MD Historical Magazine, December 1941, VOL. XXXVI, No. 4.

THE MARYLAND GERMANS IN THE CIVIL WAR

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Some writers consider the conflict between the North and the South which led to the Civil War in 1861 as resulting from the divergence of a democratic and an aristocratic republic. When seen from this point of view, there could be for the majority of German immigrants during the nineteenth century no doubt whatever as to which side they ought to join. In the decades after 1815, the age of the restoration and of the Holy Alliance, as well as during the years following the abortive revolution of 1848, many Germans had come to America because of their dislike of the conservative and even reactionary course of German government, and these liberals, after having undergone all the difficulties and hardships of emigration, would scarcely feel inclined, now that they were on this side of the Atlantic, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the aristocratic landowners of the South. The concept of slavery stood in the sharpest contrast to their liberal and progressive ideas. Naturally they knew nothing of the specifically American background, the economic conditions, which for a certain period had made slavery understandable and pardonable; what they did observe was the horror of slavery as judged from the standpoint of their ideals and theories.

The constitutional aspects of this struggle left the Germans cold. Older Americans were influenced—frequently in favor of the South—by the fact that the conflict hinged, among other things, also on the question as to whether the individual State could act as it pleased or whether it had to surrender important rights to the federal government. German immigrants of the nineteenth century cared little about "states' rights"; in fact they tended to oppose them because they appeared as a parallel to the splitting up of the nation into numerous petty states, a phenomenon that had proved baneful in the course of German history. For them the United States was an entity; it made no difference to them whether they lived in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, or Texas —so long as they could live according to the ideals for the preservation of which they had undertaken the long journey into a foreign land.

There were, in addition, purely economic motives to win these Germans to the side of the North. In general, the Southern plantation owners were opposed to immigration. They had no conception of the high cultural value of European immigration. The economic system of the South did not require new blood, for its principle was mass production by unskilled labor. The social structure in the South had a relatively small top level: there were only about 2300 large plantations with slave populations numbering between 100 and 1000.[1] The middle class was very small and quite insignificant. Hence there was no social sphere except in the cities in which a German immigrant might win a position for himself. Precisely for the small farmer of German stock who contributed so much to the winning of the West there was no room in the economic system of the South. This was also true for the new territory of the Southwestern states, just opening up at this time. Every sensible farmer knew that his laboriously conquered farm land would lose enormously in value if next door to it a Negro plantation could be established.

These idealistic, practical, and emotional causes constitute the main explanation (although of course there were various minor reasons) why the majority of the Germans in America joined the side of the North in the Civil War.

This attitude not only brought new allies to the cause of the Union, but ultimately proved extremely useful also for the Germans.[2] The Forty-Eighters who had fled because of the German Revolution at first considered their stay in America as strictly temporary. Only reluctantly did they learn English, and did little or nothing to acquaint themselves with American conditions; there seemed no reason to do so, since they hoped shortly to return to the Republic of Germany. Carl Schurz was one of the very few to follow a different course. A large majority considered the sojourn on these shores as an ephemeral matter and the keynote of their relationship to the new country was a tone of carping criticism toward everything. This sterile, negative attitude was the reason why most of them, far from progressing materially and intellectually, found themselves in a sort of blind alley.

[1] A. E. Parkins, *The South. Its Economic-Geographic Development* (New York, 1938), p. 206.

[2] *Cf.* Wilhelm Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg* (München, 1911), pp. 101 ff.

When, after a few years, they became aware that they would have to establish themselves permanently in this country, because there was not the slightest chance for the revival of liberal ideas in Germany, their despair and gloom were great since they considered the fight for their ideals a total loss. Furthermore, most of them had by this time exhausted their financial reserves without having gained any footing in the social or economic structure of America.

At this very time, around the year 1854, when the danger of moral and intellectual decay was greatest for the Forty-Eighters, the anti-slavery struggle entered its final and decisive phase. There was thus opened up an entirely new and welcome field of activity for liberal German hot-heads. The old humanitarian ideals they had vainly fought to realize in their Fatherland could now be fitted into the scheme of current American politics. This helped them to get out of the rut of emigrant cliques: through their agitation against slavery they got into touch for the first time with the American people and American conditions, and learned to know, to love, and to struggle for their adopted country. The significance of the anti-slavery movement for the Forty-Eighters lies in the fact that a burning question of current American politics touched the very core of their natures, and enabled them to find a bridge leading from the dry ideas and theories of their past to a responsible, useful activity in the present.

This explanation refers particularly, of course, to the North and the northern part of the Middle West. The only Atlantic State south of the Mason and Dixon Line in which the ideals of the Forty-Eighters were carried over into American politics and played a part in the decision of the Civil War was Maryland.[3]

Since Maryland lies on the border line between North and South, the attitude there toward the issues of 1860 was far from unanimous. This State reflected in a microcosm as it were, the picture of the situation as it existed in the entire country. The plantation owners in the southern part of the State with their tobacco culture, stood opposed to the independent farmers of the northern or northwestern counties who raised grain and cattle. Between these two parts lay the only metropolis of the State, Baltimore, which belonged economically to the North due to its

[3] For the special situation of the Germans in Texas see Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1940), pp. 417 ff.

great industrial development, but socially and intellectually was very closely linked with the South.

In the South it was taken for granted that Maryland was Democratic and favorably inclined toward secession. Everyone in the South believed that the State would join the Confederacy as soon as Confederate troops entered its territory. This proved to be true only in part. It was doubtless the case regarding the southern counties and the Eastern Shore. In Western Maryland, however, the Confederates experienced on their first visit in 1862 the annoying surprise that feeling was definitely divided and favored in considerable majority allegiance to the Union. The two counties which most energetically opposed secession were Frederick and Washington, that is, the very counties that contained the oldest and largest settlements of German stock.

