protect the parliament. On the 18th of September two leading conservative MPs, prince Lichnowsky and General von Auerswald, who had both voted in favor of the armistice, were lynched by the angry mob in the streets of Frankfurt. After two days of severe fighting in the streets of Frankfurt, Prussian and Austrian troops using artillery finally crushed the protests as we can see on the next illustration.

Now the German national parliament was at the mercy of the troops of the King of Prussia. The second ballot on the armistice and the future of Schleswig-Holstein had driven a wedge between the parliament and the people it was to represent. In the eyes of the angry public, the parliament had lost its credibility after changing its mind and voting in favour of the armistice. But the parliament itself was also deeply divided. Whereas the conservatives cautiously wanted to continue reforming the German confederation in accordance with the ruling monarchs of the individual states, the political left realised that most of these monarchs were not interested at all in liberal reforms. The political left feared that the national parliament was nothing but a toothless tiger, unable to push through real reforms against the will of the ruling monarchs. Therefore the political left decided to take the struggle back to the streets where it had begun in March of 1848. In October 1848 an armed uprising broke out in Vienna and the people declared Austria to be a republic. One of their leaders was Robert Blum, the leader of the political left in the German national parliament. This uprising cost more than 2.000 lives and was brutally crushed by field marshal Windischgrätz and his troops on behalf of the Austrian emperor. Robert Blum fell into the hands of these reactionary troops and – despite of his political immunity as a member of parliament – was executed on the 9th of November 1848 near Vienna, thus becoming the probably most famous martyr of the failed revolution.

After the second ballot on the armistice and Schleswig-Holstein the reactionary forces in Prussia also gained the upper hand. The Prussian king and his government quickly realised that the national parliament in Frankfurt had no real power because it didn't have any troops loyal to the parliament and the central government. In October the Prussian king began to withdraw the liberal concessions he had made at the beginning of the revolution in March of 1848. In November 1848 he ordered General Wrangel and his troops to return from Holstein to Berlin, the city his soldiers had to withdraw from after severe fighting in the streets in March. Once Wrangel and his 40.000 soldiers had retaken control of Berlin, the king declared the state of siege, lifted any liberal concessions and reforms, and his soldiers began to disarm the citizens and their militias. In early November 1848 the king drove the democratically elected Prussian parliament out of the capital, and at the end of that month dissolved it by force.

Additionally, the revolutionaries had split in two parties. At the beginning of the revolution in March, workers, citizens and students had fought side by side for political reforms. After the violent clashes in Frankfurt following the second ballot on Schleswig-Holstein the citizens became increasingly afraid of the radical workers who wanted to push the revolution ahead, if necessary by force. In October violent clashes erupted in Berlin between moderates on the one side and radical democrats and workers on the other. In the streets of Berlin-Spandau citizens shot at radical workers who wanted to save the revolution and the democratic achievements. Dozens of people were killed. In November 1848 the revolu-

tionaries in Prussia had lost the cause and the king was back in charge. From now on the German revolution was doomed to fail, as the revolutionaries were split and the national parliament had proven to be unable to steer the revolution in a clear direction. In Prussia the counter-revolution was in full swing.

To summarize: The two ballots on the national affiliation of Schleswig-Holstein in September 1848 showed that the German national parliament as the only democratically legitimized representation of the German people was unable to push through the demands of the German people for liberal reforms against the reactionary German monarchs and their generals. The defeat of the national parliament against the King of Prussia with regard to the Schleswig-Holstein-Question split the national assembly and revolutionaries as well and was the starting signal for the counter-revolution, headed by the King of Prussia. Although the parliament continued to meet until the April of 1849, it had proven to be a toothless tiger that was doomed to fail. In the summer of 1849 Prussia finally withdrew its political support for the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and in the London Protocol of 1850 agreed to restore them to Denmark. In January 1851 Prussian and Austrian generals deposed the two independent governors of Schleswig-Holstein, who had already been members of the revolutionary provisional government founded in March of 1848, and forced them into exile. In February 1851 Prussian and Austrian troops moved into the duchy of Holstein, in order to subdue it and return it one year later to the Danish King. Until the second war of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864 the duchies remained a part of Denmark.

After 1851 many of the brightest progressive politicians and intellectuals left Schleswig-Holstein and Germany, immigrated into the United States of America, particularly to this area, and transplanted their modern values into the American society. That is why we are here today and with the portraits of three major emigrants from Schleswig-Holstein I would like to finish my paper.

Why did the Schleswig-Holstein-Question lead to the failure of the German national parliament in 1848?

Dr. phil. Martin Rackwitz, Historian, Kiel



The German national parliament debating in the Paulskirche at Frankfurt in 1848.

The proclamation of the provisional government for Schleswig-Holstein on the 24th of March 1848 in Kiel.

(painting by Hans Olde for the conference hall of the new town hall in Kiel 1912)



The German confederation 1815 – 1866



Revolutionaries and soldiers fighting in the streets of Berlin on the 18th and 19th of March 1848.
Source: Neuruppiner Bilderbogen Nr. 2



The opening of the German national assembly in the Paulskirche
at Frankfurt on the 18th of May 1848.



The democratically elected members of the national assembly march in a solemn procession into the Paulskirche for the opening session of the parliament.



„Na oller Junge! Habe ich es dir so recht gemacht?“

The Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. (left) crawls the Danish King Friedrich VII. (right) the beard, asking him whether he is pleased, referring to the conditions of the armistice between Prussia and Denmark that had been signed on the 26th of August 1848 at Malmö in Sweden.

Source: Isidor Popper, Satyrische Zeitbilder Nr. 18 (1848)

Session of the German national parliament in 1848, drawing by Leo von Elliot

Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann (1785 – 1860)



„Feierliche Beerdigung eines Siebenmonat-Kindes.“, „Solemn burial of a seven-month child.“
 Caricature by Ludwig Maurer, 1848.



The members of parliament Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann (third person from the right) and Robert Blum (second person from the right) bury the armistice of Malmö after it was rejected by the German national parliament on the 5th of September 1848. At the end of the funeral procession the ministers of the German government follow who resigned after their defeat in the ballot on the armistice.

Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann as an organ grinder begging left-wing members of the German national parliament dancing around his feet for support in September 1848.



Robert Blum (1807–1848), leader of the political left in the German national parliament.



„Die Auferstehung am 16ten September.“, „The resurrection of 16th September.“
 Caricature by Ludwig Maurer, 1848.



In the middle Heinrich von Gagern, speaker of the German national parliament, reinstates the ministers of the old government after the parliament voted in a second ballot on the 16th of September 1848 in favour of the armistice treaty of Malmö between Prussia and Denmark.



„Wüthender Angriff der Republikaner auf das in der Paulskirche zu Frankfurt versammelte deutsche National-Parlament, am 18. September 1848.“

Angry republicans and revolutionaries try to storm the German national parliament in Frankfurt on the 18th of September 1848. Prussian and Austrian military have to protect the parliament from the angry public.

Source: Gustav Kühn, Neuruppiner Bilderbogen Nr. 37 (1848)

“Erstürmung der Barrikade in der Döngesgasse zu Frankfurt am 18. September 1848”, Source: Illustrierte Zeitung vom 14.10.1848.



Austrian troops taking by storm a barricade in the streets of Frankfurt on the 18th of September 1848.

The execution of Robert Blum near Vienna on the 9th of November 1848. Painting by Carl C. H. Steffek 1848/49.



Famous 48ers from Schleswig-Holstein having immigrated to Davenport (Iowa) after the restoration of Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark in 1851.



Theodor Olshausen

Member of the provisional government of Schleswig-Holstein in 1848



Hans Reimer Claussen

Member of the German national assembly in Frankfurt 1848/49



Friedrich Hedde

Member of the Schleswig-Holstein parliament 1848-51

Theodor Olshausen and his “History of the Mormons”

Klaus Lemke-Paetznick, PhD, Wilhelmshaven

The church of the “Latter-Day-Saints” was only 25 years old when its early history was published in the German language in 1856. The author of this publication was a native of Schleswig-Holstein, Theodor Olshausen. Born in 1802 in Glückstadt in Holstein, he grew up in the small town Eutin, where his father Dr. Detlev Johann Wilhelm Olshausen¹ served as senior pastor.

Subsequently Theodor Olshausen spent most of his youth abroad. After attending Kiel University he moved to the University of Jena in 1821. Here he came into contact with members of the “Burschenschaft”, the German student fraternities and soon became a member himself. The “Burschenschaft”-movement first appeared in public German life shortly after the end of the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon during the Wartburg-Festival in 1817². The political fragmentation of Germany abided in the minds of the people for many years. At the end of the long war against the French Empire they envisioned Germany attaining national unity by its own power. Not less than 40³ of the 468 students who joined the Wartburg Festival were from Schleswig and Holstein; the opening address was delivered by Heinrich Arminius Riemann⁴ who came from Eutin, S-H.

The strategic goal of the fraternity students was to anticipate political German unity within an organization that had a strong collaborative presence at all German universities. Two of his brothers had joined the Wartburg Festival⁵; the 15 years old Theodor Olshausen had to stay at home. But now in 1821 he joined the German student fraternity⁶ in Jena. In the political field currently subject of the Grand Duke of Oldenburg⁷, Olshausen, who was by birth a former subject of the Danish king as Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, was admitted into the circle of the “Jünglingsbund”, a secret alliance of young men, who were prepared to fight for German unity with weapons⁸.

Like many of his comrades from Schleswig and Holstein, Olshausen preferred a withdrawal of the duchies Schleswig and Holstein’s from the Danish state. This brought Olshausen political per-secution from the Danish university administration, so he was forced to flee via Hamburg and Amsterdam to Paris⁹. During his stay of several years in France he lived temporarily in Basel, Switzerland.

Only a pardon by King Frederick VI of Denmark in 1828 allowed him to return to his homeland. In Kiel Olshausen got his law degree and lived there until 1830 as a publicist and editor of his own newspaper called “Kieler Correspondenzblatt”. This newspaper became the sustainable communication agency during the Schleswig-Holstein Pre-March-Era. The son of a pastor, Olshausen was intimately acquainted with the contemporary involvement of the state church in the institutional structures of the absolutist state. Bound by their oath to the Danish king as ruler of Schleswig and Holstein, pastors in the duchies worked as public servants and had to both read governmental political decrees from the pulpit as well as pray for the king and his family during church services every Sunday¹⁰.

Olshausen had to experience how the dissident’s secret meetings in the 1830s were reported to the government by clergymen¹¹. In this context Olshausen was engaged for freedom of religion and belief early on¹²; one of his demands concerned the possibility of leaving the church without a loss of any civil rights¹³. In conjunction with these beliefs he also campaigned for an extension of all civil rights for Jews¹⁴. During the Pre-March-Era Olshausen praised the American religious freedom in his journal, stating that the government doesn’t bother about the church¹⁵. Olshausen repeatedly defied the state by denouncing

ecclesiastical inequalities in his newspaper; under the conditions of censorship Olshausen used his criticism of the church for a publishable critique of the absolutistic state, which prohibited civil liberty and justice by its traditional social structures¹⁶.

The events of 1848 which were tied to the February Revolution in Paris led the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to an upheaval against Denmark that came to an end only after a three year long war resulting in the duchies' defeat¹⁷. Olshausen had initially taken a ministerial rank in this uprising¹⁸; as an unconditional Democrat he belonged to the extreme left of the acting politicians in the duchies with his advocacy of the idea of the inalienable sovereignty of the people. But he surrendered his governmental office in August 1848 because of his protest against the armistice of Malmö, which had been forced by St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt¹⁹. His participation in the Provisional Government and his longstanding political opposition against the constitution of the Danish state, which had changed from an absolutistic one to a constitutional monarchy in March 1848, caused Olshausen to flee from governmental arrest. So now he was looking for a new home in the United States.

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Via New York, Theodor Olshausen passed first to St. Louis, MO²⁰. He became immediately active in journalism²¹, engaged in the newspaper business and in a relatively short time wrote a number of books on the social and geographical conditions within those states with which he was acquainted²². Once he himself had ventured from the East Coast to the western frontier of the United States of his day, he learned of the fate of the Mormons. This religious community, founded in Manchester, NY, in 1831, was subject to severe persecution that threatened its survival. At the same time that the church had a successful mission in England and Scandinavia, the Mormons walked their life of suffering from the state of New York to Ohio, then from Ohio to Missouri, from there to Illinois and finally to that territory occupied by Indians which the Mormons symbolically termed "Deseret", that is "Honeybee". The Utah territory was finally admitted into the Union as the 45th state in 1896, but not before the Mormons ended their custom of polygamy which they had practiced since the late 1830s.

What caused the exiled Schleswig-Holstein-native and political "Forty-Eighter" Theodor Olshausen to publish a "History of the Mormons"? In 1854 he published his volume *The State of Missouri. Geographically and statistical*²³ in Kiel. There he noted the Mormons still lacked respect: A community of Mormons or Latter-Day-Saints can usually be found among the smaller religious communities in St. Louis. From time to time the majority of its members moves to Utah, and the worship gatherings are then closed for a while. But it does not last long until another new community comes together²⁴. Olshausen himself was almost indifferent in religious terms, and tended to drift away from the state church to rather deistic positions. He then wrote in his own publication with passionate concern about the progress of a church community with whose contrasting structures of a Theo-democracy²⁵ and a legal absolutism²⁶ he clearly recognized and identified.

But the sufficient reason of his authorial accusation was the illegal and cruel persecution to which the Mormons have been exposed in the United States²⁷. Unlike his Pre-Marchvision taken from the perspective of a Schleswig-Holstein journalist Olshausen had now learned to recognize religious freedom as it was actually practiced in the United States as a freedom proclaimed with pomp, which is often violated by the people while the governments don't have the will or the power to avoid this²⁸. Even against the background of his personal detachment and skepticism towards any ecclesiasticism, Olshausen's opinion on the handling of the American non-Mormon-public with the Mormons is very clear: The period of persecution shows the injustice, meanness, and rawness on the part of a nation

who praises itself as being the freest and best educated in the land, wins more favor for the Prophet and his followers²⁹.

Beyond their religious beliefs Olshausen agrees with the Mormons in their rejection of slavery: Half a decade before the outbreak of the Civil War the exiled journalist praised the animosity of the Mormons against the sinful slave owner³⁰. Olshausen denounced the rotten spot of the American political life, which maybe was the main lever in the whole agitation against the Mormons in Missouri, as well as perhaps later in Illinois³¹. When Olshausen came to the account of Prophet Joseph Smith's presidential candidacy in 1844, he highlighted the general abolition of slavery³², which was incorporated in the Constitution of the Mormons after their arrival in Deseret, Utah, as Smith's trendsetting item on the agenda³³.

In addition to the social minority of black slaves the Mormons also considered the Indians as America's indigenous people. Olshausen described the opinion of the Prophet Joseph Smith, who declared them descendants of the lost tribes of Israel³⁴ and thus descendants of that portion God's People scattered across the Atlantic to America. The bequeathed writings of these people, according to Mormon belief, were discovered by the Prophet Joseph Smith during September 1827 by revelation. From the outset, however, the Indian tribes felt the missionary interest of the Mormons, but, as Olshausen observed, only a few individual Indians... converted to the Mormon faith³⁵. The Mormon approach to adaptation and integration of social minorities remained significant in its contemporary context.

With equal clarity Olshausen also studied the Latter-Day-Saints' doctrine of election and the effects of this doctrine as a basis for confrontation with the republicans country-wide, because the Mormons removed themselves from the large number of Christian sects and considered them heathens³⁶. This behavior, according to Olshausen, indicated an effort by the Mormons to cut themselves off in an old-Jewish way against all other people³⁷. The Mormons retreat to the western border of civilization was historically necessary but in a cybernetic perspective it was also wisely chosen: Because the Mormons used the retreat into the wilderness, so that they would, for a time, have dominion alongside some Indian tribes, although they appreciated the sovereignty of the Federal Government of the United States³⁸. The external appreciation of the US Government, noted Olshausen, correlated with the constants of the Mormonism, as those the author recognized as the hierarchical principle or the prophet-hood and thereby the character of variability, the continued revelation³⁹. As a consequence of the Theo-Democracy, which is well elected as accepted by the Mormons, Olshausen recognized a significant encroachment of the clerical authorities on the public conditions⁴⁰. Joseph Smith should have been seen as the founder and prophet of the Mormon community and thus Olshausen wanted to consider him as the benefactor of a new religion which is significantly different from all other Christian sects, as constitutor and ruler of an independent and unique domination⁴¹. With all of this Joseph Smith should neither be considered much worse or much better as a host of men from the past or present, who half as enthusiasts and half as misleading by consciousness, assume to have a privileged position to the deity⁴². It is ascertainable in the book of Mormon, that here the style of writing is often very different, so much that for this reason there is no doubt that various authors have worked on the 'translation'⁴³; also the scriptures of the Mormons would not solely be sufficient to outline an entire and correct description of the Mormon perceptions, for all their doctrines and institutions are subjects of a continued fast changing, and even sentences, which occur in their older religious scriptures as basic tenets, have been later eliminated in part by revelations, partly by mere doctrine⁴⁴. Exactly this separated the Mormons from the Protestants: The revelation of Protestants is finalized; the Mormon's Prophet asks himself daily for new revelations from Heaven⁴⁵. With such a sober and focusing distinction Olshausen doesn't make a judgment based on the religious truth - he leaves the truth to those finding it on the field of Mormonism or elsewhere. He

even becomes a cautious defender of the Mormons, attaining a touch of apologetics, when he holds censoriously: A lot of reports about Mormonism have been spread by apostates⁴⁶.

With all this means is clear: For Olshausen it is not a matter of critique of dogmatic contents. These he rather refers to the religious freedom which ought to be asserted in the United States. Olshausen's interest lies in an accusation of the lack of justice inside America's contemporary society. So Olshausen's History of the Mormons is like an indictment. The shortage of justice, as the author recognizes, led to an ever new Exodus⁴⁷ of the Mormons. His decision about the lynching of the Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother Hiram, who had been imprisoned in the Illinois-state penitentiary in Carthage, was severe: The murders ended the Prophet's days and were celebrated by his followers as a martyr's death, giving his sect probably far more inner power and strength, than his longer life could have done⁴⁸. Olshausen also meted out severe judgments to those people who were guilty as persecutors of the Mormons. When considering the massacre in How's Mills, MO in which 20 unarmed Mormons as well as a cruelly killed young child were murdered, he wrote: Could there be any cannibals able to carry out more bestiality and inhumanity than these Missouriians⁴⁹? Olshausen considered the defenselessness of the Mormons who had been forced into their Exodus⁵⁰ to be rooted in the US Constitution: If individual citizens or residents of the state or communities and other corporations are going to get a raw deal ever so unlawful, cruel and outrageous, the Federal Government as laid down in the Constitution does not have to intervene. The Federal Government only protects the existing state authority, but does not care whether this state authority fulfills the duty against the citizens or not, as long as this state authority is able to retain the outwardly form of the republic⁵¹. Thus, Olshausen brands the too short arm of the contemporary executive authority, when those liberties given by the legislative branch cannot be protected against collective attacks.

Accordingly, the German 48er could comprehend the setup of a Mormon-State between the spring of 1839 and February 1846 which pursued the ambition to occupy complete legislative power under the Constitution and to build up an almost independent system of government⁵². This happened in the location formerly known as Independence, IL, which the Mormons named Nauvoo, a town whose population surpassed the number of inhabitants in Chicago during those few years⁵³. Yet precisely at this point Olshausen recognized under the sign of the Mormon Theo-Democracy the persistent problem of the imbalance between "Theocracy" and "Democracy", for in the Mormon state the spiritual and the secular affairs are so closely affiliated with each other that they must not be separated... in their ideal state there does not exist any separate secular and religious government. This idea should not be completely realized until that time in future when their community will be accepted as its own independent state⁵⁴. Olshausen considered the idea of the sovereignty of the people in the Mormon community as fallen by the way-side: The hierarchical principle, meaning the monarchy of the prophet partly hidden under aristocratic and partly under democratic forms, has almost completely devoured the popular government. Every word of God which the prophet professes to have received suspends the whole constitutionalism⁵⁵. Even the contemporary practice of polygamy Olshausen classified as an aristocratic use and as inside an apprenticed democracy as nonexistent⁵⁶. Nevertheless Olshausen highlighted the liberties of the Mormon women in comparison to oriental polygamy⁵⁷. But this short side glance on the Islamic conditions indicates his empathy for religiously determined social systems which even in the context of democratic structures must remain foreign to the western spirit. Those religiously determined social systems are basically oriented on the will of the deity who always must be explained by revealer in order to retain followers.

We see today a remarkable currentness at this juncture when we compare this to the conditions in Egypt as the sequel of the Arab Spring. Here a civil war-like conflict proceeded around a democratically elected ex-government who threatened to limit civil rights by her religious foundation.

III

Theodor Olshausen is not the only German 48er who dedicates a treatise to the Mormons and their fate during the 1850s. Even the Saxon 48er Moritz Busch⁵⁸ published a brochure titled *The Mormons* in 1855 in Leipzig. Primarily he wanted in this book which is steeped by the spirit of the enlightenment with the attitude of a revolutionary to show, that the light of education does not light nearly as far in our time as is commonly assumed and that the United States in particular as well as England have good reason to use more sparingly the attribute of an enlightened nation, than they would normally award themselves⁵⁹. The Mormons seemed to him as an imposing and awful community whom he would like to compare with the Puritans of New England⁶⁰. Those would have had a Theo-democratic governance which would have borne glorious fruits, where-from they later perished⁶¹. Busch's achievements conclude succinctly with the wish that the Mormons might have the same destiny⁶². Thus Moritz Busch admittedly reveals the attitude of a detractor of the Mormon's faith though he estimated himself as being religiously enlightened, but he falls far behind the foresight of Theodor Olshausen who attains a warm humanity connected with differentiated corporative critique.

While Moritz Busch after 1870 was a true proponent of Otto von Bismarck and of his German Empire, Theodor Olshausen remained until his death in 1869 true to the legacy of the French Revolution: True to those values of 1848 who are named justice and liberty. A few years before his death Olshausen left us in his *Political Testament*⁶³ his democratic legacy: The self-government of the people doesn't suffer any princely sway at the head. This assessment applies to all religious and political structures opposing itself against any kind of Neo-Feudalism.

(Please compare page 109, Olshausen's letters from Davenport, IA.)

Klaus Lemke-Paetznic, Ph.D., was born in Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein, in 1958. There, he attended Altes Gymnasium, a school founded by Danish King Frederick II in 1566. Klaus then matriculated at the Universities of Kiel and Hamburg, where he studied to become a Lutheran minister.

After graduating, he became the pastor at St. Katharinen-Kirche in the small town of Jörl located in the county of Schleswig-Flensburg in Schleswig-Holstein. In 1992, Klaus began a twelve-year stint as a pastor with the German Navy. During that time, he spent nearly five years at sea, the longest period in the history of German naval pastors.

Pastor Klaus Lemke-Paetznic currently serves as the pastor of two parishes in Wilhelmshaven, a coastal town located in the northwestern German state of Lower Saxony.

*On June 5, 2009, Lemke-Paetznic was a featured speaker at a symposium in Kiel, Schleswig-Holstein, honoring the great Forty-Eighter Theodor Olshausen. He has reprised his moving talk about Olshausen and his life's Latin motto, *Frangor, non flector* [Ich werde gebrochen, aber nicht gebogen], during the Legacy of 1848 - Finner Conference, November 2009, Denison, Iowa. Klaus' dissertation topic: *The Church in Revolutionary Times: The State Church in Schleswig and Holstein from 1789 to 1851.**

Endnotes:

1. *Zu diesem: Berend Kordes, Lexikon der Jetzt Lebenden Schleswig-Holsteinischen und Eutinischen Schriftsteller, möglichst vollständig zusammengetragen, Schleswig 1797, S. 257f.; G.[eorg] P.[eter] Peters, Detlev Johann Wilhelm Olshausen, in: SHPb 1823, Heft 2, S. 100-105; Christian Ludwig Wiegmann, Kurzegefaßte Gechichte der christlichen Religion und des Kirchenwesens in den dänischen Staaten, besonders in den Herzogthümern Schleswig und Holstein, Kiel / Flensburg 1840, S. 176-178; Johann Heinrich Bernhard Lübkert, Versuch einer kirchlichen Statistik Holsteins. Ein Beitrag zur Vaterlandskunde, Glückstadt 1837, S. 239.249.474f.; Eduard Alberti, Lexikon der Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Schriftsteller von 1829 bis Mitte 1866, II. Abth., Kiel 1868, S. 144; [Carsten Erich] Carstens, ADB 24, S. 322f.; Otto Fr. Arends, Gejstlig-heden i Slesvig og Holsten II, S.124; Eckhart Olshausen, SHBL 7, S. 147f. und 161.*
2. *Das Wartburgfest war „verfassungsgeschichtlich gesehen [...] die erste Manifestation des national-demokratischen Prinzips in Deutschland“, Ernst Rudolf Huber, Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1789, Band I: Reformation und Restauration 1789 bis 1830, 2. Aufl., Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz 1957, S. 718; im Wartburgfest koinzidierten ideell Dreihundert-Jahrfeier der Reformation und vierter Jahrestag der*

- Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig. Zum Kontext: Christian Degn, *Die Herzogtümer im Gesamtstaat*, in: *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins. Begründet von Volquart Pauls. Im Auftrage der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte unter Mitarbeit von Fritz Hähnsen und Alexander Scharff hg. von Olaf Klose*, 6. Band, Neumünster 1960, S. 375-379; Wolfgang Donat, *Die Anfänge der burschenschaftlichen Bewegung an der Universität Kiel (1813-1833), Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft und der deutschen Einheitsbewegung*, Bd. XIV, hg. von Paul Wentzcke, Berlin 1934, S. 27-41; Walter Grab, *Von Mainz nach Hambach. Zur Kontinuität revolutionärer Bewegungen und ihrer Repression (1792-1832)*, in: Ders., *Friedrich von der Trenck, Hochstapler und Freiheitsmartyrer und andere Studien zur Revolutions- und Literaturgeschichte*, Kronberg/Ts. 1977, S. 113-138, hier S. 124f.
3. So Manfred Jessen-Klingenberg, *Die Kieler Professoren und Studenten und das Wartburgfest vom Oktober 1817*, S. 179 und 212-214. Diese Angabe zugrundegelegt, hätten die Kieler knapp 9% der Teilnehmer des Festes gestellt, zu dem sich laut Huber, a.a.O., S. 719, 468 Studenten einfanden.
 4. Zu diesem Koch, Heinrich Arminius Riemann, der Wartburgredner vom Jahre 1817. Sein Leben und Wirken, Neudr. Labr 1992; Gustav Peters, *Geschichte von Eutin*, Neumünster 1958, S.158-160; ebd. S. 158f.: Riemann „hielt die Festrede und sprach von der Sehnsucht der Jugend nach Freiheit und Vaterland. Seitdem verfolgte ihn die Reaktion“. Zunächst stellte ihn nach seinem unabgeschlossenen Studium der Eutiner Superintendent Detlev Johann Wilhelm Olshausen als Kollaborator ein; doch kam es unter Olshausens Nachfolger Albrecht Heinrich Kochen zu einer Auseinandersetzung über unterschiedliche politische und pädagogische Auffassungen und die Bewertung des Turnens, vgl. Peters, a.a.O., S. 159f.; cf. a. Ernst-Günther Prühs, *Geschichte der Stadt Eutin*, Eutin 1993, S.202f. Riemann verließ Eutin daher 1828 und wurde Pastor im mecklenburgischen Friedland.
 5. Dies waren Theodor Olshausens ältere Brüder Wilhelm und Justus. Wilhelm Olshausen studierte seit dem SS 1816 in Kiel Theologie und Philosophie. Er verfaßte ein Tagebuch seiner „Wanderfahrt zum ersten Wartburgfest“, das gedruckt 1817 in Kiel erschien. Zu ihm [Carsten Erich] Carstens, ADB Bd. 24, S. 338f.; Eckhart Olshausen, SHBL 7, S. 161f. Justus Olshausen war in Kiel seit dem WS 1816/17 als stud. theol. et philolog. immatrikuliert; Michaelis 1819 verlegte er bis Ostern 1820 seinen Studienort nach Berlin, um anschließend mit einem Stipendium des dänischen Königs nach Paris zu gehen. Seiner Promotion 1823 folgte eine Tätigkeit als a.o. Prof. der morgenländischen Sprachen in Kiel, in deren Folge er 1830 zum o. Prof. ernannt wurde. 1848 wurde Justus Olshausen durch die provisorische schleswig-holsteinische Regierung zum Kurator der Universität berufen und deswegen 1852 durch die dänische Regierung entlassen. Zu ihm [Carsten Erich] Carstens, ADB Bd. 24, S. 328- 330; Eckhart Olshausen, SHBL 7, S. 150-152; Theodor Olshausen, *Briefe an den Bruder Justus*, hg. von Ingo Reppmann und Joachim Reppmann, Wyk auf Föhr 2003.
 6. Zu den Auswirkungen der burschenschaftlichen Betätigung Theodor Olshausens vgl. Klaus Lemke-Paetznick, *Kirche in revolutionärer Zeit. Die Staatskirche in Schleswig und Holstein 1789 bis 1851*, Berlin-Boston 2012, S. 429-437.
 7. Oldenburgischer (Groß-)Herzog ist zeitgenössisch Peter Friedrich Ludwig; zu diesem Mutzenbecher, ADB 25, S. 427-469; Friedrich-Wilhelm Schaer, Art. „Peter Friedrich Ludwig“, SHLB 8, S. 279-282; Gustav Peters, *Geschichte von Eutin*, Neumünster 1958, S. 123-125; Peter Friedrich Ludwig und das Herzogtum Oldenburg. Beiträge zur oldenburgischen Landesgeschichte um 1800, hg. von Heinrich Schmidt, Oldenburg 1979.
 8. Nach den „Acta des Königlichen Staats-Archivs zu Schleswig betr. die Verbindung Holsteins mit dem Deutschen Bund. Demagogische Umtriebe. Betr. August Theodor Brömel, Theodor Olshausen und Joh. Ferd. Witte sowie Riemann. 80 Folien de 1824“ [LAS Abt. 65.2 Nr. 134 c] ergab das in Köpenick durchgeführte Verhör Robert Wesselhöfts neben der namentlichen Nennung einzelner Angehöriger des Teilnehmerkreises auch konkrete Bestandteile der Satzungen des Jünglingsbundes; hierzu gehörten als Statuten: „Jedes Mitglied des Bundes soll sich Waffen anschaffen und in den Waffen üben [...]. Nicht jedes Mitglied sollte jedem anderen Mitglieder bekannt sein: es sollten sich nicht alle Mitglieder kennen“, zit. n. „Actum Schloß Coepenick bei Berlin d. 5ten Februar 1824“, hs., LAS Abt. 65.2 Nr. 134 c Nr. 16.
 9. Zu diesem: Eduard Alberti, *Lexikon der Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Schriftsteller von 1829 bis Mitte 1866*, I. Abt., Kiel 1867, S. 540-543. Zum Kontext a. Johannes Brock, *Die Vorgeschichte der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Erhebung*, 2. Aufl. Göttingen 1925, S. 39.43; Paul von Hedemann-Heespen, *Die Herzogtümer Schleswig-Holstein und die Neuzeit*, Kiel 1926, S. 626-633; Hermann Hagenah, *1830-1863. Die Zeit des nationalen Kampfes*, *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins* Band 6, 2. Hälfte, Lieferung I, Neumünster 1939; Lieferung 2, Neumünster 1941, S. 18-28.
 10. Vgl. die Darstellung Theodor Olshausens gegenüber seinem Bruder Justus in einem in Amsterdam abgefaßten Brief vom 26. August 1824, in: Ders., *Briefe an den Bruder Justus*, S. 49f., hier: S. 50; zum Kontext a. Lorentzen, ADB 24, S. 330. Im Januar 1825 wechselte Olshausen von Paris als Hauslehrer nach Basel, wo er bis zu seiner vorläufigen Rückkehr nach Paris im Jahre 1827 unter fremdem Namen tätig blieb; hierzu Heinz-Joachim Toll, *Akademische Gerichtsbarkeit und akademische Freiheit*, S. 137.
 11. Vgl. Lemke-Paetznick, a.a.O., S. 95f.

12. Vgl. ebd. S. 503f.
13. Cf. Olshausens anonym veröffentlichte „Grundsätze der religiösen Wahrheitsfreunde oder Philalethen“, Kiel 1830, passim.
14. Cf. Olshausens gleichfalls anonym publizierten „Entwurf einer Bittschrift an deutsche Fürsten. Allerhöchst dieselben wollen Allergnädigst geruhen, die religiös-politischen Verhältnisse einer Anzahl Ihrer Unterthanen in Erwägung ziehen, und geeignete Maaßregeln zu treffen, welche es denselben möglich machen, ihrer religiösen Überzeugung gemäß zu leben“, Kiel 1830, S. 8.
15. A.a.O. (Anm. 13), S. 12.
16. KCBl No. 44&45 / 1839, S. 176.
17. Insofern übt das Correspondenzblatt von Anfang an alle Kirchen- und Christentumskritik im Kontext politischer Theoriebildung mit der Intention einer sublimierenden Funktion. Olshausen und die in diesem politischen Journal publizierenden Essayisten verwenden die Christentumskritik in der auch anderweitig begegnenden vormärzlichen Weise als „entscheidende Waffe, um das Legitimationsfundament der herrschenden Ordnung zu erschüttern sowie religiös begründete monarchische Autorität zu delegitimieren“, so Friedrich Wilhelm Graf, *Die Spaltung des Protestantismus. Zum Verhältnis von evangelischer Kirche, Staat und ‚Gesellschaft‘ im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, in: *Religion und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, hg. von Wolfgang Schieder, Stuttgart 1993, S. 157- 190, hier: S. 161.
18. Zur Erhebung von 1848-1851: Holger Hjelholt, *Sonderjylland under Treårskrigen. Et bidrag til des politiske Historie. Del 1: Fra revolutionens utbrud til våbenstilstandens ophør foråret 1849*. København 1959; *Del 2: Fra foråret 1849 tilfreden med Preussen Juli 1850*, København 1961; Roar Skovmand, *Die Geburt der Demokratie 1830-1870*, in: ders., Vagn Dybdahl und Erik Rasmussen, *Geschichte Dänemarks 1830-1939. Die Auseinandersetzungen um nationale Einheit, demokratische Freiheit und soziale Gleichheit*, S. 13-208, hier S. 106-122; Gerd Stolz, *Die schleswig-holsteinische Erhebung*, S. 38-191; Manfred Jessen-Klingenberg, *Die schleswig-holsteinische Erhebung - nationaler Konflikt und liberal-demokratische Reformen*, in: *Grenzfriedens-hefte 1 / 1998*, S. 5-20; Nick Svendsen, *The first Schleswig-Holstein War 1848-50*, Solihull (West Midlands) 2008.
19. Vgl. die handschriftliche Verlautbarung der zuvor ernannten Angehörigen der provisorischen Regierung: „In Folge unserer Aufforderung ist der Eisenbahndir. Th. Olshausen in die provisorische Regierung mit eingetreten und hat in derselben das Departement der Polizei: „Sicherheits-, Gesundheits und Landpolizei, Hilfsanstalten und Armenwesen“ übernommen. Rendsburg 28. März 48. Die provisorische Regierung. Beseler Reventlouw MTSchmidt. J. Bremer.“, LAS Abt 22 III EE Nr. 1-3 hs.
20. Cf. Lemke-Paetznick, a.a.O., S. 614-616.
21. Vgl. Lorentzen, ADB Bd. 24, Leipzig 1886, S. 330-338, hier: S. 335. Theodor Olshausen wählte St. Louis wegen seines dort bereits wohnenden Bruders Arthur - Sohn aus der zweiten Ehe des gemeinsamen Vaters - zum Zufluchtsort und blieb hier bis zu seiner Übersiedlung nach Davenport IA im Frühsommer 1856. Seine „Geschichte der Mormonen“ ist somit in St. Louis verfasst.
22. Lorentzen, a.a.O., S. 335f.
23. Vgl. Theodor Olshausen, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika im Jahre 1852. Eine statistische Übersicht mit besonderer Rücksicht auf deutsche Auswanderer zusammengestellt*, Kiel 1853; ders., *Das Mississippi-Thal im Allgemeinen*, Kiel 1853; ders., *Der Staat Missouri. Geographisch und statistisch*, Kiel 1854; ders., *Der Staat Iowa*, Kiel 1855; ders., *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika geographisch und statistisch beschrieben, Theil I: Das Mississippi-Thal*, Kiel, 1853-55.
24. Vgl. Anm. 23.
25. Olshausen, *Der Staat Missouri*, S. 83f.
26. Olshausen, *Geschichte der Mormonen oder Jüngsten-Tages-Heiligen in Nordamerika*, Göttingen 1856, Neudruck 2011, S. 1; ebenso S. 67 und S. 154f.
27. Ebd. S. 1.
28. Ebd. S. 5.
29. Ebd.
30. Ebd. S. 8.
31. Ebd. S. 2.
32. Ebd. S. 38; vgl. S. 47; S. 90 im Kontext der Präsidentschaftskandidatur Joseph Smiths.
33. Ebd. S. 89.

34. Ebd. S. 152.
35. Ebd. S. 31.
36. Ebd. S. 37.
37. Ebd. S. 2.
38. Ebd.
39. Ebd.
40. A. a. O., S. 6.
41. Ebd.
42. A. a. O. S. 104.
43. A. a. O. S. 105.
44. A. a. O. S. 24. - *Olshausen führt das Buch Mormon auf Salomon Spaulding, geb. in Ashford, CT, ausgebildet im Dartmouth-College, und wohnhaft in Cherry Valley, NY, zurück. Diesen habe die Frage nach dem Ursprung der Indianer bewegt, und er hatte daher ein Werk "Das gefundene Manuscript" verfasst, "in dem der ameri- kanische Kontinent von Lehi, dem Sohne Japhets, colonisirt" worden sei, (a. a. O. S. 26). Teile der Stämme Israels seien über das Meer nachgezogen. Lehis Nachkommen hätten sich jedoch im Kampf der Nephiten und Lamaniten gegenseitig bekriegt. Am Ende sei nur der Nephite Maroni am Leben geblieben, der die Geschichte seines Stammes aufgezeichnet habe und sie bei Conneaut, OH, vergrub, wo sie nach Spaulding im 19. Jahrhundert als das "gefundene Manuscript" gefunden worden seien. Diesen Roman wollte Spaulding 1812 in Pittsburg, PA, publizieren, blieb jedoch erfolglos, a. a. O. S. 27. Spauldings Witwe nahm die Schrift im Nachlass mit nach Onondaga-Hollow, NY, später nach Hardwick. Hier nahm Sidney Rigdon Einblick in die Schrift, a. a. O. S. 28, der mit Joseph Smith schon vor 1830 in gutem Einvernehmen stand und in der mormonischen Hierarchie zu höchsten Ämtern aufstieg, nach der Ermordung des Propheten jedoch im Kampf um die Nachfolge Brigham Young unterlag und aus der Mormonenkirche exkommuniziert wurde. Zur Berufung Brigham Youngs Olshausen a. a. O. S. 115f.*
45. A. a. O. S. 7.
46. A. a. O. S. 4
47. Ebd.
48. A. a. O. S. 53.
49. A. a. O. S. 103. *Der von den Mormonen nominierte Joseph Smith war der erste in der US-Historie ermordete Präsidentschaftskandidat.*
50. A. a. O. S. 53. *Den „Hauptzweck“ der den Mormonen 1838 in Missouri geschehenen Gewalttaten sieht Olshausen darin, „die Secte aus dem Staate zu vertreiben“, a. a. O. S. 52. - Auch die Leiden der Mormonen in Illinois stellt Olshausen breitflächig dar, so das Abbrennen von 175 Häusern in Nauvoo, a.a.O., S. 121, die Veräußerung der den Mormonen zueigenen Immobilien weit unter Wert, a. a. O. S. 124, und die gewaltsame Vertreibung der in Nauvoo zurückgebliebenen Angehörigen der Kirche unter der Verantwortung des Gouverneurs Thomas Ford, a. a. O. S. 128-134.*
51. Ebd.
52. A. a. O. S. 57 [Hervorhebung im Original].
53. A. a. O. S. 64.
54. *Zum Aufenthalt der Mormonen in Nauvoo Olshausen S. 59-138. Hier S. 65 auch die Darstellung des Aufbaus einer Mormonenarmee mit Joseph Smith als Oberkommandierenden.*
55. A. a. O. S. 66.
56. A. a. O. S. 67.
57. A. a. O. S. 179. *Zur von dem Mormonen bis 1890 propagierten „Spiritual Wifery“ Olshausen S. 79; S. 175-184.*
58. A. a. O. S. 181.
59. *Zu diesem Heinrich Otto Meisner. Art. "Busch, Julius Hermann Moritz", NDB Bd. 3, Berlin 1957, S. 63f.*
60. *Moritz Busch, Die Mormonen, Leipzig 1855; Neudruck Paderborn 2012.*
61. *Ders., a. a. O., S. 157. 62. Ebd.*

Panic of 1857

Entrepreneurial 1848ers from Schleswig-Holstein in the First Global Financial Crisis at the Mississippi

Marvin Kissmer, Flensburg, Germany
Slides follow the article.

Introduction

The crisis of 1857 has been called the first global crisis in the human history. A failure originating within the banking institution called Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company, a company based in Cincinnati Ohio known for its bad investments and for heavy speculation in the railroad industry. Pending the bankruptcy of this bank, an overwhelming and chaotic run to banks throughout the United States ensued.

Crimean War

The Crimean war (October 1853 – February 1856) was a conflict between Russia and the alliance of France, Britain, the Ottoman Empire, the Kingdom of Sardinia, and Austria. However, it ended with a victory for the alliance, resulting in the Treaty of Paris.