To be sure, seen from the point of view of party politics, this region also was Democratic; in the election of 1860 there was but a small scattering of votes for Lincoln.[4] The press of this region expressed frank regret concerning Lincoln's election, but was far from considering this a cause for secession. A big Union meeting was held in Frederick, on December 15, 1860, which was followed a few days later by a big county meeting " for the preservation of the Union." [5] The names of the leading men at these meetings show that they were of good old Maryland-German stock: Haller, Eberts, Baer, Biser, Boteler, Cramer, Eichelberger, Brengle. Similar meetings were also organized in Hagerstown after the election and after the outbreak of the War, and we find among the most ardent fighters for the Union men called Daniel Weisel, Daniel Startzmann, and Henry Dellinger—all purely German names.[6] Indeed, it was a descendant of an old German family who after Lincoln's call for troops in 1861 organized the first regiment of soldiers from Frederick County: Captain B. H. Schley, who was later advanced to the rank of major.[7] Thomas E. Mittag, of Ger-

[4] The results of the voting in Washington County were: Bell 2567, Breckenridge 2475, Douglas 283, Lincoln 95. Thomas J. C. Williams, *History of Washington County, Maryland* (Hagerstown, 1906), p. 304.—In Frederick County: Bell 3617, Breckenridge and Douglas 3609, Lincoln 103. T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (Frederick, 1910), p. 364.

[5] Williams, *Frederick County,* pp. 364 ff.

[6] Williams, *Washington County,* p. 306. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 216. Other German names appearing at different Union meetings in Hagerstown, Keedysville, Middletown (all in Western Maryland) were: Spigler, Sprecker, Kitzmiller, Rohner, Christmann, Lantz, Ecker, Christ, Hoppe.—Cf. Scharf, *op. cit.,* pp. 197 ff.

[7] This Frederick regiment fought throughout the entire course of the war.

man descent, was the owner of the Western Maryland paper which stood most emphatically for the preservation of the Union —*The Herald and Torchlight* of Hagerstown. It invariably referred to the Confederacy as "the hellish rebellion" and frequently expressed the view that the steps undertaken by Lincoln's government against the secessionists were far too feeble.[8]

Naturally enough in these two "German counties" there can be found German names also among the minority sympathetic toward the South. In Hagerstown a Colonel George Schley belonged to the leaders of the Peace Party, which consisted almost exclusively of camouflaged secessionists.[9] The organ of this Peace Party, *The Hagerstown Mail,* was edited by Daniel Dechert, a man of pure Pennsylvania German stock. His articles, no less violent than those of the *Herald,* led to his arrest and a jail sentence of six weeks.[10] After this his tone became somewhat gentler, but not sufficiently conciliatory for the Unionists, for in the course of an anti-secessionist riot the office of the *Mail* was attacked and plundered.[11] From Middletown, Maryland, comes the report of an enduring enmity between two German families, the Riddlemosers and the Crouses, the one in sympathy with the North and the other with the South.[12] In general, the attitude of Western Maryland was pro-Union.[13]

The story of Barbara Fritchie, who, according to Whittier, fearlessly hung out the Union flag in the face of the Confederate troops, is certainly rather legendary than historical, yet it characterizes in a striking way the prevailing mood of Frederick.[14] A

[8] Williams, *Washington County,* p. 307. A striking sentence characterizing the attitude of this paper during the year 1860: "It is our duty as Southern men to hold back secession until the sober thought of the North can be put into operation for the preservation of the Union."

[9] Williams, *Washington County,* p. 304.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 317.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 324.

[12] J. H. Apple, "The Border Woman," in *The Pennsylvania German,* XI (1910), 300 ff.

[13] Abdel R. Wentz, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick Maryland* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1938), pp. 233 ff.—The municipal election in Cumberland shows clearly the steady increase of the Union party in Allegany County. The same thing is proved by the election to the Maryland legislature of the Unionist delegate Fiery from Washington County. George L. P. Radcliffe, *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War* (Johns Hopkins Studies, Baltimore, 1901), p. 94.

[14] Barbara Fritchie (1766-1862) was the daughter of a German, Nicholas Hauer and wife, née Catherine Zeiler. Hauer emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1754 and in 1770 settled in Frederick. *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (1909), Vol. X, p. 113. Williams, *Frederick County,* p. 378. *The Pennsylvania German,*

quotation from the memoirs of the most famous German soldier on the Southern side, Colonel Heros von Borcke, is very illuminating. He relates that during the days when Confederate troops were in Western Maryland he was at one time observing some Germans who were sitting in an inn, smoking and drinking. "I am quite sure that most of them were decided Yankee sympathizers, but as a gray uniform was right among them, and many others not far off they talked the hottest secession."[15] Though this testimonial is not altogether flattering to the Germans in Frederick, it shows clearly that even the Confederates had no longer the slightest doubt regarding the Union sympathies of the Germans in Western Maryland.

Some quotations from an unpublished diary of Jacob Engelbrecht (1819-1878), a German inhabitant of Frederick, may illustrate the feelings of the German element in the western counties. On November 17, 1860, Engelbrecht wrote: "As soon as the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency was known, the South Carolineans & Allabamaens were ready to seceed from the Union of the U. States and at this time they are making wonderful preparation to leave this glorious Union. For my own part I say go as quick as you please . . . the sooner they go the better for the piece & quiet of our Country." On December 21, 1860, after the secession of South Carolina, we read: "Thank you, Gentlemen, you have been dominaring long enough, and I hope you will stay out of the Union." On April 11, 1861, we find the remark: "I hope Uncle Sam (or rather now Uncle Abe) will give the seceding boys a good sound drubbing. The Constitution and the laws must be sustained."[16]

A further proof of the fidelity to the Union cause of the western counties can be derived from an examination of the exciting history of the Maryland legislature at the beginning of the War. Senator Radcliffe has described in detail the policy of the then governor, Thomas H. Hicks, his "masterly inactivity" shown by

IV (1903), 339 ff.; J. H. Apple "Barbara Fritchie," *Pennsylvania German,* VIII (1907), 366 ff.; *New York Times,* December 4, 1927; *Baltimore Sun,* January 17, 1937.

[15] Heros von Borcke, *Memoirs of the Confederate War of Independence* (New York, 1938), I, p. 190.

[16] Quoted from an unpublished Johns Hopkins University dissertation by George A. Douglas, "An Economic History of Frederick County, Maryland, to 1860" (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 35-42. The original orthography of Jacob Engelbrecht is reproduced.

long hesitation in summoning the legislature, because he wished to prevent all hasty or anti-Union resolutions. When Hicks finally did call the legislators together he summoned them to Frederick because of the well-known pro-Union attitude of this town, as he himself explained at the time.[17] The legislature, meeting on April 26, 1861, held its first meeting in the Frederick County Court House, but moved then for all subsequent meetings to the German Reformed Church, corner of Church and Market Streets.[18] Even before the legislature convened in Frederick, the Home Guard of Frederick had been founded, often called after its organizer, Captain Alfred F. Brengle, the "Brengle Home Guard." The name Brengle leaves no doubt concerning the German descent of its owner, and the list of members contains so many German names—about half of the 400 names—that lack of space does not permit us to mention them. This Brengle Guard had been founded to espouse the cause of the Union in Western Maryland and was supported by the citizens of Frederick.[19]

Except for the western counties, Frederick and Washington, the city of Baltimore had then—just as it has today—the largest percentage of Germans or descendants of Germans. But the situation there was slightly different. The Germans in Western Maryland had at the beginning of the War no love whatever for Lincoln because they were loyal Democrats, but, as I have said, they, for the most part, favored the Union. In Baltimore, party politics further were complicated by a new angle. There was published here the only Republican paper in the State of Maryland, the only one in Maryland to advocate openly and energetically the election of Lincoln: the German daily, *Der Wecker.* There is no need here to say much about its founder, Carl Heinrich Schnauffer,[20] particularly since he died only three years after he had founded the paper, in 1854. But his family continued the paper in his spirit and the *Wecker* maintained the attitude of its founder, the liberal Forty-Eighter who had fought in Germany against tyrants and the rule by princes. Here can be seen clearly,

[17] Radcliffe, *op. cit.,* p. 69. Frederick and Baltimore were designated by Lincoln in his call for troops in April, 1861, as the two places in Maryland where troops were to be mustered into service.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 71.

[19] *Maryland Historical Magazine,* VII (1912), 196 ff.

[20] *Cf.* A. E. Zucker, "Carl Heinrich Schnauffer," *in Twenty-fourth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1939), pp. 17 ff.

as we mentioned above, that the younger generation of German immigrants of the fifties conceived of the Civil War as a continuation of the struggle of 1848.[21]

As a Republican paper the *Wecker* advocated the freeing of the slaves unconditionally. It returned to this question again and again. It was well aware how difficult this problem was and that the abolition of slavery would by no means establish the equality before the law of the Negroes. After emancipation there should come education for the colored folk. "The negroes ought to become whatever they can make of themselves"[22]—but they must be given the *opportunity* to make something of themselves. True emancipation cannot be attained by law, it must grow historically; freeing the negroes from slavery must be followed by legal, political and social emancipation. It would not be right to tax the negroes without giving them the vote, for taxation without representation was the injustice that drove the Colonies to revolution in 1776.[23]

To be sure, when compared to the radical abolitionist New England sheets the *Wecker* appears decidedly moderate. In reply to some complaints from readers that the *Wecker* did not attack the slavery question with sufficient energy, the editor replied that he must perforce impose moderation on himself since the paper was being published in a slave State and that he could not willfully endanger the only progressive organ in Maryland; he would prefer to win over to his side fellow-citizens who were still undecided in their attitude, rather than rebuff them by violent fanaticism.[24] Shortly afterward he took sharp issue with some bigoted abolitionists, when he argued that their plan to send the Negroes

[21] An appeal by Leonard Streiff to his German fellow-citizens (*Wecker*, June 18, 1861) shows this plainly; he states that the same principles were and are involved in the Europe of 1848 and the America of 1861. An address delivered at a *Turner* festival in Berlin in 1861 harks back to an even earlier point in German history. In welcoming representatives of American *Turner* societies the orator assured them of his sympathy in their fight against barbarism and went on to state that the year 1861 represents for German-American *Turner* the same crucial test in the fight for freedom that 1813 had meant for German *Turner*. (*Ibid.*, July 18, 1861).

[22] "More Schools for the Negroes," *Ibid.*, June 22, 1865.

[23] *Ibid.*, June 22, 1865. The fact that Professor W. C. F. Walther in the *Lutheraner* published in St. Louis, defended slavery on the basis of his interpretation of some Biblical passages as well as citations from the works of some Reformation leaders is eagerly seized upon and castigated by the *Wecker*. This is part and parcel of the anti-clerical attitude of this as well as most papers conducted by Forty-Eighters. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1864.

[24] *Ibid.*, July 4, 1860.

back to Africa after their liberation did not spring from a feeling of humanity but from arrogance and intolerance. These people were eager to free the slaves but after that they never wished to see them again. Such a course would prove impossible. It was nonsense to call them "Africans," for they were Africans just as little as Lincoln was a European. The Negroes were Americans, they formed the lowest class of agricultural laborers, and as such they had a right to their position in the American economic system as much as anyone else, regardless of color or race.[25]

Though the *Wecker* at times showed a conciliatory spirit regarding the question of slavery, in regard to Lincoln it proved all the more absolute and adamant. It never felt the slightest doubt that Old Abe was the best man in the country. This is all the more noteworthy since the *Wecker* and the *Turner* paper were the only ones in Maryland at the time taking this point of view. Originally the *Wecker,* like most German papers, had been more inclined to favor Seward. When on May 16, 1860, the paper presented to its readers the ten men who came in question for the Republican nomination, Lincoln—in contrast to Seward and Wade—was mentioned only briefly and not very hopefully. He was characterized curtly as "America's greatest debater, witty and original." But two days later, after Lincoln had been nominated, the *Wecker* did all it could to strengthen Lincoln's position in Baltimore and on the day of Lincoln's visit to Baltimore it extended to him a cordial greeting.[26] The paper printed in full every one of Lincoln's messages, in 1864 it came forward as one of the first to advocate his reelection, and on the day after his assassination it appeared in mourning with a wide black margin.[27] When some German Republicans attacked Lincoln because his administration seemed not sufficiently energetic, the *Wecker* defended the President's deliberate hesitation.[28] When the same group complained regarding a rebuff Carl Schurz had received as a member of the new cabinet the *Wecker* came forward with conciliatory explanations. It reported with evident pleasure how Lincoln had expressed himself in an interview regarding the Germans, stating that he appreciated them as "straight-forward, honest people,"