With many men bonded in military service because of the war, they were unable to work in Europe's agriculture sector. Compounding the effect, European nations were cut off from agriculture imports originating from the Russian monarchy. As a consequence, increased imports were received from the U.S. Grain-Belt to Europe.

Panic 1857 – today

Two major parallels exist when examining the economic crisis in 1857 and the Global Financial Crisis 2007-08. The first being that both crises were largely caused by bursting of a speculative bubble (the railroad industry in 1857 and the housing market in 2008) and the second being the systematic failure of banks. The crisis of the bank and financial sector then crippled other economic sectors at an alarming rate. In contrast to 1857, a bank run did not take place in 2008 and the consequences were more harmless, even if painful.

Davenport's golden days

Railroad

Similar to other regions in the Midwest, Davenport, IA began to rise in the early 1850's. Many factors contributed to this economic upswing, not the least of which was the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi. The opening of this bridge on April 21, 1856, by Rock Island Railroad Company connected the Chicago & Rock Island and Mississippi & Missouri railroads. This, in turn, connected Davenport directly to the east coast of the United States. As a result, Davenport's commerce was no longer solely dependent on the Mississippi River, allowing Davenport to become a railroad hub.

Building boom

With this vital connection in place, the demand for housing, food, and supplies soared, capping off a boom in the local economy. In 1857 alone, 1,214 houses and buildings were erected in Davenport. The population increased from 1,848 in 1850 to almost 15,000 in

1857. Since 1847, Davenport (west of Chicago, along the Mississippi River) experienced a huge chain migration of northern Germans from what's now known as the State of Schleswig-Holstein, most of them being democratic refugees of the failed revolution of 1848.

In just a few months, where before there had been nothing but naked prairie, hundreds of houses were built and a number of palatial homes constructed for the city's economic and political power-brokers in an elite neighborhood northeast of the downtown area. New businesses of all kinds erupted in the city's commercial district. Moreover, old frame structures were taken down and replaced with substantial brick buildings, some three or four stories high.

From 1856 through 1857, four miles of streets in the lower part of the city were graded (two miles of which were macadamized) and almost twenty miles of sidewalks were laid. In addition, the network of gas pipes was extended, 250 street lamps were erected, two sewers were installed, and a new fire station was built and fully equipped.

Easy money

With a booming population and an increased demand for goods and services, there was a greater demand for money. Money was available to anyone who could provide sufficient collateral and was willing to pay a high rate of interest. Theodor Olshausen from Kiel, Schleswig-Holstein and former leading Forty-Eighter, journalist, and member of the Provisional Government moved from St. Louis, MO to Davenport to purchase "Der Demokrat" from Theodor Gülich who founded the weekly newspaper in 1851 (Gülich's father was a distinguished member of the 'National Assembly', Germany's first democratic parliament, Frankfurt). In order to buy the German-American newspaper, Olshausen was forced to borrow \$1,000 at an interest rate of 10% but even 20-25% rates were not totally unknown. A good doctor, e. g. Johannes Olshausen, was always needed, and a newspaper, e. g. by Theodor Olshausen, was also kind of needed as well.

Even though the world was in crisis the people need a doctor and want to read the newspaper.

The farmers of Scott County (located next to Davenport in eastern Iowa) were also experiencing the best of times, with the years 1854-1856 often referred to as the "Golden Days." Boosted by exports, prices for agriculture products swelled. The price of a bushel of potatoes was about \$1.25-\$1.50 in 1855 (approximately 55 pounds, inflation-adjusted price today: \$30.35 per bushel). Johannes Olshausen, half-brother of 1848er Theodor Olshausen, was a physician. He had a monthly income of \$400 (inflation-adjusted: \$9,700).

Crisis in Davenport

"Florence money"

Unfortunately, Davenport's golden economic days would soon undergo a pronounced and prolonged change. By the end of the summer in 1857, storm clouds had formed over the future of business in the entire country, and the world.

Chief among the causes of the resulting "Panic of 1857" was the lack of a national currency. This resulted in a myriad of banks throughout the country issuing their own paper money, often printed without the backing of sufficient reserves. However, Iowa law did not permit banks located within the state to issue their own currency. But Cook & Sargent, a local bank, sidestepped this law by printing "Florence money" in Nebraska territory.

The "Panic of 1857," was first felt in Iowa by Davenport's business community, dominated by entrepreneurial 1848ers, during the cessation of eastern capital investment and the

demand for the return of advances previously made. Davenport's merchants and investors who relied on that capital and credit were stretched to their limits and deeply indebted. Gold and silver circulating in the West was quickly snapped up and sent to the East to meet obligations. Resulting was decreased consumer demand, depressed sales, lowered prices, reduced incentives to produce or invest, and increased unemployment. Profits, land values, and development all stagnated, making it more difficult for residents to pay their debts.

Failure of crops

This financial situation was exacerbated when 1858 proved to be a disastrous year for the Scott County harvest. Because of heavy and frequent rainfall during the harvest season, the wheat crop failed to even provide seed for the following season. The comparatively small quantity that was brought to market sold at no more than \$0.50 per bushel. Potatoes sold for a mere \$0.05 per bushel. Furthermore, the heavy rains also wreaked havoc on the barley crop, causing prices to plummet to no more than \$0.20 per bushel. To make matters even worse, the year's corn crop was an almost total loss because of a severe frost in early September. In contrast, after the three "Golden Years," this turn of events was a bitter disappointment for Scott County's farmers. Unfortunately, incessant rains during the following two years only added insult to injury. The farmers' woes affected storekeepers' stock, thus preventing payments to wholesalers and manufacturers, making it difficult for these entities to keep current with their creditors.

Panic

While 20% rates were common, now 30-50% credit became normal. The Panic led to a dramatic public shutdown: basic services such as police and fire protection were suspended. Many farmers who borrowed money to improve their farms couldn't pay the interest on the loans secured by their property, thereby losing their farms. The walls at the entrance of the courthouse were plastered with notices of sheriff's sales, and newspapers were filled with such public announcements. Wages were reduced to half a dollar per day, but many still couldn't find work. The population, which had reached 16,677 by March 1858, plummeted to 11,267 by 1860. It wasn't until the 1870's when the population was restored.

Eventually, leading Forty-Eighter Theodore Olshausen and his half-brother Johannes Olshausen got in financial trouble. Johannes's income was cut in half and Theodore had problems paying back his loans. From 1857 to 1859, the price of land dropped to a quarter of its original price. (Please, compare 'Appendix 7', page 108 & 110, German letters of Theodor Olshausen to Justus Olshausen, from Davenport, IA.) The price paid by a farmer from Davenport in 1858 was \$20 per acre, but that same acre could not be sold for \$10 in 1859.

All of these developments placed a heavy strain on Cook & Sargent, a bank whose business was greater than all of Davenport's other banks combined.

Making matters worse were the actions taken by Austin Corbin, a former business partner of Hans Reimer Claussen, Forty-Eighter and member of the first German democratic parliament, Paul's Church / National Assembly in Frankfurt. Charismatic Claussen became one of the principals in the Davenport banking house of Macklot & Corbin, a bank which issued no currency of its own.

Relentless pressure resulted in ever widening cracks in Cook & Sargent's "Marble Bank." The long feared final crash arrived on December 15, 1859 ("Black Friday"), when many surprised and shocked Davenporters learned Cook & Sargent's doors hadn't opened that morning. Although some hoped the suspension would be temporary, that did not prove to be the case. Large and small businessmen, farmers, and laborers who had deposits in the bank or Florence money in their possession suffered greatly. As was the fate of Cook & Sargent, the formerly successful firm of Burrows & Prettyman was driven into bankruptcy. Although the principals in both firms were never accused of dishonesty and had done much

for Davenport's development, the calamity they helped create had far-reaching effects and resulted in many innocent people realizing only a small percentage of their just claims.

Although the "Panic of 1857" brought financial ruin to many other young cities in the West, Davenport was able to recover from the ordeal comparatively well. Nevertheless, although the failure of Cook & Sargent represented the all-time low in Davenport's financial struggles, the well of prosperity was gradually replenished. Money continued to be scarce and more unfavorable weather continued to shrink farmers' bottom line.

After the crisis

After the crisis and the deflation in 1858, the economy started again in 1860, just before the American Civil War. But Theodor Olshausen felt he had to move away. He sold his Davenport newspaper "Der Demokrat" and moved to St. Louis and started again with a new newspaper "Westliche Post." His staying in Davenport from 1856 to 1860 ended ("Westliche Post" would hire later the most famous Joseph Pulitzer).

Davenport was declared to be Iowa's first military headquarters just before the Civil War started.

Not until the 1870's did Davenport recover as a city, finally rose above the inhabitants of 1856. The Forty-Eighters from Schleswig-Holstein in Davenport and Scott County became the movers and shakers as town builders, community leaders, local politicians, and dominating businessmen.

PS: I am indebted to Scott C. Christiansen's phenomenal research and insight into Davenport's history during 'The Panic of 1857'. His research was the linchpin of my first public talk at Wartburg Conference.

Vielen, vielen Dank.

Panic of 1857

1

DAVENPORT'S FORTY-EIGHTER IN THE FIRST GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

Marvin Kibmer

22.10.2013

Structure

2

- **1. Overview**
 - 1.1 Economic connection
 - 1.2 Panic 1857-Global Financial Crisis
- **2. Davenport**
 - 2.1 Davenport's golden days
- **3. Panic in Davenport**
 - 3.1 "Florence money"
 - 3.2 The begin of panic
 - 3.3 Panic in Davenport
- **4. After the Panic**



Marvin Kibmer

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1. Overview

3



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1. Overview

4

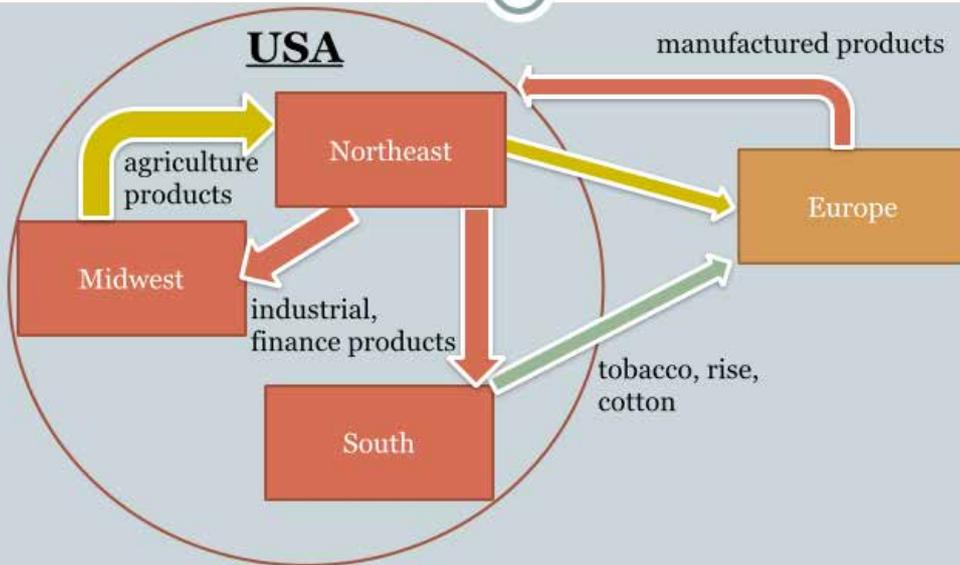
- First financial and economic world crisis
- Failure of Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company
- Duration:
1857-1859
- Bank run

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1.1 Economic connection

5



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1.3 Crimean War

6



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1.3 Crimean War

7

- Russia ⚡ France, Britain, Ottoman Empire, Sardinia
- Low wheat production in Europe
 - Import from USA and bulge in prices
- Decline in prices after war

1.2 Panic 1857-Global Financial Crisis

8

- Speculative bubble
 - railroad companies ↔ real estate
- Failure of banks
- Lack of liquidity and credit crunch
- Bank run
 - 1857 ↔ 2008

2. Davenport

9



Marvin Kibner

22.10.2013

2.1 Davenport's golden days

10

- **Railroad boom**
 - Expanding railroad system
 - Construction of a bridge in April 21, 1856
 - * connection to the east coast
- **Building boom**
 - 1,214 houses and buildings
 - Four miles of streets
 - Twenty miles of sidewalks
 - 250 street lamps

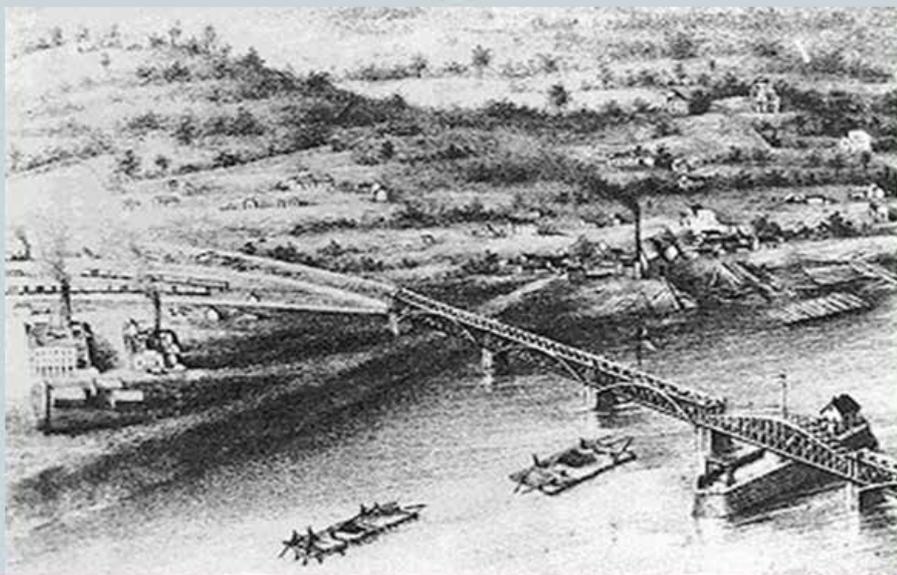


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First railroad bridge

11



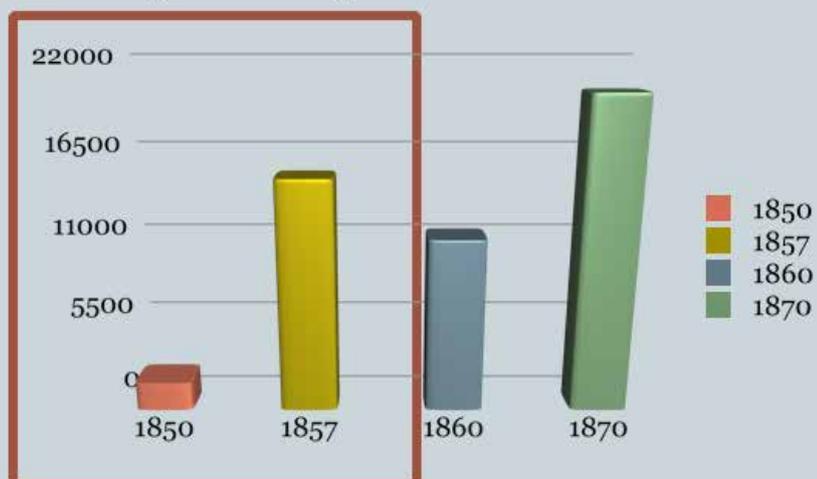
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2.1 Davenport's golden days

12

- Population growth 1850<



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22.10.2013

2.1 Davenport's golden days

13

- **Easy money**
 - Money for everyone with security
 - normal interest on borrowings about 20-25%
- **Prospering economy**
- **Good business**
 - a bushel potatoes \$1.25-\$1.50 (\$30.35 today)
 - Income of Johannes as physician: \$400 (\$9700 today)

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3. Panic in Davenport

14



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3.1 “Florence money”

15

- No national currency
- Cook & Sargent
- Burrows & Prettyman
- Insufficient cash reserve ratio



3.2 The begin of Panic

16

- Cessation of return on investment
 - Gold and silver used for debts
 - Economic troubles
- Failure of crops in 1858
 - a bushel wheat \$0.2 (\$5.23 today)
 - a bushel potatoes \$0.05 (\$1.31 today)



3.3 Panic in Davenport

17

- Interest on borrowings about 30-50%
- Public shutdown
- Wages halved
- The price of land dropped to a quarter
- Accusation against Cook & Sargent



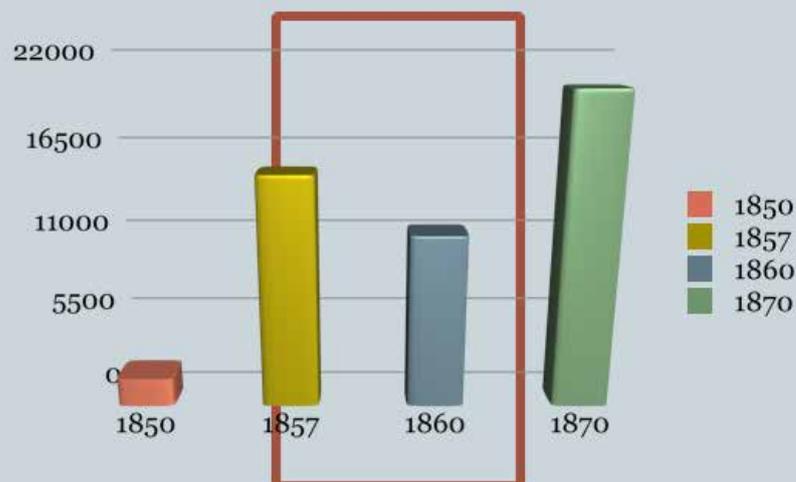
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22.10.2013

3.3 Panic in Davenport

18

- Population growth 1850<



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3.3 Panic in Davenport

19

- Final crash on December 15, 1859
- Bankruptcy of Cook & Sargent
- Florence money worthless
- The peak of the crisis



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4. After the Panic

20

- Economy started again in 1860
- Olshausen and v. Schirach moved away
- Iowa's first military headquarter
- Upcoming Civil War



Marvin Kibmer

22.10.2013

Fred Hedde, Immigration Agent for the State of Nebraska

*Edith Robbins, Grand Island, NE
Slides follow the article.*

The German Revolution of 1848 caused a number of men from Schleswig Holstein—those who could no longer successfully put up resistance against the Danish authority—to immigrate to the United States. These immigrants were well educated scholars, lawyers, teachers and journalists, and there is no question that they had a significant impact on the political and cultural life in America. These exiles became strong promoter of freedom and liberty in the United States, the same ideals they had fought for in Germany.

Friedrich August Peter Hedde, born on September 11, 1818 in Rendsburg studied Jurisprudence in Kiel and became a left wing member of the Schleswig-Holstein *Ständeversammlung*. As a youngster, Friedrich attended both private and public schools before entering the local Gymnasium. At eighteen, Hedde began studying at *Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel*. He graduated with a law degree in the fall of 1841, earning high honors.

Eventually, Hedde was one of the politically active revolutionaries who was forced to leave Germany. Furthermore, he was most likely one of very few 48ers from Schleswig Holstein who went to the American town building frontier.

When he arrived in New York City, the German Press gave him a warm welcome.

“...An energetic opponent of the illiberal, Schleswig-Holstein Particularismus he belonged to the best forces of Schleswig-Holstein, and without hesitation we declare him to be the strongest and most able patriot ...”

He moved to Davenport, IA, where he would find his friend Theodor Olshausen. Olshausen was the former publisher of the *Kieler Correspondenzblatt*, and upon Hedde's arrival, was the current publisher of the German weekly *Der Demokrat*. According to the 1856 Davenport city directory, Hedde was working as a partner with William von Schirach in the real estate business. Through his work as a land agent he became aware of the town building scheme in the middle of Nebraska, financed by a Davenport bank. Advocates of the transcontinental railroad were speculating that the only route across the country would follow the Platte Valley. Building a town in this strategically important location in Nebraska could reap enormous profits.

Open for settlement in 1854, Hedde and a number of Germans settled in Nebraska in 1857, in current day Grand Island in Hall County.

Maintaining his political activism, Hedde was elected to represent this area in Nebraska's territorial legislature in Omaha. Due to his political activities he became a prominent figure throughout Nebraska.

Nebraska became a state in 1867, with its capital in Omaha. The governor of this new state, David Butler, gave strong support for the organization of an immigration program. He believed that such a program with “judicious but liberal appropriation, guided through proper channels, would bring to our people a ten-fold return in population and capital.” He pointed out that Nebraska thus far had been negligent to this subject. Other states had sent agents “in every direction to divert a share of the westward tending stream of emigration from overpopulated countries.” It took the governor almost three years to convince the Nebraska legislature of the importance of such a program. During a special session leg-

islative session in 1870, the Legislator finally passed a law which would provide \$15,000 to cover the cost for a state immigration agency lasting two years. As it soon turned out, this was far too little money for such an undertaking. Four immigration agents were appointed “to perform their duties in this country or in foreign countries.” One might mention that Nebraska in 1870 had only about 122,000 inhabitants and little money flowing through the city. (Of course, this number did not include the thousands of Native Americans living in Nebraska.) As Hedde was well known for his policies on economic growth and expansion in the Nebraska legislature, the Platte Valley Independent, the town’s local newspaper, only further promoted that Hedde was “devoted to the interest of our state.” Thus, his appointment as State Immigration Agent for Germany did not come as a surprise. The newspaper The Omaha Republican in a lengthy article pointed out that Hedde

“belongs to the best educated classes of Germany and has there as well as here, a high character for ability and integrity; he has all over Germany, and especially in Schleswig-Holstein, a great many old friends, all of whom have as lawyers, physicians, ministers, merchants and farmers a high standing in their communities, and will be valuable assistants in everything he undertakes.”

As a former editor and correspondent, Hedde had important connections to a number of the leading newspapers in Germany. Furthermore, he had known Nebraska from the very beginning and by his own example he could prove to prospective immigrants how one could succeed in Nebraska.

On March 25, 1871, a few months before Hedde left for Germany, The Platte Valley Independent, a newspaper based in Grand Island, published the following note:

Hall County, the first in the state to organize a board of immigration -nothing like being always ahead.

The local immigration board had been started by Grand Island bankers, merchants and the editor of the local paper. There is no doubt in my mind that Fred Hedde was the driving force behind this. He had published an article about the need to form local immigration boards and he had high hopes that Omaha, Lincoln and other large places would soon do the same. He recommended that the local board should assist the immigrants in any possible way and protect them from deception. Thus, Grand Island’s board was quite active. For example, a short note in the Independent reads:

All letters of inquiry concerning this county addressed to the Hall County Board of Immigration, will be promptly answered, whether written in German, English or Danish.

Newly arriving immigrants could always find a place to stay overnight; as it was proudly announced: “Sleeping accommodations for 100 immigrant persons are now at the disposal of the Hall County Board of Immigration.”

However, the primary function of this local organization was the gathering of dependable facts on farmland, allowing immigrants to obtain information on the quality, quantity, and the price of land. In 1871, a map of Hall County, drawn by the board and published in every weekly issue of the Platte Valley Independent, showed government and railroad lands still available to prospective settlers.

Hedde arrived in Hamburg on June 23, 1871, only a few weeks after the Franco-Prussian war had ended.

As Hedde so accurately later reported, at the end of the Franco Prussian war one could expect a steep rise in the number of emigrants for, in his own words, “years to come” (he could not have foreseen the great depression in the middle 1870s). He thought that due to the new laws relating to military service including conscription for three years in the standing army, the fear of another war, and heavy taxation, people would hurry to emigrate to

America. Later Hedde would observe that already in 1872 emigration from Hamburg had increased by 50 %. “This increase of immigration by 50 % has alarmed the wealthier classes, especially the nobility, and all such men, who are holding large estates, as emigration to a certain degree deprives them of their labor and compels them to pay higher wages.”

Hedde continues:

“The government of the German States and that of the German Empire are certainly not favorable to emigration and they are urged by the thoughtless German aristocracy to do something to prevent emigration.”

According to Hedde the only thing the German government had done against emigration was abolish the reduced fare system of the railroads and increase the passage from German ports to the United States. Hedde was certain that stricter regulations would not follow, “since Bismarck is smart enough to know that stopping emigration means favoring revolution.”

Because newspapers in Germany were influenced by the government and supported by the nobility, they were unwilling to publish anything which would support emigration. This fact, and the fact that Hedde had very little money to promote and advertise Nebraska, made it difficult for him to work. He had to look for newspapers who would print his articles free of charge and sought the help from shipping lines with well established networks of agents throughout Germany. He also was seeking the help of emigrations agencies. One private emigration agency in Germany was the Humboldt Association with its own publication, entitled “Nature.” The title of this publication did not quite reveal to the authorities in Germany the promotional aspect for emigration. Incidentally, Hedde’s articles about Nebraska published in “Nature” would later build the basis for his small book “Der Staat Nebraska,” which was released in Kiel in 1874, “Preis 10 Silbergroschen.” (translation: at the price of 10 Silbergroschen. Silbergroschen – currency used during the time period)

Back in Nebraska, in a letter to Nebraska’s governor dated January 6, 1873, Hedde pointed out that while in Germany, he had received many inquiries asking for a more detailed book covering Nebraska as an immigration state, and that he intended to write such a book. He needed help in collecting data and asked for assistance from the state along with the cooperation of the Senators and Representatives in Congress. This little book contained countless facts on Nebraska including geology, transportation, explanations about the U.S.’s political system, and a chapter on the Germans already in Nebraska. The book also contained statistics on Nebraska’s agriculture. For example, the average yield of corn at that time was an optimistic 32 bushels per acre. Furthermore, Hedde highlighted an important fact to prospective German emigrants—that one could get 160 acres of free land, something inconceivable to most Germans. In chapter 8 of his book, Hedde explained extensively different land laws, including a detailed account on the homestead law. The book painted a perfect picture of Nebraska in the early 1870s.

According to the *Staatsarchiv* in Hamburg Hedde worked there as Nebraska’s state immigration agent from June 1871 until October 1872.

The Nebraska Immigration Board had insisted on printing advertising material in Omaha to “show what Nebraska can do.” The material finally arrived at the end of Hedde’s stay in Germany. As a result he had been forced earlier to ask the Union Pacific and the Burlington-Missouri Railroads for advertising material, material he would then distributed by the thousands.

Of course the railroads were happy to find an outlet for their publications, and Hedde would distribute thousands of ads for Burlington alone. Of course, he suggested that pamphlets about Nebraska should be printed in Germany, a cheaper and faster process. Hedde

strongly recommended that Nebraska should also publish its own newspaper in Germany, something that other states had already done.

He suggested that Nebraska's press should send its newspapers to the agent working in Germany so he could have the latest information on hand.

He aimed to persuade railroads in America to provide cheaper tickets to Nebraska for arriving immigrants, and he wished that such tickets could be even sold in Germany.

In Nebraska, he suggested that immigrant homes should be established for arriving immigrants free of charge. The Burlington Missouri Railroad Co. would set up just such buildings in Lincoln that year.

Of course in the beginning, everyone could see the benefit for the state from such a program. Despite that the number of immigrants to Nebraska had increased and the immigration board taking all the credit for this increase – a claim by the Board cannot be proven— the \$15,000 in funding from the Nebraska legislature was spent in less than six months. Agents in Europe, like Hedde, received only a small part of their promised salary. Hence, newspapers in Nebraska started to question the program. By 1873, the Fall City Journal wrote: “The whole thing is a contemptible humbug, a swindle on the State, and a burlesque on the aptitude of business. It makes a few more petty offices for somebody to hold – that is all.”

And The Platte Valley Independent in Grand Island wrote:

“In Hall County we have yet to meet the first individual who will acknowledge that he was brought here through any efforts made by the board, while we find that fully half of the new settlers readily admit that they were induced to come to this country through the instrumentality of the Independent. ...”

Money shortages and complaints forced the Board had stopped the program six months earlier than planned. Without informing Hedde of the stoppage, he was then stranded in Germany. This forced the Nebraska legislature to call for an investigation and Hedde to prepare a lengthy statement. The investigation would show that the B.&M. had spent \$500,000 on foreign immigration and the Union Pacific \$300,000. Both railroads had benefited as well as the state. The recommendation from the investigation committee was that the State should continue its own activity but with a much larger budget. Even while attempting to reorganize, Nebraska Board of Immigration soon folded. The different railroads would have to take up the efforts of immigration promotion.

(Please compare page 109, Olshausen's letters from Davenport, IA.)



Hedde

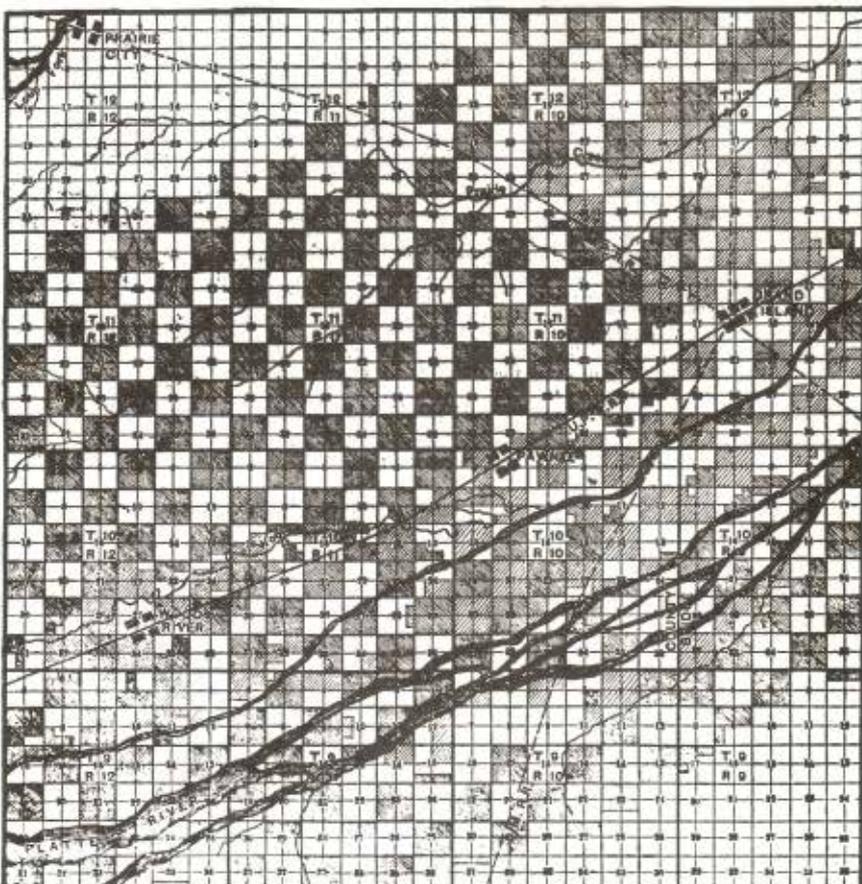


Grand Island, Nebraska 1877

Post Office Grand Island Station *	Front Street is in fore ground Locust Street going South	Telegraph line from Military Road to O. K. Store, Mr. Wiebe telegraph operator.	Roman Catholic Church O.A. Abbott Law Office
Trees in the distance are along Wood River or the North Channel of Platte River			O. K. Store Koenig & Wiebe

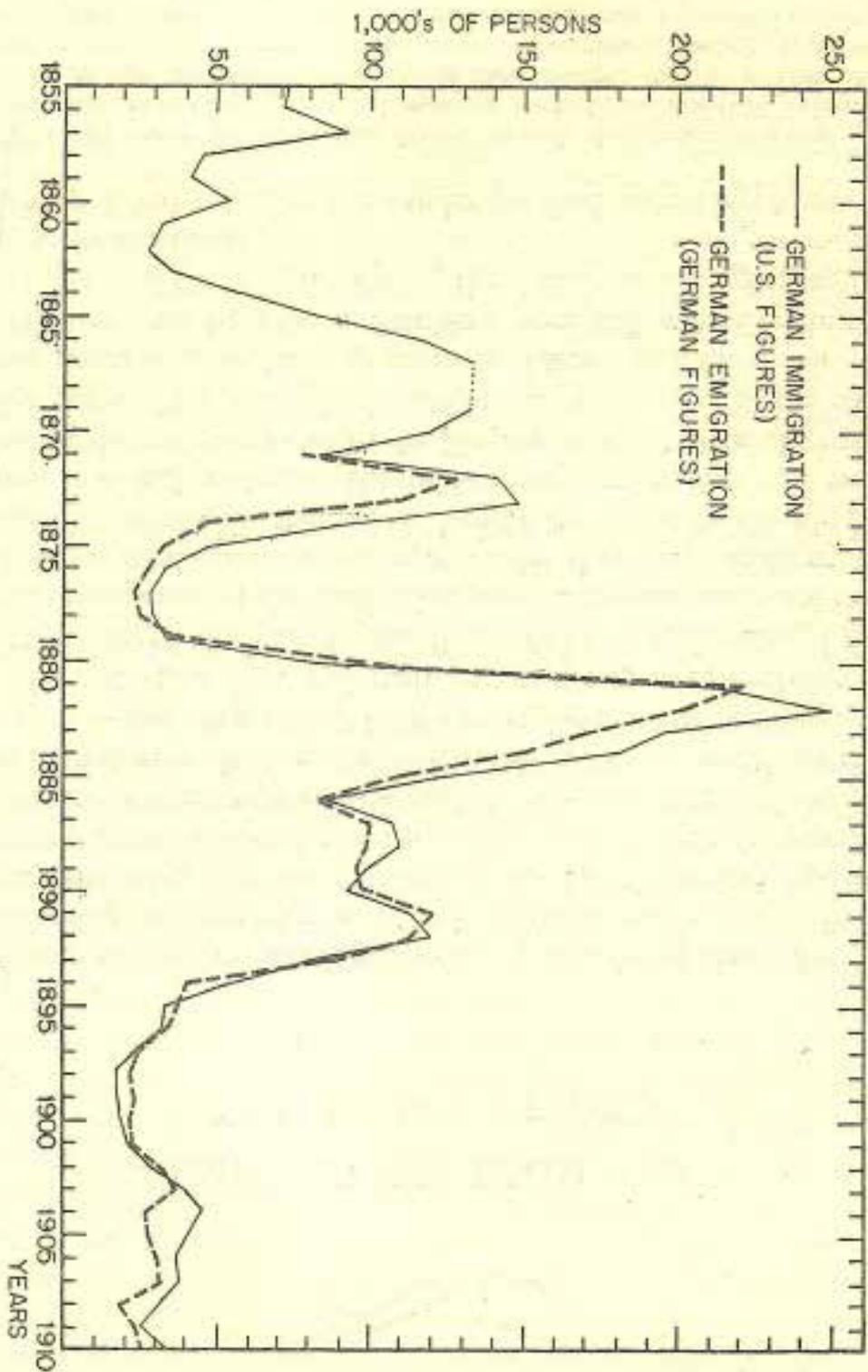
MAP of HALL COUNTY.

The following map, which is published by authority of the Hall County Board of Immigration, shows the vacant and occupied Government and Railroad Lands in Hall county, Nebraska, April 1st, A. D. 1871. The even sections are Government, and the odd sections, Railroad lands. The dark on even sections, denotes occupied land, and the light on even sections denotes vacant land. On the odd sections, the light denotes occupied, and the dark, vacant, land. This map will be corrected from time to time, by adding notes of land taken subsequent to the expiration of said map.



Drawn by George W. Thummel, and George Handy, by authority of the Hall County Board of Immigration.

In the spring of 1871 this map appeared regularly in Grand Island's newspaper, *The Platte Valley Independent*. The map shows the government land and railroad land in Hall County as well as which of these lands were still open to settlers. H.P. Handy and George Thummel prepared the map "by authority of the Hall County Board of Immigration." Notice the mythical town of Prairie City in the upper left hand corner.



Der amerikanische Westen.

Erstes Heft:

Der Staat Nebraska

von

Fr. Hedde.

Mit einer Karte Nebraska's und einer Karte der mittleren Staaten
der Union.

H

40.

Preis 10 Sgr.

Hiel, 1874.



G. v. Naad's Buchhandlung,

und zu haben in allen Buchhandlungen des In- und Auslandes.

Hedde, Der Staat Nebraska, Archive Stuhr Museum, Grand Island.

Anzeigen.

Die Agentur des Staates Missouri
für Deutschland, Oestreich und die Schweiz
beñtet sich in Bremen, Langestraße Nr. 35.
Jede wünschenswerthe Auskunft wird an Auswanderungs-
lustige auf portofreie Anfragen unentgeltlich erteilt.

Texas.

Wer Räberes über Texas als Heimath für die deut-
schen Einwanderer und über die großen Vortheile, welche
dieser Staat denselben bietet, zu erfragen wünscht, wende
sich an

Dr. Theod. Hertzberg,
Staats-Einwanderungs-Commissär für Texas
in Bremen.

M. H. Allardt,

vom Gouverneur gesetzlich angestellter
Einwanderungs-Commissär des Staates
Michigan.

Wohnung und Comptoir:

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Hedde Building ca. 1920





Fred Hedde's legacy in Grand Island, NE - no monument.



Thomas Mann and Walt Whitman: Notes on a Transatlantic Inspiration to Democracy

Derk Janssen, Ausacker & Freiburg

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you, Yvonne Losch, for your kind introduction. I also want to express my deep gratitude for having the opportunity to speak here today. Thank you Dan Walther, Yogi Reppmann and all the others who made it possible, that we meet at Wartburg-College for this wonderful conference. I give my special and heartfelt thanks to Claus Peter Kölln for sponsoring this event.

I would like to speak about Thomas Mann and Walt Whitman today. At first sight, there seems to be no bridge between this issue and the topic of the conference, but I hope, that my talk will offer some insights that also throw new light on what you have already heard and will hear in the talks and discussions at this conference.

Today I will not present you Thomas Mann, the writer. Considering the time alone, this wouldn't be possible. So I have to leave many things unsaid about the author of the *Buddenbrooks* (*Buddenbrooks*, 1901), of *The Magic Mountain* (*Der Zauberberg*, 1924) and the laureate of the Nobel Prize of Literature in 1929. I am interested in Thomas Mann the political man today, the man, who 1919 after World War I together with his contemporaries stood in the midst of the rubble of a broken order.

This Thomas Mann was not in peace with himself in this year 1919; it was the year of the constitutional founding of the Republic of Weimar, the first parliamentary republic and democracy in Germany. His most recent book *Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man* (*Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*) had been published a year before in 1918, the last year of the war, a year at its end the German Empire eventually had not only lost his emperor, William II., who left Germany for exile in the Netherlands, but also the Great War. In *Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man*, written in the years 1915-17 during the war, Mann had written down his thoughts about the relation of culture and politics – or is it better to speak about of a non-relation?

Culture and politics so could be read in this book stay in contrast to each other. Mann: “German humanity is resisting politicization from the bottom”. And “civilisation” – an invention of French and Anglo-Saxon thinking – means democracy and democracy, according to Mann, is inconsistent with the spiritual life of Germany. Mann explains: „the German people will never love political democracy for one simple reason, because it can not love politics itself; the much slandered authoritarian state (*Obrigkeitsstaat*) is and will be the form of government, that is most suited for and wanted from the German people.“ He concluded: A monarchy is and will always be for Germany's best. The most prominent notion, with which Mann in the *Reflections* agitated against “western values and civilisation”, mainly of French origin, was the word “culture”. Culture was German, civilisation was French and the latter had to be held off and away and with it the political idea of democracy.

It is not the place here to plunge deeper into this very elaborate and disparate writing of some 600 pages that was partly a reaction to Thomas Mann's brother Heinrich, a confessed Francophile. It was and had been seen as a manifest of a declared national conservative, some spoke of a conservative revolutionary, and so happened, what had to happen:

When the new order was in formation – when the constitutional assembly in Weimar had been coming together, had discussed, decided and a new constitution was passed (August 1919) – in Mann's eyes some took the proclaimed non-relation to politics too serious. And these were those, who refuted the new conditions, the new order fundamentally and in toto, and positioned themselves against the republic, against the constitution and against the treaty of Versailles, which had been signed in June 1919.

They argued that Thomas Mann is right, when he sees German culture and the Germanic outside the circle of the republican-democratic. He is on the right track, where he sees in German nationalism and in the German spiritual life a call much loftier and higher than that mundane and lower of the French and Anglo-Saxon.

It were these friends of the *Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man*, who hailed the book and referred to its author in heated public debates as one of theirs, who made Mann feel uneasy. And so he took stock of himself.

The first public address, in which Mann confessed himself to the young German Weimar Republic, was his talk *Of the German Republic (Von deutscher Republik)*. He delivered it on October 13, 1922 in Berlin at the occasion of the 60th birthday of Gerhard Hauptmann, then the representative writer of Germany. He wanted “to contribute in a spiritual way to this necessary creation and to instil an unfortunate state, that has no citizens, with something of an idea, a soul, a spirit”.

In this address he referred to the German poet Georg Philipp Friedrich von Hardenberg (1772-1801), called Novalis, to do just this: to instil new life spirit to the republic and to question some national conservatives, who argued, democratic thinking couldn't be found anywhere in German history. In Novalis, Mann expounded, one can find a German whose thinking not only reveals republican and democratic thought, but a person who incorporates it.

With Novalis Mann also involved German Romanticism, a literary and philosophic movement in the intellectual history of Germany at the beginning of the 19th century. German Romanticism rose up against the sober and rational spirit of enlightenment and was critical of the French Revolution. By going back to this spiritual movement, Mann thought, he would be able to win the Germans over to democracy.

And Mann invoked Walt Whitman. Whitman (1819-1892) was the most significant American poet in the second half of the 19th century and – he was also a thinker. In him Mann claimed to have an American, who had been able to happily conjoin the ideas of culture and democracy. Here was a work of art and culture from the Anglo-Saxon sphere that not only came close to those of German descent but was on a par with them.