[25] *Ibid.,* December 7, 1861.
[26] *Ibid.,* November 1, 1860, and February 23, 1861.
[27] *Ibid.,* June 13, 1864, and April 15, 1865.
[28] *Ibid.,* April 5, 1861.

that he regretted that he could not talk with them in German, but that one of his secretaries was regularly translating for him clippings from German papers for he was very much interested to know what the Germans in America thought about him.[29]

The *Wecker* was in full accord with Governor Hicks because it came to realize very quickly that the hesitant policy of this statesman was quite favorable to the Union cause.[30] In view of this the *Wecker* even forgave Governor Hicks his old association with the Know-Nothings, even though at regular intervals it continued to attack in the sharpest terms this as well as other nativistic groups. "It is wrong to say that adopted citizens should keep aloof from the quarrel. They are citizens and as such they must take their place—for the preservation of the Union."[31]

"Preservation of the Union" was the chief slogan of the *Wecker* throughout the years of the Civil War. It warned the Germans in Virginia, "Within the Union happy, outside the Union unhappy."[32] For this very reason the *Wecker* showed such great interest in the events in West Virginia and did everything to strengthen the anti-secessionist position of this State.[33] Once the war had gotten under way, it demanded that it be fought to the end for the sake of the Union. "No talk of peace now," it exclaimed in August, 1861, "that would be too soon. A peace concluded now would not serve the Union cause."[34]

These quotations probably characterize sufficiently the attitude of Baltimore's German Republican paper. What about its Democratic counterpart, the *Deutsche Correspondent?* The *Correspondent* had been founded in 1841 by Friedrich Raine, a German immigrant. It is characteristic of the founder as well as of the paper that both adapted themselves very rapidly to the American milieu. The *Correspondent* was the first German paper in the United States to adopt the make-up of the American press. Raine himself was already firmly planted in the life of this country and quite acclimatized when in 1851 Carl Heinrich Schnauffer, the

[29] *Ibid.*, January 31, 1861.

[30] *Ibid.*, January 2 and 8, 1861. Similarly the *Turnzeitung* called Governor Hicks a "white raven" and defended his policy (January 10, 1860). The Democratic *Deutsche Correspondent,* however, was against Hicks, "the Know-Nothing man," all the more so since it lumped together the Know-Nothings and the New England Puritans, identifying both with Governor Hicks. *Correspondent,* January 14, 1858.

[31] *Wecker,* June 2, 1861.

[32] *Ibid.*, January 28, 1861.

[33] *Ibid.*, April 12, 1861.

[34] *Ibid.*, August 31, 1861.

founder of the *Wecker,* came to Baltimore, filled with the liberal ideology of the Revolution of 1848. Raine had been moving in the Democratic atmosphere of the State of Maryland for fully twenty years before the Civil War broke out; naturally enough he had become rooted in the Democratic party, and he never left it. Thus he and his *Correspondent* took their attitude toward the current events on the basis of the Democratic party position.[35]

The volumes of the *Correspondent* from the Civil War years are unfortunately not preserved. We must attempt to supply this lack from a secondary source and from items in the later volumes of the paper, as when on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary the attitude of the *Correspondent* toward the Civil War is retrospectively outlined and explained.[36] The *Correspondent* did not openly advocate secession; among a hundred German papers in America in 1860 only three favored secession.[37] Regarding the slavery question the *Correspondent* took an essentially different position from that of the *Wecker.* To be sure, the *Correspondent* did not go so far as to praise and defend slavery as a divine institution. "In our state there was probably not one adopted citizen who was a slave-owner, not one who did not consider negro slavery a regrettable institution within a free republic, but"—there was the Constitution and the *Correspondent* always took refuge in this sacred document. Maryland happened to be a slave State and "one must never forget that the Constitution of the United States in support of which every adopted citizen of the Republic has sworn an oath of loyalty sanctions and protects the institution of slavery." It was not the stubbornness of the Southern slave barons that had caused the trouble, but the greed of the northern Yankees.[38] "If the humanitarianism of the North could have persuaded itself in the interest of human kindness to purchase the freedom of the three million slaves in the South at only $600 a head, an arrangement with which the Southern States

[35] Cf. Edmund E. Miller, *The Hundred Year History of the German Correspondent* (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 9 ff.

[36] *Correspondent,* May 13, 1891.

[37] Lonn, *op. cit.,* p. 46. The *Correspondent* was opposed to all tendencies that favored a centralization of the government. Yet it did not concede the South the right of secession, because it held that a State can leave the Union only with the consent of all.

[38] *Correspondent,* January 1, 1866: The Puritanical clergy of the North were to blame for the miserable Civil War. "What good can come from Massachusetts"? was a question the paper repeated again and again.

in 1857 would probably have been satisfied, then a financial sacrifice of 1,800 million dollars could have prevented the Civil War, which cost far more than 2,500 million dollars plus vast numbers of human lives and tears!—The *Correspondent* can point with pride to the fact that it has recommended this possible compromise very urgently in a number of editorials." The Republican notions concerning the emancipation of the Negroes were treated with irony and mockery, at times even with cheap demogogic arguments. In the New Year's issue of 1866 the *Correspondent* demanded suffrage for white women who should really be considered much more important than Negroes. "Heaven and earth are set in motion to get the vote for four million freed Negro slaves and they forget the white women. Why should these fifteen million paragons of creation be less favored politically than the four million bowlegged and flat-nosed kinky-heads?" On another occasion, after a discussion of the vast loss of human life and property in the War, the paper said "For this triumph, we are eternally indebted to the British Abolitionists without whose efforts we should still find ourselves in the condition of barbarism which existed here before 1861.[39]

This makes it readily understandable that during these years the *Correspondent* was none too fond of the great German-American Carl Schurz. It quoted Schurz as demanding that no State be readmitted to the Union before it had granted the vote to the Negroes, and commented that this demand was prompted by "purely party-politics." It held this to be on the same plane as the word of the Maryland politician, Henry Winter Davis, "What we need is votes, not intelligence." All these Republican maneuvers, it stated, had the one aim, namely, to get votes for the Republican party, since without the Negro votes of the South the Republican party of Mr. Carl Schurz would be lost. The *Correent* then asked menacingly: "How soon will the nation take a stand and expose these traitors in their true colors?" [40]

While the *Wecker* always spoke with contempt and disgust of the "rebels" and the "slave barons of the South," the *Correspondent* had profound understanding for the difficult situation after the war of the former "insurgents" and "Southern landowners." [41] Their money had been swallowed up by the war,

[39] *Ibid.*, January 3, 1866.
[40] *Ibid.*, January 6, 1866.
[41] *Ibid.*, January 6, 1866.

their soil was ruined, their property, i. e., the slaves, was now lost; in fact, the South could be saved only by means of generous loans on the part of Northern financiers. But the *Correspondent* had grave doubts as to whether "Yankee patriotism" would go so far. It held that Southern prosperity was essential to the welfare of the entire nation. The Government in Washington had not yet grasped the fact, for the unfortunate Freedman's Bureau,[42] far from aiding the solution of the problem, was making it worse by egging on the Negroes [43] and thus was turning it into a purely political tool, the strategic center of the Republican party for the domination of the South.

Since the volumes from the early sixties are no longer extant we are not in position to learn anything about the attitude of the *Correspondent* toward Lincoln. We find some discussion however of President Buchanan. As late as 1891 the paper said of him that history had not yet accorded him justice, that writers still continued to minimize his merits, and that he had never neglected his duty of defending the Constitution.[44] This sounds quite different from the peppery articles of the *Wecker* on, or rather against, Buchanan, "that old sinner." [45] In the election campaign of 1860 the *Correspondent* as a matter of course supported Breckenridge, the candidate of Southern Democrats.

In one respect the *Correspondent* deviated from its usual course and this occurred whenever it turned to the discussion of European politics. In the course of a retrospective New Year's Day article the events of 1865, so unhappy for members of the Democratic party, suddenly took on a new constructive value. The editor called on the readers to be proud of this victory of a republic, for as such it would serve to strengthen republican tendencies in Europe.[46] Thus when there was a question of evaluating the

[42] The purpose of this organization of the Federal Government was to aid Negroes in setting themselves up on small farms or in various trades.

[43] Naturally enough the *Correspondent* mentioned every Negro uprising in the country, designating each as one more failure of the Republican party.

[44] *Correspondent*, May 13, 1891.

[45] On one occasion when a Cincinnati paper spoke of Buchanan's poor health the *Wecker* remarked savagely, "Buchanan, the old billy-goat won't die so soon, as he is an extremely tough fellow for his age," (August 11, 1860). Naturally enough the *Turnzeitung* also viewed Buchanan extremely critically, "His course vacillated between love of peace and incitement to rebellion, truth and illusion, honesty and hypocrisy," (December 11, 1860).

[46] January 3, 1866. The article is reprinted from the New York *Staatszeitung*, but without commentary, hence with the editor's approval.

republican United States against monarchistic Europe the *Correspondent* showed a sort of a "feeling of American solidarity" and, face to face with the thrones of European princes, the old party fights between Republicans and Democrats were forgotten.[47]

The presidential election of 1860 was the first great political event in the history of the United States in which German *Turner* played an effective rôle. Five weeks before the Republican convention the associated *Turner* societies issued an appeal in the Baltimore *Turnzeitung* for the formation of local organizations for the purpose of exerting some influence on the course of the convention in Chicago.[48] In Baltimore, too, one of the leading *Turner,* Dr. George Edward Wiss, was closely associated with the early beginnings of the Republican party.[49] The first steps of the

[47] Polemics between the two German papers occur rather rarely. Occasionally one finds in the *Wecker* a few digs at the Democratic rival ("It is not at all ashamed of its incredible lies," *Wecker,* October 17, 1860). On November 15, 1860, the *Wecker* felt it its painful duty to report that the Baltimore *Correspondent* remained the only German paper still continuing with its attacks on the Republicans.

[48] *Turnzeitung,* April 10, 1860. "We must have our own representatives on the spot lest we be treated as on former occasions when before the election we were called 'our German friends' and afterward 'the voting cattle' and then treated accordingly."

[49] Despite considerable inquiries it has not been possible to learn much about George Edward Wiss (often called merely Edward Wiss). Requests for information adressed to the State Department and the National Archives have elicited the following facts: Dr. Wiss was born in Bavaria (probably in 1822), but became a naturalized citizen of Prussia. He immigrated to the United States in 1848 "with the full consent of the Prussian Government." Around 1852 he settled down in Baltimore as a practicing physician. He was also a prominent member of the *Turnverein,* from 1859 to 1861 one of the editors of the *Turnzeitung,* but in 1861 he resigned this post after a number of violent quarrels. He was a member of the executive committee appointed to look after the choice of the electoral ticket in 1860. In 1861 he applied for a consular post in Germany and was recommended by the Republican candidates for presidential electors of the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland. According to the appointment records in the Department of State he was appointed American consul at Rotterdam, Netherlands, on June 5, 1861, (recess appointment) and on July 26, 1861, (confirmation appointment), and served from November 28, 1861, to August 29, 1866. (Cf. *Deutsche Amerikanische Turnerei,* I (1890), 91, and *New York Herald,* April 27, 1860, p. 10, col. 1.) In 1866 he applied for the position of minister resident at the Hague, but was not appointed. His official dispatches to the Department of State while consul at Rotterdam comprise about 400 manuscript pages. There are also on file in the National Archives his letters of application for positions and others recommending him. In E. F. Cordell's *Medical Annals of Maryland,* pp. 628-629, he receives only brief mention: "He was a regular graduate of a European medical school and sustained a satisfactory examination before your Board." (*Report of the Board of Examiners of the Western Shore,* June 1, 1850.) In the *Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office of the United States Army,* XVI (1895), 514, two of his works are mentioned: *De tenotomia in universum,* 32 pp., Berolini, 1845 (obviously his doctoral dissertation written in Latin) and *The Healing and Prevention of Diphtheria* (Berlin, 1879), 37 pp.