And Whitman was an American. America, in German public opinion then stood for Americanism, the spirit of capital and materialism. It stood for a shallow and outward orientated way of thinking that was alien to the German cultural sphere, especially its huge realm of introspection (*Innerlichkeit*). America's political idealism, with which the nation had gone to the European war 1917, her “making the world safe for democracy”, was considered politically naïve and it was generally held that this idealism had been crushed altogether with President Wilson's plans of a new world order, a league of nations etc with the failed treaty of Versailles 1919. “The cultural foundations of these plans considered, they had to fail” could have been one voice in the polyphonic choir of critics.

Two main messages can be distilled out of Mann's address *Of the German Republic*: The American democracy knows culture, and also the German culture knows democracy. The shock this new assessment caused and especially Mann's confession to the new second belief was substantial. With it the idea of a democratic cultural nation found entry in the new republican German public, an idea and concept the author of the *Reflections of a*

Nonpolitical Man a few years before would have had called a contradiction in terms. A democratic cultural nation? An impossible and inconceivable idea!

At once was heard of right wing national conservatives and reactionists: The Mann of the Reflections deserted. And further: “Mann overboard!” In some circles he sunk into the new zeitgeist, backed down to the new republic, betrayed his Germanity, came out to be a beadle of the prevailing powers et cetera.

Mann was also criticized as self-contradictory. The Reflections of 1918 and the address of 1922 were incompatible.

But Mann didn't want to admit objections of this kind. For him, who still in 1921 uttered, that he reads the Reflections “without pain, often with applause” they were as true as the new confession to the republic. They had been only a sentimental obituary on a past epoch of the cultural bourgeoisie. But the new confession for him was the order of the day and acknowledged new circumstances. One may find this convincing or not. As a matter of fact, Mann made some revisions in the Reflections, calmed down some polemics of his argument of 1918, when he prepared the new second edition of the book, published in 1922. The first edition had been reprinted three times.

What was left around the Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man for long time to come was a stain. Representatives of the progressive middle class reminded Mann repeatedly on his statements about Germanic culture and Monarchism. And representatives of right wing nationalism were now sure, that Mann in nature was a knave without fatherland and a western libertine. For the orthodoxies of both groups Mann was alien for some time and in the case of the right wing nationalists, the later national socialists, this would never change. With him in their cause nobody could count. It was among others precisely this, what Mann with his Republic speech wanted to make clear. And this new position calmed his mind.

But let us look a bit closer on this address that, according to Mann, primarily tries to attract the youth of Germany to democracy. He writes: “My aim, which I express quite candidly, is to win you—as far as that is needed—to the side of the republic; to the side of what is called democracy, and what I call humanity.” Because, Mann continues, “the republic and the democracy are inner facts today; they are for all of us, each of us and denying this, means lying.”

Mann's reference to the notion of “humanity” builds a bridge from democracy to the German cultural and intellectual history, since he was aware, that a mere adoption of “western liberal thought” would not be accepted by his conservative and sceptical audience.

Novalis in *Of the German Republic*, it was just said, is Mann's man for the idea that also in German culture representatives are to be found for the affair expressed in democracy as a political idea. And Mann not only engaged Novalis, the philosopher and poet, as midwife but the whole spiritual movement with which he was aligned: “German Romanticism”.

Thomas Mann develops this German connection in sharp contrast to the dubious political right: “Obscurantism, with his political name Reaction, is crudeness – sentimental crudeness, insofar as it, lying to itself, hides its brutality and irrational physiognomy under the imposing masque of nature (Gemüt), of Germanic loyalty perhaps; and sentimental crudeness earns as little the noble and tender spirited name of romanticism, that the most confirmed romantic in this state of emergency could become a political enlightener in order to help and to avert such outrageous hubris strongly.”

True German Romanticism, that is Mann's message, is in a “state of emergency” and stands together with political enlightenment – rather a merely distant friend – against the abhorrent abuse of its concepts by Germanic nationalism.

In Novalis Mann finds a German poet in which “Nationalism and universalism live happily side by side” and who wrote: “Where youth is, there is republic.”

But Novalis also wrote: “The need of the state is the most necessary need of men; to become and stay a human being a state is needed ... A human being without a state is a savage. All culture springs off the relation with the state; the more educated, the more part of an educated state.” And Mann comments on this romantic statism: “A world of most present German hope speaks out of this word, written a hundred years ago. The human being, educated as part of an educated state: now, this is political humanity. It is the oneness of the spiritual-national life and the life of the state we did not know for so long but hopefully will know again. In one word, it is the republic – and what is to say against it, when Novalis as a sideline shows himself to be a mystic legitimist?”

Mann’s comment on Novalis statism seems to be a bit willing, as, it soon becomes clear, are many of his “translations” in the time of the Weimar Republic. Wasn’t the idea of the state he claims for the republic – and more so a mystification of the state! – after 50 years of German Empire and Bismarck-Reich 1871-1918 still and widely interwoven in anti-republican and anti-democratic sentiments and rhetoric? Had not Mann himself proclaimed the authoritarian state as the genuine German form of government? And now it should work to open up conservative minds for the republic by implementing an idea of “the state” of humanity?

How much Thomas Mann struggles with his reference to romanticism in *Of the German Republic* becomes clear when he tries to find in it something only rarely associated with it: the powers of reason and economy.

“And what, if one has to convince oneself that German Romanticism was an intellectualistic school of art and mind? ‘The home of the essence of art’ says Novalis, and it has something to do with democracy what he says, ‘is in reason. It constructs after its own unique conception.’”

“Another example of the groundlessness of some sky-blue preconceptions: How does romanticism relate to modern commerce and to the spirit of international traffic? – Novalis ... ‘The spirit of commerce is the spirit of the world. He is the magnificent spirit in general. He sets everything in motion and connects all. He awakens countries and cities, nations and works of art. He is the spirit of culture, of improvement of mankind.’ Dear Sirs, undeniable that is democracy. It is even progress – despite the side tones this word might attend for a German-romantic ear.”

En passant Mann refers here to an enlightened and economic competent romanticism as foundation of the new republic. But is this convincing? “Progress” that was enlightenment – Mann himself mentions the side tones for a German-romantic ear. Also 90 years after the speech *Of the German Republic* it is strange to read what Mann offered to his listeners as the true and German bedrock of the new Weimar Republic. The construction was too much construction, was too far-fetched to carry.

The second reference, beside Novalis and romanticism, with which Mann tried to awaken German youth for the republican-democratic idea was Walt Whitman, unlike Novalis, nearly a contemporary.

Some of Mann’s listeners may have assessed this choice also as an attempt to slightly rehabilitate the recently failed political idealism of Woodrow Wilson. That Mann embraced an American writer not a French or English – the French example, was that of his brother Heinrich – was an advantage insofar as the political climate in direction to these nations was not very favorable. In the wake of the new order in Versailles France and England had succumbed to revanchism.

In Whitman, it is to feel in *Of the German Republic*, Mann saw that, what was really new, and what he tried to convey to his audience with intensive references from Novalis to Whitman – also legitimizing the latter.

Whitman was not only a supplement. This becomes clear when Mann declares that his address “actually was planned as a lecture about this curious pair, about Novalis and Whitman, and that it still may become this.” And he continues: “because setting democracy, the republic [i.e. Whitman] in relation to German Romanticism [i.e. Novalis] – doesn’t this mean to make them plausible also to puzzled and defiant fellow Germans?”

Whitman and the quotes from his poetry of *Leaves of Grass* (1855-92) and fare more from his political essay *Democratic Vistas* (1871) are meant to represent an original idea of democracy and republic. Some quotes from Mann’s address:

“For not only is it not enough, says Whitman in his Democratic Vistas, ‘that the new blood, new frame of democracy shall be vivified and held together merely by political means, superficial suffrage, legislation and so on, but it is clear to me that, unless it goes deeper, gets at least as firm and as warm a hold in men’s hearts, emotions and belief, as, in their days, feudalism or ecclesiasticism, and inaugurates its own perennial sources, welling from the centre forever, its strength will be defective, its growth doubtful, and its main charm wanting.’”

Mann in the following connects the “main charm” Whitman speaks of “to the sphere of romanticism”. But does also this quote vindicate the idea of a close relation to the state seen by Novalis and Mann’s previous extrapolations? Whitman declares, “it is not enough, that the ... new frame of democracy shall be ... held together merely by political means, superficial suffrage, legislation and so on.” The overall quote implies instead an idea of a democratic and religiously informed individualism.

Mann quotes Whitman:

“The idea of perfect individualism it is indeed that deepest tinges and gives character to the idea of the community. For it is mainly and only to serve the independent human being that we favor a strong community and cohesion. As it is to give the best vitality and freedom to the rights of the states – every of it as important as the right of the nation, the union – that we insist on the identity of the union at all hazards.”

Mann refers to Whitman’s “idea of perfect individualism”, when he hereafter sees an “instinct of a state-building individualism”. But is this, what Whitman writes about? He uses the words “community” and more general “cohesion” and not the word “state” in the first part of his argument. And where he thirds and in analogy writes about the “union” – an American ear knows he means the federal state – he is first and foremost sensitive about the rights of the states. What Whitman expounds is the creation of a “community” by means of a “perfect individualism” of independent human beings.

Next quote:

“Do you want to have in yourself the divine, vast, general law? Then merge yourself in it.’ this says Whitman, after he has said before: ‘Nor is the aesthetic point – always an important one – without fascination for highest aiming souls. The common ambition strains for elevations, to become some privileged exclusive. The master sees greatness and health in being part of the mass; nothing will do as well as common ground.’”

Also in this quote the word state is missing. The American instead speaks of a “general law” and surprisingly refers to “the mass” as “common ground”. Mann comments: “Very good, this is once more the unity of spiritual life, the life of the state and nationalism as a culture of peace” and the reader asks himself: where does he take this?

As can be seen in Mann's remarks to these three quotes of Whitman's Democratic Vistas (not the only ones in Mann's address), the idea of the state is so artificially applied to Whitman's concepts that it seems forced. Given this method of extrapolation it is no surprise that also other references from Novalis to Whitman, for example their view of humanity, remain pale and shallow.

The last quarter of the address Of the German Republic is introduced by Mann's observation "that, what binds Whitman and Novalis most deeply together and lies unmistakably at the root of their humanity and socialism is ... love." What follows was for his audience the most challenging aspect of Mann's literary archaeology of these two writers: the attempt of an apotheosis of the human body and its physicalness. Mann associates Novalis as a "voluptuous thinker" and his "sympathy with the organic" with the "erotic all embracing democratism" of Whitman.

In this context Mann writes: "Eros as a statesman, even as creator of the state is a time honored idea, ... but to declare to his cause and matter of his party restoration is at bottom nonsense. His cause is the republic; that is what we called the unity of state and culture. And when he is not a pacifist in the vegetarian sense, he is by nature a god of peace, who also between the states wants to establish `without edifices, or rules, or trustees, or any argument, the institution of the dear love of comrades.'" "

The aestheticization of corporeality, of the "human body as temple" as Novalis puts it, and Mann's astounding explicitness in this respect caused various speculations about Mann himself following the address. This corporeality was it also, that irritated his audience most – not to speak of the national conservatives listening. Mann's attempt to affirm the Weimar Republic by calling it the cause of Eros drowned.

The poem of Whitman that Mann referred to in the last quote was I Hear It Was Charged against Me and it reads as follows:

*"I hear it was charged against me that I sought to destroy institutions;
But really I am neither for nor against institutions;
(What indeed have I in common with them? or what with the destruction of them?)
Only I will establish in the Mannabatta, and in every city of these States, inland and seaboard,
And in the fields and woods, and above every keel, little or large, that dents the water,
Without edifices, or rules, or trustees, or any argument,
The institution of the dear love of comrades."*

Also this source – Mann only quoted the last two lines in his address – questions the general tendency to claim Whitman, the "lover of mankind from across the ocean", for the institution of the state.

With Whitman, one could say, no state is to make. Research of Mann's papers and sources related to Whitman from the time Mann was preparing his address Of the German Republic show, as Heinrich Detering recently figured out, that Mann overall in his Whitman studies was focused "on the religious, and that is point, in one with this, anthropological foundation of the idea of democracy." "With this corresponds", he continues, "a far reaching indifference of all institutional and judicial procedural rules. This [anthropological foundation] will not disappear in his address, but will step back there in favor of the painstaking defense of the republic out of the spirit of German Romanticism."

Is there a relation between the here deplored statism in Mann's interpretations of Whitman and his forceful reference to German Romanticism? Or asked from another side: Why was it that Mann in his address did not focus on what Detering identified as his religious and anthropological reading of Whitman and the corresponding more universal idea of democracy?

It seems that Novalis and German Romanticism were not suitable to persuade the Germans to find the republican-democratic in their own tradition – at least not in the year 1922. Actually it was just German Romanticism that gave German nationalism in the 1920ies and later some foothold in the German history of ideas. Certainly romanticism is not accountable for that what followed. Yet the romantic “sympathy with death” Mann identifies at the end of his address with Novalis may have had some effects on this *mésalliance* at romanticisms charge. The transfer of this “sympathy with death” and its specific overtones on – as Mann himself admits – the “clean, fresh and fragrant healthiness of the singer of Manhattan” is at least questionable.

Mann ends his address with the famous cry: “Long live the republic!” Wolf Lepenies, in his masterful book *The Seduction of Culture in German History*, comments: “Overwhelmed by the task to connect the republic, the idea of democracy and German Romanticism Thomas Mann pressed himself to an enthusiasm, that for himself must have felt strange, and that at the end made him utter the invitation ‘to our still clumsy tongues’ to break out in the cry: ‘Long live the republic’.”

Who reads the address *Of the German Republic* today and in the light of Mann’s self proclaimed goal to win his audience over to democracy is not surprised that in this it failed. But it was his first public confession to the Weimar Republic, to what he called its “democratic humanity”, and so it had consequences. It marks the point where his way and the way of the national right, the Reaction – he had called it *obscurantism* – parted. They did for a lifetime.

What would have happened, if Mann had decided to refer to Whitman, his anthropology and theory of democracy without mediation? Or what if he had related Whitman to another tradition in German intellectual history?

In view of Mann’s remarks in an open letter published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on April 16, 1922 these considerations are not as far-fetched as it seems. The letter printed on the front page (!) of this upper-class newspaper was addressed at Hans Reisiger (1885-1968), who had presented Mann his just published ample and extensively annotated translation of the works of Walt Whitman in the midst of the preparations for *Of the German Republic*. With enthusiasm Mann writes: “I am thoroughly delighted with owning a copy of your *The Work of Walt Whitman* (Walt Whitmans Werk, 1922) and cannot thank you enough – as I am sure that the German public will also not be able to thank you enough for this great, important, indeed sacred gift. Ever since I acquired the two volumes, I have been constantly taking them up, reading now here and now there. I have read the biographical introduction in its entirety and deem it a minor masterpiece infused with love. It is truly a service of the highest order that you have rendered us, expending patient devotion and enthusiastic labour to acquaint us with this powerful mind and a profoundly new form of humanity – us Germans, who are at once old and immature, for whom contact with this future-shaping humanity can become a blessing, provided we know how to take up its challenge. ... for me this book has been nothing less than a gift from heaven, for now I really see that what Whitman calls “democracy” is nothing other than what we, in an old-fashioned usage, call “humanity”; just as I also see that it cannot be done with Goethe alone, that a shot of Whitman will be necessary to achieve the feeling of the new humanity, even though these two fatherly figures have much in common, above all the sensual element.”

Reisiger’s translation initially introduced Mann to Whitman in all his breadth. This happened in spring 1922, eventually in the year of his “republican turn”. Incorporated in it Mann also found extracts of Whitman’s political essay *Democratic Vistas*, some of them cited above. With *The Work of Walt Whitman* – in Mann’s words “a gift from heaven” – he held in hand an idea that for him was totally worth for standing on its own, and more so, he saw the “thunderer of Manhattan”, as he puts it in *Of the German Republic*, eye to eye with the “divine name of Weimar”. Proclaiming in autumn 1922 with Whitman the

“oneness of democracy and humanity”, Mann then nonetheless affiliates him with Novalis and German Romanticism. However, spring 1922 shows: Mann could have walked other ways. The road is still open.

As we have seen the real new in Mann’s address Of the German Republic was his hint to Whitman. But this hint was without any effect. Mann himself had buried him in a certain way with the wanting construction of his speech. But Whitman was also too remote and too far away from things, that occupied Mann’s listeners in year four of the Weimar Republic. Whitman had no role to play in the debates about a democratic foundation in the young German democracy.

But also today questions arise out of Whitman’s religious and democratic anthropology, his idea of democratic individualism and universalism – and this everywhere in the world.

In the United States Whitman’s name appears consistently in circles who debate political science and democratic theory. This often happens in the context of the paradigm of participatory democracy. Benjamin R. Barber with his book *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (1984) and Robert B. Westbrook with his magnificent book *John Dewey and American Democracy* (1991) are representatives of this democratic theory of a self-governing society. Richard Rorty in *Achieving our Country* (1998) more generally explored the relation between the politics of the political left (Liberalism) and the phenomenon of American patriotism and he does this with special emphasis on Whitman and his idea of a desirable America.

In Germany references on Whitman in political science and democratic theory are missing entirely. This is no surprise in a country with a strong inclination to concepts of institutionalisation and formalisation (juridification) in democratic theory. But the question of a cultural and material foundation of democracy, that of Whitman and the later Mann, is in the world and it is a question that today also in Germany seems to be of timeless character.

To turn to Whitman for guidance and inspiration on the grand tour to democracy in the 21st century is a good thing to do in the United States, in Europe and in Germany.

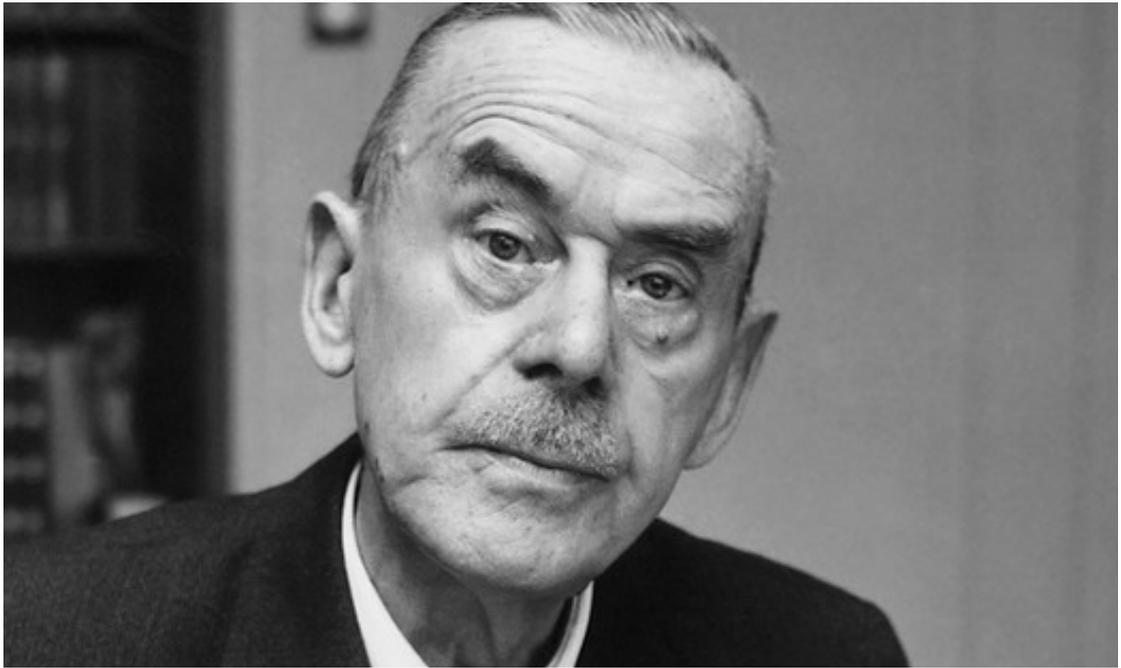
In closing I want to cite from his *Democratic Vistas*:

“We have frequently printed the word Democracy. Yet I cannot too often repeat that it is a word the real gist of which still sleeps, quite unawakened, notwithstanding the resonance and the many angry tempests out of which its syllables have come, from pen or tongue. It is a great word, whose history, I suppose, remains unwritten, because that history has yet to be enacted.”

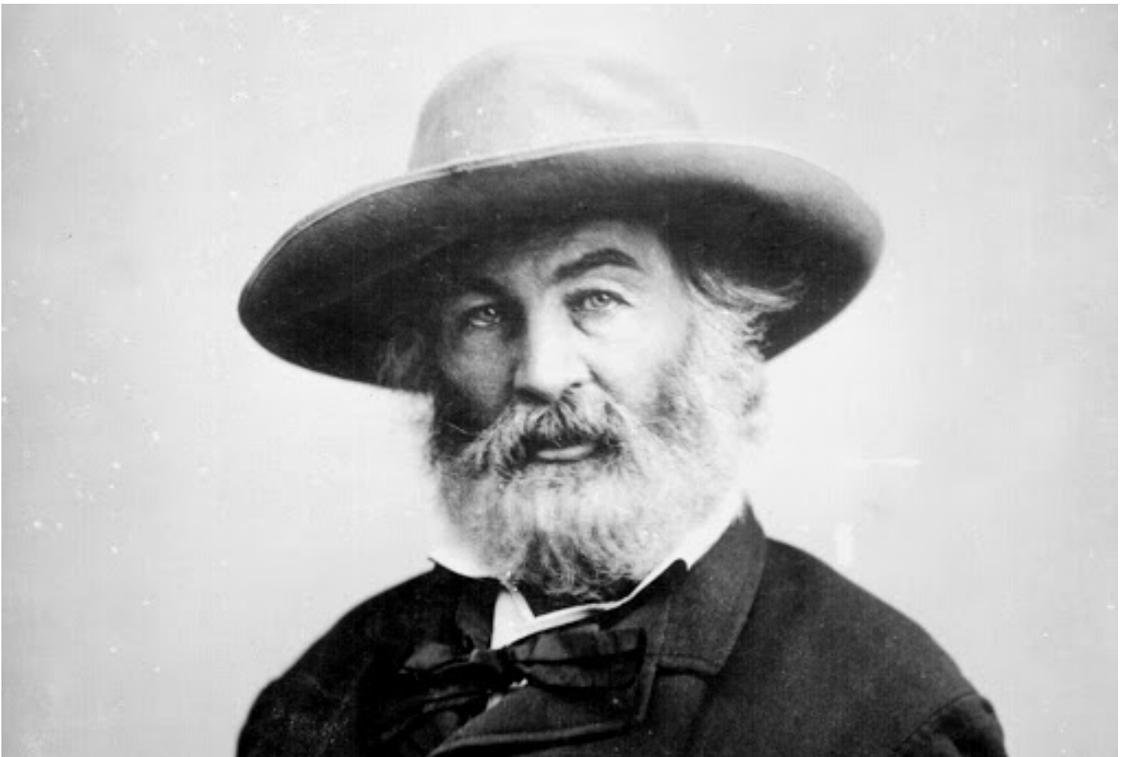
Thank you.

Derk Janssen, born 1965 in Westerstede in Lower Saxony (Germany), studied Philosophy, Literature and Law at the Universities of Kiel and Freiburg and graduated with two law exams 1994 and 1997. His following research associated to the Faculty of Law at the University Freiburg conducted to the political philosophy of the Austrian writer Hermann Broch (1889-1951) sharpened his view for problems of European exiles in the United States of America in the 20th century and acquainted him with the American cultural setting and history of ideas. 2005 he founded a publishing house to introduce American Transcendentalism to a German reading public that since 2011 also issues contemporary literature. Living in Freiburg besides his work as a publisher he works as a Lawyer.

Janssen’s longstanding interest in eastern philosophy and religion in 2005 led to the founding of the Makiguchi-Gesellschaft, dedicated to the legacy of Japanese philosopher and educator Tsunesaburo Makiguchi (1871-1944), who opposed Japanese militarism during the pacific war. He organized seminars and gave lectures on Thoreau, Emerson, Whitman and Makiguchi. He is also part of a network of citizens in Freiburg that on a regularly basis remembers the 1848 tradition in the grand duchy Baden, honoring personalities like Carl Schulz, Franz Sigel and Friedrich Hecker.



Thomas Mann



Walt Whitman

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APPENDIX 1

Who were the Forty-Eighters?

Among all the newcomers to the United States, the Forty-Eighters were unique. Not their number, but their extraordinary ability, spirit, and influence made them significant. . . . The intellectual contributions of the Forty-Eighters represent the transit of civilization from an old to a new world. The men and women of 1848 were convinced of their mission on two continents. Sincere and devoted republicans in Europe and in America, they were determined to awaken their contemporaries to an understanding of true democracy and German culture. If they were tactless, impatient, and impractical, and rejected halfway measures, it may be said that their zeal sprang from a genuine devotion to a fixed set of principles for which they were ready to scale the heavens.

Carl Wittke

Who were the Forty-Eighters? This short, deceptively simple question has plagued historians for the better part of a century. Trying to answer it illustrates how difficult it is to define any immigrant group in terms less quantifiable — but often more meaningful — than ethnicity, age, occupation, educational attainment, date of immigration, etc.

In *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, Professor Adolf E. Zucker admitted the difficulty of defining “Forty-eighter,” and hence, the difficulty of determining their number. For purposes of the book he edited, he and his contributors defined the Forty-Eighters as those “who came to the United States from German-speaking territory as a result of [their] participation in the Revolution of 1848.”¹ The key word in this definition — a word Zucker and his fellow Forty-eighter historians shied away from clarifying — is “participation.” Was this word meant to limit the Forty-Eighters to those actually doing the fighting? Or can we interpret it more broadly to include individuals, who, although not bearing arms, played critical roles leading up to and/or during the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1848-50? Although Zucker didn’t directly answer these questions, the biographical dictionary of Forty-Eighters appearing at the end of his book indirectly answers them by including men who didn’t serve militarily such as pedagogue Friedrich Knapp and Davenporters Theodor Olshausen, Hans Reimer Claussen, and Heinrich Lambach, Sr.²

In *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America*, historian Carl Wittke indicated it would be more accurate to speak of “Fiftyers” than Forty-Eighters, as most refugees came not in 1848 or 1849, but during the first half of the next decade. After dancing around the subject for a few paragraphs, Wittke advised his readers that for purposes of his book, the term “Forty-eighter” would be used in a “limited sense, [applying it] only to those who in some way actually participated in the liberal movements and the Revolutions of 1848 and 1849, and left their homes because of a conflict with the established authorities, or because they realized that henceforth it would be either too dangerous or too intolerable to remain in a land in which a reactionary régime would be in the saddle for a long time to come.”³ Like Zucker, Wittke never precisely clarified what he meant by “participation.” Nevertheless, his use of the words “some way” (“some way actually participated”) leads one to believe that he, like Zucker, did not wish to limit the group to those actually bearing arms.⁴

My good friend and Forty-eighter expert Dr. Joachim Reppmann also attempted to come to grips with who the Forty-Eighters were in his book *Freedom, Education and*

Well-being for All! Forty-Eighters from Schleswig-Holstein in the USA 1847-1860. He began by noting, “The American collective term ‘1848er’ generally [emphasis added] refers to politically motivated revolutionary refugees from Europe who arrived in the United States between the years 1847 and 1856. . . . Available research, however, offers no specific, conclusive definition [emphasis added] for the term ‘1848er,’ or of the numbers of these who emigrated.”⁵

Buttressing his point about the numerical lack of specificity, Reppmann gave a brief overview of how varying definitions from historians such as Zucker, Wittke, Günter Moltmann, Jörg Nagler, Marcus Lee Hansen, and La Vern J. Rippley yield estimates of from five or six hundred Forty-Eighters to as many as ten thousand. Illustrating how an overly narrow definition, such as one requiring military participation, could reduce the group to an insignificant number, Dr. Reppmann quoted University of Maryland professor James F. Harris: “If we define a 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.”⁶

Not wishing to fall into the trap identified by Harris, Reppmann opted for a more inclusive definition. “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.”⁷ University of Wisconsin professor Cora Lee Nollendorfs took Dr. Reppmann to task for the inclusiveness

of his definition. Viewing it as “problematic,” she wrote: “Despite his explanations, it remains incomprehensible that one could include any who left before the revolution in the revolutionary group, or those who may have left for other — such as economic — reasons. Indeed, as Reppmann himself points out, scholars increasingly restrict the term ‘Forty-Eighters’ to active participants in the revolution.”⁸

Nollendorfs’ three-pronged criticism seems misplaced on all counts. Her assertion that “Reppmann himself points out [that] scholars increasingly restrict the term ‘Forty-Eighters’ to active participants in the revolution” is curious, to say the least. To begin with, nowhere in his book did Dr. Reppmann make such a statement. In his first chapter, he mentioned six Forty-eighter historians. Most of his brief discussion of their work concerned their numerical estimates of the Forty-Eighters. With one exception, all of these historians either expressed no opinion as to their number or pegged it at between four and ten thousand.⁹ This hardly supports the assertion that Reppmann identified an “increasingly restrict[ive]” definition.

Additionally, Nollendorfs failed to clarify what she meant by “active participants.” The use of “active” seems superfluous; can one participate “passively”? Perhaps Nollendorfs used “active” to denote military participation. If so, that would be an “increasingly restrict[ive]” definition. None of the Forty-eighter historians cited by Reppmann, however, has stated that military participation is a requirement for being considered a Forty-eighter.

Nollendorfs’ second criticism of Reppmann’s definition was that it included those whose primary reasons for leaving were economic. This criticism also misses the mark. Immediately after writing “... but includes as well all inhabitants of the two duchies who left their homeland primarily for economic reasons,” Reppmann added, “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 [emphasis added]. 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 [emphasis added], an overwhelming number of these subsequent emigrants found the directives and legal chicanery that kept coming from Copenhagen unbearable. 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 What Reppmann was saying in these sentences was that some of the men who fought for freedom, democracy, and national unity may not have left their homeland primarily because those goals were unrealized. If their chief motivation were economic, that fact should not emasculate either their reasons for having borne arms or their continuing belief in the ideals they’d fought for. Nor should it prevent them from being included in the Forty- eighter group.

The third and main thrust of Nollendorfs’ criticism — that it makes no sense to include those who left before the revolution in the “revolutionary group” — rings hollow. If someone lived in Germany; believed in the revolutionary ideas of freedom, democracy, and national unity; advocated for those concepts; and subsequently emigrated because he believed those goals were unobtainable — should such a person be eliminated from the Forty-eighter group solely because his ship sailed prior to March 24, 1848? Nearly a century ago, historian Dr. August Paul Richter, a man intimately familiar with Scott County’s Forty-Eighters, opined: “Among the ‘forty-eighters’ are to be counted not only [emphasis added] the men who took active part in the freedom insurrections in German countries and necessarily or freely went into exile, but also [emphasis added] those who in the years immediately preceding [emphasis added] had left their native land for the same reasons that caused the revolution.”¹¹

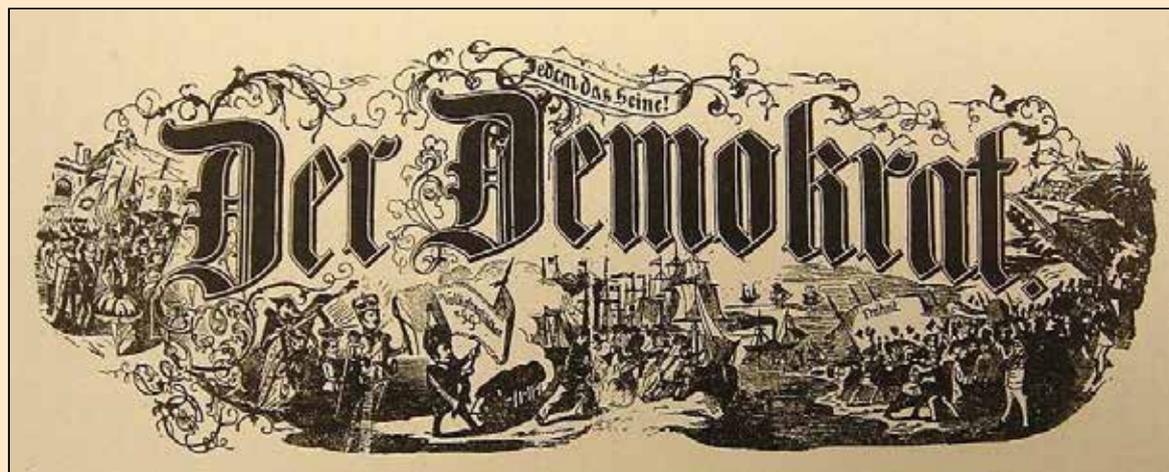
1. A. E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), vii-ix. Zucker felt any numerical estimate of the Forty-Eighters immigrating to America was “at best a guess.” He noted the chief German authority, Veit Valentin, had not hazarded a guess, while American historian Marcus Hansen had estimated the group as including “a few thousand.” Zucker himself felt three or four thousand “political emigrants to the United States would be ample to include all the leaders as well as lesser followers” (*ibid.*, 45). Later in his book, Zucker characterized four thousand as a “conservative estimate” (*ibid.*, 269).
2. *Ibid.*, 323, 284, 313.
3. Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 3-4. Although refusing to list the number of Forty-Eighters, Wittke felt it important “to establish the fact that the Forty-eighter group was somewhat larger than is generally assumed, and included the simple folk, as well as the ‘great names,’ who loved liberty sufficiently to risk their lives in its defense” (*ibid.*, vii).
4. *Ibid.*, 4.
5. Joachim Reppmann, *Freedom, Education and Well-being for All! Forty-Eighters from Schleswig-Holstein in the USA 1847-1860* (Davenport, IA: Hesperian Press, 1999), 11.
6. *Ibid.*, 12.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Cora Lee Nollendorfs, *Review of Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle!, Monatshefte 88, no. 4* (Winter 1996): 422.
9. Reppmann, *Freedom, Education and Well-being for All!*, 11-12. The historians Reppmann mentioned were Adolf E. Zucker, Carl Wittke, Marcus Hansen, Jörg Nagler, La Verne Rippley, and James F. Harris. The only one among this group placing the number of Forty-Eighters at less than four thousand was Nagler.
10. *Ibid.*, 12.
11. August P. Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport und des County Scott*, Unpublished, typescript translation (Davenport, IA: originally printed by the Fred Klein Co., 1917), 2:37-1.

Appendix 2

The argument for digitizing Davenport's preeminent German language newspaper, *Der Demokrat*

All I know is just what I read in the papers, and that's an alibi for my ignorance.

Will Rogers



A woodcut showing the second motto and logo of *Der Demokrat*.

From August P. Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport und des County Scott*
(Davenport, IA: originally printed by the Fred Klein Co., 1917), 471.

The first issue of the Davenport German language newspaper *Der Demokrat* appeared on November 15, 1851. The newspaper's motto — *Suum cuique*, a Latin phrase popularized by Cicero that originated from the old Greek principle of justice, "to each his own" — accompanied the sheet's title, which was produced in large, ornate Latin characters.

Soon thereafter, the caption was typeset in German (*Jedem das Seine!*) and enveloped by a satirical panorama. One-time *Demokrat* editor and noted Davenport historian Dr. August Paul Richter described this symbolic representation as follows:

In a background of prison castles, turrets, keeps and gallows, one sees a society of princely personages, Jesuits and other reactionaries, with Lola Montez dancing before them. Farther to the front strides the 'popular purveyor of God's grace' in festive parade, Friedrich Wilhelm IV (Champagne Fritz), followed by Tsar Nicholas, the youthful Franz Joseph, the Pope and Louis Napoleon. Democrats in dense masses, who apparently do not wish to be thus graced, press to the harbor, which is covered by steamers and sailboats, as is the bay. In the New World the men for freedom are greeted with a roaring welcome, even by priests and bible society supporters, past whom they hurry to the trains to take them to the west.

The satirical panorama Richter described and the historical significance of the wealth of information it portrays serve as a metaphor for the newspaper itself. Some of the treasure trove of important historical data and social and political perspective of the *Demokrat* is obvious on initial perusal; some can only be fully appreciated through deeper study and contextual analysis.

The newspaper's language has precluded many from investigating and appreciating the many nuggets of valuable information sprinkled throughout its pages. Imperfect as they are, Internet translation sites such as Google and Babel Fish and online German-English dictionaries such as Leo provide us with the tools to begin mining this largely untapped wealth of information about the political, economic, and cultural history of our great state of Iowa.

(August P. Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport und des County Scott*, Unpublished, typescript translation [Davenport, IA: originally printed by the Fred Klein Co., 1917], 42-4; *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Suum cuique," last modified 2012-10-29, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suum_cuique>.)

Holdings

The *Iowa Newspapers Briefing Book 2012-2014 Preliminary Title Selection* identifies *Der Demokrat* as a

weekly newspaper, indicates there are twenty microfilm reels of the paper in the State Historical Society in Iowa City, and that those films span the years 1862-1912. The *Briefing Book* is incorrect on all three counts.

- At various times during its history, *Der Demokrat* was a daily (*Der Tägliche Demokrat*) and a weekly (*Der Wöchentliche Demokrat*).
- The State Historical Society in Iowa City has thirty-seven reels of microfilm of *Der Demokrat*.
- The publication period covered by these thirty-seven reels runs from July 3, 1862, until September 7, 1918.

According to the Library of Congress website (<<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87058145/holdings/>>), the State Historical Society in Iowa City also has original copies of *Der Demokrat* for the following dates in 1861: June 27; July 4, 18, 25; and August 1, 15. Davenport's Putnam Museum has original copies of *Der Demokrat* for the following dates in 1860: March 29; April 12; May 3; August 16, 18-20, 23-26, 28-31; September 1-2, 5, 6, 8, 11-16, 18-21, 25-27; October 2-6, 9, 12, 16-19, 21, 24, 30-31; and November 1-2, 8, 10-11, 13-17, 20, 22-23, 25. Additionally, the museum has original copies for the following dates in 1861: February 16; March 9; June 27; July 4, 18, 25; August 1, 5; September 28; and October 1-6, 8-13, 15-16, 19. Should the State Historical Society's microfilm for the dates 1862-07-06, 1877-03-30, 1887-05-08, 1887-06-26, 1887-06-30, or 1887-07-02 be of poor quality, the Putnam apparently has original copies of these issues, as well. I would strongly recommend taking the appropriate steps to digitize these valuable treasures as well as the aforementioned thirty-seven reels of microfilm.¹

As the reader may have noticed, most of the first decade's issues of *Der Demokrat* have not survived. For many years, the Davenport city library stored these issues (which were solidly bound by years) in their fireproof vault. Ca. 1950, descendants of longtime *Der Demokrat* publisher Henry Lischer instructed the company microfilming the newspaper to destroy these early issues. Apparently, Lischer's descendants feared McCarthy era reprisals because of the newspaper's often radical and socialistic tone under the editorship of Forty-Eighters Theodor Gülich (1851-1856) and Theodor Olshausen (1856-1860).²

A brief history of *Der Demokrat*

No one can better relate the history of *Der Demokrat* than Dr. August Paul Richter, one of its illustrious editors and Scott County historian par excellence. The following brief summary is part synopsis and part verbatim rendering of his chapter on the newspaper that appeared in his historical magnum opus, *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport und des County Scott*.

Prior to the great immigration of Germans in the middle of the nineteenth century, there had been only a few German-American newspapers and only one publishing on a daily basis (*New Yorker Staatszeitung*). By 1850, however, things began changing rapidly. At that date, there were already fifty of the nation's 2,526 newspapers appearing in the German language. By the 1880s, eight hundred of the roughly one thousand foreign language newspapers in the United States were published in German.³

The great number of Germans immigrating to Scott County from 1846 to 1850 made it the largest German enclave west of Chicago, north of St. Louis and Belleville. Davenport, which had been founded only fourteen years earlier, was ripe for a German newspaper. The first was the *Demokratischer Herold*, whose first number appeared on August 6, 1850. There wasn't much to report about this "first blossom of German-American journalism in Davenport. It was only six or eight weeks old when its head drooped, and it fell asleep."

In the following year, the *Herold's* equipment was used to produce *Der Demokrat* in the office of the *Democratic Banner*, which was located in a small wooden house located on the future site of the St. James Hotel. In a tiny room of Hans Casper Möller's nearby restaurant, *Der Demokrat* publisher Theodor Johannes Hesdorf Gülich wrote many of his brilliant editorials, which although often pugnacious, were always talented. Having quickly learned the art of typesetting in Davenport, Gülich often composed his editorials while

typesetting them, substituting one word for another if it contained letters for which no type was available.

The first years of *Der Demokrat* were a constant struggle for survival. There was a “good bit of boisterous romanticism in this struggle for existence, given the philosophical unpretentiousness of the publisher and his helpers.” The paper’s first number appeared on November 15, 1851, with between ninety-three and ninety-seven copies printed and delivered. In this inaugural issue, Gülich enunciated his newspaper’s free, democratic program. Reflecting his fiery advocacy of freedom, he published an appeal of Ludwig Kossuth to the American people, in which the former Hungarian leader “frightfully flays the ‘young beardless Nero,’ namely Emperor Franz Joseph [depicted in the symbolic panorama of the *Demokrat* masthead], and denies the house of Hapsburg the right to live.”⁴ The first issue also contained a Gülich poem (“The Grave”) about one of the unknown Schleswig-Holstein freedom fighters as well as some advertisements, which restricted themselves to the modest commerce of that time.

The *Demokrat* press consisted of approximately 150 pounds of type, two type cases, several old galleys, and a few wide boards. The “form” had to be “made up” on the old wooden hand press, which had become a rarity even at this early stage. Gülich had purchased it on credit for seventy-five dollars from the *Democratic Banner*’s owner. A portion of the type came from the remains of the *Demokratischer Herold*. There was a small press room, a typesetting room, and a closet under the stairs, which usually served as a cubbyhole to sleep. The typesetting and editing room also performed dual functions, serving as a reception room, kitchen, and dining room. Gülich rented these modest accommodations for four dollars per month. Unfortunately, the form often froze on the press because of the location’s poor weatherproofing. The utmost patience was required to distribute the type, as a pair of bellows often had to be borrowed to blow thick dust out of the drawers in the summer and snow out of them in the winter. Because of the expense of coal at the time and the dire financial constraints of *Der Demokrat*, the home of the newspaper had the warmth of a Siberian Gulag. To economize, the talented Gülich wore many hats, serving as publisher, editor, and printer’s devil, as well as cooking breakfast and supper for himself and his typesetting staff of one.