young Republican groups in Baltimore were not particularly fortunate. It stood completely under the influence of the Blair family, which was exerting its influence vigorously in the three border states, Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, for the nomination of Edward Bates. Under the leadership of Dr. Wiss the German Republicans of Baltimore had joined the American Republican Association, with the understanding that they be permitted to vote for Seward or some other equally prominent Republican. At the Maryland State Republican Convention which met in Baltimore April 26, 1860, with only about thirty delegates present there were some extremely turbulent scenes.[50] The adherents of Bates—according to the *Turnzeitung*, almost all of them former Know-Nothings—under the leadership of Montgomery Blair pushed through a vote to the effect that the eleven Maryland delegates to the Chicago convention were to vote as a group for Bates. This candidate, a judge from Missouri, was anathema to the Germans because in 1856 he had identified himself completely with the Whig platform, one plank of which aimed to increase the probationary period for immigrants from five to twenty-one years. Hence Dr. Wiss, the representative of the German Republicans of Baltimore, declared that he could not accept his appointment as alternate delegate to the convention. It would mean a vote contrary to his convictions and very poor representation of the German Republicans of Baltimore if he were to deliver an obligatory vote for Bates; therefore he would not go to the convention as a delegate, but he hoped to find ways and means of informing the convention regarding the position of the German Republicans.[51] For a while the Germans planned to agitate violently against Bates, but then the latter's chances began to grow more and more hopeless anyway. Wiss was present at the Chicago convention, even though not as official delegate. He was the only representative from Maryland at a meeting held at the *Deutsches Haus* in Chicago May 15, 1860, at which the German Republicans agreed on the position they were to take. Some historians believe their united stand on the convention floor brought about the nomination of the "dark horse" candidate Abraham Lincoln.[52] Even

[50] *Wecker*, April 27, 1860.
[51] *Turnzeitung*, May 1, 1850.
[52] Frank I. Herriott, *The Conference of the German Republicans at the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860* (Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society, 1928).

without the presence on the floor of Dr. Wiss, the Maryland delegates protested immediately against the instructions of the Blair clan to vote *en bloc* and insisted on voting individually.[53] Of German Republicans only one man took part in the convention, James F. Wagner, who became chairman of the executive committee of the Maryland Republican Party.[54] His name does not appear in any other record. Dr. Wiss, however, deserves considerable credit in helping to make impossible the candidacy of the reactionary Judge Bates and thus to clear the road for Lincoln's nomination.

At the next Republican Convention, held in Baltimore in 1864, a descendant of an old German family represented the Germans of Baltimore, Henry W. Hoffman, the grandson of a German who had immigrated in Revolutionary times and had, about 1780, established one of the first paper mills in this country.[55] Hoffmann had distinguished himself in the political life of Maryland during the years before the Civil War; among other things he served for some years as a member of the Legislature. As chairman of the Maryland delegation to the Convention of 1864 Hoffmann seconded the renomination of Lincoln.[56] At the close of the Convention he was elected the Maryland representative on the National Committee of the Republican Party.[57] In the autumn of the same year his name once more became prominent, when Maryland was to vote on the adoption of a new constitution which was to abolish slavery and Hoffman turned to Lincoln for an expression of his opinion. Two days before the voting, October 10, 1864, the President sent an open letter to Henry W. Hoffman, which, as the latter had hoped, aided in winning over the public in favor of the new constitution.[58]

Jacob Tome's share in the activities of the newly-founded Republican party in Maryland should not be overlooked. Tome

[53] *Report of the Proceedings of the Republican Convention in Chicago, 1860.* One of the delegates, Armour, declared, "We were recommended, not instructed." On the second ballot out of the 11 Maryland votes 8 were given to Bates and 3 to Seward and on the third 2 to Seward and 9 to Lincoln.

[54] *Report of the Republican Convention, 1860,* p. 144. *Report of the Republican Convention, 1864,* p. 1. The only other information I was able to find regarding Wagner was a brief mention in John Tweedy, *A History of the Republican Conventions* (Danbury, Conn., 1910), p. 42.

[55] *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Representative Men of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), p. 316.

[56] *Proceedings of the Republican Convention in Baltimore in 1864,* pp. 31 and 74.

[57] *Ibid.,* p. 76.

[58] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1890), VIII, p. 467.

(1810-1898), one of the wealthiest merchants in Maryland during the latter part of the nineteenth century, was a descendant of Pennsylvania-German forebears. The original form of the name was Thom. His memory is preserved in the name of the school he founded, Tome School, at Port Deposit, Md. Tome was elected state senator in 1863 by the Union Party in Cecil County. He retained his seat until 1867 and took an active part, especially in questions of finance.[59]

Another enthusiastic follower of Lincoln among the Germans was William Julian Albert, the director of a large mining company in Baltimore.[60] Albert presided over the first meeting of citizens of the Union party held in Maryland, which assembled at Catonsville, to denounce the proceedings of South Carolina, and to pledge Maryland to the support of the Government. In 1861 Albert was delegated to go to Washington to explain to President Lincoln the difficult situation of Baltimore and to ask for help; his attempt to bring new life to the commerce of the city which had been injured by the war was as successful as possible under the circumstances. Albert's house was the gathering place of the unionists in Baltimore. He cooperated most ardently to organize the Republican Party and to found the Union Club of which he later became president. In 1864 he was president of the electoral college of Maryland for the approaching presidential election.

The *Turner* were the first group in Baltimore to support the nominee of the Chicago Convention, Lincoln, as a body and energetically. The headquarters of the *Turner* Societies of America were at the time located in Baltimore and here also its organ, the weekly *Turnzeitung,* was published. Consequently the history of the *Turnzeitung* of these years forms part of the history of the Germans in Baltimore.[61] One ought not underestimate the political influence of the *Turnzeitung,* since it spoke for 20,000 members of the *German Socialist Turner Society.* When therefore the Baltimore *Turnzeitung* first raised its voice in favor of Lincoln there was great joy in the Lincoln camp because of these new adherents.[62] Needless to state, the Baltimore editors of the paper

[59] *Bibliographical Cyclopaedia,* p. 5 f.

[60] *Baltimore Past and Present* (Baltimore, 1871), pp. 169 ff.; Hamilton Owens, *Baltimore on the Chesapeake* (Garden City, N. Y., 1941), p. 281.

[61] Of the volumes of the *Turnzeitung* published in Baltimore 1859-1861 there is extant only a single copy, property of the Boston Public Library.

[62] William Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston, 1937), p. 190.

—Wilhelm Rapp, Dr. Edward Wiss, and Dr. Adolph Wiesner—were all thorough Republicans. From Baltimore the *Turner* headquarters sent on October 16, 1860, an appeal to all *Turner* societies to campaign for Lincoln. "We Turner fight against slavery, Nativism, or any other kind of restriction based on color, religion, or place of birth, since all this is incompatible with any cosmopolitan view-point." [63] Since the attitude of the *Turnzeitung* is identical with that of the *Wecker* it is unnecessary to repeat details, except to mention their reaction to the events at Harper's Ferry. Both papers show no sympathy for John Brown; his actions were described as "a mad *Putsch* of a fanatic driven to despair by an unkind fate." [64] The *Turnzeitung* blamed the South for making a mountain out of a molehill by demanding a search for "wire-pullers," of which there were none at all. It went on to say that one could almost believe that Southerners had been the stage managers of the affair, were it not that John Brown was just as honest as he was fanatical, because this mad raid certainly served to inflame public opinion in Dixie. The calm, measured judgment here expressed concerning John Brown was angrily criticized by more violent *Turner* from northern states; especially the Boston *Turner* protested against the location of the editorial office in a slave state where it was subject to a certain amount of local pressure.[65] The riots of April 19 and 20, 1861, caused the precipitate removal from Baltimore of the editorial offices of the *Turner* Societies.

It seems in place to say a bit more concerning these riots. The *Turner* had never made a secret of their enthusiasm for Lincoln.[66] Among the thirty-two Germans who in the middle of April, on the very day after Lincoln's appeal, went to Washington to enlist as volunteers, fully one-half were *Turner.*[67] Regiments of German *Turner,* among them many from Baltimore, held Washington until troops from the North arrived.[68] Thus everyone in Baltimore knew what was to be expected of the *Turner,* and that led to an event that in a tragi-comical vein followed the turbulent Baltimore street battles of April 19, 1861.[69] On this very day a

[63] *Baltimore, Seine Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 234.
[64] *Turnzeitung,* October 18, 1859.
[65] *Ibid.,* November 1, 1859.
[66] Reports on Republican mass meetings in the *Turnhalle. Turnzeitung,* October 30 and November 6, 1860.
[67] *Wecker,* April 19, 1861. [68] *Ibid.,* May 20, 1861.
[69] *The Pennsylvania German,* VIII (1907), 19, 62, 117.

violent mob had appeared before the *Turnhalle* on West Pratt Street to demand from the *Turner* that they lower the Union banner and hoist the Maryland flag. This was to no avail, for the *Turner* had declared that they would rather blow up their hall than lower the Union flag.[70] When on the following Saturday, April 20, the news spread throughout the city that the German company of *Turner* Rifles had two days previously sent arms to Washington and had offered the services of the company to the Government, a violent riot ensued. A mob collected before the *Turnhalle,* which contained the armory of the *Turner,* invaded the building and smashed everything to bits, from heavy furniture and gymnasium apparatus to the dishes in the kitchen and the bottles in the bar. The only weapons that the mob discovered were four old muskets, which they of course carried off. Then the police appeared—after everything had been smashed and the mob had disbanded—and Captain Gardener with his fifteen policemen solemnly locked the building. The majority of the *Turner* had to flee, most of them going to the Union army.[71]

A similar fate on the same day overtook the office of the *Wecker* on Frederick Street. Here too a boisterous mob appeared and made preparations to storm the building. Windows were smashed and some of the machinery, employed in printing the only two Republican papers in Maryland, the *Wecker* and the *Turnzeitung,* was destroyed. However, the rioters had to withdraw before they could complete their vandalism. Whether this was because courageous Mrs. Schnauffer faced down the mob or whether the police arrived this time more promptly, is a matter regarding which reports differ.[72] The *Wecker* building was evi-

[70] Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des Turnerbundes* (Indianapolis, 1874), p. 77. Franz Hubert Cortan, *Geschichte des Turnverein Vorwärts 1867-1892* (Baltimore, 1892).

[71] Baltimore *Sun,* April 22, 1861; Cortan, *op. cit.,* p. 1; Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore,* p. 600. Cortan reports that the mob "was led by a German," but investigation has yielded no information on this point. Scharf, who on account of his sympathies with the South did not wish to represent the outbreak to be a violent act of the mob, says that "this act was committed by a number of indignant Southern men."

[72] Zucker, *op. cit.,* p. 22; J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Baltimore, 1881), p. 630. *The Sun,* April 22, 1861, reports: "The crowd soon dispersed, not, however, until the Southern flag had been thrown out. No violence was done, and all good citizens regretted that any such demonstration was made." However, the *Sun* stands alone in reporting no violence. Cortan as well as Scharf speak of destruction—"office completely wrecked, building seriously injured" (Scharf). Probably the machinery was destroyed in part, for the *Wecker* could not be published from April 20 to 29; and after that it appeared for a considerable period as a so-called "extra," a single fly-leaf.

dently not destroyed completely. The editors had to flee and the paper could not be published for several weeks. Only after the city had been occupied by troops, the editor of the paper, William Schnauffer, a brother of the founder, could return to resume publication.