Despite the newspaper’s high quality, its circulation remained meager and its revenue small. A collection to support the publication netted only a little over forty dollars. Davenport’s population numbered only about two thousand at the time, and its German component, struggling for its existence, had little discretionary funds to spend on newspapers. With all the financial difficulties confronting *Der Demokrat*, its manager’s lack of professional expertise proved a blessing for the paper’s later success. A less idealistic professional with better business sense — one not “bumbling through in his stupidity” — would surely have thrown in the towel after the publication of the first few issues. One wonders whether Gülich in his wildest dreams could ever have anticipated the impact his paper would have on Davenport’s German community during the next sixty-seven years.

About seven months after the first issue of *Der Demokrat*, Forty-Eighter Hans Andries Rudolph Reichmann became Gülich’s partner. Before emigrating, Reichmann had spent a number of years apprenticing in a printer’s shop, worked several years as a printer’s assistant in several cities in northern Germany, and fought in the Schleswig-Holstein Army. After arriving in the United States, he worked in the printing business in several Wisconsin towns before moving to Davenport. Beginning on June 12, 1852, Gülich and Reichmann were listed as co-publishers of *Der Demokrat*, with Gülich listed as the paper’s editor.

Reichmann apparently provided a much-needed financial infusion for *Der Demokrat*, as shortly after his arrival, the newspaper acquired more equipment and was enlarged and dressed up quite a bit from its previous appearance. Business for the fledgling newspaper slowly began to improve. A regular apprentice was hired (who later became a newspaper owner in Burlington), helping relieve editor Gülich from his former duties of “rolling out” the printer’s ink. Because of a group of talented volunteers supporting the often fascinating output of *Der Demokrat* and handling various currents of cultural life, the small, independent newspaper exhibited a versatility equal to the best newspapers of its day.

Der Demokrat changed its offices three or four times during its first year and a half of existence. In the spring of 1853, it occupied its new home, a little frame house on rented land at the northeast corner of Third and Harrison streets. It remained there until 1855, when Reichmann left the paper to publish the *Tama County Independent* in Traer, Iowa.

Der Demokrat appeared as a daily for the first time on January 3, 1856. Forty-Eighter Heinrich Ramming,⁵

a former officer in the Austrian Army and part of a respected noble family, came on-board as an assistant editor. With the exception of a short period in 1861, *Der Demokrat* was thereafter published as a morning newspaper.

A new epoch began for *Der Demokrat* in April of 1856, when Gülich sold the newspaper to Heinrich Lischer and Theodor Olshausen of St. Louis. In his farewell to his readers, Gülich wrote:

When one has been active for eight years, seriously and continuously, with either the pen or the musket [Gülich had contributed political poems to *Das Volk* in Rendsburg in Schleswig-Holstein and fought in the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1848-50 before emigrating.], to bring certain principles to fruition — and always in the front lines! — when one has contended eagerly with stupid giants and clever dwarves, with dragons and hydras and all the other monsters of current life — not without scars to show for it — it is understandable and forgivable if one finally wishes to rest awhile from the heat of the day. I, at least, have this wish and although I do not intend to plant my cabbages in contemplative retirement, I do plan to take a somewhat longer leave. ... It is not the smallest satisfaction for me to be able to surrender my post to a man [Theodor Olshausen] who I know will continue the paper in its former course, but with much greater ability and experience.

Gülich had established *Der Demokrat* as a Democratic Party paper. Although supporting Democrat Franklin Pierce's candidacy (albeit it reluctantly as the "lesser of two evils"), the newspaper followed a decidedly independent course. When the Republican Party was founded, it immediately joined it and enthusiastically supported its rapid growth. Despite this giving rise to a short-lived and unsuccessful Democratic German language newspaper in Davenport, *Der Demokrat* remained fiercely independent in its political posture throughout its history, often supporting a candidate from one party at the local level and one from the opposing party on the national level.

Olshausen and Lischer's program was essentially similar to Gülich's. It vehemently opposed the Know Nothings and declared itself against the spread of slavery and the admission of new slave states into the union.⁶ To better support the candidacy of the Republican Party's first presidential candidate, John C. Frémont, *Der Demokrat* added a thrice-weekly paper to its regular daily and weekly sheets.

Olshausen was the former editor of the *Kieler Correspondenz-Blatt*, the pioneer progressive newspaper in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. He'd been exiled from Germany for his role in the Provisional Government formed at the outset of the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1848-50. After becoming the editor of *Der Demokrat*, he offended Prussian politicians with the strong language he employed in reporting on German political events. This resulted in *Der Demokrat* being banned from Prussian territory on April 17, 1858, a fate it shared with several other German-American newspapers. *Der Demokrat* would meet the same fate ten years later under editor Jens Peter Stibolt.

Heinrich Ramming and Johann A. Dalldorf purchased *Der Demokrat* on contract on June 12, 1860. Dalldorf, along with Theodor Gülich, had been one of the founders of Davenport's *Sozialistischer Turnverein* in 1852. After the sale, Heinrich Lischer and Theodor Olshausen bought St. Louis' *Westliche Post*, which had been co-founded by Forty-Eighter Karl Ludwig August Dänzer in 1857.

As events leading up to the Civil War began adversely impacting trade and industry, the business of *Der Demokrat* began to suffer. On May 7, 1861, Dalldorf and Company were forced to interrupt the publication of the daily *Demokrat*, leaving only the weekly to continue. It wasn't long before the paper began to buckle under the weight of its financial obligations. The situation worsened with Ramming's entry into Friedrich Hecker's Illinois regiment. Because *Der Demokrat* was in danger of going under, Heinrich Lischer was compelled to take it over once again, becoming the newspaper's sole owner on June 28, 1861. Dalldorf, a practicing printer, left the paper and became a co-owner of Burlington's *Iowa Tribune*, which Theodor Gülich had founded earlier in the year.

Lischer's return provided energetic and capable leadership, which encouraged Davenport's German community to become somewhat more liberal again in their support of the paper. On August 23, 1861, Lischer was able to publish *Der Demokrat* as a daily again. On September 17, 1861, the talented and experienced journalist Jens Peter Stibolt took over the editorship of the paper, a position he would hold until his death on July 13, 1887. Under his leadership, *Der Demokrat* remained fearlessly and unalterably true to its motto, "To each his own!" It always set its sharp lance against the enemies of popular freedom and social reforms.

During this time, *Der Demokrat* received the nickname of the “Low German Bible.” To make a political statement seem reliable, the farmers used to preface it with, “Stibolt says so and so.”

Despite the difficult business environment during the Civil War and the rapid increase in the price of newsprint, Stibolt increased the size of *Der Demokrat* by a third in June of 1862 without increasing its price of twelve and one-half cents a week. Under Lischer’s management, the location of the paper changed four times in the first year. The newspaper’s next location, the two upper stories of the McManus Building on Second and Main streets, would remain its home for the next fifteen years. The paper’s final stop, a location at which it remained until it ceased publication in 1918, was at 207 West Third Street in a building designed by Davenport’s premier nineteenth century architect, Frederick “Fritz” George Clausen, Heinrich Lischer’s son-in-law. It was at this location that the revolutionary Mergenthaler typesetting machines were introduced.⁷

As previously noted, *Der Demokrat* always manifested a fierce political independence. Although often sympathetic to the Republican Party, it sided with various parties at different times during its long history. It supported the candidacy of John C. Frémont, expecting a stronger fight from him against the Confederacy. In

1872, it supported the Liberal Republican Party against Ulysses S. Grant, while in 1884, it supported Democrat Grover Cleveland. In 1912, it supported Democrat Woodrow Wilson, feeling Bull Moose candidate Theodor Roosevelt too dangerous. Despite the changes in its political outlook, however, *Der Demokrat* was always consistent in its struggle against prohibition and Puritanism.

Changes of personnel in both the editing and production departments were rare for *Der Demokrat*. When the pen fell from the hand of Jens Peter Stibolt in the summer of 1887 after more than a quarter of a century, his work was taken over for several months by his former collaborators, Nikolaus B. Koch and Dr. August Paul Richter, with Gustav Donald taking over the political duties.

Koch, a German-Hungarian who’d been crippled in the Austro-Prussian War in 1866, had come to America in 1872. He joined *Der Demokrat* in 1876, where he managed the local section and the telegraphic news of the Associated Press. His pleasant, humorous writing style and ability to transform prosaic events into attractive and interesting ones were much loved by the paper’s readers. Sadly, he died at the age of forty-eight in 1888.

As trans-Atlantic news facilities improved, *Der Demokrat* devoted a great deal of space to European news. This development provides valuable insight into how a significant percentage of Davenport’s population viewed foreign affairs and America’s place in the world

Der Demokrat
NEWS, BOOK & JOB
PRINTING HOUSE.
204 & 206 W. Second St., opp. First National Bank,
DAVENPORT, IOWA.
H. LISCHER, Proprietor. M. V. B. PHILLIPS, Agent.

TO ADVERTISERS.

1851 **1874**

The “DER DEMOKRAT” is the only German Daily Paper published in the State of Iowa. It is also one of the oldest papers published in said State, being in its twenty-third year of publication.

The “DER DEMOKRAT” — Daily and Weekly combined—has by far the largest circulation of any paper published in any language in the State of Iowa.

The advertising rates are the same as some other Daily and Weekly papers in this vicinity, which have not one-third the circulation of “DER DEMOKRAT.”

This City and County has a larger population than any other city and county in Iowa, and nearly one-half the population are Germans. These are FACTS worthy the attention of the advertiser.

English and German Printing of Every Description
Neatly and Promptly Executed at the Lowest Rates.
This Page Printed at “Der Demokrat” Job Rooms.

**An 1874-1875 Davenport city directory
Der Demokrat advertisement.**

From *Hawley’s Davenport Directory 1874-1875* (Davenport, IA: D. E. Hawley, 1874), 176A.

community. In contrast, English language newspapers often devoted much less attention to this arena, preferring to concentrate more on local matters.

Richter, who'd entered German-American journalism in 1869 in New York and then worked alternately as a medical doctor and a newspaperman, joined *Der Demokrat* in April of 1884 in the local report and wire service. From 1893 until 1913, he headed the political section. After nearly thirty years as a member of the *Demokrat* family, Richter left the paper in 1913, believing the time had come for a seventy-year-old to give the publishers a chance to rejuvenate the editorship. He left his long-term profession amid flattering honors. After a half-year's stay in southern California, he returned to Davenport in the summer of 1914 to finally write the history of Davenport and Scott County on which he'd worked so long and diligently.

Gustav Donald, an officer during the Franco-Prussian War, immigrated to America after the conclusion of that conflict. Before becoming the editor of the *Iowa Reform* (Davenport's other German language newspaper)

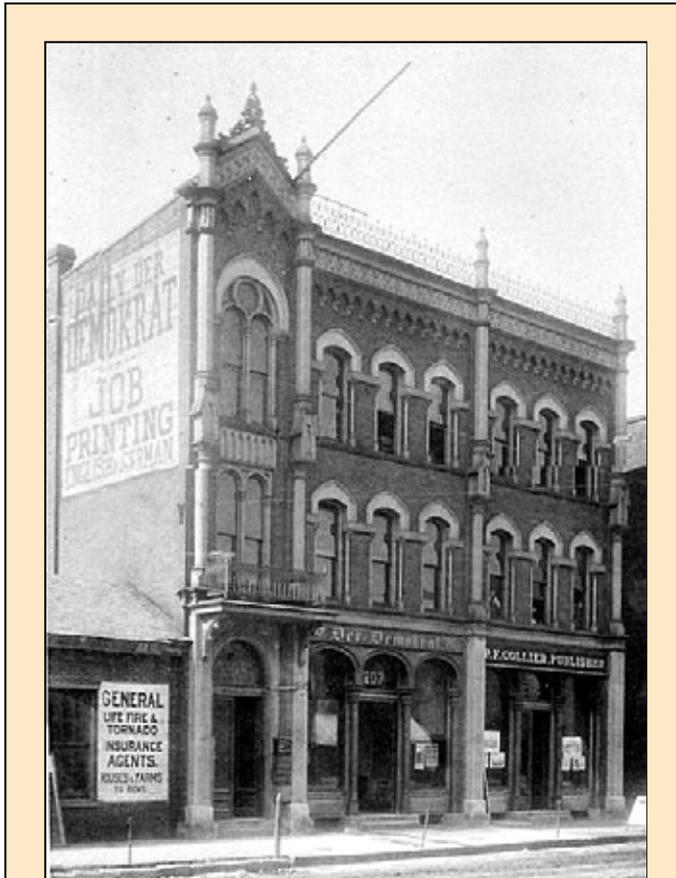
in 1884, he toiled for five years as a stage manager and actor in Davenport's German theater, earning a reputation as one of the area's most outstanding character actors. An excellent speaker, Donald's services were in demand at nearly every significant occasion involving members of Davenport's German community.

Following Jens Peter Stibolt's death in 1887, Donald came over to the *Demokrat* to serve as the legendary editor's successor. In the spring of 1893, he left to carve out a position of influence in one of the larger cities of the East. He returned to Davenport, however, and took up his former post with the *Iowa Reform*. From 1910 until 1913, he managed the local edition of the *Demokrat*, and after Richter's departure, again took over the editorship of the political section.

Another key *Demokrat* employee was Manfred Mainhardt, who served in a gifted fashion as the telegraph editor. He wrote a weekly feature called "Foreign View," which gave *Der Demokrat* readers a clear picture of the world scene.

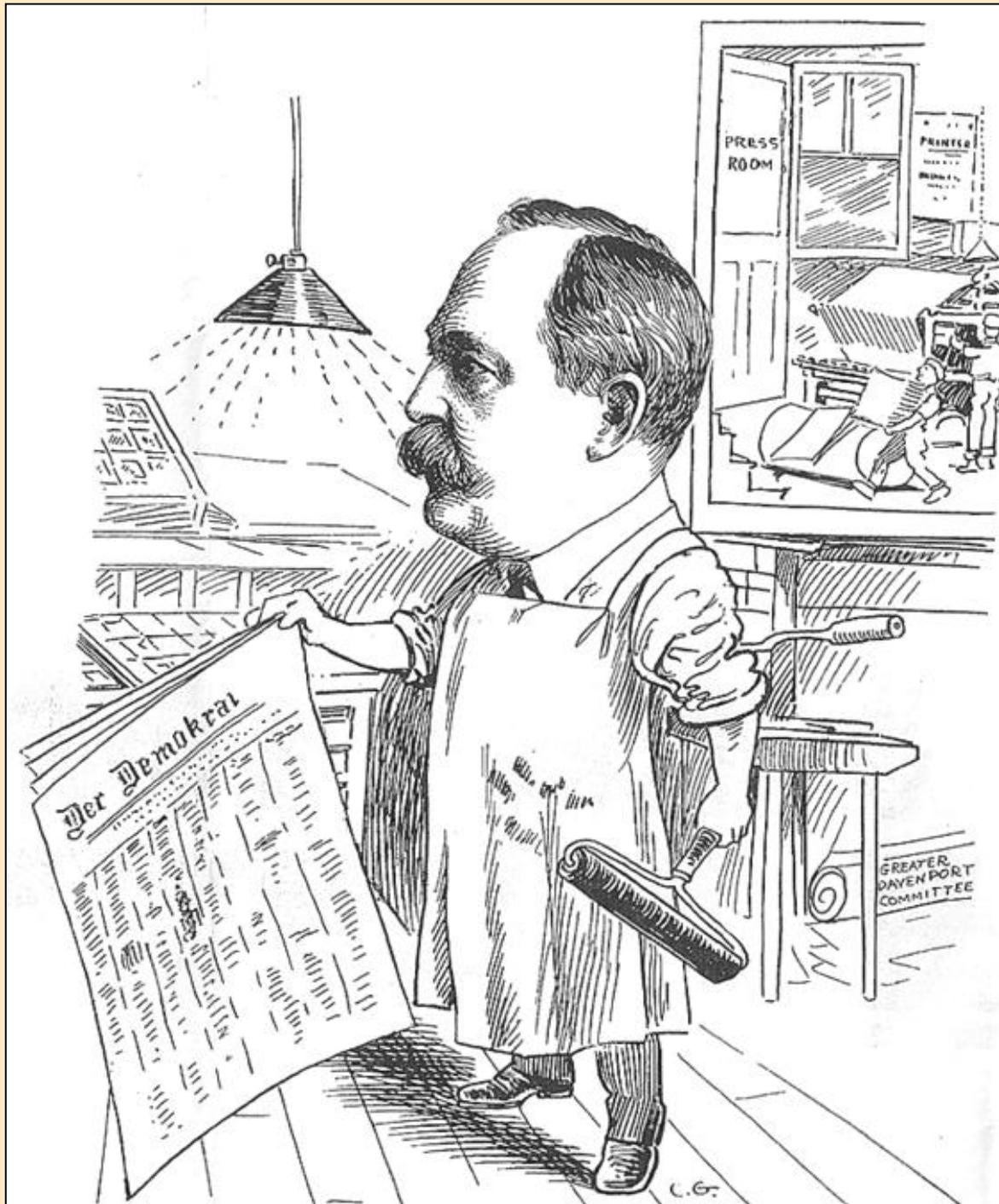
Long before the organization of the H. Lischer Printing Company on New Year's Day of 1890, Henry Lischer's sons Oskar, Eduard, and Fred ably supported him in his business. It was natural, of course, that a man who'd been very active in the newspaper profession since 1840 and who'd been responsibly involved in other great enterprises, should give part of his work

burden to younger men. Since 1880, the actual day-to-day operation of the business had been in the capable hands of Eduard Lischer, a man of unusual organizational and management abilities, as well as the speaker of the Davenport *Turngemeinde*. Brother Oskar, who passed away in 1912, had been classically trained and was active in the business and editorial branches of the newspaper. A third brother, Fred A. Lischer, who served as Davenport's postmaster from 1893 until 1898, worked at the helm of the newspaper's administrative department.



***Der Demokrat* building at 207 West Third Street,
Davenport, Iowa.**

From "Henry Lischer House," accessed 2012-12-03, <<http://grgdavenport.org/624%20w%206th%20st/old%20photos.htm>>.



A caricature of Fred A. Lischer at work in the press room of *Der Demokrat*.

From "Henry Lischer House," accessed 2012-12-03, <<http://grgdavenport.org/624%20w%206th%20st/old%20photos.htm>>.

As will be discussed more fully at a later juncture, *Der Demokrat* ceased publication on September 7, 1918. Although the newspaper had conscientiously fulfilled its duty towards the United States during the war, it could not deny its sympathies with Germany and strongly opposed the "calumnies and false reports against her." Because of that, it had been seriously warned several times by the censors and criminal authorities under

pain of extinction. Although one of the oldest and most respected German language newspapers in the state, the demise of *Der Demokrat* resulted not from governmental action, but from World War I-induced rampant anti-German hysteria, which drove its advertisers away in droves.

“We the People Initiative” of the National Endowment for the Humanities

“We the People” is an NEH program designed to encourage and enhance the teaching, study, and understanding of American history, culture, and democratic principles.

Recent census figures indicate Americans with German ancestors comprise the largest ancestry group in the United States.⁸ America’s ongoing immigrant tradition, of course, is represented by many countries and cultures, each inevitably drawn to our shores by the promise of unbridled economic opportunity and abundant personal freedoms. Still, with approximately one in four Americans having German forefathers, there is no one country — no single heritage — that can rival German primacy in the cultural flavoring of America’s storied melting pot.⁹ As the only German language newspaper among the twenty selected for our consideration, *Der Demokrat* is in a unique position to illuminate the undeniably large and significant contribution of German immigrants to our history, culture, and democratic principles. It will often approach these three areas from an entirely different vantage point from that of English language newspapers. As a result, the picture captured by its journalistic lens will often be considerably wider than that of its American counterparts.

The pantheon of notable *Der Demokrat* editors includes a number of men who diligently worked to make sure their newspaper reflected the principles of perhaps America’s most remarkable and unique group of immigrants, the “Forty-Eighters.” These immigrants fought with pen and sword for liberty, democracy, and national unity — for *Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle!* (Freedom, Education, Well-being for All!) — in *both* the *Vaterland* and their adopted home in America. In historian Carl Wittke’s words,

The Forty-eighters, as this group of refugees is somewhat inaccurately known in United States history, were the cultural leaven and the spiritual yeast for the whole German element. They furnished the vitalizing intellectual transfusion which not only affected their fellow countrymen but influenced materially the political and social history of America during one of its most critical periods. The newcomers arrived at a time when all immigrants were on the defensive against American nativists, and they furnished the proud and aggressive leadership necessary to cope with such opposition. They were not the kind to surrender or become indifferent. They became genuinely excited about American issues, convinced that they had a mission for the raw America of their day. Under their vigorous leadership, German-America experienced a cultural and political renaissance of unusual vitality, and the German element in the United States enjoyed its only “Hellenic Age.” ... They gave an intellectual, cultural, and political leadership to the German element in the United States which, for several decades, produced a cultural cohesion and a political and social influence unique in the history of American immigration.¹⁰

Remarkably, a great many of the Forty-Eighters hailing from Schleswig-Holstein in northern Germany immigrated to a single area of the Midwest, choosing Davenport, Iowa, as their adopted home.¹¹ As a result, *Der Demokrat* makes the ideal journalistic petri dish to analyze how the Forty-Eighters’ strong democratic views fertilized both Germany and the United States.

Titles should reflect the political, economic, and cultural history of the state or territory.

While most Iowa newspapers are to some extent successful in reflecting the political history of the state, there are often great differences in their emphasis on politics. Having perused miles of microfilm of Iowa newspapers published from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century, I’ve learned that a great deal of their content contains little of political significance. During this era, Iowa newspapers were filled with ads (the first page of a typical Davenport newspaper in the 1850s, e.g., consisted exclusively of advertisements and business cards); mundanities such as the quality of the local “pie plant” crop; announcements of local birthdays, marriages, and anniversaries; and “news items” alerting readers to look to an advertisement on another page.

Der Demokrat, on the other hand, largely eschewed this type of filler material, focusing on political reporting and commentary in a pithy, polemic, and pertinent way. Above all, the paper could always be counted on to argue against infringements of personal liberties. This is understandable, given the Forty-Eighter background of the paper's editors, their journalistic bona fides earned prior to their emigration, and the political reasons impelling their departure from their homeland.

Many of the political stands taken by the German-American community in Davenport during the heyday of *Der Demokrat* resonate as strongly today as they did then. The following are but a few examples of the newspaper's principled participation in the democracy it cherished:

- “[R]epresent[ing] the sentiment and opinions of the German liberals of Davenport,” *Der Demokrat* both reflected and advanced its German readers' strong anti-slavery views. Evidencing its unrelenting fight against this stain on liberty, the newspaper draped its offices in black bunting and ran a black-rimmed article following John Brown's execution.

This day is for us, as well as for the whole population of the town and of the State and the Union, a day of grief. The conflict between true freedom and its fighters and between the rule of force is most tragical.... Brown fell a victim to the preservation of slavery in this “land of liberty;” a victim to the obstinacy of a handful of aristocrats who did not want to give in one inch in the struggle between liberty and slavery; a victim to the system which, dissatisfied with what it has, even dares to stretch out its hand toward the land that is dedicated to liberty, to a system which can only govern through blood and chains.... As such a victim John Brown will gain an outstanding place in the history of this Republic. If dead today, he will live in the memory of his contemporaries and of posterity.¹²

Davenport's two English language newspapers had markedly different opinions on *Der Demokrat* editor Theodor Gülich's position. The *Gazette*, a Republican organ, noted their “German friends have not only felt but yesterday took occasion to exhibit a warm sympathy for John Brown. We admire their boldness. Right or wrong in their opinions our German citizens never fear to give their bold expressions, and in this we think they should find more imitators among native-born citizens.”

Predictably, however, the *Democrat* had a far different opinion. Under the headline of “Disgusting,” it wrote, “These outward signs of inward hostility are unmistakable proof that there exists in this country a class of men who are anxiously awaiting a state of things which will warrant revolution and subversion to the government.... Many of them brought from Europe the wildest theories and the most dangerous political as well as religious principles.... [The] impudent assumption of *Der Demokrat* could almost make us know-nothings.”

In nearby LeClaire, the editor of the *Democratic Register* took an even more vitriolic tone, writing, “Would it not be proper for them to wait at least until the filth and dirt of the ship and their smell of garlic should have been worn off before they undertake to dictate to Americans how to make and administer laws?”¹³

- When President Lincoln issued his first call for volunteers on April 15, 1861, members of Davenport's *Turnverein* were the first to gather round the banner of the union, forming a full company in several hours.¹⁴ At the organization of the First Iowa Regiment, it received the designation of Company G, ostensibly because all of the members save one were German.¹⁵ One of the officers of Company G was former *Der Demokrat* editor Theodor Gülich, a man who'd been severely wounded at the bloody Battle of Idstedt while fighting for liberty, democracy, and national unity in the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1848-50.¹⁶ Another member was Forty-Eighter and future seven-time Davenport mayor, Ernst Claussen. The first Iowa soldier to fall on the battlefield was the Davenport Turner Hans J. Nehm, and the first higher officer to give his life in service of the union was another member of the Davenport *Turnverein*, Captain Augustus Wentz. Under Wentz's leadership, Company G “fought like veterans,” which many indeed were.¹⁷
- Slavery was not the only infringement of personal liberty the journalistic spotlight of *Der Demokrat*

illuminated. The newspaper reflected the German community's abhorrence of sumptuary laws like Maine's prohibitory liquor law. Equally damnable was the "morose Puritanism and pharisaical moral judgment" of many "native" Americans, who often manifested an overt disdain towards the German tradition of the Continental Sunday. As the only German language newspaper of the twenty nominated for digitization, *Der Demokrat* is uniquely qualified to help us understand and appreciate the important cultural differences of a sizeable segment of the population of one of Iowa's major cities.

- The editors of *Der Demokrat* believed strongly in the separation of church and state. Theodor Gülich, the paper's first editor, was particularly unabashed about using *Der Demokrat* as a polemical pulpit when it came to education, which the aggressive and opinionated Forty-Eighter argued must remain free from any "Bible nativism."¹⁸ A century and a half later, this issue is still hotly debated.

Davenport's Turners manifested their strong belief in the separation of church and state on America's centennial celebration in 1876. The Turners and several other German *Vereine* (societies) had been invited to participate in a great parade. They accepted on the condition no religious ceremonies would be held, feeling they "were not fitting because citizens of all religious denominations were to participate." On July 3, the Turners learned the program had been changed at the last minute so that a prayer would be included. After drafting a strong protest, the Turners elected to participate, but only if they could retire immediately after the procession before the prayers were spoken. True to their word, after the parade arrived at the courthouse, the German societies marched off to Turner Hall where they completed the celebration according to their own dictates.¹⁹

- *Der Demokrat* advocated for the right of Negro children to attend public schools long before *Brown v. Board of Education*.
- Through lectures and public discussion, members of the *Turnverein* were at the forefront in promoting suffrage for women. German feminist and newspaper editor Mathilde Franziska Anneke "justifies the claim that they were among the founders of the women's liberation movement."²⁰

Davenport has also spawned several well-known German-American politicians. Included in this number are Forty-Eighter Nicholas Johann Rusch, Iowa's second lieutenant governor; Forty-Eighter Hans Reimer Claussen, a state senator; Forty-Eighter Ernst Carl Olrog Claussen, a seven-term mayor of Davenport; Forty-Eighter Matthias Jensen Rohlfs, a four-term state representative and city treasurer for fourteen years; and Henry Vollmer, Davenport's "boy mayor," who assumed that office when only twenty-six years of age and who went on to represent Iowa in the U. S. House of Representatives.

One can scarcely discuss the economic history of Davenport and Scott County without paying homage to the German immigrant. So thoroughly did he dominate farming in and around Davenport, that on an 1887 Scott County map published by the art and photography firm of the German immigrant Huebinger brothers, virtually every name listed as a farm owner was a German name. But German-Americans' inroad into Davenport's economic life was certainly not limited to agriculture, as they and their descendants quickly played key roles in wholesale and retail, manufacturing, banking, publishing, and in various service industries. Most if not all of the following names of German immigrants and their descendants are well known to those familiar with Davenport's economic history.

- Tobacco products (Otto Albrecht and Co., Nicholas Kuhnen Cigar Co., Ferd Haak Cigar Co., Peter N. Jacobsen Cigar Co.)
- Alcohol (Koehler and Lange Brewery, Zoller Brewing Co., Frahm Brewery, Julius Lehrkind Brewery, Ferd Roddewig Wines and Liquors)
- Lumber (Christian Mueller & Sons)
- Food products (Davenport Glucose Manufacturing Co., Roddewig-Schmidt Cracker Co., Kohrs Packing Co.)

- Washing machines (H. F. Brammer & Co., Voss Bros. Manufacturing Co.)
- Hardware (Hanssen's Hardware)
- Department stores (J. H. C. Petersen's Sons)
- Clothing (Robert Krause Co., Isaac Rothschild)
- Drugstores (Schlegel Drug, Riepe's Pharmacy, H. A. Emeis Pharmacy)
- Dry goods (Aug. Steffen Wholesale Dry Goods, Notions, and Furnishing Goods)
- Marble and granite (Schricker Rodler Co.)
- Jewelers (Christian Jansen, M. E. Nabstedt & Sons)
- Photography (Gustave Dahms, Huebinger Brothers)
- Morticians (H. Nissen, Henry Runge)
- Publishing (*Der Demokrat*, *Iowa Reform*)
- Architecture (F. G. Clausen)
- Banking (German Savings Bank)
- Real estate (H. H. Andresen, Otto Klug, Emil Geisler)
- Paint and wallpaper (C. F. Ranzow & Son, Chas. Naeckel & Son)
- Groceries (Beiderbecke-Miller Co.)
- Attorneys (Hans Reimer Claussen, Ernst Claussen, Alfred Claussen, Alfred Mueller)
- Books (John Berwald)
- Bakeries (H. Korn Vienna Bakery, Walcher's Bakery)
- Theaters (Julius Geertz)
- Crockery (Jens Lorenzen Crockery Co.)
- Physicians (Dr. Carl Adolf Matthey, Dr. Heinrich Emil Matthey, Jr.)

The contributions of German immigrants and their descendants have also shaped the rich cultural and educational history of Davenport to a significant degree.

- **Music:** In the winter of 1847-8, Forty-Eighter Matthias Jensen Rohlf's organized Davenport's first German singing society, the *Liedertafel*. Its successor organization, the *Männerchor*, survived until after the conclusion of World War I. German musicians such as Jacob Strasser, Ernst Otto, and Bix Beiderbecke established reputations for excellence that live on to this day.
- **Art:** The Davenport Museum of Art came into existence after receiving a donation of hundreds of paintings from Charles August Ficke. Ficke "was only two years of age when his parents left Germany, but he represented the ideals and aims of the forty-eighters almost as much as any of the older immigrants."²¹
- **Theater:** *Der Deutsche Liebhaber Theater Verein*, organized in November of 1855, set the stage for the Germans' dominance in Davenport theatrical productions. So complete was the German influence in this area, that historian August Richter wrote a twenty-nine-page chapter documenting the Germans' long and storied history in this arena.
- **Recreation:** *Schützenpark*, home to the *Schützenverein*, a shooting society founded in 1862, was for many years the site of band concerts and other recreational activities enjoyed by Davenport residents, regardless of their ethnic background.
- **Burial:** Yes, Davenport's German-Americans even impacted the way the community thought about burial. In 1885, thirty-six Germans founded the Northwestern Cremation Society and attempted to educate their American counterparts about cremation's advantages.

Let it be clearly and fully understood that cremation is a safe, clean, expeditious, and economical method of facilitating nature's work; that it is simply an accelerated decomposition; and that precisely the same result (viz., the oxidation of the body) finally obtains, whatever the process, whether accomplished in a hundred years, or in an hour, and whether among worms and the gloomy horrors and putrescence of the grave, or in the rosy glow of the crematorium. Surely, when this is understood, a rational people cannot long hesitate which to choose.

- **Social organizations:** The *Klaus Groth Gilde* and the *Schleswig-Holstein Kampfgenossen Verein* are but two of many well-known German social organizations with a long and storied history in Davenport. The *Kampfgenossen Verein*, a society founded by veterans of the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1848-50, was the only organization of its kind in the United States.

The *Davenport Turngemeinde*, of course, was the city's most recognized German organization. The Turners endeavored to improve mankind physically, ethically, intellectually, and culturally. Their goal was a more "refined humanity," and their leaders regarded the *Turnverein* as a vital educational force for cultural progress, freedom, and good citizenship.

Today, most people who've heard of the Turners are most familiar with their contributions in the field of physical fitness. Ludwig Jahn (*Turnvater Jahn*) is considered the "father of gymnastics," and many credit him with inventing the parallel bars, balance beam, vaulting horse, and horizontal bar. The Turners, however, did more than outfit gymnasiums and stage *Turnfeste* (gymnastic festivals). They wanted physical education included in the curriculum of public schools (The *Davenport Turngemeinde* was instrumental in introducing physical education in the Davenport public school system.), introduced Turner physical training techniques into U.S. army training in the 1880s, and promoted physical fitness among women and girls at a time when the medical profession thought such activity was detrimental to reproductive capacity.

As previously indicated, however, the Turners were concerned not only with mankind's physical well-being, but also with its ethical, intellectual, and cultural development. Because of its influence on intellectual and social life in Davenport, the *Turnverein* became "the nucleus of German culture, the hub of its intellectual power and moral strength."

Turner libraries were an important component in the intellectual development of the organization's members. The *Davenport Turngemeinde*, for example, maintained a lending library for the benefit of its members until the early 1900s.

Turner halls were the site for debates and lectures, which encouraged public discourse on such disparate subjects as the status of women, the abolition of capital punishment, and theories of creation and evolution. *Davenport Turngemeinde*-sponsored lectures ran the gamut from historical (Friedrich Hedde's "The American Revolutionary War") to ethical (Hans Reimer Claussen's "The Moral System of Grecian Philosophers") to political (G. G. Carstens' "What should be the attitude of the *Turngemeinde* toward the Prohibition Amendment in Iowa?"). All-important questions were discussed on the special debate evenings; nothing was too large or complicated for the Turner society to try to solve. Debates typically centered on issues of particular interest to the Turners such as "How can we counteract the temperance movement?," "Should Turner societies agitate for German schools?," "Should instruction on morality be given in schools?," and one of my favorites, "Is water or beer preferable for the health of human beings?"

The Davenport Turners were always true friends to the arts, sponsoring their own *Gesangverein* (singing society), raising money for the construction of a grand music pavilion at *Schützenpark*, and operating the Turner Grand Opera House for many years.

Members of the *Davenport Turngemeinde* took social responsibility and the duty to one's fellow man seriously, supporting their sick members who had paid their dues for the three previous months with a weekly stipend and helping needy applicants find work through their employment bureau.

Education of the city's youth was always a high priority for the Turners, and they promoted the establishment of kindergartens (Wilhelm Riepe established one of the first in the United States.), supported free public schools, and wanted both German and physical education *included* in the curriculum and

religious instruction *excluded*. Reflecting this exclusionary desire, the *Sozialistischer Turnverein* and the *Davenport Turngemeinde* were both strong supporters of Davenport's *Freie Deutsche Schule* (*Freie* or "Free" referring to freedom of thought and freedom from any "organized churchly influence").

Despite all the emphasis on the preservation of German language, culture, and customs, the Turners were intent on proving themselves good citizens of the United States. They participated in almost every national American celebration, especially the Fourth of July. Davenport's press repeatedly held up the Turner Fourth of July celebrations as a benchmark native Americans should aspire to reach.

As the years rolled by and older leaders died, the *Turnverein* experienced a marked decline of interest in its original objectives and lost their militant radicalism. It became a social organization whose halls and recreational facilities provided entertainment and a pleasant meeting place to gather with friends; enjoy good German food and beer; and participate in a congenial evening of billiards, bowling, or Skat. The members became passive and were less and less interested in the society's original program, knew little or nothing of the organization's history, and often joined for purely social reasons or to develop business contacts. In short, as the Forty-Eighters died out, the original *raison d'être* for the Turners and the spirit the Forty-Eighters had breathed into the Turners began to fade away. Interest in intellectual activities, lectures, debates, and dramatic performances declined sharply. More and more, the focus of the Turners seemed to be on a program of physical recreation and social entertainment with any obligation to liberalism and reform being fully discharged simply by opposing prohibition and Sunday closing laws.

The decline of the *Davenport Turngemeinde* is perhaps best illustrated by the fate that befell the books once contained in its lending library. By the early 1900s, financial difficulties had caused the lending library to become homeless. In 1911, an offer to donate the books of the *Turngemeinde* to the public library was met with indifference. By the mid-1940s, the books were, as was so eloquently noted by historian Hildegard Binder Johnson, "piled in a dusty attic, forgotten and neglected, a sad reminder of the intellectual aspirations of a former generation."

In retrospect, the seeds for the decline of the Davenport Turners had probably been sown decades earlier as the standard of living for Davenport's German population rapidly improved, as several key members died or moved away, and as the natural process of acculturation inexorably moved along. Memories fade and fires in the belly eventually become mere embers; it's the natural way of things. Nevertheless, the Turners, like other ethnic organizations, had played a vital role in helping generations of Davenport's German immigrants overcome their homesickness "by easing the long-term transition from German to American culture (and by) bringing the heritage of their homeland into harmony with their American environment."²²

- **Education:** German-Americans played a significant role in Davenport's educational history. Viewed from a twenty-first century vantage point, it's easy to lose sight of the educational system available to Davenport's children more than a century and a half ago. Prior to 1858, the city's school "system" consisted of several independently run schools. Some of these early schools were in homes, some in rude cabins, and others in school buildings, but all of them were "subscription schools" where the teachers were paid directly by the parents. Little attention was paid to individual instruction, and being a teacher often required no special training. Instead, the two main qualifications were an ability to maintain order and a level of knowledge greater than that of the pupils.²³

In stark contrast to this educational environment, many of the recently arrived Forty-Eighters had been well educated in progressive European schools and "held more advanced educational theories than generally found in their new home."²⁴ Although the average education of the masses may have been better in the United States than in Germany, these educated and enlightened individuals found America's educational system sorely lacking. The textbooks were often poor and the curriculum too utilitarian, with little or no instruction in the natural sciences, music, and physical education. Instead, there was a hidebound emphasis

on the three “R’s,” Reading, wRiting, and aRithmetic. Teaching methods typically consisted of the mechanical routine of simple questions and answers (“learning by rote”), with little effort made to develop logic and reasoning skills through Socratic interchange. The methods of Pestalozzi or Fröbel were undoubtedly unknown to most teachers, who to the amazement of the Forty-Eighters, were often paid less than day laborers.²⁵

Because of their dismay at the educational system they found, it’s no wonder the Forty-Eighters often turned to those in their own ranks to teach their children. Because of an increase in emigration following the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1848-50, there were almost twenty teachers living in Davenport in the mid-1850s who had previously taught in German duchies and kingdoms.²⁶ Only a few of them, however, were proficient enough in English to be able to teach in that language.²⁷ That being the case, many tried their luck at other endeavors for which they were acutely unqualified. Although many could speak Latin and Greek, they often didn’t know the business end of a hoe and struggled mightily to eke out a living, thereby earning the sobriquet “Latin farmers.”²⁸

Although recently arrived German immigrants realized the importance of learning English, many were adamant their schools should work to preserve German language and culture for their offspring. As the outstanding Forty-Eighter pedagogue Adolf Douai put it, were the children to lose these, they would lose all “significance in the intellectual progress of America.”²⁹ Many Forty-Eighters were equally firm in the conviction their children’s schools should be imbued with a rationalist, freethinking Weltanschauung, free from all religious influence (hence the name “*Freie Deutsche Schule*”).

It became obvious to “clear-headed people” that an organization would be needed to financially support such a school, and so the *Freie Deutsche Schulverein* was begun.³⁰ When the society asked Johann Heinrich True to make his private German school their school, he readily agreed. True’s assent to the alliance undoubtedly reflected the financial realities inherent in maintaining a private school. Several earlier private German schools had been financial failures,³¹ and True may have seen the writing on the blackboard when it came to the long-term financial viability of his school. As the coming years would prove, schools such as the *Freie Deutsche Schule* and Wilhelm Riepe’s German and American Institute (later, German-American Institute) could not have survived on just the modest tuition they charged. They depended on the help of the liberal-minded German community; the many associations to which they belonged such as the *Turngemeinde* and the *Männerchor*; bequests; and fundraising devices such as festivals, fairs, bazaars, and picnics.³²

Special consideration should be given to titles meeting these criteria that have ceased publication, lack ownership, and therefore would be less likely to be digitized by other sources.

Der Demokrat ceased publication on September 7, 1918. During the last two troubled years of its existence, the newspaper was not only a vehicle for relaying the news of the day; it became a page in one of the sadder chapters in our state’s history. In the first year of the twentieth century, newspaperman and historian Joseph Eiboeck called Davenport “the most German city, not only in the state, but in all the Middle West, the center of all German activities in the state.” Less than two decades later, however, the view of all things German had changed dramatically. America’s entry into World War I on April 2, 1917, ushered in an era of uberpatriotism, which often manifested itself in displays of anti-German sentiment.

- On November 23, 1917, the Iowa State Council of Defense proclaimed, “[T]he public schools of Iowa, supported by public taxation, should discontinue the teaching of the German language ... in the interest of harmonizing and bringing our people together with a common language, believing thus they would act more patriotically and more essentially with a common purpose.” Prior to this edict, Davenport’s Board of Education had already discontinued the study of German in its city schools.
- The statue of the goddess Germania, which since 1876 had risen thirty-five feet above the fountain in

- Washington Square — an historically German cultural center and the site of the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the *Schleswig-Holstein Kampfgenossen Verein von 1848-50* in 1898 — was removed and sold as scrap iron.
- During World War I, a stone dedicated on March 24, 1898, honoring members of *Der Davenport Verein der Kampfgenossen der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Freiheitskriege von 1848, 1849 und 1850* (The Davenport Society of Veterans of the Schleswig-Holstein Wars of Independence of 1848, 1849 and 1850) was painted yellow (a popular way of scornfully identifying and defacing something having German ties) and tipped over. At some point, the stone disappeared from Washington Square and was never seen again.³³
- In February of 1918, chairman of the Iowa Council of National Defense Lafayette Young asked public libraries across the state to take “pro-German” books and books aiming to “defend Germany’s course in the war” off their shelves. When the Davenport Public Library removed three “decidedly pro-German” books from its shelves, the *Davenport Democrat and Leader* trumpeted this as an act in the “crusade to extract Kaiser Wilhelm’s poisonous ‘kultur venom’ from Iowa libraries.” The director of one Iowa library stated, “During the past summer and fall we had a few pro-German books donated, but I burned them as they came in.”
- In an event endorsed by school faculties, students of several local schools assembled on school grounds in Davenport on May 8, 1918, and proceeded to burn five hundred German textbooks while singing patriotic songs.
- Could German-Americans be loyal Americans while still speaking the enemy’s language? Iowa’s Governor William L. Harding didn’t think so. Harding believed the loss of one’s native language was a “small sacrifice compared to the good it could do saving the lives of American boys overseas by curbing sedition at home.” On May 23, 1918, he issued the so-called “Babel Proclamation,” making English the only legal language in public or private schools, in public conversations (The Davenport branch of the Iowa State Council of Defense banned the use of German by members of the Tri-City Symphony.), on trains, over the telephone, at all meetings, and in all religious services. In effect, the proclamation made German illegal in the state of Iowa. These overzealous language restrictions made Governor Harding the laughingstock of the nation when five Scott County farm wives were arrested for speaking German during a party line telephone conversation. Although one of the reasons Harding had cited in support of his ban was “to promote peace and harmony in the communities,” it instead fostered a climate of distrust and antagonism towards all things “foreign,” putting an official imprimatur on the actions of private individuals that were often hateful, mean-spirited, and sometimes violent.

Fortunately, Harding’s proclamation was repealed on December 4, 1918, but the episode demonstrates the extreme measures citizens and governments will employ to achieve “peace and tranquility” at the expense of liberty during a national crisis. The lesson to be learned? Forcefully shattering the bond of language to unite people artificially makes a state or nation less safe if democratic ideals are pushed aside.

- A nationwide attempt was made to drive all things German from America’s vocabulary. Children no longer contracted German measles; instead, they were sick with the “liberty measles.” Sauerkraut changed into “liberty cabbage,” hamburgers were rechristened “liberty steaks,” and Dachshunds morphed into “Liberty dogs.” Town and street names were changed. Clinton County’s Berlin Township was renamed Hughes; in Muscatine, Bismarck Street became Bond Street and Hanover Avenue became Liberty Avenue; and in Kossuth County, the town of Germania was renamed Lakota.
- As previously noted, *Der Demokrat* ceased publication on September 7, 1918. The *Iowa Reform*, Davenport’s other German language newspaper, soldiered on by translating every issue into English under the watchful eyes of the federal censorship office. In Manning, Iowa, the front of the *Manning Herald* building was splashed with yellow paint. In short order, the paper began publishing in English as the *Manning Monitor*. Many of the loyal readers of German newspapers throughout the country were furious at these developments, as many of them had emigrated from Germany long before World War I, viewed themselves as loyal American citizens, and felt no responsibility for what was happening in Europe.

- Perhaps the saddest result of all the things done in the name of patriotism was that many German-Americans began rejecting their Germanic culture. Names were changed. Membership in German cultural and political organizations plummeted. Family bibles were discarded and German heritage was hidden, thus depriving future generations of family stories, photos, and oral histories.

Doesn't all of the foregoing add substance to the contention that under the National Digital Newspaper Project's guidelines, *Der Demokrat* merits "special consideration"? Wouldn't digitizing *Der Demokrat* for posterity be an important step in "righting" a nearly a century-old wrong?

After immigrants are acculturated, subsequent generations are often ignorant of the role their ancestors played in shaping the culture and mores of present-day society. Having a newspaper like *Der Demokrat* digitized and readily available for study would be a helpful step in overcoming this educational shortcoming. Through its long and storied history, *Der Demokrat* was often reproached for its stands against slavery, prohibition, the inclusion of religion in our schools, nativistic bias against immigrants, discrimination against women, and xenophobically motivated attacks against the use of one's indigenous language. Today, the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, nineteenth, and twenty-first amendments validate the arguments *Der Demokrat* advanced. Still, many contentious disagreements concerning immigration, government's proper role, and the continued encroachment on the sacred liberties the Forty-Eighters prized so highly make it imperative that we seize the opportunity to learn from our past. As George Santayana famously remarked, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

***"Remember, remember always, that all of us, you and I especially,
are descended from immigrants and revolutionaries.***

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

1. According to the Putnam Museum's chief curator, Eunice J. Schlichting (563-324-1054, ext. 223), "many of these copies are very fragile."

2. Karl J. R. Arndt and Mary E. Olson, eds., *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955* (Heidelberg, Germany: Quelle & Meyer Verlag, 1961; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprinting, 1965). In the first half of the 1850s, *Der Demokrat* as well as Davenport's *Sozialistischer Turnverein* espoused a wide-ranging socialistic program. Prior to the 1848 revolution in Germany, the terms "socialism" and "communism" had often been used interchangeably and synonymously. Karl Heinzen, a close political ally of Gulich's, clearly set forth the differences between the two "isms."

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.

Central to Gulich's socialistic view was his reverence for an individual's freedom (one of the "inalienable rights" of man), and his "confession of faith," the Declaration of Independence, which provided the secure foundation for that freedom. To Gulich, the boundary line between the rights of individuals and the powers of the state was all-important. "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." (Joachim Reppmann, *Freedom, Education and Well-being for All! Forty-Eighters from Schleswig-Holstein in the USA 1847-1860* [Davenport, IA: Hesperian Press, 1999], 101-103.)

3. "Mischmasch: Newspapers in German," *Der Blumenbaum* 26, no. 2 (October, November, December 2008): 90.

4. During his lifetime, Lajos Kossuth was widely honored by both the United Kingdom and the United States as a freedom fighter

and bellwether of European democracy. Kossuth's bronze bust with the inscription "Father of Hungarian Democracy, Hungarian Statesman, Freedom Fighter, 1848-1849" can be found in the United States Capitol.

Kossuth County, Iowa, is named in Lajos Kossuth's honor. A statue of the freedom fighter stands in front of the courthouse in Algona, the county seat. (*Wikipedia*, s.v. "Lajos Kossuth," last modified 2012-11-29, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lajos_Kossuth#US>.)

5. Heinrich Ramming became an influential Davenport Republican and was a delegate to an important meeting of German Republicans held in Chicago in May of 1860 on the eve of the Republican national convention. Numbered among the attendees were many of the most influential German leaders in the country, including Friedrich Hassaurek, Gustav Körner, Carl Schurz, and Scott County's Nicholas J. Rusch. The meeting was a noteworthy success, as these able Germans succeeded in having most of their declarations incorporated into the Republican Party platform adopted at the national convention.

Ramming also served as a Davenport alderman from 1857 until 1861 before enlisting in Friedrich Hecker's *Jäger* Regiment at the outbreak of the Civil War. When the regiment was mustered out, he became a colonel of the 3rd Missouri Infantry Regiment. (August P. Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport und des County Scott*, [Davenport, IA: originally printed by the Fred Klein Co., 1917], 475, 477.)

6. The Know Nothings, which were mainly active from 1854 until 1856, were nativist Americans characterized by their xenophobia, anti-Catholic sentiment, and efforts to curb immigration and naturalization. They were empowered by growing fears the United States was being overwhelmed by German and Irish Catholic immigrants, whom they viewed as antithetical to republican values. The Know Nothings' name reflected the group's semi-secret organization. When a member was asked about its activities, he was supposed to reply, "I know nothing." (*Wikipedia*, s.v. "Know Nothing," last modified 2012-11-21, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Know_Nothing>.)

7. German-born Ottmar Mergenthaler has been called the second Gutenberg because of his invention of the Linotype machine, which revolutionized the art of printing by being the first device that could easily and quickly set complete lines of type for use in printing presses. (*Wikipedia*, s.v. "Ottmar Mergenthaler," last modified 2012-10-10, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottmar_Mergenthaler>.)

8. *Wikipedia*, s.v. "German American," last modified 2012-11-29, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_American>.

9. Scott C. Christiansen, *The Soul of Schleswig-Holstein: An Iowan's Insight into his Ancestral Homeland* (Iowa City, IA: Up Ewig Ungedeelt Press, 2009), 103.

10. Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), v-vi, 3.

11. In 1900, newspaperman and historian Joseph Eiboeck described Davenport as "the most German city, not only in the state, but in all the Middle West, the center of all German activities in the state." (Joseph Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa und deren Errungenschaften* [Des Moines, IA: Iowa Staats-Anzeiger, 1900], 385.)

12. Hildegard Binder Johnson, *German Forty-Eighters in Davenport* (1946; reprint, Davenport, IA: Davenport Schützenpark Gilde, 1998), 43, 45.

13. *Ibid.*, 45-46.

14. The group of more than fifty volunteers, most of whom belonged to Davenport's *Turnverein*, had been training all winter in anticipation of the war. (Don Doxsie, "German Immigrant First Civil War Soldier from Scott County to Die," *American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter* 23, no. 5 [September/October 2011]: 69.)

15. The one non-German was a Scot who spoke fluent German and "got along famously in German circles." (August P. Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport und des County Scott*, Unpublished, typescript translation [Davenport, IA: originally printed by the Fred Klein Co., 1917], 44-9.)

16. Dr. August P. Richter, "Turners and their Story," *Davenport [IA] Democrat and Leader*, 1905-10-22, 59.

17. Richter, *Geschichte*, 44-9; "The Turner Movement," *Infoblatt Publication of the German American Heritage Center* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 8; "Death of Lieut. Col. Wentz," *Davenport [IA] Daily Gazette*, 1861-11-14, 2.

18. Johnson, *German Forty-Eighters in Davenport*, 44.

19. *Ibid.*, 33-34.

20. Reppmann, *Freedom, Education and Well-being for All!*, 102.

21. Johnson, *German Forty-Eighters in Davenport*, 16.

22. Christiansen, *The Soul of Schleswig-Holstein*, 79-80.

23. Mary A. Baker, *A History of Davenport's Schools* (Davenport, IA: Davenport Community School District, 1978), 1.

24. Merl E. Prinz, "The German Free School," *Infoblatt* 4, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 5-6.

25. Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 300. Perhaps the Forty-Eighters shouldn't have been too surprised. According to Forty-Eighter scholar Bettina Goldberg, the salaries of German grade school teachers were "frequently lower than the income of a day laborer or factory worker." (Bettina Goldberg, "The Forty-Eighters and the School System in America: The Theory and Practice of Reform," in *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States*, ed. Charlotte L. Brancaforte [New York: Peter Lang Publishing Co., 1989], 205.)

Although most American teachers were probably unfamiliar with Pestalozzi or Fröbel, the United States was not totally bereft of German educational influence before the arrival of men such as Wilhelm Riepe. German pedagogical writings and reports on the Prussian-German school system were known in America prior to the Forty-Eighters' immigration, a number of American educators had visited Germany to study its educational system, and a significant number of American intellectuals had received part of their education at German universities.

26. Richter, *Geschichte*, 46-7.

27. *Ibid.*, 46-1.

28. Ibid., 47-7.

29. Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 301.

30. Richter, *Geschichte*, 46-2.

31. Ibid., 46-1, 46-2.

32. Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 304.

33. In 2006, after an effort spearheaded by the German American Heritage Center, a new “Lady of Germania” statue was positioned with arms upraised and reaching toward the levee, as it had been 130 years earlier when it welcomed immigrant travelers ashore. In March of 2008, after much hard work by the American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society (ASHHS) and the *Schützenpark Gilde*, a stone commemorating the *Schleswig-Holstein Kampfgenossen Verein von 1848-50* was rededicated. (As the great-great grandson of the first president of the *Kampfgenossen Verein* [Jürgen Peter Ankerson], I was honored to have written the copy for an interpretive sign positioned alongside this monument.) Davenport had come full circle in honoring an important part of its roots.



Theodor Johannes Hesdorf Gülich
(1829-01-29 - 1893-01-27)

From the author's copy of a ca. 1885 photo of members of Davenport's *Schleswig-Holstein Kampfgenossen Verein*.

— Key events in Gülich's life —

- 1829-01-29: Born in the town of Schleswig in the Duchy of Schleswig.
- Studies engineering at the *Stuttgart Polytechnikum*.
- 1848-spring: Wounded with a shot through the mouth in the Baden Revolution.
- 1848: Joins the 4. *Freikorps* under the command of Captain Aldosser.
- 1848-06-end: Captured near Årøsund, Denmark, and sentenced to death by hanging. The sentence is commuted to thirty days imprisonment.
- Post-1848-08-26: Prisoner Gülich is exchanged after the Malmö ceasefire and enters the regular Schleswig-Holstein Army.
- At some point during the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1848-50, Gülich is tried, sentenced, and imprisoned by the Schleswig-Holstein Provisional Government for making disrespectful comments about Danish King Frederick VII. This seemingly incongruous situation occurs because the war is creatively cast not as a way to overthrow the rule of the King of Denmark (who was also the Duke of Schleswig and Holstein), but as a necessity to "free" him from the influence of his bad Danish advisors.
- 1850-07-25: Severely wounded at the Battle of Idstedt. Receives a special commendation from the Schleswig-Holstein Army.
- 1851-07-18: Arrives in New York on the *Howard* after emigrating from Hamburg.
- 1851-11-15: Publishes the first edition of *Der Demokrat* in Davenport, Iowa.
- 1852-08-05: Helps found and serves as the first president of Davenport's *Sozialistischer Turnverein* (Socialistic Turner Society).
- 1853: Helps found Davenport's *Freie Deutsche Schulverein* (Free German School Association).
- 1854-04-09: Helps found and serves as the first secretary of Davenport's *Schützengesellschaft* (Shooting Society).
- 1856-04: Sells *Der Demokrat* to St. Louis residents Heinrich Lischer and Theodor Olshausen.
- 1857-07-02: Begins practicing law after being admitted to the Iowa bar.
- 1857: Helps found Davenport's first savings and loan.
- 1857/1858/1860/1861: Serves as a Davenport city alderman.
- 1861: Moves to Burlington, Iowa, and founds the *Iowa Tribune*.
- Post-1861-04-12: Puts down his editor's pen to volunteer for the Union Army. Helps organize Company G of the First Iowa Regiment of volunteers, which was composed of Davenport German immigrants.
- Post-1861-10: His regiment is mustered out after the Battle of Wilson's Creek. Returns to Burlington and resumes editorship of the *Iowa Tribune*.
- Post-1864-01-01: Elected postmaster of the state legislature and is commissioned to translate state statutes into German for publication.
- 1864-07: Resigns his *Iowa Tribune* editorship, but remains the paper's principal owner. Enters the 48th Battalion Iowa Volunteer Infantry at Davenport, Iowa, which was among scores of regiments raised in the summer of 1864 as "Hundred Days Men," an effort to augment existing manpower for an all-out push to end the war within one hundred days. Since there weren't enough recruits to complete an entire regiment in the allotted time, the unit was redesignated a battalion and ended up spending its entire service guarding prisoners of war at Rock Island.
- Post-1864-10-21: After his battalion is mustered out, Gülich returns to his law practice in Burlington. He becomes relatively affluent in a practice centered on real estate, insurance, and estate management. Later, however, he loses his wealth completely. Although not a gifted speaker, he was a logical and persuasive writer, and in this vein, continued to champion all causes associated with personal liberty. Although abstaining from the use of alcohol himself, he vigorously fought against any prohibition efforts, believing them to be unconstitutional infringements of personal liberty.
- 1887-07-03: Gives the dedication speech at the laying of the cornerstone of the new Turner Hall in Davenport, Iowa.
- 1892: Iowa Governor Boies names Gülich to the honorary office of one of the commissioners of the state of Iowa for the Chicago World's Fair.
- 1893-01-27: Dies suddenly of an apparent heart attack in Burlington, Iowa.
- 1893-01-29: Is buried on his birthday.
- Post 1893-01-29: A letter written by Gülich on 1892-07-14 is opened after his death. It chronicles the financial abyss into which he'd descended. Although not a profligate spender, Gülich had not only died penniless, but had also lost large sums of money entrusted to him for investment management. His financial ruin had been the result of a confluence of factors: real estate he'd purchased during Burlington's "boom days" had plummeted in value; his participation in expensive industrial ventures such as an ironworks in Burlington had required repeated cash infusions; his extreme generosity with others had depleted his own resources; and his struggles against prohibition had been financed mostly out of his own pocket, taking time away from the proper management of his business affairs. In short, Gülich was an idealist, not a businessman, and in the end, he, his family, and his clients paid for his financial shortcomings. As August Richter observed, "After his revelations became known he was really pitied by many. Only a few were Pharisaical enough to throw stones on the dead. His good qualities and deeds surpass his faults and mistakes."

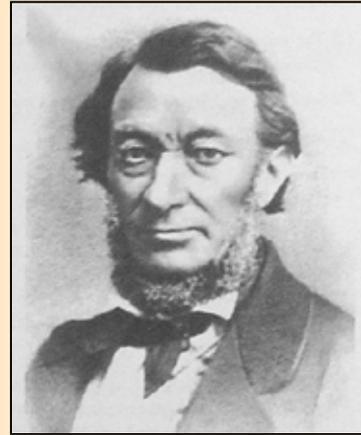
— A tribute paid to Theodor Gülich after his death —

“He was a representative of the highest type of citizenship. Public spirit was strong in him at all times, strong even to the sacrifice of self on many occasions when the necessity came to chose [*sic*] between the performance of what he considered a duty to the public, or the furtherance of personal interest. On more than one occasion, the writer has known him to turn his back upon his private professional work for weeks, even months at a time, suffering not inconsiderable losses, when he had engaged in an undertaking of a public character, political or otherwise. And all this without the thought of personal reward, simply from a sense of duty, that permitted him not to rest until the self-imposed task was completed. He would gratefully and kindly accept a pleasant word in recognition of his services, but as to accepting any recompense of a substantial character for himself, he spurned such an idea with scorn. He was ever ready to help a friend, and insist that others get their dues, but he was too high-minded to give any one the smallest occasion to think that for his work in behalf of the public, he could possibly have looked to compensation. Indeed, had Theodore Gülich done as most men think proper to do, and had he demanded, as he had a right to demand, and accepted that recognition for his political services which they merited, he would have made a remarkable career indeed.”

A close friend of Gülich writing in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*

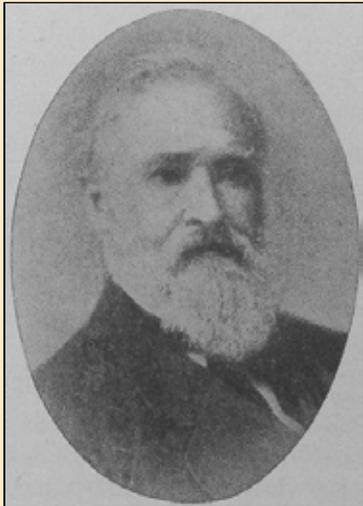
— Key events in Olshausen's life —

- 1802-06-19: Born in Glückstadt, Schleswig-Holstein.
- 1820-23: Studies law and philosophy in Kiel and Jena.
- 1824-27: Because of his participation in radical student activities and the atmosphere created by von Metternich's Carlsbad Decrees, Olshausen seeks refuge in Paris and Switzerland.
- 1827: Returns to Germany, living in Munich, then Augsburg, and finally Kiel.
- 1829: Pardoned for his radical student activities.
- 1829-30: Passes the bar exam in Glückstadt and becomes an attorney.
- 1830-48: Publishes and serves as the editor of the progressive *Kieler Correspondenz-Blatt*. Uses the paper to champion a free press and individual rights and argues that a republic is the best form of government, all positions influenced by the American revolutionary and deist, Thomas Paine.
- Along with his friend and future Davenport Hans Reimer Claussen, helps shape the "New Holsteiner" movement, which attempts to tie Holstein more closely to the German Confederation and give the Duchy of Schleswig the choice of whether to be part of Denmark or Germany (a position in accord with the Schleswig Plebiscites of 1920).
- 1846: Arrested and imprisoned by the Danish crown for an article opposing the established succession to the throne. Becomes a folk hero throughout the Duchy of Schleswig and an important symbol of independence.
- 1846-10: Released from prison at Rendsburg.
- 1847: After Danish authorities bring a trumped up case against Olshausen, a plea bargain engineered by Hans Reimer Clausen spares his friend from additional jail time.
- 1848-03-18: Along with four others, travels to Copenhagen in an unsuccessful attempt to see the Danish king and arrange a peaceful compromise on the principle of the right to self-determination.
- 1848-03-24: Becomes a member of Schleswig-Holstein's Provisional Government.
- 1848: Recruits future Nobel Prize winner Theodor Mommsen to edit the Provisional Government's quasi-official newspaper, the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung*.
- 1848-05-10: Presents his Provisional Government colleagues with unnerving questions about Schleswig-Holstein's proletariat, 250,000 people who are considered a latent time bomb.
- 1849-51: Serves as the editor of the *Norddeutschen Freien Presse* in Altona.
- 1851-09-05: Sails out of Hamburg on the *Copernicus*. After arriving in New York, proceeds to St. Louis, where he lives with his half-brother Arthur.
- 1852-03-29: Is one of twenty excluded from the Danish king's general amnesty.
- Authors practical reference books and works as a reporter for the *Anzeiger des Westens* in St. Louis, but to little financial benefit.
- 1856-04: After moving to Davenport, joins with Henry Lischer to purchase *Der Demokrat*.
- 1856-60: As the editor of *Der Demokrat*, fights Know-nothingism and slavery and supports the candidacy of Abraham Lincoln.
- 1860-06-12: Sells *Der Demokrat*.
- 1860: Moves to St. Louis and buys the *Westliche Post* from Karl Dänzer.
- 1860-5: Under his leadership, the *Westliche Post* grows and prospers, always supporting the cause of freedom and arguing against despotism and the institution of slavery.
- 1863: The *Westliche Post* introduces a weekly edition for Germany.
- 1864: Olshausen gives up the editor-in-chief chair because of age and poor health.
- 1865: Sells his interest in the *Westliche Post* and returns to Germany. Continues submitting articles to the *Westliche Post*. One of the new owners of the paper is Carl Schurz, probably the most famous of all the Forty-Eighters. One of the first reporter positions filled by Schurz and the other owners (two brothers of Theodor Olshausen) goes to Joseph Pulitzer, the namesake of the Pulitzer Prize.
- 1869-03-31: Dies in his sisters' house in Hamburg.



Theodor Olshausen
(1802-06-19 - 1869-03-31)

Photo from Joachim Reppmann, *Freedom, Education and Well-being for All! Forty-Eighters from Schleswig-Holstein in the USA 1847-1860* (Davenport, IA: Hesperian Press, 1999), 206.



Jens Peter Stibolt
(1812-04-11 - 1887-07-13)

Photo from August P. Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport und des County Scott* (Davenport, IA: originally printed by the Fred Klein Co., 1917), 501.

— **Key events in Stibolt's life** —

- 1813-12-24: Born in Copenhagen, Denmark, to aristocratic parents.
- Receives an excellent education, completing Latin school in Hadersleben and studying philology in Kiel. His parents, however, want him to study theology. This rift worsens when Stibolt supports Schleswig-Holstein's independence from Denmark, since many members of his family hold high military offices in the Danish state. Although long considered the future heir of a rich uncle, his views result in his disinheritance.
- 1847: Short on funds but equipped with a good education, Stibolt immigrates to America with his wife of five years.
- 1847-1851: After a short stay in Baltimore, settles in Missouri. Becomes a teacher and a "Latin farmer," i.e., one more familiar with Latin and Greek than with the business end of a hoe.
- 1851: Moves to Alton, Illinois. Co-publishes the *Freien Blätter* (*Free Press*), which takes an aggressive stand against slavery.
- 1852: After his partner's death, Stibolt continues the *Freien Blätter* under the title of *Vorwärts* (*Forward*). This paper was a weekly with radical abolitionist tendencies. The newspaper was published in Alton, where about twelve years earlier, Elijah Lovejoy had been shamefully murdered for his abolitionist activity after the destruction of his printing press. As had been the case with Lovejoy, the pro-slavery part of the population seriously threatened Stibolt's life on more than one occasion.
- Because of this dangerous environment, Stibolt moves *Vorwärts* north to Galena, where he immediately begins publishing a monthly magazine called *Amerika*. In both publications, Stibolt dealt with the slavery issue from an historical and constitutional viewpoint. Although very influential politically, the two ventures were abysmal financial failures.
- 1856-01: With barely one hundred subscribers, Stibolt temporarily suspends the publication of *Vorwärts* and *Amerika*.
- 1856-03: Smarting from the slings and arrows of the pro-slavery contingent in Galena, Stibolt accepts an invitation from the Republican Central Committee of Illinois to come to Peoria. Unfortunately, the committee's attractive promises were not kept.
- 1856: Stibolt takes over the editorship of the *Deutschen Zeitung* (*German News*) in Peoria. In this role, he supports John C. Frémont's presidential candidacy.
- 1857-11: Collaborates with Eduard Rummel on *Amerikanischen Geschichtsblätter* (*American Historical Pages*), delineating the causes of the catastrophe over slavery threatening the United States. The population, however, is more interested in the "here and now" than the actual historical causes of the slavery problem, causing the publication to cease.
- 1861-summer: Accepts Henry Lischer's offer to become the editor of Davenport's *Der Demokrat*.
- 1861-09-17: The first issue of *Der Demokrat* edited by Stibolt appears. Stibolt continues as editor of the paper for the next twenty-six years.
- 1861-1865: Supports a more vigorous prosecution of the war with word and pen. When President Lincoln was still dealing with the Confederacy with "moderation and reconciliation," Stibolt becomes one of the leaders in the Republican movement to block his renomination, despite having been friends with Lincoln in earlier years.
- 1864-04-01: A poor man constantly buffeted by ill financial winds during his first seventeen years in America, Stibolt is honored when an unknown donor presents him with a small gift and a gently worded explanation allowing him to buy a small house and garden on Warren and Seventh Street, which became his permanent family home.
- 1873-1874: Opposes a second term for Ulysses S. Grant because of the corruption occurring during his first term and his fear over the effect a "successful soldier" could have on the republican form of government.
- Except for the unpaid honorary position as a member of the city school board for nine years, assumes no public office. Evidencing his independent and altruistic nature, he declines the lucrative postmastership, which he could have assumed under Cleveland's administration.
- 1880s: When Iowa's Republican Party becomes "bound hand and foot in the service of prohibition and religious intolerance," Stibolt turns away from it with a heavy heart and supports Democratic candidates, all the while hoping the Republicans "would return to reason."
- 1881: Suffers a stroke. Although he recovers after several weeks, the traces of it never completely disappear.
- Ca. 1883-1884: Develops an eye ailment causing almost total blindness and making his usual work impossible. Is also stricken with a painful cancer on his right cheek, which hastens his death.
- 1887-07-13: Passes away at the age of seventy-five.

— A sampling of the tributes paid to Stibolt after his death —

“Whatever Stibolt’s political view and conviction was, his love and loyalty to Davenport and the Germans, his efforts for the best for them always remained the same. With word and pen, he labored tirelessly for their benefit and for their social and political formation. Every undertaking which contributed to raising German culture in the west found a warm friend and supporter in him. In the only public office which he was ever moved to accept and which he held for nine years, that of an officer of the school board, for which his broad education and experience as a teacher exceptionally qualified him, he exerted a very beneficial influence on our public schools and especially on the instruction in the German language they gave.”

Nikolaus B. Koch, successor editor to Jens Peter Stibolt

“Jens Peter Stibolt resolutely defended his conviction, which is ‘a man’s honor’ and ‘the warrior’s flag, falling with which he never falls *unsung*.’ Although he may have been in error about the way which leads to the goal, he was absolutely clear about the goal itself. His goal was the development of this republic in freedom, as it is understood in the exalted doctrines the Declaration of Independence preaches, and with unusual loyalty, he strove towards this goal.

Hateful to him were the Pharisees and servers of mammon who now parade about in the temple of freedom; he cracked his whip over them, driving them into the corners in fright. Truth, light and freedom were always defended by this man now gone to sleep. We could remember him in no better way than by swearing at the grave of our old leader to hold high the banner which has fallen from his tired hand, and to bear it on with the same courage and dedication to our convictions.

Truth, light and freedom must also be the guiding stars of those born after him, who take the place of the ‘tired warrior,’ if German culture, which has brought such blessing to this country, is truly to fulfill its great task here.

The young take the place of the old. That is the course of nature. May they always bind the unbending spirit of freedom and firmness of conviction of the old with the ardor of youth. Then they will erect a monument to the old pioneers which is better than stone and bronze.”

Gustav Donald, two-time editor of *Der Demokrat*

“And still it [Stibolt’s ‘life full of great effort’] was satisfying — satisfying because his work has borne blessed fruit, long after the brain from which it sprang, and the heart which propelled it, have disappeared; satisfying, and perhaps more satisfying in that he died in the consciousness of having done his full duty as his contemporaries have gratefully acknowledged. And after his death, it will be honored with clearer understanding by his survivors. ...

The old warrior has fought many a hard battle; he wielded a cutting sword, but always for truth, freedom and right, or what he considered to be such. Brusque and cutting as he sometimes was in his polemics, this manner was never caused by personal rancor, springing solely from his rigid, sometimes perhaps not completely unprejudiced, allegiance to principle. After the end of the battle, he was always the first to bury the hatchet. As a gleaming proof of his allegiance to conviction let it be noted that those with whom he fought his hardest battles for principle, later generally became his warmest personal friends.

Jens Peter Stibolt has done great things for Davenport. The respected position of German culture here, its commendable exception to prohibitionism in Iowa is largely due to him. We owe him much; he was also a builder of this city. A daily newspaper is in some way the mirror of the public, the political, the social and the commercial life of the city. Purely, clearly, and spotlessly he has shown this mirror to the world 360 times twenty-five, in all, about nine thousand times. His success is written in the high status of culture and prosperity which we now enjoy.

Jens Peter Stibolt, old friend. Never shall we see your gigantic frame again. The blue eye, which like that of the old Nordic heroes looked into the future so amiably and still so proudly and conscious of victory, has faded. The heart, which beat so warmly for his family, his friends and his country, has grown cold. His mouth, otherwise so ready to express cooperation and friendship, is silent; his brain, which was active for freedom, for enlightening and forming the people, has fallen still.”

Ernst Claussen, Forty-Eighter and seven-term mayor of Davenport

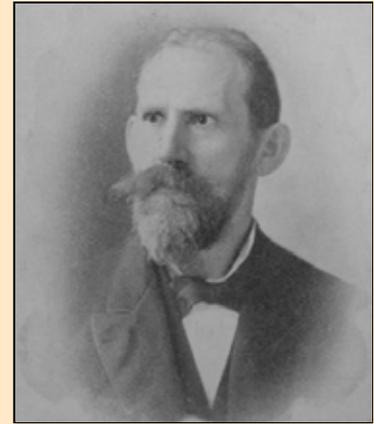
“Stibolt was a party man to the extent that he took a firm position on every public question; in doing so he always maintained complete independence. Because of this he was often in the hottest crossfire of the parties, but he always brought his shield home inviolate from the field, and he left an unsullied name to his survivors, his wife and six children. No matter how the storm of passions raged about him, he knew how to protect himself against it. He was gifted by nature with the beautiful gift of great abilities supported by a strong spirit and a powerful body, which death itself long tried in vain to subdue. He retreated only inch by inch until the victor that vanquishes us all finally vanquished him. ...

Stibolt suffered much and bore it like a stoic. In his youth, he gave up a large fortune because he did not want to sacrifice his principles to it. All his labored life he remained a poor man, as did almost all of his German-American professional colleagues. In his struggles, he had no time and no inclination to acquire riches. Many others became rich through the help of his pen and attained political honors. They hungered for property and distinctions. Till his last breath, he remained true to his ideals. In the German press of this country he appears a giant; especially as a guardian of German-American culture he took a lofty stance.

Dr. August Paul Richter, Scott County historian and longtime editor of *Der Demokrat*

— Key events in Richter’s life —

- 1844-01-25: Born in Märkisch-Friedland, West Prussia (present-day Poland).
- Studies medicine at the University of Berlin.
- 1866: His medical studies are interrupted when he’s called to serve in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Serves in the Royal Artillery, but sees no front line service. It’s likely his military service caused a marked change in his view of the social classes. Life as a lowly soldier causes him to contrast his plight with those enjoying office, rank, and vested interests — men who were in a position in old Prussia to arbitrarily suppress and intolerably treat the common man. Before long, Richter begins to express “radical” opinions, which prove unpopular in the circles frequented by his family and neighbors. The indignant criticism he encounters only increases his discontent with the status quo.
- 1867: Several Americans living in Berlin as well as a German there who had lived in Chicago arouse Richter’s interest in the “land of liberty.” A growing discontent with Prussia’s economic and political conditions cause him to slacken (and perhaps even discontinue) his studies in medicine.
- 1868: Decides to immigrate to America. This decision results in an estrangement from both his fiancée’s family and his brother, who’d offered him an advantageous partnership in a very prosperous business.
- 1868-05-12: Marries Anna May.
- 1868-05-13: Immigrates to America.
- 1868: Purchases and runs a circulating library, but has no financial success with it. Begins writing for the *Arbeiter Union*, a New York City trade union publication.
- 1871: Purchases a German newspaper and immediately changes its name to *New Jersey Staats-Zeitung*. His strong support of strike leaders causes a precipitous drop in advertisers and subscribers.
- 1872: Sells the *New Jersey Staats-Zeitung*. Concludes journalism isn’t the field best suited to his abilities, ideals, and temperament.
- Mid-1870s: Receives his medical degree.
- 1876: Moves to Iowa, settling in Lowden in Cedar County.
- 1877/8: Moves to Mt. Joy, just north of Davenport. Remains there for five years practicing medicine. Becomes acquainted with Heinrich Matthey, Sr., the founder and editor of Davenport’s *Sternen Banner*, and begins sending him articles. Is asked to write for *Der Demokrat*.
- Latter part of 1879: Closes negotiations for editorial work (if not partial ownership) of the *Iowa Tribune*, a Burlington German language newspaper founded by Theodor Gülich in 1861. Moves his family to Burlington, but his wife’s serious illness and “other adverse considerations” cause him to give up this venture and return to Mt. Joy.
- 1883: Publishes a bi-weekly called *Der Nordwesten*. Although a serious and scholarly paper, his public isn’t ready, and it runs for only a short time.
- 1884: Is offered an editorial position with *Der Demokrat*. Gives up his medical practice in Mt. Joy and moves to Davenport.
- 1888: Becomes chief editor of *Der Demokrat*.
- 1888: Becomes one of the founders and the first president of the Arion Society, a choral singing organization.
- 1902: Authors *Die Davenportern Turngemeinde: Gedenkschrift in Ihrem Goldenen Jubiläum, 3 August, 1902*. Richter is interested in the Turners not only because he is a longtime member, but also because the organization is both an historical and living embodiment of actions and positions consonant with the Forty-Eighters’ views on slavery, Know-nothingism, personal liberty, etc.
- 1892-1913: Devotes himself almost entirely to political editorials and public questions. His style could be picturesque and vivid on occasions, or sarcastic, scathing, and biting towards something unjust. He had a great familiarity with classical Greek and Roman literature, was very poetic, and for many years wrote a poetical New Year’s greeting to the readers of *Der Demokrat*. Although not an accomplished musician, he was a respected musical and drama critic whose reviews of concerts, operas, and dramatic performances in both German and English theaters were always read with great interest. Despite the fact he and his family were often offered passes, reduced rates, better seats, and the like to these performances because of his position as an editor, he never accepted them, feeling they would bias his judgment. Above all, Richter was a prodigious worker preferring the light of the library to boisterous activity. He was quiet in his personal habits, reserved in his speech, and devoid of any ostentation. Although not a Forty-Eighter, he exhibited the bluntness and outspokenness in his support of personal liberty that was so inimical to this esteemed immigrant class. When he thought an act or policy wrong, a menace to the general welfare, or a violation of basic human rights, he said so plainly and pointedly, with no sugarcoating, mollycoddling, or concern with the “bottom line.” Although possessed of a keen sense of humor, he assumed his readers were concerned with serious things and with serious discussion of the issues of the day. Like many university-educated



Dr. August Paul Richter
(1844-01-25 - 1926-02-08)

Photo from August P. Richter, *Die Davenportern Turngemeinde: Gedenkschrift zu ihrem goldenen Jubiläum 3 August 1902* (Davenport, IA: Lischer Printing Co., 1902), 109.

German refugees from this era, Richter was not a churchman. Nevertheless, he was tolerant of those who were. (His own daughters attended the churches of their choice.) Even though he was very dubious of “aggressive philanthropy,” he was not inert in matters of social betterment, taking an active interest in the German Free Sunday School and being an influential member of the Ethical Culture Society. Politically, Richter was for many years a Republican in state and national matters, which was logical considering that party’s anti-slavery/pro-constitutional stance. But when that party jumped on the temperance bandwagon, Richter jumped off. Like the Forty-Eighters before him, he brooked no unwarranted infringement of personal liberty. Although he abstained himself, he staunchly supported the right of his fellow man to imbibe. He felt he had no right to step across the street or into his neighbor’s yard and compel him to observe his routine. He was very regimented in his work routine. When he’d fulfilled his work duties, he’d repair to either the city library or his own library, gathering data on subjects that engaged his scholarly interest. His research was not spasmodic, sporadic, or erratic, but pursued with religious persistence and specific objectives.

- 1913-09-01: Dr. Richter retires as editor of *Der Demokrat* at the age of seventy. In his farewell editorial, he voiced disappointment with the growing pharisaism in public life and the indifference to freedom and people’s rights. Nevertheless, he believed the current condition would give way to a better day.
- 1913: In a tribute to Dr. Richter appearing in the *Davenport Times*, James E. Hardman wrote: “Dr. Richter has been a conspicuous figure in the newspaper life of Davenport for many years. He has been thorough, conscientious, plainspoken, and sometimes vitriolic. But whether one has been able to agree with him either on account of politics or because of opinions which he held and defended so ably, one must concede that he was not afraid to speak plainly and forcibly in defense of his convictions. And after all, it is sincerity and straightforwardness that count in any walk of life. The people of Davenport will regret that Dr. Richter has decided to put aside his pen and leave Davenport. No one can tell how many years his influence here will be felt and his work live in Davenport, but who will undertake to measure what one man with his pen has done?”
- Post-1913: After retiring as editor of *Der Demokrat*, Richter moves to California to live with his daughter in Los Angeles. His singular goal was to finish his history of Davenport and Scott County. To aid in this endeavor, Richter took his thirty years of memoranda and notes he’d systematically collected for this purpose. Tragically, Richter would be visited by many misfortunes. The first to befall him was a drastic blow to his finances. By the time he arrived in California, the investments he’d hoped to live on had almost been eliminated by the financial depression that had begun in 1910 and that continued to worsen into 1914. In addition to this financial blow, Richter began having problems with his legs and feet.
- 1914-04: Richter’s feet have worsened to the point where he decides to return to Davenport to consult with family friends who are physicians, be with his old Davenport friends, and attempt to recoup his finances.
- 1914-09-17: While in Davenport, Richter has his right foot amputated.
- 1914-12-13: Richter’s left foot is amputated. But the financial and physical setbacks, especially severe to a man past seventy years of age, weren’t the deepest wounds Richter would suffer.
- 1915: Richter continues working on *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport und des County Scott (The History of Davenport and Scott County)*. As historian F. I. Herriott wrote, “[I]t didn’t require the poet’s discerning eye to imagine the sorry feeling of Dr. Richter as he witnessed the crash of things round about him. Nevertheless, the influence of his personality was felt and it was pervasive, and on occasion he let his voice be heard when he could aid in the amelioration of the bitterness and devastation of the war.” In the meantime, however, Richter “had striven to forget and to lose himself in the work in which genuine delight was his sufficient reward.” As his work progressed, it became apparent to Richter that it would need to be published in two stout volumes.
- 1917: The first of these two volumes is published. Although *Geschichte* was “written in German and designed for his German compatriots, and with a natural emphasis upon the prominence of the emigrants from the Teutonic countries of Europe, it was not a ‘pro-German’ narrative ...” “Dr. Richter was thoroughly in love with his new homeland and he dealt frankly, generously and scientifically with all other racial elements which entered into the making of the fair city of his adoption.” The first half of the volume was devoted exclusively to the general beginnings of Davenport in the pre-territorial, territorial, and state periods. He made little or no reference to Germans. The second half, however, was devoted largely, although not exclusively, to the prominent part German immigrants played in Davenport’s history. “In two chapters only does Dr. Richter show his German resentment of ‘nativistic’ or so-called ‘Americanistic’ notions and public policy ...” These two chapters were where Richter touched upon temperance and Know-nothingism. With respect to Richter’s views on these issues, historian F. I. Herriott noted, “Few historians dissent from the assertion that malevolence of the rankest sort rolled over the nation in ugly tides between 1852 and 1858, and the foreign born were subjected to outrageous mistreatment under the guise of ‘Americanism,’ and in consequence they regarded much of the sumptuary legislation of the period not only as fanatical Puritanism but as pharisaical aggression against them and their old-time customs.” The first volume of Richter’s *Geschichte* was published in 1917. A true labor of love, it represented thirty years of painstaking research and intellectual inquiry. Unfortunately and most sadly, it would turn out to be an unrequited love. In 1917, “the whole world was out of joint. Ugly tides of rancorous ‘anti-German’ feeling were rolling over the land and completely shattered all chances of a favorable reception for his *Geschichte*.” Publishing his epic in the German language and releasing it in 1917 during the height of World War I hysteria resulted in copies of it being confiscated in the process of maintaining American “purity.” All of Dr. Richter’s high hopes for his many years of research were utterly dashed. As Richter observed in a letter written on June 9, 1920, “The time was not propitious for the book. Most of the Germans in Davenport, intimidated by Gov. Harding

and the Council of Defense, were afraid to buy a German book or to be found in possession of one. Many others were not interested, and the younger generation, while yet able to understand and speak the language, cannot read a German book or paper. ... Of the 2090 printed copies, I had only fifteen hundred bound, leaving the others with the printer. About 275 have been sold as literary garbage to the junk dealer at one-third of a cent a pound, bound books bringing much less than old newspapers.”

- Almost unbelievably, fate still had one more cruel blow in store for Dr. Richter. As previously noted, one of the reasons he'd returned to Davenport in 1914 was to recoup his finances. In this regard, he'd engaged in intermittent substitute work for *Der Demokrat*, the paper at which he'd wielded editorial control for so many years. By 1918, however, public hostility towards and suspicion of all things German had become so severe that the local clientele of *Der Demokrat* became frightened and fell away. As a result, the Lischer brothers were forced to discontinue the paper “that had been a proud possession in their family for virtually sixty-two years, and the first German paper to be published in the state, having been started in 1851.” In the last and final issue of September 7, 1918, the publishers announced to the readers that so far as the authorities were concerned, the action had been voluntary, and that the suspension would only be for the duration of the war. Sadly, however, the paper would never resume publication.
- 1918: Dr. August Richter was seventy-four years old. Financially, he was ruined. Physically, he was an invalid missing both of his feet. Professionally, his beloved *Der Demokrat* had unceremoniously been forced to close and his high hopes for his historical magnum opus had been dashed. The degree of anti-German sentiment was so great, the preparation of the intended second volume of *Geschichte* became a matter of grave doubt. A story circulated that the manuscript had been prepared and sent to the printer, who because of the prevailing hostile attitude of the people and the government towards everything German, “became alarmed and in a panic of fear destroyed [it].” Who among us, if so unrelentingly buffeted by the winds of fate, would not batten down the hatches and retreat into a permanent “Why me?” state of isolation? Such was not the character, however, of Dr. August Paul Richter. Buoyed by friends who encouraged and urged him to reproduce and extend his history in English, Dr. Richter elected to resume his work.
- 1920-1925: Richter returns to California in 1920 and begins writing an installment series entitled “A True History of Scott County: Its People, Cities, Towns and Institutions — A Monument to Our Predecessors and an Example for Their Successors” for the *Davenport Democrat*. “I am now writing a history in English, which appears in installments in the Sunday issue of the Davenport Democrat. ... I consider the arrangement with the paper a very good one. I occupy my time in an agreeable manner and remunerative one, earning an ‘honest dollar’ at the rate of \$___ per installment, and publisher and writer think they are performing a little public service.” The installment series appeared continuously in Sunday issues from April 11, 1920, until November 13, 1922, 136 installments in all, each amounting to “four solid columns” per Sunday. Interest in these installments was strong enough that a year and a half later, Richter was asked to contribute additional chapters to the *Daily Times*. This series ran from May 3, 1924, until January 3, 1925, thirty-six installments in all.
- 1925-1926: “Dr. Richter’s remaining days were passed quietly amidst the sunshine and flowers of Southern California, in the home of his daughter, Mrs. T. C. Murdoch, in Santa Monica. Up to the last, despite his physical handicaps, he was active. ... Although far away he ever remained an Iowan.”
- 1926-02-08: Richter continues to work on his beloved *Geschichte* until the end when he suffered a sudden paralytic stroke. “Within a few hours, and with no noticeable suffering, his sturdy spirit ceased from labor and departed, Monday, February 8, 1926. Four fine lines of Dryden fitly describe the life of the man whose spirit left that day:”

*Statesman, yet friend to truth!
Of a soul sincere, in action faithful, and honor clear;
Who broke no promise, served no private end;
Who gained not title, and lost no friend.*

- 1939-08: Richter’s two daughters, Mrs. J. G. V. Lang and Mrs. Clara Murdoch, donate twelve boxes of their father’s papers (1884-1925) to the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City. The bulk of the collection was newspaper clippings arranged by subject headings assigned by Richter. He’d assembled the papers as the basis for the planned (but never published) second volume of the history of Davenport and Scott County. The collection includes the 136 installments of *A True History of Scott County*, rough drafts of the unpublished history, and a copy of the *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport und der County Scott* with holograph notes by Richter. Although available for research, much of the newsprint has significantly deteriorated and cannot be handled without causing further damage.

Appendix 3

Schleswig-Holstein 1815-1864



Appendix 4

Press Release

The Legacy of 1848: Trailblazers of Democracy, An International Conference on the Forty-Eighters in the USA

March 30 – April 2, 2017

Northfield, Minnesota

Northfield/Flensburg. Once again the German and European rebels and freedom fighters that immigrated to the USA as a result of the 1848 Revolution will be the focus of a trans-Atlantic conference. “The Legacy of 1848” (Das Vermächtnis von 1848) will be held in Northfield, Minnesota (50 miles/80 km south of Minneapolis) from March 30 to April 2, 2017.

According to conference organizers, historians Dr. Joachim (Yogi) Reppmann of Northfield and Dr. Don Heinrich Tolzmann of Cincinnati, Ohio, the “Forty Eighters” may not have been successful revolutionaries in Europe, but they were “likely the most remarkable immigrants that ever arrived in America.”

The Forty-Eighters were action-oriented individuals whose democratic ideals led them to oppose the political status quo of their time. Many immigrated to America and built successful lives for themselves and their families. Some became politically active and then supported the Union cause in the Civil War (1861 - 1865). Carl Schurz, for example, became a U.S. Senator, a general in the Union Army, Minister to Spain and Secretary of the Interior. But today few are aware of the contribution they made to America.

Another focus of the conference is: “The Roles of Religion in the German-American Experience”. According to conference organizer Don Heinrich Tolzmann, “2017 represents an important anniversary date: the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, the 200th anniversary of the Wartburg-Fest, and the 200th anniversary of the Prussian Union of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, all of which will be taken into consideration as they relate to our focus on “The Legacy of 1848.”

In addition to immigration history, the program in Northfield will feature family history topics as well.

Please submit papers or proposals by 6 October 2016 to:

Dr. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, Cincinnati

dhtolzmann@yahoo.com; - www.donheinrichtolzmann.net/

or to :

Dr. Joachim Reppmann, Northfield, MN / Flensburg

yogireppmann@gmail.com; - www.moin-moin.us/

103 Orchard St N ; Northfield, MN, 55057 - H.: 507-664-1064

Appendix 5

The Stoltenberg 1848er Institute

The Stoltenberg Institute of German-American Forty-Eighter Studies, is a forum for Euro-Atlantic discourse. The Institute is named in honor of Dr. Gerhard Stoltenberg (1929-2001), who served as Minister-President of the state of Schleswig-Holstein. An advisory board for the new institute has also been formed. Chaired by Dr. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, Cincinnati, Ohio (www.donheinrichtolzmann.net), its members include Henry Kissinger, Eric Braeden, Walter Pfaeffle, and others prominent in the fields of German-American Studies and U.S.-German relations.

The Institute's goal is to "preserve the history of European democratic republican 1848er immigrants, (Forty-Eighters), and by promoting public involvement in and appreciation of this heritage through educational programming." The Institute aims to be "a transatlantic institute, espousing the Forty-Eighters' conviction that we all embody moral values that should be publicly expressed, thereby making a meaningful contribution towards solving the myriad of challenges confronting the Western world."

America's intellectual vitality goes back to an amazing group of immigrants, following the failed democratic European revolutions of 1848, "Forty-Eighters." Stoltenberg Institute's unique approach to linking descendants of Forty-Eighters who settled in Iowa, (e.g. 'Christian Mueller'), with their ancestors in Schleswig-Holstein is an inspiring example of building transatlantic bridges. Most recently, its uncanny ability to make history come alive was showcased in the video "Forty-Eighters and Friends." Please check it out at www.Moin-Moin.us.

The Steuben Society of America's History Award, 2014, has been presented for the Institute's research on the 1848 movement's democratic impact in Germany, and the USA. Continuing with its long-held goals of both bringing the Forty-Eighters' remarkable accomplishments to the world's attention and fostering German-American friendship, the Institute is already planning several projects for the coming years.

THE STOLTENBERG INSTITUTE IN A NUTSHELL

Mission: To preserve the history of European 1848er immigrants by actively collecting, preserving, interpreting, and presenting documents, artifacts and scholarly research and by promoting public involvement in and appreciation of this heritage through educational programming and community outreach.

Vision: To be a transatlantic heritage center espousing the Forty-Eighters' conviction that we all embody moral values that should be publicly expressed, thereby making a meaningful contribution towards solving the myriad of challenges confronting the Western world.

Value of Education: To share and advance European-American history by providing visitors and students with exhibits and programs that enlighten, inspire, challenge, and teach.

Value of Research: To increase our collective knowledge of the Forty-Eighters and their many contributions to all facets of life in America.

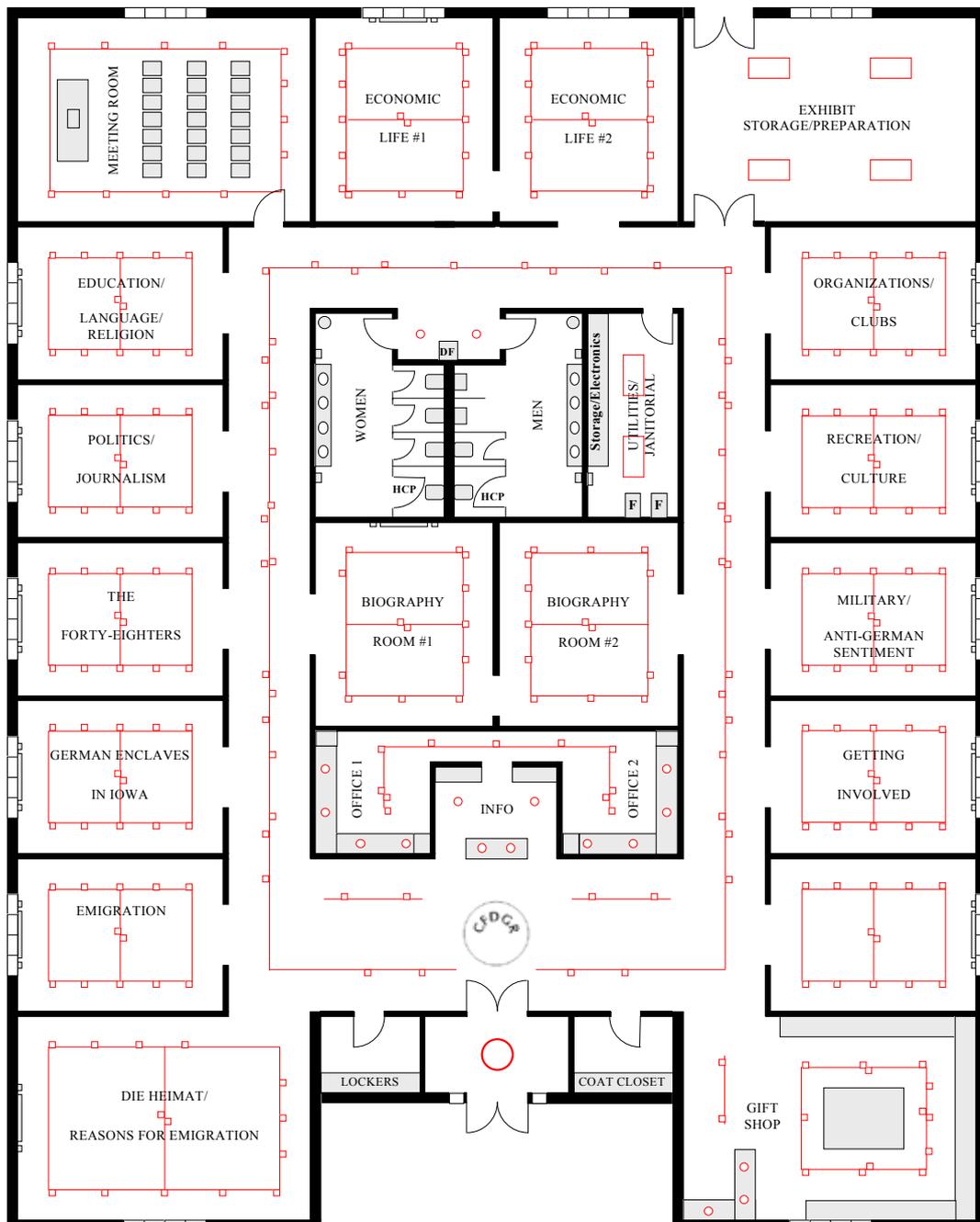
Value of Preservation: To preserve our collections of artifacts, archival papers, and research for the enjoyment and education of future generations.

Value of Integrity: To present historically accurate information and encourage the articulation of multiple viewpoints. **Cooperation:** To cooperate with other organizations with similar goals such as the Society for German American Studies; the University of Minnesota's German Studies Association and Center for German & European Studies; the German-American Heritage Center in Davenport, Iowa, and the German-American Heritage Museum in Washington, DC.

Value of Fiscal Discipline: To operate as a private, non-profit 501(c)(3) organization that develops, budgets, and spends public contributions with maximum effectiveness within the parameters of our mission and vision.

www.moin-moin.us

Below, the floor plan of the Stoltenberg Institute.



Appendix 6

Carl Schurz, most-well known Forty-Eighter, on Immigration: A Timeless Concept

Scott C. Christiansen, Iowa City, IA

The significance of the legacy of Carl Schurz has become more timely. With the steady increase of immigration to the United States and Germany, it has become ever more important to establish the proper framework for the absorption of newcomers. Schurz's solution - assimilation with the retention of the newcomers' ethnic heritage - is as valid today as it was when he articulated it in the nineteenth century. The fusion of ethnic identities and American values is of the greatest importance, and Carl Schurz's life is a worthy paradigm for all immigrants to emulate.

Although painting an accurate portrait of this remarkable immigrant is beyond the scope of this text, readers wishing to familiarize themselves with the life of this great man would do well to read Hans Louis Trefousse's *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, the revised preface of which follows.

Since the appearance of this book in 1982, the significance of the legacy of Carl Schurz has, if anything, become more timely. With the steady increase of immigration to the United States, as well as the heightened debate about its benefits or disadvantages, it has become more important than ever to establish the proper framework for the absorption of the newcomers.

Schurz's solution to this problem, assimilation with the retention of each newcomer's ethnic heritage, while no longer put in these terms, is as valid today as it was in the nineteenth century when he first formulated it. In fact, his answer would seem to be the solution to our present difficulties, so that its message deserves to be as widely distributed as possible.

The motto of the United States, *E pluribus unum* — Out of Many, One — perfectly expresses the national commitment to the pluralistic society. While stressing the variegated origins of the American people, it also gives expression to their common beliefs, their commitment to the ideals shared by all the inhabitants of the United States. Thus, the fusion of ethnic identities and American values becomes of the utmost importance, and the example set by Carl Schurz might well be upheld today as a model for all immigrants.

Schurz's insistence on Americanization while retaining one's ethnic heritage would seem to be the perfect answer to the problem confronting the United States today. And the fact that he rose to become a major general, United States Senator, and Secretary of the Interior, the highest offices ever occupied by a non-native-born citizen, lend even more credibility to his agency as a role model.

Schurz also had an impact in another respect. While other nations pride themselves on their common, or presumed common, ethnicity or origin, thus framing their national pride about assumed hereditary traits binding the people, American nationalism has always rested upon the sharing of common ideals, the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Enlightenment. Again Carl Schurz showed clearly how necessary it was, and presumably is, for newcomers to embrace these ideals. A firm believer in democracy, he not only became enamored of the American system, but also sought to popularize it among his German-American compatriots. Moreover, he attempted to extend it and perfect its shortcomings. Thus, he fought for the abolition of the institution of slavery before the Civil War

and the reform of the patronage system and city governments afterward. In addition, he preached tolerance of all groups, the blacks, the Jews, the Chinese, and even the Indians, though at first he had difficulty with the native Americans. And his unyielding opposition to imperialism, his conviction that the acquisition of overseas territories violated all American traditions certainly tends to be in line with present-day thinking.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the Germans have also become more and more interested in Carl Schurz. Trying hard to overcome the legacy of their wartime history, they have been delighted to find role models like the great German-American to highlight their compatriots' good reputation in the past. Carl Schurz, an excellent example of a good German, a foe of bigotry, antisemitism, and totalitarian government, provides them with a great antidote to Hitler and all he stood for. The high regard in which Schurz is now held in his native country, where he has by no means been forgotten, is a testimony to the success of Germany's devotion to democracy since 1945.

Thus the great immigrant leader remains a figure of great consequence both in his adopted and in his native countries. His example cannot be forgotten, and his role in showing immigrants how to assimilate while maintaining their identity is as important today as it has always been.



New Forty-Eighter Monument in Berlin?

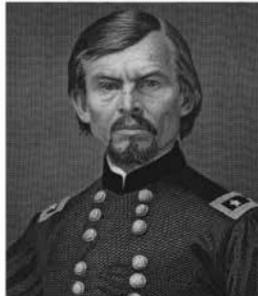
In the spring of 2016, the two most influential German weekly news sources published valuable articles about the legacy of 1848 and the German Forty-Eighters in America:

DIE ZEIT (Benedikt Erenz) suggested to make March 18th a German National Day of Remembrance. On that day in 1848, Berlin citizens began their democratic revolution. Volker Schroeder and colleagues have been working on this important concept since 1978.
www.maerzrevolution.de

DER SPIEGEL (Dirk Kurbjuweit) inspired the German Secretary of State, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, to support the creation of a Forty-Eighter Monument. The article suggests the monument be placed in front of the newly renovated Berlin City Castle/Humboldt Forum.



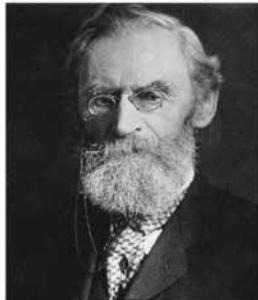
Hecker



Sigel



Struve



Schurz

ERINNERUNG

Steinmeier und die Forty-Eighters

Bundesaußenminister Frank-Walter Steinmeier unterstützt die Idee, den sogenannten Forty-Eighters ein Denkmal zu errichten. Es geht dabei um frühe deutsche Demokraten wie Carl Schurz, Friedrich Hecker, Gustav Struve und Franz Sigel, die an der gescheiterten Revolution von 1848/49 beteiligt waren. Sie emigrierten danach in die USA und kämpften im Bürgerkrieg gegen die Sklavenerhaltung. Steinmeier: „Im historischen Gedächtnis vieler Menschen haben die Amerikaner, unterstützt von den Briten und Franzosen, 1945 die Demokratie nach Deutschland gebracht. Dabei gab es aber schon vor 1933 eine parlamentarische Erfahrungsbasis, die von den Akteuren 1848 hart erkämpft wurde. Deshalb ist das Denkmal für die sogenannten Forty-Eighters eine große Chance, an die wechselseitige Einflussnahme beim Aufbau stabiler Demokratien auf beiden Seiten des Ozeans zu erinnern.“ Den Vorschlag für ein solches Denkmal in der Hauptstadt hatte der SPIEGEL in der **AUSGABE 14/2016** gemacht. Unter den Unterstützern, die sich daraufhin meldeten, sind der Schauspieler Ulrich Matthes und Erardo Cristoforo Rautenberg, der Generalstaatsanwalt von Brandenburg. Rautenberg hat bereits ein Konzept für eine Erinnerungsstätte entwickelt. In den

USA gibt es mehrere Denkmäler für Carl Schurz, der es dort bis zum Senator und Innenminister gebracht hat. Rautenberg schlägt vor, eine dieser amerikanischen Büsten zu kopieren und in Berlin auf einen Sockel zu stellen. Eine Tafel solle an andere bekannte Forty-Eighters erinnern. »

Der Spiegel, April 23rd, 2016.

Detailed information: www.moin-moin.us



Carl Schurz Monument in New York City. The NYC Parks Department website explains: “This impressive monument to soldier, statesman and journalist Carl Schurz is the result of a collaboration between the distinguished sculptor Karl Bitter (1867–1915) and renowned architect Henry Bacon (1866–1924). Built in 1913, the monument consists of a full standing bronze portrait of Schurz in the center of a granite exedra (curved bench) with carved reliefs framed by two ornamental bronze luminaries. The entire monument is located within a large brick-paved plaza projecting from the promontory at Morningside Drive and West 116th Street.”

Appendix 7

Greetings from Minister-President of Schleswig-Holstein

Torsten Albig

Governor of the most northern German State of Schleswig-Holstein

The Forty-Eighters who fought with pen and sword for social change, democratic rights, and constitutional freedoms saw many of their dreams realized not in their homeland, but in the United States. The conviction, self-sacrifice, and high regard for human rights displayed by these remarkable immigrants are worthy examples for all of us today. “The Legacy of 1848” will explore research on those who emigrated from Germany and Schleswig-Holstein in the wake of the democratic revolutions of 1848.

Those revolutions transcended national borders, because the pursuit of freedom and equality concerns all human beings, regardless of nationality. Although unsuccessful in achieving those goals in their native land, many Forty-Eighters worked tirelessly in their adopted home toward these same goals, thereby making the United States an even better place in which to live. It is to the credit of the German-American historian Dr. Joachim Reppmann that “The Legacy of 1848” will examine the Forty- Eighters’ contributions toward making “freedom, education, and well-being for all” more than a mere mantra.



Appendix 8

Wie deutsche Freiheitskämpfer die Vereinigten Staaten prägten

Internationale Historikerkonferenz in Iowa widmete sich dem “Vermächtnis von 1848” – mit Flensburger Beteiligung, *Flensburger Tageblatt*, November 11, 2013.

Flensburg/Waverly. Waverly ist ein Städtchen mit fast 10.000 Einwohnern im Bremer – County. Das war bis Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts Indianerland, das den Winnebagos, Mequakis und Pottawatomics von meist deutschen Siedlern abgejagt und abgekauft wurde. Der erste Governor benannte die Gegend nach Frederika Bremer, einer schwedischen Feministin, die wohl mal durch diesen Landstrich gereist ist.

Grösstes Unternehmen in dem Ort ist das “Wartburg – College”, eine private Hochschule mit protestantischer Prägung. Die 1600 College-Studenten studieren vor allem geisteswissenschaftliche Fächer. Hier diskutierten kürzlich fast vierzig deutsche und amerikanische Wissenschaftler über das Vermächtnis deutsch-amerikanischer Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts – “The Legacy of 1848”. Darunter Marvin Kissmer. Der 25-jährige Student der Betriebswirtschaftslehre aus Flensburg verglich in seinem Vortrag die weltweit erste Finanzkrise “Panic of 1857” mit der augenblicklichen Bankenkrise am Beispiel der Forty-Eighter Revolutionäre aus Schleswig-Holstein in Davenport (westlich von Chicago).

Der Historiker Dr. Joachim Reppmann, Flensburg und Northfield (Minnesota) hatte sich die Konferenz ausgedacht. 30 Referate und Reden widmeten sich unter anderem Carl Schurz, Walt Whitman und Friedrich Schiller, Harro Harring und ihrer Rolle im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg oder der weltpolitischen Bedeutung der “Schleswig-Holstein-Frage” (1848-1864). Die Protagonisten der demokratischen Revolte von 1848 gingen reihenweise ins Gefängnis oder außer Landes. Viele von ihnen in die USA. Fast alle deutschen Revolutionäre beteiligten sich im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg, kämpften gegen die Sklaverei und für Freiheitsrechte.

Auch der nordfriesische Dichter, Maler und Berufsrevoluzzer Harro Harring gehörten zu den Menschen, die für Ideen eintraten, die zum Teil erst 150 Jahre spatter langsam Wirklichkeit wurden. Harring forderte 1834 mit Guiseppe Mazzini ein “Junges Europa” ohne Fürsten und Grenzen.

Andere flohen vor der Repression und Bespitzelung, wie sie Metternich flächendeckend in Europa organisierte. Viele von der Repression Vertriebene prägten die USA bis heute. Der Freiheitsgedanke der Revolution von 1848 siegte in den USA, lange bevor er in Deutschland reüssierte.

Die der Freiheit als Leitkultur prägte die Deutsch-Amerikaner in den USA mehr als alle Deuschtümelei. Die Dutch (Deutschen) bildeten um 1900 die größte fremdsprachige Ethnie in den USA, und doch machten sie ihre Heimat nicht deutsch, sondern wurden Amerikaner. Die USA sind ohne die deutschen Einwanderer nicht denkbar. Und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland gäbe es ohne die USA nicht. Das ist das Vermächtnis von 1848.

Peter Mathews – www.Moin-Moin.us



*Flensburger Tageblatt, November 11, 2013. **Blick in die Geschichte.** Marvin Kissmer (Mitte), Student aus Flensburg, zwischen den Konferenzorganisatoren Dan Walther (links) und Yogi Reppmann.*

Appendix 9

Theodor Olshausens Davenport-Briefe

Davenport, Iowa / St. Louis, Nov. 5. 1855

Lieber Justus, [älterer Bruder]

Deinen Brief vom 26. August den ich am 24. September erhielt, brachte mir dann die Aufklärung über die mir von Hallier übermachte Summe von 90 rth.pr., die ihm von Prof. Mommsen für das Mormonen MScr. übersandt seyn. Ich hatte einige Tage in der angenehmen Täuschung gelebt, daß dies etwa die Hälfte des Honorars seyn möge, dessen andere Hälfte nach vollendetem Druck ausbezahlt werden würde. Darüber hat auch denn nun ja Dein Brief aufgeklärt, indessen billige ich vollkommen Deine Verfügung nach dem Sprichwort: „Beter en Luus in'n Kohl u.s.w.“. Gelegentlich bekomme ich jedoch auch wohl ein paar Exemplare übersandt.

Mit meinem Missouri [Buch] ist es sonderbar gegangen. Du weißt, daß ich mir von Maack 150 Exemplare zum hiesigen Verkauf senden ließ. Er sandte sie glaube ich im Februar d.J. nach Hamburg, von dort wurden sie im April verschifft, scheiterten mit dem Schiff vor dem New Yorker Hafen und ich glaubte schon der guten Versicherungssumme (hier an Ort und Stelle) sicher zu seyn; schreib auch Maack er möge mir 50 neue Exemplare schicken. Nach 5 bis 6 Wochen hieß es aber die Bücher wären gerettet und nach 3 Monaten, am 26. September habe ich sie endlich untadelhaft conditionirt erhalten. Fracht, Assecuranz, Zoll und Spesen sind aber so hoch angelaufen, daß dabei gar nichts zu verdienen ist, wenn sie auch alle verkauft werden, was doch sehr zweifelhaft ist, 80 bis 90 mögen indessen schon abgesetzt seyn. Wenn nun aber mit dem Heft Iowa (100 Exemplare) noch 50 mehr kommen, behalte ich wohl sicher einen nicht unbedeutenden Überschuß. Indessen muß ich sehen, wie es gehen will. Mit Wisconsin kann ich nicht eher weiter fortschreiten, bis ich die Berichte des neuen Census (Juli 1855) aus Wisconsin bekomme, die noch nicht vollständig eingeliefert sind. Ich hoffe, daß der Staatssecretair sie mir mittheilen wird. Im Übrigen arbeite ich hier jetzt nur für eine neue New Yorker Zeitung „Die Neue Zeit“, die recht gut honorirt, und für die Bremer Auswanderer Zeitung, die ich gern hätte, aber der gegenwärtige Redacteur, Gülich, der gern davon los will, fordert zu viel für den Abstand. Eine mäßige Summe für den Ankauf würde ich hier wohl vielleicht zusammen leihen können. *Ich möchte gern in Davenport seyn*, wenn ich dort ein Geschäft hätte. Ich war im May und Juni wieder dort bei Johannes, dem es da sehr gut geht und der gern dort ist; seine Frau weniger gern, doch findet sie sich auch darin. Johannes hat sich dort ein eigenes Haus gekauft und hat sehr viel zu thun und das Geld geht sehr gut ein. Er hat schon Monate gehabt, wo er 400 \$ verdient hat, es ist gar kein Vergleich mit St. Louis. Ende August ist ihm auch ein Söhnchen geboren, worüber er sehr erfreut ist. Eine St. Louiser verwandte Familie (Kehrmann) ist auch diesen Herbst dahin gezogen, was Elise den Aufenthalt da angenehm machen wird. Möglich ist es daß es sich nun noch mit der Zeitung macht, was mir dann in vieler Beziehung recht lieb wäre. In Davenport redigire ich auf jeden Fall lieber eine Zeitung als hier, weil ich da ein für meine Persönlichkeit passenderes Publicum finde, wie hier, wo ein Zeitungsschreiber mit allen Hunden gehetzt ist.

(...)

Im Übrigen ist hier jetzt alles wieder wohl in der Familie nachdem leider Arthur und Clara im August ihr Töchterchen nach kurzer Krankheit wieder verloren haben. Die Zoeckler, von der Du gehört haben wirst (Elise's Schwester) ist mit Dr. Dreis versprochen, wenn auch die Sache noch nicht declarirt ist und er hat seine Brauerei in Davenport trotz

des Temperenzgesetzes wieder eröffnet, da er unter der Hand einige Zusicherungen erhalten hat, daß man sein Bier nicht unter dem Ausdruck: intoxicating liquor mitbegreifen werde. Eine Schwester von Clara, Gretchen Woche, geb. Breitenstein, verheirathet sich auch nächstens mit einem Herrn Menche, Dry good dealer. In Davenport, wo ich im May und Juni fast 2 Monate war, steht bei Johannes Alles sehr erwünscht. Seine Familie ist im September mit einem Söhnchen vermehrt worden und seine Zoe ist ein allerliebstes Mädchen. Seine Praxis ist sehr groß und einträglich; er hätte nichts Gescheiteres thun können, als dahin gehen. Elise ist freilich noch nicht gern da, aber es scheinen immer mehr St. Louiser hinzuziehen. (Entschuldige diese theilweisen Wiederholungen.) Der alte Schirach ist nun auch in Davenport angelangt und soll sich, wider Erwarten, ziemlich gut dort gefallen; ich glaube indeß, daß dies nicht lange währen wird. Bei meinem letzten Aufenthalt in Iowa habe ich auch Claussen in Lyons, wo er eine Kornmühle angelegt hat, besucht; er ist mit seinem Schwiegersohn Müller und seinem Flegel von Sohn in partnership; ferner habe ich unseren alten Collegen Ingwersen in Clinton County besucht, wo er eine sehr schöne große Farm für Eisenbahndirector Dietz verwaltet, dessen Sohn jetzt auch bei Ingwersen ist. Außerdem trifft man dort im Lande sehr viele Holsteiner. Dr. Weber (Onkel) ist sehr zufrieden in Gutenberg und kommt zuweilen einmal zum Besuch hierher. Die Abnahme der Einwanderung ist in diesem Jahr sehr bedeutend gewesen, doch wird dies im Westen dadurch weniger auffällig, daß sehr viele Amerikaner aus dem Osten nach Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa und auch etwas nach Missouri ziehen. Doch kommt Missouri relativ immer weiter zurück vermöge seiner „eigenthümlichen Institution“, wie die Sklaverei hier gewöhnlich paraphrasirt wird. Es ist absurd, daß die Missourier nicht die Sklaverei aufheben, da es hier noch geschehen könnte, was in Staaten wie Süd-Carolina ohne äußere Hilfe freilich unmöglich ist. Auf dem nächsten Congreß wird wegen der Sklaverei ein großer Sturm losbrechen. Es ist mir jetzt sehr wahrscheinlich, daß es in naher Zukunft doch zum Versuch einer Trennung der freien und Sklavenstaaten kommen wird. Es wird wohl nur ein Versuch bleiben, denn ich glaube nicht, daß sich die Sklavenstaaten allein halten können, denn ein Sklaven-Krieg würde nicht ausbleiben.

(...)

Die Theuerung, die ihr jetzt in Deutschland habt, haben wir im vorigen Jahr überstanden. Der Buschel Kartoffeln (ca. 4 holsteinische Spint [Getreidemaß, in Österreich = Splint]) kostet 1 \$ 25 bis 1 \$ 50. - So hohe Preise habt ihr doch wohl noch nicht. Die diesjährige Ernte ist aber so ergiebig gewesen, daß die Preise auf die Hälfte und mehr gesunken sind und noch mehr fallen würden, wenn nicht die Mißernte in Europa die Preise in die Höhe triebe.

In Politics ist es hier jetzt nur in Bezug auf die Sklaverei-Frage lebhaft, nachdem sich die Know-Nothings und die Temperenzler durch ihre Übertreibungen ziemlich selbst zunichte gemacht haben. Wegen der ersten Frage wird es aber im bevorstehenden Congreß (Dezember) zu einem starken Zusammenstoß kommen, es ist noch nicht mit Sicherheit zu sehen ob die pro- oder anti-slavery-Parthei die Majorität haben wird. In Kansas wird schon der Krieg im Kleinen geführt. Dann fragt es sich, was aus der Sundzoll-Differenz werden soll. Manche sind hier der Meinung, daß diese Angelegenheit, sowie die Kinney-Expedition und andere Differenzen mit England im nächsten Jahre leicht zu einem Kriege mit den europäischen Seemächten führen könne, eine Ansicht die durch die Sendung der englischen Flotte nach den westindischen Inseln unterstützt wird, sowie durch die große Beeilung des amerikanischen Flottenbaues. Doch glaube ich noch nicht an Krieg, denn mir kommt die Stimmung des Volks hier nirgends sehr kriegerisch vor und der Congreß kann nichts thun, als was die Mehrheit des Volkes will. Dabei sind die Streitkräfte der Union gar nicht in dem Zustande, einen großen Krieg, wenigstens anfangs mit Glück führen zu können. Die Flotte besteht aus 6 brauchbaren Linienschiffen, 6 neuerbauten Dampffregatten, die wie Linienschiffe zählen, 10 oder 12 Fregatten und einigen kleineren Schiffen; ein Heer ist nicht vorhanden, denn die 12 bis 14.000 Mann stehender Truppen hat man fast alle nöthig, um

sich die Indianer vom Halse zu halten; die Miliz ist zahlreich genug und besteht meist aus guten Schützen, im Übrigen ist sie aber nicht eingeübt und nicht gewohnt in Übereinstimmung zu agieren. Freilich sind die Amerikaner überzeugt, daß sie die ganze Welt erobern können, wenn sie wollen, aber sie fürchten den Schaden in Handel und Wandel, den sie durch einen Krieg erleiden würden. An einen Allianztractat mit Rußland, wovon in den Zeitungen die Rede ist, glaubt man hier noch nicht; jedenfalls würde der Senat ihn erst bestätigen müssen, welcher gegenwärtig nicht versammelt ist.

9. November [1855].

Da dieser Brief doch nicht eher von New York abgehen konnte, als am nächsten Mittwoch, ist er noch einige Tage liegen geblieben und geht nun mit einer großen Briefsammlung nach Hamburg, um dort erst gelesen und dann Dir übersandt zu werden. Ich füge der Curiosität wegen hinzu, daß nun vor ein paar Tagen eine dritte Brücke auf der Pacific-Bahn eingestürzt ist (über den Moreau-Creek) und man noch wegen mehrerer dasselbe erwartet. Nur bis Washington wagt man sich noch mit Angst auf der Bahn und manche Passagiere steigen vor den Brücken aus und gehen zu Fuß hinüber.

Ich hoffe, daß dieser Brief Max besser und Euch übrigen alle in guter Gesundheit antrifft. Seid Alle herzlich begrüßt und laßt bald einmal wieder von Euch hören.

Euer

Th. Olshausen

[an Justus]

Davenport, 12. May 1856

Es ist lange her, lieber Justus, daß ich etwas von mir habe hören lassen, oder, direct wenigstens, etwas von Euch vernommen habe. Meine Nachrichten über Euch kommen mir wenigstens über Hamburg zu und da gehört noch mit zu den Neuigkeiten, daß Ihr Eure silberne Hochzeit gefeiert habt. Dazu jetzt noch zu gratuliren, kommt freilich reichlich spät; ich habe leider für dergleichen Sachen ein gar zu schlechtes Gedächtnis. Indessen habe ich mich schon gefreut zu erfahren, daß Ihr dieses Fest vergnügt und wie es scheint, Alle bei guter Gesundheit gefeiert habt. Otilie hat uns eine kleine Beschreibung davon gemacht. von Max seinem Augenübel wird gar nichts erwähnt, woraus sich schließen läßt, das dasselbe sich gebessert hat. Du siehst schon hieraus, daß ich sehr schlecht über Eure Zustände unterrichtet bin; ich hätte daher sehr gern einmal etwas Ausführlicheres von Euch selbst. Der Friede wird Euch jetzt ja wohl wieder wohlfeilere Preise bringen, was ja auch ein Gegenstand von Wichtigkeit ist.

Mit mir hat sich, wie Du schon aus der Überschrift errathen kannst, eine erhebliche Besserung zugetragen. Ich bin seit dem 15. Apr.[il 1856] hierher übersiedelt u.[nd] habe die hiesige Deutsche Zeitung „Der Demokrat“ betitelt, in Gemeinschaft mit einem Partner, H.[enry] Lischer, ein Buchdrucker, übernommen. Wir haben dieselbe dem bisherigen Eigenthümer Gülich, einem Sohn des Schleswiger Advokaten, für 1.800 \$ abgekauft. Geld, welches ich nicht hatte, hat mir das nicht gekostet; der Buchdrucker hat 500 \$ bar eingeschossen und soll noch 500 \$ bringen; ich aber habe hier - unter Johannes u.[nd] einiger Anderer Bürgschaft - eine Anleihe von \$ 1.000 für 10 pc [%] (was hier sehr wenig ist) auf das Geschäft erhalten. Die Sache läßt sich gut an, wir haben eine recht gute Einnahme. Das Blatt erscheint täglich und wöchentlich, so daß der Text im täglichen wieder in das wöchentliche Blatt gesetzt wird, was hier sehr gebräuchlich ist. Das tägliche ist dann für die Stadt, das wöchentliche für d[as] Land bestimmt. Das Abonnement trägt wenig ein,

aber die Annoncen werden sehr hoch bezahlt und halten das Blatt. Daneben haben wir ein einträgliches Geschäft in sog.[enannte] Accidenz-Arbeiten (job-printing), da unsere Druckerei die einzige hier ist, die deutsch drucken kann und hier sehr vieles englisch und deutsch gedruckt wird; weil fast die halbe Bevölkerung aus Deutschen besteht.

Die tägliche Zeitung, die ich ohne Gehilfen redigire, macht mir natürlich viel zu thun, so daß ich alle meine übrigen literarischen Arbeiten habe aufgeben müssen, wobei ich denn freilich auch nicht viel verliere. Sonderbar ist es aber, daß ich nie wieder ein Wort über meine Mormonenschrift gehört habe, viel weniger ein Exemplar davon gesehen habe. Ist sie wirklich erschienen, oder hat die Verlagshandlung sie vielleicht ruhig liegen lassen?

Von meinem „Missouri“ und „Iowa“ habe ich mir, wie ich meine Dir geschrieben zu haben, eine größere Anzahl Exemplare auf eigene Rechnung kommen lassen, um sie hier zu versilbern. Die Speculation ist aber schlecht eingeschlagen, denn ich habe nicht viel mehr als die Hälfte davon verkauft und auch dafür noch lange nicht das Geld einbekommen. Zudem ist der Transport hierher nebst Zoll u. dergl. sehr hoch gekommen (über 50 \$), so daß ich im allergünstigsten Falle schadenfrei komme.

Hier in Davenport bin ich recht gern, obgleich sehr wenig einigermaßen gebildete hier sind, was vorzüglich in Bezug auf meine publicistische Thätigkeit unangenehm ist. Politischer Sinn ist unter ihnen gar nicht vorhanden, sie bleiben hier Pfahlbürger, wie sie in Deutschland gewesen sind. Selbst die gebildeten Deutschen haben keinen Sinn für die amerikanische Politik und interessiren sich mehr für die Bierfreiheit u. dergl., als für die Freiheit im Allgemeinen. An Bekannten sind hier Dreis, Dr. Grewe und mehrere Schirachs, darunter auch der alte Ob.App.Rath [Ober-Appelations-Rath], der ein unerträglicher Schwätzer ist, aber mich über alle Schlesw(ig) Holst.(einischen) Affairen au fait [französisch = im Bilde] hält, da er eine große und regelmäßige Correspondenz unterhält. Claussen ist, wie Du vielleicht weißt, von hier nach Lyons gezogen, wo er eine große Dampfmühle gebaut hat, aber bei den jetzigen sinkenden Getreidepreisen schlechte Geschäfte zu machen scheint.

Ich wohne bis jetzt noch im Druckereilocale, wünsche aber baldmöglichst ein gesonderes Quartier zu nehmen, weil in diesem Local bis tief in die Nacht hinein ein Höllenspectakel ist. Boarden, wie man es hier nennt, thue ich noch bei Johannes, doch wird dies auch wohl nur für diesen Sommer anhalten, denn im Winter wird mir das dreimal tägliche Hin- und Herlaufen bei dem furchtbaren Dreck, der hier dann herrscht, wohl zu viel werden. Freilich werde ich ihn und seine Familie dann wenig sehen, denn ich bin den ganzen Tag sehr beschäftigt. Elise ist eine sehr nette Frau und die beiden Kinder (Zoe und Theodor) sind allerliebste, so daß der Aufenthalt dort für mich auch sehr angenehm ist. Jetzt ist auch Elise's Mutter auf längeren Besuch dort. Elise's Schwester - die vielbegehrte Zoeckler - scheint sich jetzt entschlossen zu haben, unseren Dr. Dreis zu heirathen - nach langem Schwanken. Dieser sucht nur seine Brauerei, bei der er wohl einiges erworben hat, zu verkaufen und die Eheleute werden dann wahrscheinlich nach Deutschland oder der Schweiz ziehen. Beider Vermögen zusammen macht, daß sie allenthalben unabhängig leben können.

Davenport mit Rock Island und einigen kleineren nahegelegenen Ortschaften - Moline und East Davenport - die bald zusammenwachsen u(nd) jetzt schon den gemeinschaftlichen Namen Twin-City führen, werden ohne Zweifel eine große Stadt werden. Schon jetzt haben sie ca. 25.000 Einw.(ohner). Die Mississippi-Brücke wird dazu beitragen, sie noch mehr zu vereinigen, obwohl bei dem Bau dieser Brücke, bei der große Versehen gemacht sind, da die Schifffahrt durch die Drehbrücke außerordentlich durch die schlechte Construction erschwert ist. Neulich gerith ein Schiff unter d[er] Brücke in Brand und zündete auch einen Span der Brücke an, die dadurch wieder einige Zeit außer Gebrauch gesetzt ist. Viele meinen daß Dampfschiff u[nd] Brücke absichtlich in Brand gesteckt sind, um die Brücke zu zerstören, über die alle Schiffer sehr wüthend sind.

Die hies.[igen] polit.[ischen] Verhältnisse haben sich seit einem Jahre wieder sehr geändert; die Know Nothings haben alle Macht verloren und die Republicans (Anti-Slavery) sehr gewonnen. Es ist möglich, daß sie dennoch in der Präsidentenwahl (diesen Herbst) nicht obsiegen, sondern gegen die Democrats (Pro Slavery) unterliegen. (Mein Blatt heißt freilich von alter Zeit her „Democrat“, es ist aber natürlich republicanisch, da die neuen Parteinamen sich aber noch nicht recht festgesetzt haben, mochte ich den Namen noch nicht ändern, habe es aber im Sinn bei der nächsten Gelegenheit zu thun). Wenn sie aber auch diesmal unterliegen sollten, so ist ihr Sieg in der Zukunft doch gewiß. Fast wahrscheinlich halte ich, daß es mit England, und wohl auch mit Frankreich zum Kriege kommt, obgleich das Volk im Allgem.[einen] hier die Differenz noch nicht so sehr ernstlich nimmt. Aber das engl.[ische] Cabinet (wenigstens wenn Palmerston [Henry John Temple, Biscount, *20.10.1784, gest. 18.10.1865, brit. Staatsmann] am Ruder bleibt) wird d.[en] Krieg schon erzwingen, denn es behandelt die V. St. (Vereinigten Staaten) hundertmäßig u.[nd] wie der elende Pierce [Franklin, *23.11.1804, gest. 8.10.1869, v. 1853-1857 als Demokrat Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten] auch ausweicht, wird er endlich doch den Handschuh aufnehmen müssen.

Von Arthur hatte ich gestern einen Brief, es ist dort alles wohl.

Ich habe diesen Pfingstsonntag dazu verwandt, diesen und einige andere nothwendige Briefe zu schreiben, denn nur des Sonntags habe ich frei; an allen anderen Tagen läuft es bei mir den ganzen Tag, wenn ich streng genommen nicht immer zu thun habe. Eine Redaction wird hier vollständig als ein öffentliches Haus betrachtet. Leute die nichts zu thun haben, lassen sich nieder, conversiren oder setzen sich hin, ohne ein Wort zu sagen, fordern auch Schreibmaterial u.[nd] schreiben Briefe etc. Das ist hier so Gebrauch und läßt sich nichts dagegen machen. Mir ist das sehr unangenehm; denn ich muß erkennen, daß ich hier practisch noch sehr undemocratisch bin.

Doch ich muß schließen u.[nd] hoffe, daß Du mich bald mit einem recht ausführlichen Briefe, der namentlich über Euer Haus weitläufige Mittheilungen macht, belohnst. Ob Robert schon practicirender Arzt ist, weiß ich auch nicht einmal.

Grüße die liebe Marie aufs Herzlichste sowie Zoe und alle die Jungens.

Dein treuer Bruder,

Theodor

[An Justus]

Davenport, 18. April 1858

Endlich, lieber Justus, komme ich einmal dazu, Dir direct zu schreiben, denn ich hoffe doch, daß Du ab und zu durch die Hamburger von mir und uns Amerikanern gehört hast. Wenn es freilich nicht mehr ist, als was wir auf diesem Umwege von Dir und Deiner Familie erfahren, so ist es sehr wenig. Das Einzige was ich durch Otilie von Euch weiß, ist daß es Dir, Marie und den Kindern leidlich geht, bis auf Zoe und Max, die noch fortwährend ab und zu kränkeln und daß Robert Doctor geworden und wie ich meine gut beschäftigt ist. Die Kränklichkeit der beiden betrübt mich sehr, und sie wird Euch viel Kummer machen. Ich hatte immer gehofft, daß sich beider Gesundheit mit den Jahren mehr befestigen werde. Daneben werdet Ihr mit dem Finanziellen in den theuren Zeiten, die jetzt doch auch wohl bei Euch vorüber sind zu kämpfen gehabt haben. In der That begreife ich nicht, wie Du es gemacht hast, Dich mit Deiner großen Familie und einem studierenden Sohn noch durchzubringen. Ich hoffe, daß Du mir nächstens nun auch einmal schreibst und mir eine Übersicht über Eure Familienverhältnisse mittheilst, wie Du es zu machen pflegst.

Daß ich so lange nicht geschrieben, hat theils in meinen Geschäftsverhältnissen, theils in meiner Stimmung seinen Grund. Das Redigiren einer täglichen Zeitung ist immer ein angreifendes Geschäft, und mehr noch hier in Amerika, als in Europa, weil man einestheils keine Arbeitsunterstützung hat, theils ein ewiger Hader, wenn auch meist über Kleinigkeiten, gar nicht zu vermeiden ist. Im December 1856 verfiel ich - wohl in Folge von Streitigkeiten und Arbeitsüberhäufung - in eine schwere Krankheit, die mir böß zusetzte, doch erholte ich mich noch ziemlich schnell wieder, aber ich kann nicht leugnen, daß ich seitdem die Besorgniß hege, daß sich ein solcher Anfall wiederholen wird und ich dann nicht wieder so gut davon kommen werde. Im Übrigen ging mein Zeitungsgeschäft hier ziemlich gut und ich hatte Aussicht, Johannes seinen Vorschuß bei Übernahme des Geschäfts bald wieder zurückzahlen zu können. Da kommt nun die unerwartete Geldkrisis dazwischen und bewirkt, daß wenigstens nicht überzuverdienen ist und unsere Firma Noth hat, mir allwöchentlich die nothwendigen Unkosten zu bestreiten. Wir sind hier so zu sagen ohne Geld - Alles Papiergeld bis auf 5 Centstücke herunter- und noch ohne Aussicht, daß wieder solches hierher fließt, denn die landwirtschaftlichen Producte, die Davenport den Wohlstand bringen sollen, sind so zu sagen werthlos, die Preise decken lange nicht die Productionskosten, die Kartoffeln gelten z.B. augenblicklich per Buskel (ca. $\frac{1}{4}$ holst. [einische] Tonne) 5 Cents, während dieselbe Quantität im Winter vorher \$ 1,25 - \$ 1,40 galt. Die Farmer können deshalb nicht bezahlen und alle Geschäfte stocken. Trotz der niedrigen Preise der gewöhnlichen Nahrungsmittel haben aber Miethe und Arbeitslohn noch immer so ziemlich ihren alten Preis behauptet. So schlecht es aber auch in Davenport ist, so ist es doch immer noch viel besser, als in den meisten andern Städten am oberen Mississippi und in Iowa. Man wartet von Monat zu Monat auf Besserung der commerciellen Zustände, aber ich fürchte vergeblich, denn die Ernte scheint wieder sehr reich auszufallen und dann ist kein Absatz da, denn in diesem angebauten Westen wird 20 mal so viel an Getreide angebaut, als beim besten Willen verzehrt werden kann. Wir ersticken daher in unserem Überfluß. Was man deshalb hier viel herbeisehnen hört, ist großer europäischer Krieg, der die Getreidepreise hebt. Ob Ihr Lust habt, einen solchen zu machen, um unserer Bedrängniß zu Hilfe zu kommen, weiß ich nicht.

Übrigens geht es mir persönlich so wie Johannes, ökonomisch noch immer viel besser, als wohl den meisten übrigen. Eine Zeitung wollen die Deutschen doch am Ende lesen und die große Mehrzahl meist doch auch bezahlen; und krank werden die Leute auch und Johannes hat eine sehr große Praxis. Wenn auch nur die Hälfte bezahlt, ist es doch immer noch „gut ab“, wie man hier sagt. Johannes Familie hat sich kürzlich wieder um eine Person vermehrt; er hat jetzt 3 Kinder, Zoe, ein 7jähriges Mädchen, die sich sehr erfreulich entwickelt, Theodor, einen kleinen 3jährigen allerliebsten Jungen, mein Verzug, der nur leider oftmals kränkelt und schon einmal sterbend war, so daß wir alle die Hoffnung aufgegeben hatten, und der kleine noch ungenannte Neugeborene. Ich esse dort zu Mittag und bin auch sonst natürlich häufig da. Bei Arthur in St. Louis, der auch 3 Jungen hat, geht es nach den letzten Nachrichten auch soweit recht gut, nur scheint auch er etwas in finanzieller Bedrängniß zu sein, da er sein Geld meistens in Grundeigenthum angelegt, welches jetzt unverkäuflich ist, und sonst ausstehende Gelder und Zinsen nicht eintreiben kann, so daß er, wie er schreibt, oft in Noth ist den täglichen Schilling aufzutreiben. Doch kann das nur sehr vorübergehend sein, denn bei Wiedereintritt besserer Zeiten muß er noch immer ein hübsches kleines Vermögen haben.

9. Mai [1858]

Leider ist dieser Brief unvollendet bis zum heutigen Tage liegen geblieben, wo Dein Geburtstag, lieber Justus, mich an die Absendung von Neuem erinnert. Wir haben heute Mittag bei Johannes [auf] Deine Gesundheit getrunken und hoffe ich daß Ihr diesen Tag so gesund und froh verlebt habt, wie unsere Wünsche es aussprachen. Es sind jetzt schon

fast 7 Jahre, daß wir durch das Meer von einander getrennt sind und die Aussicht, uns je im Leben persönlich wieder zu sehen, ist so gering wie möglich. Da sollten wir eigentlich häufiger beiderseits brieflich etwas von uns hören lassen.

Wir haben hier seit mein Brief begonnen theilweise eine traurige Zeit gehabt. Elisen's Mutter, Frau S[c]hep[p]mann, kam hier vor einiger Zeit mit ihrer Enkelin, einer kürzlich verheiratheten jungen Frau Namens Wissmann zum Besuch, halb mit der Absicht hier auf längere Zeit bei Elise zu wohnen. Zwei Tage nach ihrer Ankunft erkältete sie sich auf einer Ausfahrt und starb nach kurzem Krankenlager. Die Leiche ist mit großer Umständlichkeit nach St. Louis zurücktransportirt. Sie wurde 68 Jahre alt.

Sonst sind wir hier, sowie Arthur's Familie in St. Louis, alle gesund, es dauern aber die schlechten Zeiten fort, was auch auf meine Zeitung empfindlich einwirkt. Nur eine Änderung in unserer Handelspolitik oder ein großer europäischer Krieg (auf den hier viel speculirt wird) scheint uns helfen zu können, denn die Überproduction aller Rohproducte ist hier so groß, daß sie allen Werth verlieren, die Preise müssen also in der Welt überhaupt steigen, oder wir müssen hier unsere Manufacturproducte, die wir jetzt größtentheils in Europa fabriciren lassen, an Ort und Stelle selbst machen und den Arbeitslohn verdienen, den wir jetzt wegschicken müssen. -

Die europäischen Zustände erscheinen uns von hier aus äußerst trostlos und fast rettungslos. Du schriebst mir einmal, ich würde es hier abscheulich finden müssen und ich muß zugeben, daß hier viel abscheuliche Zustände, viel Rohheit, viel Schein und wenig Treue und Redlichkeit ist; aber dennoch fühle ich im Allgemeinen keine Sehnsucht nach Deutschland zurückzukehren. Die vielen kleinlichen Rücksichten, die man dort zu nehmen hat, der Zwang im täglichen Leben, das unvermeidliche Anstoßen mit der Staatsgewalt und den Vorurtheilen des Publicums fallen hier fast ganz weg und das Schlechte liegt hier nur mehr auf der Oberfläche, während es bei Euch versteckt, aber darum nicht weniger vorhanden ist. Allein die Größe des Landes, welches dabei noch so ungeheuer expansionsfähig ist, entfernt sehr viel Anstößiges, von dem in der alten Welt nicht loszukommen ist und wer sich an einem Platz nicht behaglich fühlt, geht nach einem anderen. So ist Hedde in diesen Tagen von hier nach einer neuen Colonie am Plath-River, „Grand Island City“ abgegangen, welche 5-600 Meilen von hier in Nebraska liegt. Dergleichen kommt alle Tage vor; nirgends hier im Westen ist die Bevölkerung eines Orts sehr stationär, fortwährend Wechsel treibt die Leute hin und her. Eine große Gemüthlichkeit des täglichen Lebens fällt damit freilich weg, aber es hat auch dies seinen Reiz und wenn man selbst - Alters halber - nicht mehr selbst daran Theil nimmt, so interessirt es doch. Die jungen Pflanzstädte so rasch heranwachsen zu sehen. Grand Island City ist eine Colonie fast nur von Davenportern und meistens Deutschen, außer den Militärforts die westlichste Ansiedlung diesseits der Rocky Mountains.

Was aus den Mormonen wird, weiß man noch immer nicht. Jetzt soll wieder unterhandelt werden, der Präsident hat offenbar keine rechte Lust zum Kriege und wird darin auch vom Congreß nicht unterstützt. Auch ist natürlich gar nichts dabei zu gewinnen, denn es scheint die ernste Absicht zu sein, das ganze Land zu zerstören, wenn sie besiegt werden, und sich dann nach dem britischen Amerika zurückzuziehen.

Nun, lieber Bruder, lebe wohl und laß bald einmal wieder von Dir hören. Marie grüße aufs Herzlichste, sowie alle Deine Kinder vom größten bis zum kleinsten, sowie auch Johannes und Elise Euch alle grüßen lassen. Apropos ist ein Herr Ehlers bei Euch gewesen? Er wollte von hier über Königsberg nach St. Petersburg reisen und hat von Johannes einen Brief an Dich mitgenommen. Hoffentlich wird er bei Euch gewesen sein.

Lebt wohl Euer

Th. Olshausen

[An Justus]

Davenport, 27. Nov. 1859

Sehr gefreut habe ich mich, lieber Justus, über Dein ausführliches Schreiben vom 27. Oct., aus welchem ich sehe, daß es doch so ziemlich wohl bei Euch steht. Deine Stellung in Berlin scheint mir doch - trotz der dortigen Theuerheit, wie Du schreibst - eine große Verbesserung zu sein und ich denke Du hast wohl daran gethan das Amt anzunehmen, welches Deinen Neigungen und Talenten denke ich ganz entsprechen muß. Daß die Staats-Finanznoth Dich hätte abhalten sollen, die Stelle anzunehmen, denke ich nicht. Da die Kriegstrouble nun wohl fürs Erste zu Ende sind, wird sich ja auch wohl dieser Mangel wieder heben. Marie wird doch auch, trotz ihres Einwohnens in Königsberg, lieber in Berlin sein, wo Ihr viele alte Bekannte wieder angetroffen und von vielen besucht werdet. Daß Ihr Robert und nun auch Otto bei Euch habt, ist doch auch sehr angenehm. Leider schreibt mir Zoe, daß Justus (jun.) viel kränkle und in einem kürzlich erhaltenen Brief von Otilie lese ich Ähnliches; ich war immer der Meinung, daß der Junge recht gesund sei.

Also Otto wird Chemiker, das ist mir auch etwas ganz Neues; ich bin immer sehr für solche Fächer, die in der ganzen Welt Geltung haben; da wäre er auch hier in Amerika an seinem Platze. Aber es ist wohl nicht leicht daran zu denken, das er noch einmal seinen Weg nach dieser neuen Welt machen sollte.

Wir leben hier unsern regelmäßigen Weg fort und klagen noch immer über hard times; seit 1857, als die Krisis anbrach, ist es hier nun immer schlechter geworden und wird diesen Winter vielleicht in finanzieller Hinsicht noch am schlechtesten werden. Die der Krisis vorhergehenden scheinbar glänzenden Zeiten zeigten plötzlich eine große Misere, da das Grundeigenthum auf etwa ein Viertel seines bisherigen Werthes fiel und namentlich viele Farmer, die viel Land hinzugekauft hatten und darauf schuldig geblieben waren, von Haus und Hof gejagt wurden. Seitdem haben wir zwei Jahre sehr mäßige Erndten und niedrige Getreidepreise gehabt, so daß der Landmann sich nicht erholen kann und von dessen Mißstand hängt Davenport, wie die übrigen Mittelstädte Iowa's, fast ganz ab. Meine Zeitung hat dadurch natürlich auch große Verluste erlitten und hält sich nur so eben aufrecht. Johannes seine Einnahmen sind auch sehr geschmälert, doch hatte er vorher gut verdient und steht sich doch noch immer gut. Daß Arthur erheblich verloren hat, glaube ich nicht, und er hat eine sehr gute sichere Einnahme als Secretär von Insurance Compagnien und Kassirer anderer Geldinstitute. Sein angelegtes Geld kann er freilich wohl nicht augenblicklich mobil machen, aber er wird doch nicht, oder wenigstens nicht bedeutend, daran verlieren. Denn ungeachtet glaube ich nicht an seine Übersiedelung nach Europa, wenn er auch seine Mittel frei hätte. Er hat doch zu Vieles, was ihn in St. Louis hält; wenigstens ist für die ersten Jahre gewiß noch nicht daran zu denken.

Johannes Familie ist jetzt Gottlob wieder ganz gesund, obgleich der jüngste Sohn, Julius, nun beinahe zwei Jahre alt, den ganzen Sommer über sehr krank gewesen ist, und zu verschiedenen Malen schon aufgegeben war. Er ist jetzt wieder ein prächtiges munteres Kind. Der zweitjüngste, Theodor, bald 5 Jahre alt, ist sehr aufgeweckt und macht mir besonders viel Vergnügen; Zoe endlich, ein Mädchen von 10 Jahren, ist auch sehr nett und wohlherzogen und wird von Allen sehr lieb gehabt. Elise, ihre Mutter, hat es während der langen Krankheit von Julius sehr schwer gehabt, ist aber jetzt sehr munter und wohl, wie Johannes selbst, dessen Praxis in letzter Zeit nicht mehr so angreifend gewesen ist, wie früher eine Zeitlang. Es ist hier außerordentlich gesund; wenig Krankheit und wenig Sterbefälle; das meiste ist fast chirurgische Praxis, da die Leute sich hier ganz auffallend viel verwunden, schießen und Arme und Beine brechen, ohne Zweifel eine Folge des hier hergebrachten Kehrdichannichts, kopflose Übereiltheit, Unvorsichtigkeit, halsbrechender

Wagen, schlechter Eisenbahnadministration u.s.w. In dies ganze rücksichtslose „go-ahead“-Wesen gerathen auch die hiesigen Deutschen sehr bald hinein.

Von Arthur und seiner Familie erhalten wir trotz der sehr großen Entfernung (in 24 Stunden läßt sich per Eisenbahn die Reise machen) sehr selten etwas zu sehen. Vor 3 Jahren war er einmal mit seiner Familie hier, im Sommer vor einem Jahr war ich einmal dort auf 10 Tage zum Besuch. Auch ist unsere Correspondenz nicht grade sehr lebhaft. Arthur ist im vorigen Monat eine Zeitlang ziemlich krank gewesen, doch jetzt wiederhergestellt. Seine Frau und seine 3 Jungens sind wohl und die beiden ältesten sollen in der Schule des St. Louis „Deutschen Instituts“ gute Fortschritte machen.

Was die allgemeinen hiesigen Zustände betrifft, so haben sich dieselben in den letzten paar Jahren sehr verändert; früher lebte man so in den Tag hinein, aber die schlechte sog. [enannte] demokratische Verwaltung und der Verfall des Wohlstands, wenigstens im ganzen Westen, haben das Gefühl mehr oder weniger allgemein gemacht, daß dem Lande eine große Krisis (nicht bloß finanzielle, obgleich auch eine solche vielfach schon wieder erwartet wird) bevorstehe. Die Sklaverei kann in bisheriger Weise nicht fortbestehen, ohne zu einem Kriege zwischen den nördlichen und südlichen Staaten zu führen, der vielleicht einen großen Sklavenkrieg im Gefolge haben wird. Die neuliche sog. Harper's Ferry Insurrection hat recht gezeigt, wie faul die Grundlagen sind, worauf die Sklavenstaaten ihre Existenz begründen. Dabei sind die großen Sklavenhalter übermüthig und brutal, wie die Mecklenburgschen Junker und nicht gewilligt in irgend einem Streitpuncte, deren es hier in der Politik eine Menge giebt, nachzugeben.

In Rönne's Angelegenheit, die ich gern näher untersuchen will, wie dies auch wohl sehr nothwendig ist, habe ich noch nicht viel thun können. Mich wundert, daß R.[önne] die Aufsicht einem Mann anvertraut hat, der so sehr weit weg wohnt; denn eine solche soll doch nicht der Hr. Quentin in Milwaukee haben. Das Land liegt höchstens 12 engl.[ische] Meilen von hier und ich werde es mir so bald möglich einmal selbst ansehen; ich hätte es schon gethan, wenn nicht die Wege augenblicklich so abscheulich wären, daß gar nicht durchzukommen ist. Sobald es ein bischen friert, werde ich mich nach der Qualität des Landes, ob Kohlen da sind, ob dasselbe etwa temperär in Besitz genommen ist (was hier noch sehr häufig geschieht) usw. selbst durch Augenschein überzeugen, nachsehen lassen, wie es mit der Bezahlung der Steuern steht u. dergl. Bis jetzt habe ich nur von einem in der Nähe der beschriebenen Section auch noch uncultivirtes Land besitzenden Mann gehört, daß er den Wert augenblicklich auf kaum \$ 10 per Acker anschlägt (was aber wahrscheinlich, wenn man verkaufen wollte, nicht dafür zu erhalten wäre), daß das dortige Land aber vor 3 Jahren mit \$ 20 pr. Acker verkauft sei. Damals wäre die rechte Zeit zum Verkauf gewesen; jetzt, wo alle Landpreise so sehr stark gesunken sind, ist sicher nicht zum Verkauf zu rathen. Dagegen müßte sich in dortiger Gegend, sollte ich denken, wo das meiste Land schon in Cultur ist, der Besitz gut verrenten lassen, so daß das darin steckende Capital nicht bloß die Taxen aufbrächte, sondern auch noch einen kleinen Zins abwürfe und zugleich durch die Cultur den Werth des Landes erhöhte. Ich werde mich auch danach näher erkundigen und später ausführlich über den ganzen Stand der Sache berichten. Aber so sehr rasch geht das nicht. Ich möchte glauben, daß die Verfallzeit der Steuern sehr nahe, wenn nicht schon vorüber ist und deshalb R.[önne] rathen, diesen auf jeden Fall prompt bezahlen zu lassen, weil er sonst vermehrte Kosten und Weitläufigkeiten hat. Wertvoll genug ist der Besitz jedenfalls um ihn zu conserviren und nicht zu verschleudern. Im Januar denke ich vollständig zu berichten.

Da ich also bald wieder schreiben werde, schließe ich jetzt und bitte ich nur noch, Zoe für ihren lieben Brief herzlich von mir zu danken und die liebe Marie und alle Söhne aufs Beste von mir zu grüßen, sowie auch Trendelenburg und wer sich sonst meiner Freundschaft erinnert.

Dein tr.(euer) Bruder

Theod.

Johannes und Frau grüßen herzlich. Auch Dr. jetzt Bierbrauer Dreis läßt vielmals grüßen.

[an Justus]

D., 18. März 1860

Den beiliegenden Brief über die Rönne'sche Angelegenheit lasse ich separat, damit Du ihn, wenn Du willst, an ihn einsenden kannst. Er mag nun thun was er will. Den Stand der Sache habe ich, glaube ich, vollständig und gründlich ermittelt. -

Das letzte, was ich von Dir gehört habe, ist daß Du den rothen Adlerorden bekommen [hast]. Das ist etwas, aber ich hoffe, daß es Dir und Marie und Allen auch im Übrigen gut geht, was jedenfalls noch besser ist. Hoffentlich erhalte ich nun von Dir einmal wieder etwas Ausführlicheres. Hier ist alles ziemlich beim Alten, alles wohl und munter, aber die Zeiten entsetzlich schlecht. Doch scheint sich ganz seit Kurzem das Geschäft mehr zu wachsen und es stellt sich das Gefühl ein daß die fast etwa 2 ½ Jahr anhaltende Krisis, die sehr viele von Haus und Hof getrieben hat endlich vorüber ist. Dreis hat sehr darunter gelitten und ist im Grunde kaput, wenn er auch nicht förmlich fallirt hat; er ist jetzt in Europa um einen Versuch zu machen dort Geld aufzutreiben. Gelänge ihm das, so kann er sich wieder haben, denn sein Grundeigenthum ist in passablen Zeiten das 5 bis 6 fache von dem Werth, was er jetzt, wenn es verkauft werden müßte, dafür bekommen kann. Unter diesem Druck der Zeitumstände hat meine Zeitung natürlich auch sehr gelitten; die besten Leute können nicht bezahlen, im Annonciren schränkt man sich aufs Äußerste ein u.s.f. Bei dieser Lage kam mir vor einigen Tagen die Anfrage, ob ich eine Zeitung in Chicago (d.h. die Redaction derselben) übernehmen wolle und ich stehe darüber in Unterhandlung, möglich, daß dies zur Ausführung käme, obgleich ich sehr ungern von hier weggehe, wo ich mich nun einmal eingewöhnt. Ich habe \$ 1.200 Gehalt gefordert und dies wird keinen Anstoß geben aber ich habe allerlei sonstige Bedingungen hinzugefügt, die vielleicht schwer zu erfüllen sind. Ich will nämlich nicht von den Eigenthümern entlaßbar sein und überhaupt ganz unbeschränkt in der Redaction sein. Und wenn mir Alles zugestanden würde, sehe ich doch noch nicht, wie ich hier wegkommen soll, da ich von der hießigen Zeitung das Eigenthum in Partnerschaft mit einem Anderen (Buchdrucker) habe, der das Blatt nicht alleine übernimmt. Würde aber das Institut an dritte Personen verkauft, so ließe sich gegenwärtig so gut wie nichts dafür bekommen, obgleich uns dasselbe doch mindestens \$ 2.000 zu stehen kommt. Es ist deshalb doch fast noch das Wahrscheinlichere, daß ich trotz aller schlechten Zeiten hierbleibe und bessere abwarte. Ich schaue auf zweierlei: erstlich, das hineinarbeiten in neue Verhältnisse, was mir in meinem Alter doch allmählich sehr unbequem ist, und zweitens die späten Nacharbeiten, die dort nicht zu vermeiden sein werden.

Wir haben hier eine politisch sehr aufgewiegte Zeit mit der Präsidentenwahl vor der Thür. Man betrachtet die diesjährige Wahl wohl nicht mit Unrecht für die wichtigste, die noch je stattgefunden hat. Mit den südlichen Sklavenstaaten ist der Norden schon in halben Kriegszustand und wenn ein Südmann oder Douglas gewählt würde, so würde die Spaltung total werden; vielleicht auch, wenn der am meisten genannte und bei Vielen für radical geltende nördliche Candidat Seward gewählt würde. Ich bleibe meiner alten Fahne (von 1856) getreu für Fremont, ein Mann von weniger staatsmännischer Geschliffenheit wie Seward, aber von größerer Energie. Doch ihr kümmert Euch wohl wenig um unsere Verhältnisse. Ich bin erstaunt, wie magere kümmerliche, schief urtheilende Nachrichten die „Allg. Ztg.“ über unsere Zustände bringt. Sie hat kein Begriff von unseren Verhältnissen hier und ihre Correspondenten führen sie geflissentlich bei der Nase herum.

Ich habe Dir noch immer Eins schreiben sollen: Vor einiger Zeit war der Dir bekannte Otto (sog. Reventlow) hier und hielt munemonische Vorträge. Wir kamen u.A. auf Kiel zu sprechen und so erzählte er mir, daß er Dir einstmals die Fenster eingeworfen. Ich möchte Dir doch gelegentlich einmal schreiben: daß er Dich wegen dieses Dummenjungenstreichs noch, obwohl zu spät, um Verzeihung bitten lasse. Er ist übrigens noch immer ein ziemlich ungeschlachter, roher Gesell, der in der Presse viel Stank macht ohne etwas zu nutzen.

Meine Stellung ist jetzt hier, abgesehen vom Geldpunkt, ganz angenehm. Nach einigen Kämpfen mit Neidern, Rivalen, Egoisten und Ämterjägern habe ich jetzt eine fast allgemein respectirte Stellung bei Deutschen und Amerikanern, ähnlich meiner früheren Stellung in Kiel. Dies und Johannes und sein Haus machen daß ich besonders ungerne von hier wegginge und vorzüglich nach der etwas wüsten, großen Stadt Chicago mit 150.000 Einw. und 30 bis 40 Deutschen, deren Ton mir im Ganzen wenig zusagt und obgleich natürlich einige sehr nette Leute dort sind. Ich müßte da von Neuem anfangen zu reformiren, ist mir bange.

Was macht denn Zoe und Max? Kränkeln die beiden noch immer? Ich möchte fast fürchten, daß das trockene Berliner Klima für Zoe nicht zusagend ist. Da sollte sie hier sein, die Krankheiten sterben hier in dieser schlechten Zeit fast aus und obgleich wir doch eine Bevölkerung von 13-14.000 haben, sterben hier monatlich nur 10 bis 12, ist das nicht ungemein wenig?

Grüße alle Lieben und nimm Grüße von Johannes und Frau. Und schreibt bald einmal wieder, Du hast viel mehr zu schreiben, was mich sehr interessirt, als ich Dir mitzuteilen haben kann.

Dein Theodor.

Sieh daß zuerst ich das Geld von Rönne wiederbekomme. Ich glaube daß ihm die Mittheilungen teilweise werth sein müssen. Auf Peters kann man sich ganz verlassen.

In: *Theodor Olshausen, 1802-1869 – Briefe an den Bruder Justus*, Ingo Reppmann, Joachim Reppmann, Hg., Flensburg, 2003, p. 181 - 201. (1989, a lucky chance in life: while visiting friends in Leipzig, a few weeks before the *peaceful revolution* would begin, Bernd Philipsen, Flensburg, and I went to the former *Zentrale Staatsarchiv, Dienststelle Merseburg*, where we would discover all letters from Theodor Olshausen to his brother, Justus, 1821-1869.)

Please, compare:

North Germans in America, Joachim Reppmann, Davenport, IA, 1999.

(*Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle! Schleswig-Holsteinische 1848er in den USA, 1847-1860*, Joachim Reppmann, Flensburg, 1994.)

Hans Reimer Claussen, 1804-1894, Eine Lebensskizze, A Sketch of His Life, Joachim Reppmann, La Vem Rippley, Hg., Flensburg, 1994. (in Deutsch und Englisch)

1848 – 1998: 150 Years Revolution, Friedrich Hedde – Schleswig-Holsteiner in Amerika, Joachim Reppmann & Landtagspräsident, Heinz–Werner Arens, Hg., Flensburg, 1998. (in Deutsch und Englisch)

Turnwater Müller am Mississippi – Legacy of 1848 through today, 22 S. – Essay mit informativen Farbabbildungen, in Englisch, Dänisch u. Deutsch, Klaus Lemke-Paetznick & Joachim Reppmann, Flensburg 2013. (6 Euro, incl. Porto – für Schulklassen Preisermässigung.)

Der Wilde Westen beginnt in Flensburg - Über Amerikas Seele und die deutsch-amerikanische Freundschaft, 48 S., Flensburg, 2013.

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Appendix 10

Der Deutschen in den USA & Amerikanische Impressionen:

1953, Gerhard Stoltenberg, a young student of history and politician (State Chairperson of the *Junge Union, Schleswig-Holstein, Kiel*) had been visiting the United States of America. His articles had been published by: 'Landesverband Schleswig-Holstein der CDU', Kiel, Muhlusstr. 65. Verantwortlich: Oskar-Hubert Dennhardt, Kiel. Druck: Clemens Hermann, Kiel'.

Barbara (Basia) Neil, Kiel, wrote in her mail, March 30, 2016, after reading both early articles: *Wahrscheinlich sah 'Stolti' sich in Euch (Dee Eicke & Yogi Reppmann), als er die finanzielle Unterstützung, 1978 & 1982, für Eure US-Reisen gewährte. The charming Basia had been the long-time office manager of Gov. Gerhard Stoltenberg, Kiel.*

Dr. Ulrich Erdmann, Kiel, biographical service, lately discovered these amazing articles - www.erdmann-kiel.de : *vielen Dank, Uli!*

Die Deutschen in den USA

Von Gerhard Stoltenberg, Landesvorsitzender der Jungen Union, 1953

Der deutsche Besucher will seinen Augen zunächst nicht trauen, wenn er in einer Mittelstadt Kaliforniens, Pennsylvaniens oder Illinois plötzlich auf ein amerikanisches Durchschnittsrestaurant mit dem wohlbekanntem Namensschild „Ratskeller“ trifft. Doch dann erinnert er sich, schon auf der ersten Fahrt vom Flugplatz die riesigen Werbetafeln für die Biersorten „Rheingold“, „Budweiser“, „Löwenbräu“ und „Schlitz“ mit ähnlichem Staunen betrachtet zu haben. „Der deutsche Einfluß hat sich in den USA nirgends so durchgesetzt wie in der Gastronomie“, wird, wenn Sie ihn auf diese Dinge ansprechen, Ihnen Ihr neuer Freund aus dem Club „Germania“ sagen, vielleicht lächelnd oder wahrscheinlich auch mit einem leich resignierenden Unterton.

Über 20 der 160 Millionen Einwohner der Vereinigten Staaten sind rein oder überwiegend deutscher Abstammung, aber an politischem und wirtschaftlichem Einfluß rangieren die Deutsch-Amerikaner dennoch hinter erheblich kleineren Gruppen, wie den Iren, Juden oder Franzosen, von den in allen Lebensgebieten dominierenden Angelsachsen ganz zu schweigen.

Die deutsche Einwanderung hat sich in vier Hauptwellen vollzogen: Im ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert gingen einige tausend südwest- und norddeutsche Bauern und Bürger, vorwiegend aus religiösen Gründen oder aus wirtschaftlicher Not im Gefolge des 30 jährigen Krieges, nach Pennsylvanien und New York. In den Mennonitenfarmen von Lancaster sprechen ihre Nachfahren noch heute das „Pennsylvaniendutch“, einen mit holländischen Worten durchsetzten pfälzischen Dialekt, und meine Gastgeber in Elberston holten aus der Truhe alte deutsche Bibeln hervor, die um 1760 in Philadelphia gedruckt waren.

Knapp hundert Jahre später kamen die „Hessen“ ins Land, etwa 20 000 von deutschen Fürsten im Unabhängigkeitskrieg an England verkaufte Soldaten. Die meisten von ihnen überlebten die verlustreichen Feldzüge, aber zu geschlossenen deutschen Siedlungen kamen die entwurzelten Gefangenen oder Deserteure nicht.

Nach der Niederwerfung der deutschen nationaldemokratischen Revolution von 1848/49 setzte der große Einwandererstrom der neueren Zeit ein um bis heute – außer in den beiden Weltkriegen – nie völlig zu versiegen. Politische Verfolgung und soziale Not in der Reaktionsepoche führten bis 1850 etwa 900 000 Menschen über den Ozean, und auch nach der Gründung des Deutschen Reiches von 1870 verebten die Auswandererheere nicht. Von den siebziger Jahren ab waren es vor allem die weiten Farmgebiete des Mittelwestens, die den 100 000 landlosen Bauern- und Tagelöhnersöhnen Heimat und Existenz boten.

Hier in Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, North- und South-Dakota leben heute in der 3. und 4. Generation die Nachfahren der mecklenburger, hannoveraner und württemberger Einwanderer. Sie wissen zumeist noch, dass sie einen deutschen „Background“ (Hintergrund) haben. Das haben nicht zuletzt die großen Spenden für die Care-Aktion in diesen Gebieten bestätigt. Aber in Sprache, Kultur, Denken und Gesittung unterscheiden sie sich dennoch kaum mehr von ihren angelsächsischen Nachbarn.

Vor allem gibt es keine umfassende deutsch-amerikanische Organisation von wirklich gewichtigem öffentlichen Einfluß. Da sind viele hundert Geselligkeits- und Kulturvereine, vom Männerquartett „Eichenkranz“ bis zum Frauenbund „Königin Luise“, aber die leben unpolitisch nebeneinander her und sind selbst bei lokalen Wahlen zumeist nicht zu einem Zusammengehen zu bewegen. Vor allem fehlt die Jugend! Sie wächst im Zeitalter der vorwärtsdrängenden Technik, der modernen Fabriken, Colleges, Presse und Fernsehübertragungen in einem Lebensrhythmus auf, der sich von der willhelminisch-altdeutschen Atmosphäre der Clubs ihrer Eltern und Großeltern grundlegend unterscheidet. Noch wird z.B. in der 4 ½-Millionenstadt Chicago jeden Sonntag in 40 Kirchen deutscher Gottesdienst gehalten. Aber man findet dort kaum einen Menschen unter 50 Jahren, während wenige Stunden später beim englischen „Service“ der Prozentsatz junger Kirchenbesucher ungleich höher ist als in den meisten Ländern Europas.

Die Staaten des Mittelwestens haben einige Vertreter in den 96 köpfigen Washingtoner Senat entsandt, die gute deutsche Namen tragen: Herberth Dirksens (Illinois), William Langer (North-Dakota), Karl Mundt (South-Dakota) und William Jenner (Montana). Und diese vier gehören in der Tat der einzigen nennenswerten deutsch-amerikanischen Organisation, der „Baron Steuben Society“, an und zählen sämtlich zum konservativen Taft-Flügel der Republikaner und hätten im Falle einer Wahl Tafts vollen Einfluß ausgeübt, allerdings mehr innen- als außenpolitisch.

Ausschlaggebender für die weltweite Politik Amerikas ist die vierte Gruppe deutscher Einwanderer. Es sind die zehntausende deutscher Bürger, die nach 1933 aus politischen, rassischen, oder religiösen Gründen ihre Heimat verlassen mussten. Sie haben zu einem großen Teil recht schnell bedeutende Schlüsselpositionen in der Politik, Wirtschaft und im Universitätsleben der USA erringen können. Deutsche Professoren arbeiteten nicht nur maßgeblich an der Entwicklung der Atombombe, sondern sind heute auch auf dem Gebiet der politischen Wissenschaften die führenden Experten für Europa, die den diplomatischen und parlamentarischen Nachwuchs ihres Landes ausbilden. Sie fühlen sich fast ausnahmslos innerlich noch eng mit der alten Heimat verbunden, aber sie stellen andererseits auf Grund ihres persönlichen Erlebens die unerbittlichsten Gegner aller neofaschistischen Bestrebungen dar.

Wieder gehen seit einigen Jahren Deutsche in die USA, zumeist Vertriebene aus dem Osten. Da geschlossene Siedlungen heute kaum noch möglich sind, so werden sie voraussichtlich bald in der neuen Gesellschaft aufgehen.

Man spricht bei den wenigen politisch denkenden bewußten Deutsch-Amerikanern gern von den vielen „verpaßten Gelegenheiten“, und fraglos liegt eine tiefe Tragik über den jüngsten Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Nationen die naturgemäß amerikanische Bürger deutscher Abstammung am schwersten traf. Da war zunächst der unglückliche

Krieg 1917-1918, in den die USA durch den Einfluß einer kleinen Gruppe England auf engste verbundener Politiker und durch gewisse Härten des deutschen U-Boot-Krieges hineinstolperten.

Dann kam die schwere Krise nach 1933, als die Berliner Regierung den Deutsch-Amerikanern entweder den Abbruch jeder Beziehungen zu den deutschen Emigranten oder zum deutschen Reich als Alternative stellte. Eine große Organisation, der „Deutsche Amerikanerbund“, schwenkte nach inneren Kämpfen und Splitterungen auf die Linie des Nationalsozialismus ein, was nach Kriegsausbruch zu seiner Auflösung führte. Die kulturell bedeutendste Gesellschaft Philadelphias, die „Carl Schurz Society“, stellte sich getreu ihrer Gründungstradition auf die Seite der Verfolgten und verlor so jeden Kontakt zum Reich. Andere, wie die „Steuben-Society“, versuchten, um die Entscheidung herumzulavieren, um sich schließlich zwischen beide Stühle zu setzen.

So sind der allgemeine Strom der Zeit wie die spezifisch jüngste deutsche Vergangenheit dem Deutsch-Amerikanertum als Volksgruppe nicht günstig. Seine einsichtigsten Führer haben erkannt, daß man die Zeichen der Gegenwart nicht übersehen darf. Statt romantisch einer entschwundenen Epoche nachzutrauern, gilt es, sich ganz zur neuen Heimat und ihrer Atmosphäre, zum Staat und seinen Gesetzen zu bekennen, um von hier aus deutsches Kulturgut und Geisteslehre fruchtbar werden zu lassen und zugleich die Brücke wirtschaftlicher und politischer Zusammenarbeit nach Europa und Deutschland zu schlagen.

Fast noch erschütternder ist das Schicksal einer märkischen Bauernfamilie: Der Bauer, in den besten Mannesjahren, mit Frau und drei Buben, neben ihnen die betagte Großmutter, sitzen in dem engen Raum des Lagers. Seit drei Jahrhunderten ist ihr kleiner Hof in dem brandenburgischen Dorf von Generation zu Generation weitervererbt worden. Nachdem in den Jahren 1945/46 der Gutsbesitzer, weil er mehr als 100 Hektar hatte, „ausgetrieben“ worden war, gehörten sie nach kommunistische Lesart mit ihren 50 Hektar zu den „Großbauern“. Die Ackergeräte und Landmaschinen, ferner das Saatgut und die Düngemittel hat man ihnen bei der letzten „Hofbegehung“ durch die kommunistischen Funktionäre weggenommen, weil dies angeblich von der „Genossenschaft“ (also für die Kolchoswirtschaft) dringender benötigt wird. Folglich konnte der „Großbauer“ die Wintersaat nicht nach dem von den Funktionären vorgeschriebenen Plan in den Boden bringen. Auch diese Bauernfamilie wußte, wie so viele andere, keinen anderen Ausweg mehr als die Flucht, nachdem ihr wegen „mangelhafter Bestellung der Felder“ Zuchthaus angedroht worden war.

Amerikanische Impressionen

Von Gerhard Stoltenberg z. Zt. USA, 1953

Elverson liegt kaum 50 Kilometer westlich von Philadelphia, der ältesten Metropole Nordamerikas und modernen 2 Millionenstadt. Seit über 200 Jahren bebauen hier holländische, deutsche und Schweizer Mennonitenfarmer den fruchtbaren Weizenboden in den Tälern nördlich Coatsville, und trotzdem hat die reizvolle Wald- und Hügellandschaft Ostpennsylvaniens etwas vom frischen Hauch der Ursprünglichkeit bewahrt. Gewiß, daß Schneisen in die Wälder geschlagen und Häuser gebaut, neben denen der neue „Pontiac“ oder „Ford“ startbereit steht, Traktoren überqueren rastlos die ausgedehnten Ackerflächen. Aber nur wenige hundert Schritt weiter wachsen Bäume, Gebüsch und Blumen unberührt wie im 17. Jahrhundert, als William Penn seine Quäkerschiffe etstmals den Delaware stromaufwärts lenkte und Heinrich Pastorius mit Germantown den heute vornehmsten Stadtteil Philadelphias gründete. Die große Weite des Landes mit ihren immer noch bedeutenden unerschlossenen Reserven ist selbst im relativ dicht besiedelten Nordosten der Staaten eines der stärksten Erlebnisse für den Europäer. –

Aber die mannigfachen Kontraste und Probleme des Landes verfließen nicht in seinen Flächen von Ozean zu Ozean. Sie ballen sich vielmehr in den großen Zentren der Wirtschaft mit ihren Millionen Menschen aufs Stärkste zusammen. Ein Lichteermeer blendet Dich, wenn Du abends durch New Yorks Broadway oder Philadelphias Market Street gehst. Fast lautlos und in exakter Verkehrsdisziplin gleitet die Kette moderner Wagen in 2,3,4 Reihen an Dir vorbei, selbstbewußte Menschen aller Schichten und Rassen schauen aus ihren Fenstern. Aber auf den Bänken am Fußweg schlafen ab 11 Uhr Heimatlose – Farbige wie Weiße – oft nur mit ihrem Mantel oder einer Zeitung zugedeckt und nur wenige Blocks von den Zentren des Geschäftslebens findest Du in manchen Seitenstraßen auch heute noch – nach Jahren großzügigster Bauprogramme – elende Slumwohnungen. –

Etwa 30 Kilometer nordöstlich Philadelphias verläuft der Delaware in einer großen Schleife und läßt so eine Halbinsel von mehreren Quadratkilometern entstehen. Hier baut seit 18 Monaten die US-Steel-Company am größten Stahlwerk der Erde. Eine dichte Staubwolke lagert fast ständig über dem Gelände, 8000 Menschen arbeiten in mehreren Schichten Tag und Nacht, durch modernste Maschinen in ihrer Leistung vervielfacht. Arbeiter aller Berufsgruppen verdienen hier bis zu 650 Dollar im Monat. Eine neue Stadt mit Straßenzügen, Einfamilienhäusern, Hospitälern und Schulen wächst in der näheren Umgebung aus dem Boden. So schaffen zielbewußte Manager und eine stolze leistungsfähige Arbeiteraristokratie an Produktionsstätten eines höheren Lebensstandards und größerer militärischer Stärke.

Aber auch das Bild hat seine Kehrseite. „Unser Grundstück hat in den letzten 10 Jahren die Hälfte seines Wertes verloren“, sagte mir Professor L., dessen schöne Villa – im gepflegten Parkgelände der Avenue gelegen – mir zu einem zweiten Heim in Philadelphia wurde. Warum? Dienstboten sind seit dem großen Sog der Industrie nicht mehr zu bekommen, und die Handwerker fordern unerschwingliche Preise. So vertauscht der fast 60-jährige Mediziner von internationalem Ruf an manchen Abenden seinen Arztrock mit dem Malerkittel. Bei größeren Reparaturen helfen ihm seine Studenten. Es ist verständlich, daß heute fast niemand mehr in die großen Villen mit ihren 10, 12, oder 15 Räumen ziehen will. Kleine Ranchwohnungen im Vorortgelände sind auch für den wohlhabenden Mittelstand das Ideal geworden. Zweifellos hat sich in den USA seit 20 Jahren eine grundlegende soziale Umschichtung vollzogen. Ihre positiven Seiten, größere soziale Sicherheit für die Arbeitnehmer und ökonomisch-gesellschaftliche Eingliederung von etwa 60 Prozent der Farbigen, werden von keinem Einsichtigen verkannt. Aber der Bogen ist doch in mancher Hinsicht überspannt worden. Starke Gruppen des Mittelstandes sind in der sozialen Gesamtstruktur weit nach unten abgesunken. So hat ein Bauarbeiter heute einen höheren

Stundenlohn als Fachärzte oder Universitätsprofessoren. Hausgehilfinnen kaufen hier und da die Villen ihrer durch hohe Grundsteuern verarmten Arbeitgeber.

Will man das Ergebnis der Präsidentenwahl voll verstehen, so muß auch dieser Gesichtspunkt zureichend bewertet werden. Man machte die Demokraten für die Entwicklung verantwortlich, die den Republikanern schon lange wirkungsvolle Argumente lieferte.

Die gegenwärtigen Spekulationen über Einzelheiten der zukünftigen amerikanischen Politik erscheinen mir solange ziemlich müßig zu sein, bis Eisenhowers Kabinett und die Ausschußvorsitzenden im neuen Kongreß sämtlich benannt sind. Eine akute Gefahr des Isolationismus besteht sicher nicht, obwohl Tafts Position sich in beiden Häusern erheblich festigen dürfte und seine Anhänger schon für das nächste Budget starke Kürzungen der Auslandshilfe fordern. Viel ernster ist auf lange Sicht die Frage, die Politiker, Intellektuelle wie den „Mann von der Straße“ hier gleichermaßen beschäftigt, ob Amerika bei dem – von seinem Standpunkt – enttäuschend kurzsichtigen Verhalten seiner europäischen Partner und nach den Koreaerfahrungen selbst bei bestem Willen die Politik weltweiter Verpflichtungen gegen den Bolschewismus unbegrenzt weiter tragen kann. Die Neigung, Europas Nationen durch sehr ernste Alternativen zur Einigung und Aufrüstung um jeden Preis zu zwingen, scheint mir in maßgeblichen republikanischen Kreisen im Wachsen zu sein. Die Haltung gegenüber Deutschland ist in gewisser Hinsicht immer noch zwiespältig. Als Vertreter der demokratischen Kräfte und insbesondere der hochgeachteten CDU wurde ich – wie überall – auch hier in Harvard mit wirklich seltener Herzlichkeit und Hilfsbereitschaft aufgenommen. Gerade in den ausführlichen offenen Diskussionen mit Professoren und Dozenten ist mir aber deutlich geworden, mit welcher Wachheit und Kompromißlosigkeit die intellektuelle, politisch maßgebliche „Harvard“-Führungsschicht dieses Landes jedes Symptom des Nationalismus und Neonazismus in Deutschland registriert und ablehnt. Ein Beispiel nur für viele: Professor B., international bekannter „Political Scientist“, außenpolitischer Berater Eisenhowers in seiner Kampagne und voraussichtlich leitender Mann im neuen „State Department“, sagte mir in einem längeren Gespräch folgendes „Wir wollen den Fehler Chamberlains vor der kommunistischen Gefahr die nazistische zu vergessen, ebensowenig wiederholen wie den entgegengesetzten Roosevelts. Wer für totalitäre Ideen eintritt, gleich ob braun oder rot, stellt sich außerhalb der westlichen Gemeinschaft.“

Tagelang berichtete die Presse in Schlagzeilen von der Wahl des letzten SA-Reichsführers Schepmann in ein niedersächsisches Kleinstadtparlament und knüpfte düstere Betrachtungen an diesen, vielleicht nicht zufällig weit überbewerteten Vorfall. Vielleicht nicht zufällig fällt er doch in die Zeit interner Richtungskämpfe bei einer grundlegenden politischen und persönlichen Neuorganisation, deren Ergebnis auch für unsere Lebensfragen – nicht zuletzt die Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands und das Oder-Neiße-Problem – ausschlaggebend werden kann. „Eine Kette solcher Ereignisse kann uns irre an der politischen Reife der Deutschen machen“. Entgegenete mir mein Freund George F., einer der besten Osteuropaexperten der USA, auf alle meine Einwände. Es wäre gut, wenn jeder, der in Deutschland heute redet und schreibt, sich dieser Zusammenhänge als gegebener Tatsachen - er mag sie bedauern oder begrüßen – etwas mehr bewußt würde. Daß Amerika uns um jeden Preis braucht, ist hier keineswegs die vorherrschende Meinung so ungern man aus naheliegenden Gründen auf die deutsche Partnerschaft verzichten würde. Für den Fall, daß Deutschland sich aber selbst völlig versagen sollte oder innenpolitisch unannehmable Voraussetzungen entstehen läßt, scheinen mir die alten wie neuen Leute des „State Departments“ durchaus andere, für alle Beteiligten weniger erfreuliche Alternativlösungen in Reserve zu haben. Schnell sind die meisten europäischen Vorurteile über diesen Kontinent zusammengebrochen. Langsam nur formt sich aus oft recht widersprechender Erfahrungen ein neues Bild. Als ich eine Woche im Lande war, sagte mir die ebenso kluge wie charmante Anneliese Uhlig – seit 4 Jahren Mrs. Thucker – auf einer party in Washington: „Meine Ansicht über Amerika? Nach 4 Wochen USA hatte ich eine viel sicherere Meinung als heute. Daran muß ich oft denken, wenn wieder einmal etwas völlig anders ist, als vorher

erwartet. Nächste Woche geht es in den Süden und Westen. Mein Ziel, Los Angeles, ist ebensoweit von Boston entfernt wie Europa.“

Die Deutschen in den USA

Von Gerhard Stoltenberg, Landesvorsitzender der Jungen Union

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einen deutschen „Background“ (Hintergrund) haben. Das haben nicht zuletzt die großen Spenden für die Care-Aktion in diesen Gebieten bestätigt. Aber in Sprache, Kultur, Denken und Gesittung unterscheiden sie sich dennoch kaum mehr von ihren angelsächsischen Nachbarn.

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deutsch-amerikanischen Organisation, der „Baron Steuben Society“ an. Sie zählen sämtlich zum konservativen Taft-Flügel der Republikaner und hätten im Falle einer Wahl Tafts großen Einfluss ausgeübt, allerdings mehr innen als außenpolitisch.

Sie erwerben sich in Zusammenarbeit mit den insgesamt etwa 10.000 „Steubentiden“ das große Verdienst, Fragen wie das deutsche Vertriebenensproblem dem Kongress und einer weiteren amerikanischen Öffentlichkeit erstmals zu verdeutlichen. Aber ihre Herkunft aus den staatspolitisch niemals führenden Farmgebieten des Mittelwestens begrenzt andererseits die Möglichkeiten ihres Wirkens von vornherein, vor allem, nachdem für Taft und seine isolationistische Grundtendenz mit dem Überfall auf Pearl Harbour eine Kette außen- und innenpolitischer Niederlagen eingeleitet wurde.



Mit dieser imposierenden Silhouette grüßt Amerika den Besucher aus Europa bei seiner Ankunft

Fernsehübertragungen in einem Lebensrhythmus auf, der sich von der wilhelminisch-altdeutschen Atmosphäre der Clubs ihrer Eltern und Großeltern grundlegend unterscheidet. Noch wird z. B. in der 4½-Millionenstadt Chicago jeden Sonntag in 40 Kirchen deutscher Gottesdienst gehalten. Aber man findet dort kaum einen Menschen unter 50 Jahren, während wenige Stunden später beim englischen „Service“ der Prozentsatz junger Kirchenbesucher ungefähr höher ist als in den meisten Ländern Europas.

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Appendix 11



Wolfgang Börnsen (second from left), long-time member of the German Parliament, March 18, 2012, in Berlin, on the "Platz des 18. März" (behind the Brandenburg Gate). Börnsen motivated a bipartisan group of colleagues to suggest 'March 18th' as a federal day of remembrance. (In memory of the "Barrikadenkämpfe", on March 18th and 19th, 1848, students, citizens, and laborers joined together in Berlin to defeat the Prussian army in the democratic revolution of 1848.)

"Yogi and a student of his pose for a picture with former U.S. Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger in his New York office.

Yogi was first introduced to Kissinger by Gerhard Stoltenberg, a fatherly friend to both Yogi and Dee Eicke. Stoltenberg, who served as Governor of Schleswig-Holstein, first met Kissinger when he was teaching at Harvard in 1953, and the two historians established a close friendship. - In December of 1999, Yogi was present at a book party given by his newspaper editor friend, Stephan Richter, who had just published what proved to be Stoltenberg's last book. During this party, a video shot by Yogi with Kissinger's greetings from New York caused tears to well up in the eyes of the old politician.

- Yogi loves to tell his Kissinger marzipan story. At the end of his meeting with the great man in 1999, Yogi presented him with a gift of Lübeck's finest marzipan. Kissinger, who had been little standoffish prior to that moment, left the room, returned visibly moved, and asked 'How did you know?' Unbeknownst to Yogi, Lübeck marzipan was a very fond childhood memory for Kissinger. He related how only once a year — at the time before Christmas — could his parents in Germany afford to buy the world's best marzipan, Lübeck marzipan. - Every time Yogi returns to New York, he always stops by Kissinger's office and brings him some marzipan, or if not in the country, mails him some before Christmas. Unfailingly, Kissinger responds with a sweet letter." In: Scott C. Christiansen, „Soul of Soul-Holstein“, p. 148. (fascinating coffee table book: www.Lulu.com). --

"Dear Yogi, Congratulations on the re-dedication of the monument to the Schleswig-Holsteiners who came to Davenport in 1848-1850 to escape the oppressive conditions in their homeland. Their descendants and others of German stock who arrived in America in the mid-19th century have been one of America's most successful immigrant groups. They deserve this monument, ... Thank you for the marzipan. I have no better source for the real thing, but can always count on you! ... I hope you will have a most enjoyable summer in Flensburg., Warm Regards, [signed] Henry Kissinger (letter from April 30, 2008)





Das Bild ist ein Kopie... Bleik Peters in Kostüm... 1848...



Wie sie heute wären... Thilde und Bleik Peters... 1848...



Ein... Thilde Peters... 1848...

Revolutionäre von 1848 veränderten die Neue Welt

Seitdem... 1848... Revolutionäre... die Neue Welt...

Schleswig-Holsteinische Erhebung... 1848... Schleswig-Holstein...

Verfolgung... 1848... Verfolgung...

Ein Paar wie aus dem Bilderbuch

Eine Liebesgeschichte, bald als Film: Thilde und Bleik Peters wanderten für ein neues Leben von Sylt, in die USA aus

10.01.2016 14:00 Uhr

Sylt Ein Sylter Liebespaar wird zu Filmstars... Thilde und Bleik Peters...

Verwandten gemindert... Thilde und Bleik Peters...



Mathilde Peters ist vergleichbar mit Angela Merkel oder Hillary Clinton...

...angeführt! Doch die Thilde bringt das junge Paar zunächst wieder auseinander...

1848... Thilde und Bleik Peters...

...Thilde Peters... 1848...

Ein Karikell über das Paar... Thilde und Bleik Peters...

deutschsprachigen Tageszeitung... Thilde und Bleik Peters...

Das Projekt soll das Geschehen... Thilde und Bleik Peters...

Schon 1983... Thilde und Bleik Peters...

1848... Thilde und Bleik Peters...

...Thilde Peters... 1848...



1863 besaßen Thilde und Bleik Peters ein kleines Haus in Danewort...

Video (six minute teaser) Love Story Thilde Peters, www.Moin-Moin.us

A Picture-Book Couple

Adapted from a newspaper report by Kristiane Backheuer

Kieler Nachrichten, January 4, 2016

Would you believe in a love at first sight? Yes, I'm certain that it happens all the time. - The Beatles

A couple from Sylt will soon become movie stars more than 100 years after their deaths. During his research, Dr. Joachim Reppmann, a historian from Flensburg, came across the story of Mathilde and Bleik Peters, who immigrated to Iowa in the middle of the 19th century. Now their

love story will be made into a film.

The Filmwerkstatt Kiel of the Filmförderung Hamburg Schleswig-Holstein is providing a research scholarship for the love story. The pair serves as an example of the roughly 200,000 people who immigrated to America from Schleswig-Holstein between 1830 and 1930.

Joachim Reppmann spent nine months digging through archives in both America and on the island of Sylt; he was amazed by the Sylt emigrants from the beginning. “Thilde, as Mathilde was called, is comparable to Angela Merkel or Hillary Clinton,” Reppmann reports enthusiastically. “Considering all the democratic revolutionaries of 1848, she was always a touch more brilliant than the best of the boys. She was a dream woman in a time when it was said that men make history.”

In 1842, when Thilde was 12 years old, the Henningsen family moved to Egersund, the birthplace of her father. Today Egersund is located on the Danish side of the Flensburg Fjord, close to the summer residence of the Danish Queen in Gravenstein. The charming young lady had access to the court of the duke. Her mother died early, and soon her father married a girlfriend of Thilde’s who was only a few years older. The stepmother’s parents-in-law lived in Husum and were renting out a guest room to Bleik Peters, a visiting student from the island of Sylt.

In May 1846, during a visit to the town of famous author Theodor Storm on the North Sea, the fateful meeting took place; Thilde was 17 and Bleik 21. All at once the two were head over heels in love and became engaged in secret on June 22nd. Bleik recorded in writing: “We enjoyed many happy days until the family returned home.” The engagement became formal nearly four years later, on March 28th, 1850, a few months before the Danish king defeated the Schleswig-Holstein liberation army near the village of Idstedt, to the south of Flensburg.

Bleik studied law from 1846 to 1850 in Kiel, Heidelberg, and Flensburg, where he passed the exam. In the meantime he took part in the freedom fight of the Schleswig-Holsteiners against Denmark. His very discrete correspondence with Thilde was difficult and infrequent during his time of studies and fighting, because Thilde’s jealous father could not be allowed to know anything about it. In the middle of the war of 1848, the young woman—“surrounded by fanatic Danes”—experienced hard years of apprenticeship in housekeeping and bravely faced the Danish fighters standing in front of the house. From 1851 to 1854 Thilde repeatedly stayed in Keitum on the island of Sylt, in the “Old Frisian House” of her future parents-in-law. As Bleik later wrote, she won “all hearts by her kindness, modesty, and charm; it was no wonder that I fell deeply in love with her.”

The politicization of the young revolutionary from Sylt turned into a life-changing step, such as was taken by thousands of Schleswig-Holsteiners. In 1852 Bleik traveled on the steamer “Indian Queen” to New York and from there to Iowa, the center of the Schleswig-Holstein emigration. “He had lost the prospect of finding his fortune in his old homeland,” chroniclers wrote. For the time being, his fiancée Thilde stayed home. Bleik first became a farmer in Nebraska for a short period of time and later on a barkeeper in St. Louis.

Then, in May 1854, Thilde followed her beloved fiancé, taking the steamer “Oder” from Hamburg to New York, where she arrived in July. There were detours via Detroit and Chicago, with the young woman experiencing both good and bad luck and finally reaching Davenport on the Mississippi on August 4th, 1854—with half a dollar in her purse. Thilde’s first accommodations were with her mother-in-law’s sister in the Ankerson family. On the very same day there was a reunion with her fiancé Bleik, who had come rushing up from St. Louis. Only one day later, on August 5th, 1854, the blissfully happy couple married in the home of step-aunt Ankerson.

Thilde worked as a “caring housewife” and Bleik “outside their home to earn our daily bread.” In 1855, Thilde wrote about their first impressions in America: “My Peters is a dear good man and has a very friendly manner in his business dealings. We get up every morning at 5:30 a.m. and go to bed at 9 p.m.” In literary style, Thilde described her life, the advantages of the Ameri-

can freedoms, but also constraints in the church-oriented Midwest of the USA: “You don’t find everything as free as they say it is over there in Europe,” she said, but added: “we are living the German Way of Life completely.” She predicted that her father would be “very unhappy” in America.

Bleik’s work as a barkeeper in St. Louis was profitable; the couple lived in two rooms on the second floor. The move to Davenport was followed by their integration into civil society. In 1857 Bleik Peters became a notary public and started a successful legal career, rising to the position of justice of the peace. At the same time Thilde made a name for herself as poet, journalist, and president of the Davenport Women’s Society; she published many articles and poems in Davenport’s German-language daily “Der Demokrat.” The couple visited wonderful theater premieres, lavish balls, and inspiring lectures at the Turner Society of Davenport, with its motto “freedom, education, and well-being for all.” In 1863 they moved to their own house “on the bluff” above the Mississippi in Davenport; the address is still the same today: 824 West 7th Street. There they hosted many relatives, acquaintances, and friends. Several relatives on Thilde’s side followed her example and emigrated to America as well; only her father remained in Germany.

Thilde recognized that the political mind of her husband was unchanged. In the American Civil War (1861-1865) he clearly stood for the rights of the Negro, while Thilde, to the extent possible for her, became involved politically, socially, and as a volunteer in the community. As “a good citizen and patriot,” she supported Union soldiers and cared for the wounded. Bleik wrote: “She welcomed the returning warriors as cordially as she had welcomed returning Schleswig-Holsteiners near Düppel in 1849.”

Thilde’s political and journalistic engagement is reflected in the attitude of self-determined women in the Germany of 1848/49, who worked in clubs and local institutions in active support of the men during the fight for freedom. Her strong interest in literature, arts, culture, and political developments was shaped by the Age of Enlightenment, and she maintained her intellectual perspective until her death. Davenport’s German newspaper “Der Demokrat” called Thilde “a highly educated and sensitive lady.” She possessed “a very good heart and has done a great deal of good; modest to the utmost degree herself, she has worked for the good of others solely for the purpose of being able to do good.”

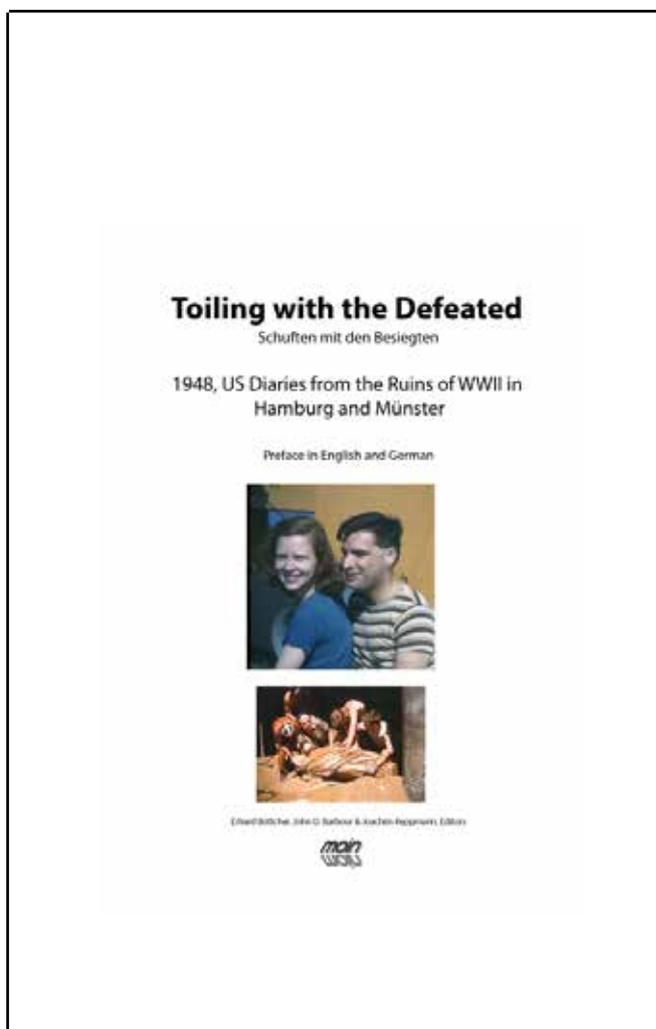
Bleik was President of the Schleswig-Holstein Forty-Eighters veterans’ association in Davenport for many years. To their regret, the couple remained childless. Shortly before their golden wedding anniversary on March 23rd, 1903, Thilde Peters died of pneumonia at the age of 73. Bleik Peters said in his funeral oration: “To me, she was a wonderful companion, a humane and brave patriot in the old as in the new fatherland; she has completely fulfilled her human fate as a noble woman.” In an obituary for his beloved spouse he emphasized: “Your whole life was a labor of love, a sacrifice of love, from beginning to end.” In 1898, Bleik Peters had a leading role in commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Schleswig-Holstein Revolution in Davenport, Iowa. He died on April 28th, 1908 at the age of 83 years.



Thilde Peters

Appendix 14

Toiling with the Defeated: 1948, US Diaries from the Ruins of WWII in Hamburg and Münster



This book publishes the US diaries of Ian and Deane Barbour, Northfield, MN, who in 1948 participated in summer work camps in Münster and Hamburg. The young couple worked with American, Dutch, and German students to clear rubble from bombed buildings after WWII. These Christian groups also sought understanding and reconciliation between former enemies, and experienced moments of great honesty and emotional depth. *Toiling with the Defeated*, *Schuften mit den Besiegten*, includes photographs, documents that explain the background of the church work camps. Later, Dr. Ian G. Barbour became famous with his publications about the dialogue of religion and science. In Germany and Europe that summer there were 150 work camps with thousands of student volunteers from many countries. Extensive research about the work camps of 1948 was not successful. We hope that this publication encourages further engagement with these early friendship initiatives. Perhaps descendants of the participants own more documents..

Diaries are a special styles of literature that highlight a broad range of individual experiences. Among the best known oeuvres of this category are books by worldwide known German authors as Max Frisch, Thomas Mann and Walter Kempowski, moving accounts by once unknown people like the Jew Anne Frank, and hoaxes like the disgraceful Hitler diaries by Konrad Kujau. And there are sober records reaching daylight after decades of being hidden that explain a certain historical period directly and simply.

Among such historical documents are the very personal diaries of Ian G. and Deane Barbour, from Northfield, Minnesota in the Midwest of the USA. This couple travelled to the defeated Germany in the summer of 1948 to help remove huge amounts of debris in Hamburg and Münster. In western and middle Europe that summer there were 150 work camps with thousands of student volunteers from many countries. The work camps were organized by Christian student organizations like the YMCA, Congregational Service Committee, and the American Friends Service Committee. Young people toiled for defeated Germans still scraping a living and hungry and nearly hopeless between hills of ruins.

Deane and Ian Barbour were married in 1947 in the US capital, Washington. Deane studied theology, and Ian physics. Later as a professor he became especially famous with his publications about the dialogue of religion and science. This was the reason that a foundation in Philadelphia honored Ian Barbour in 1999 with the Templeton Prize; most of the money was donated to a pertinent research center in Berkeley (California). Previous laureates were Mother Teresa, Billy Graham, Alexander Solschenizyn, Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker and Desmond Tutu. Regarding the bitter quarrel between materialists and fundamentalists Barbour asserted: "There are many people believing both in God and in the theory of evolution."

During the time in German work camps the food was modest: potatoes, carrots, porridge and bread. The young people got to know a huge range of human types: an incurable Nazi officer, a lady with strong faith, and many people who struggled with the great German guilt. The Americans could not forget the daily routine: "Crippled humans on the streets, children,...., some begging for food." The couple especially remembered the farewell service in a university chapel between ruins, when the community sang: "Goin' to lay down my heavy load".

The couple raised four children. John D. Barbour, Professor at St. Olaf College in Northfield (Minnesota), saves the diaries of his parents like a treasure. He handed them to the German historian of emigration, Dr. Joachim (Yogi) Reppmann.

We hope that this publication encourages further engagement with the US work camps of 1948. Perhaps descendants of the participants own more documents. A first success is Jeanne Lohmann from Olympia (State of Washington). This charming poet together with her husband led a work camp in 1948 in Bremen and recently reported how she returned together with the Barbour couple on the US troop carrier Marine Tiger back to America.

Erhard Böttcher, John D. Barbour & Joachim Reppmann, Editors,

Toiling with the Defeated: (Schuften mit den Besiegten)

1948, US Diaries from the Ruins of WWII

in Hamburg and Münster.

(Printed Copy via Printing on Demand: www.LuLu.com)

Appendix 15

Holocaust Boxcar Headed for Minnesota

In autumn of 2015, after being abandoned for years in formerly communist East Germany, an 1899 boxcar used during the Holocaust to move Jews to concentration camps had begun a long journey half way around the world to the Fagen Fighters WWII Museum in Granite Falls, Minnesota.

www.fagenfightersWWIImuseum.org

Diane Fagen, President of the museum, has teamed with German historian Joachim Reppmann of Flensburg, Germany to move this horrific reminder of the Holocaust. Joachim, or Yogi as he is known to friends and coworkers, found out about the abandoned boxcar from his uncle Peter Prass (of Gera, Germany) who spent 34 years working the railroads behind the Iron Curtain in East Germany and knew about the 19th century railcar hidden away in the Thuringian Forest near the city of Georgenthal (near the famous *Wartburg Castle*, where Luther had translated the Bible).

The boxcar was first used as a normal rail vehicle for merchandise but eventually carried victims identified by the Nazis for elimination as part of the deadly Holocaust machinery directed by SS commander Heinrich Himmler. The boxcar carried those persecuted by the Nazis: political resistance fighters, writers and actors, and of course European Jews to Auschwitz.

On Saturday, May 21, 2016, Fagen Fighters WWII Museum, Granite Falls, Minnesota, opened its *Holocaust Boxcar and POW Exhibit*, the most recent addition to its historical aviation displays. Special guest speakers at the event included Steve Hunegs, Executive Director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Minnesota and the Dakotas; Charles Fodor, a Hungarian Holocaust survivor; and German historian Dr. Joachim “Yogi” Reppmann. Around 1000 visitors were in attendance.

Video (six-minute teaser), *Holocaust Boxcar Headed for Minnesota—The Days after Hitler*, www.Moin-Moin.us (menu ‘Videos’)



Georgenthal, State of Thuringia, from left to right: Ron and Diane Fagen, Christine Lieberknecht, Lady Governor and Yogi Reppmann, September 24, 2015.



The boxcar from 1899 near Georgenthal, Thuringia.



Grand Opening of the Holocaust and POW Boxcar Exhibit, on May 21st, 2016, Granite Falls, MN; note the embroidered map of Schleswig-Holstein from 1944 at the lower left.



*Diane Fagen, left, President of the **Fagen Fighters WWII Museum** in Granite Falls, MN, in front of the restored Holocaust boxcar with her sister Mary Kollen. A large educational exhibit is a major component of the museum.*



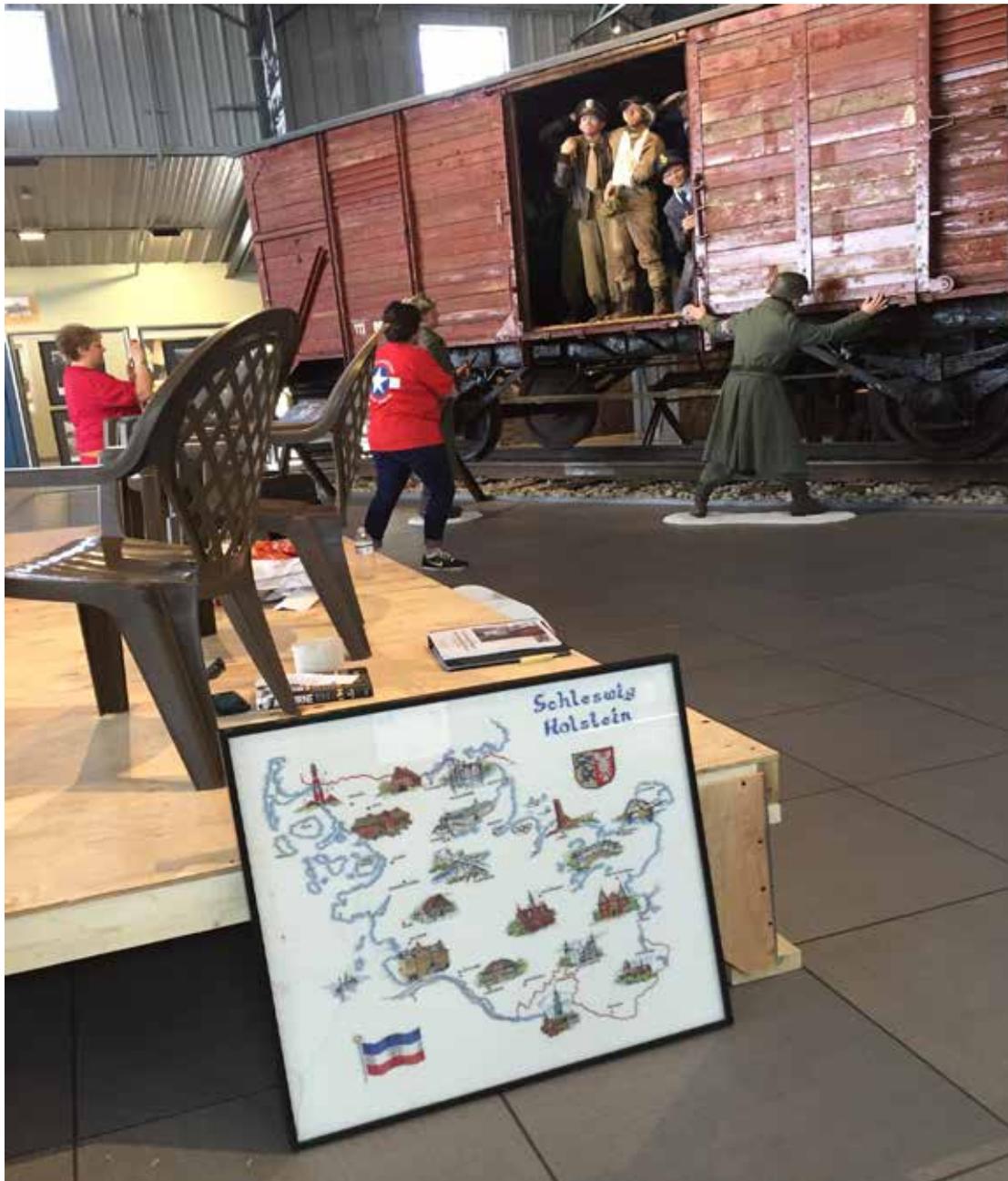
May 21st, 2016, Grand Opening in western Minnesota, Aaron and Traci Fagen with Yogi Reppmann.



Charles Fodor, a Hungarian Holocaust survivor, and Steve Hunegs, the executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council; Granite Falls, MN, on May 21st, 2016.



Approximately one thousand interested Americans attended the moving and educational mega-event.



Gitta and Yogi Reppmann's gift of May 21st, 2016 to the Fagen Fighters WWII Museum: Here is the story behind the gift. The map pictured above was embroidered by Käthe Benkwitz, who had been a head nurse south of Flensburg, and who gave us the map through a friend. Käthe died at the age of 92, having been married for only ONE day in her life; she and her husband had been married during WWII over the phone, and he was subsequently killed in action. Käthe never married again. In 1944 Käthe served as a nurse in France and cared for Field Marshall Erwin Rommel who was in a military hospital as a result of severe head injuries. On July 17th, 1944, weeks after D-Day, he had been traveling from the SS tank headquarters in France, when his driver lost control of the car and crashed into a tree following an attack by a Spitfire. As head nurse, Käthe was in charge of sitting at Rommel's bedside during the night. It was then that she embroidered the map of Schleswig-Holstein, her home state and ours. Because of Rommel's involvement in an attempt to assassinate Hitler, he was given the choice by Hitler of committing suicide and receiving a State Funeral, or of being executed. His only son, Manfred, fifteen years old at the time, learned of this choice minutes before his father's suicide.

Danke

Ingo Reppmann

Dietrich (Dee) Eicke

Hans-Jürgen Ahrens

Scott Christiansen

Barbara (Basia) Neil

Christa Schacht

Thomas Gruber

Jörn Alwes

Horst Koehler

Hawken Rives

Sonja Anton

Ulrich Erdmann



1999, Final Farewell in Flensburg: Yogi Reppmann & Gov. Stoltenberg at the train station.



Joachim "Yogi" Reppmann, Ph.D., was born in Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein, in 1957. He attended Altes Gymnasium, a school founded by Danish King Frederick II in 1566. He matriculated at the University of Kiel, where he studied history, American literature, and philosophy. In 1984, he completed his masters thesis entitled *Transplanted Ideas: The Concept of Freedom and Democracy of the Schleswig-Holstein Forty-Eighters — Origins and Effects 1846-1856*. He has written

several books on notable Schleswig-Holstein emigrants and the mass migration to the United States; served as a professor of German at St. Olaf and Carleton Colleges in Northfield, Minnesota; and chaired several conferences on topics ranging from the Low German language to Forty-Eighter Hans Reimer Claussen.

Since 1983, Yogi has organized both individualized language study-abroad programs and educational exchanges between the United States and Germany for groups as diverse as farmers from Holstein, Iowa; American teachers of German; college football players; and representatives of the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota.

Since 2010, the founding of the amazing *German-American Heritage Museum, Washington, DC*, www.gahmusa.org, Yogi has served on its Advisory Board.

Always looking to strengthen ties between the two areas he calls home — the Baltic Sea region in northern German and America's Midwest — Yogi co-founded de.us, Inc. International Connections to facilitate and incubate new business connections between the two regions.



German American Heritage Center

712 W. 2nd St,
Davenport, IA 52802, USA
www.gahc.org
(563) 322-8844



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Washington, D.C., 20001, USA
www.gahfusa.org
(202) 467-5000



www.Moin-Moin.us

Legacy of 1848:

Transplanted Ideas & Values in America's Past and Present

The “Forty-Eighters,” were a relatively small number of individuals who emigrated from Europe in the late 1840s and early 1850s after fighting unsuccessfully with both pen and sword for liberty, democracy, and national unity. Many of the German Forty-Eighters immigrated to the United States; a large number from the present-day state of Schleswig-Holstein chose at the Mississippi Scott County, Iowa, as their adopted home. After settling in America, these unique and talented individuals provided an intellectual transfusion affecting not only their fellow German immigrants, but also the political and social history of the United States during one of its most critical periods.

Many of the Forty-Eighters left lasting marks in the fields of politics, education, business, journalism, the arts, and the military. Carl Schurz, perhaps the most well-known of the German Forty-Eighters who settled in America, achieved great success in no less than four of these areas. During his long and illustrious career, he was a young ambassador to Spain for President Lincoln, a general during the Civil War, a United States senator, and the Secretary of the Interior under President Rutherford B. Hayes. During his long and illustrious journalistic career, he served as chief editor of the *Detroit Post*, editor and co-proprietor of the *Westliche Post* in St. Louis, editor-in-chief and one of the proprietors of the *New York Evening Post*, and as an editorial writer for *Harper's Weekly*. Noted for his high principles, moral conscience, and avoidance of political partisanship, Schurz, like many of his fellow Forty-Eighters, can still teach us much with regard to dealing with the problems that confront us all today. (His wife helped found the US kindergarten system.)

The significance of the legacy of 1848er Carl Schurz has become more timely. With the steady increase of immigration to the United States, and the ongoing refugee crisis in Germany, it has become ever more important to establish the proper framework for the absorption and integration of newcomers. Schurz's solution - assimilation with the retention of the newcomers' ethnic heritage - is as valid today as it was when he articulated it in the nineteenth century. The fusion of ethnic identities and American / German values is of the greatest importance, and Carl Schurz's life is a worthy paradigm for all immigrants to emulate.

Sadly, the extensive and extremely significant legacy of the extraordinary immigrant group labeled as the “Forty-Eighters” is little known by most Europeans and Americans.