A similar outbreak of mob violence took place a few days later against Leopold Blumenberg (1827-1876), a merchant with strong Union sympathies. Blumenberg, of German-Jewish descent, was born in Brandenburg, Germany, and came to Baltimore in 1854, where he soon attained considerable prosperity. He was one of the first to follow Lincoln's appeal in 1861. In 1863, together with three other Germans, Bartell, Kühne and Straubenmüller, he founded a special German "Unionsverein."[73] He retired from business for the purpose of devoting himself to the Union cause, and spent a good deal of his own money in helping to raise the Fifth Regiment of Maryland Volunteers.[74] This earned him the bitterest enmity of Baltimore Secessionists who openly threatened his life and made it necessary that after an unsuccessful attack Blumenberg's house had to be guarded by the police for several nights. Blumenberg became a major in the Fifth Regiment and fought for some time under McClellan. He led his troops against Lee's army in the Battle of Antietam and was wounded so severely that for more than a year he was bedridden.[75] Lincoln then appointed him provost-marshal of the Third Maryland District, a post he held until the close of the draft, and President Johnson named him a brigadier-general for his valiant services in battle.

If on the other hand one examines the troop lists of the Maryland regiments who fought on the side of the South, the absence of German names is most striking. Of course, here and there a few German names are found but the percentage is extremely small, especially among the officers. Only one German—or German-Swiss—name occurs among the officers of the Maryland Infantry, a Lieutenant William P. Zollinger who distinguished

[73] *Wecker*, September 23, 1863.

[74] *Biographical Cyclopaedia*, p. 477; *Wecker*, April 30, 1861.

[75] *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-1865* (Balt., 1898), I, 179, 181; Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, I, 249. Some of the German names among members of the Fifth Regiment killed or wounded at Antietam are: (Officers) Magnus Moltke, Leopold Blumenberg, William Bamberger; (Privates) Warmboldt, Preiss, Stahl, Harochkamp, Bruder, Kohler, Merling, Kohlmann, Braun, Bremermann.

himself particularly in reorganizing the Second Maryland Infantry Regiment in Richmond.[76] In addition we find just a few more in the lists of the Maryland Infantry: W. H. Slingluff, William Ritter, Alfred Riddlemoser, Joseph Wagner.[77] In the First Maryland Cavalry we find only two German names among the twenty officers: A. F. Schwartz and F. C. Slingluff; in the Second Maryland Cavalry Herman F. Keidel is mentioned among the staff officers.[78] In the Maryland Artillery the only Germans that occur are Corporal W. F. Bollinger and Captain W. L. Ritter.[79] There were thus some Germans among the Maryland Confederate troops, but they constitute a mere scattering and their percentage compared with the great participation of Germans in the Northern cause is strikingly small. It might be noted that the Maryland Line in the Confederate Army was recruited particularly from Southern Maryland, where there had been least German immigration.

Up to this point there has been mention only of riots against German groups faithful to the Union. Naturally enough in the later years of the War we find that the opposite took place, namely that Southern sympathizers—among these also some Germans—were pelted with rocks. In the course of such a demonstration on May 25, 1862, the building of the *Deutsche Correspondent* was visited by an excited mob. Scharf reports on this as follows: [80]

> The office of the German Correspondent was then visited, but the proprietors stated that they were about to display their flag, when the crowd proceeded to . . . On returning, the crowd went again to the Correspondent's office, where a portion of the flag, showing the stripes, was hanging from an upper window, but this was not satisfactory to the crowd, who required that the entire flag, with the stars, should be exposed to view.

It has been stated that the *Correspondent* was Democratic but not Secessionist. Among the Germans of Baltimore, particularly among those of the upper classes, there were quite a number of adherents of the Confederacy. The *Turner* Societies who sympathized with the Union were composed mostly of members of the middle and lower classes. The social center of the élite was the

[76] W. W. Goldsborough *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865* (Baltimore, 1900), pp. 85, 86, 152.
[77] *Ibid.*, 76, 155 ff.
[78] *Ibid.*, 166, 246.
[79] *Ibid.*, 270, 315.
[80] *Chronicles*, p. 624.

Germania Club and this club was considered a hot-bed of Secessionism;[81] hence when the city was placed under martial law the Club was very quickly closed on the command of General Butler. The Germania Club in these years was an organization of merchants. Baltimore's tobacco trade at the time was almost exclusively in German hands. The two chief ports for tobacco export and import, respectively, were Baltimore and Bremen and hence the tobacco trade was largely in the hands of Bremen merchants who had branch houses or business partners in Baltimore. This seems to be the explanation of the fact that the merchants who were members of the Germania Club and who dealt mostly in tobacco sympathized with the tobacco-raising Southern states; their economic interests and friendly social relations with Southern planters had naturally produced this result. The events of the war years made their impression also on this Club, as when in 1862 the president, Frederick Schepeler, a tobacco merchant, had to withdraw, because he had been a bit too free in his expression of sympathy for the South and thereby had endangered the existence of the Club during the period of martial law under General Butler.[82] In the guest books of the Club one finds during the first years of the War innumerable entries of the names of merchants from Southern states, all the way from Virginia to Louisiana. At times a guest entered as his place of residence "Confederate States" or "Confederacy," which in these days was meant to convey a declaration of political principles. From 1863 on, the Union sympathizers came more and more to the fore. The Secessionist Schepeler was succeeded as president by his business partner, Albert Schumacher, a thorough Unionist. When the Club made a declaration to the effect that in political matters it was absolutely neutral, General Butler gave permission to have it reopened; thereupon the members could foregather again—to be sure under a Union flag suspended in the club house, whether they liked this or not.[83]

Next to the Germania Club the Concordia Society was the social center of the well-to-do Germans. Here, too, there was to

[81] From an unpublished speech by Henry G. Hilken on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the club, 1910. (In possession of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland in the Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore.)
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] Dieter Cunz, *History of the Germania Club* (Baltimore, 1940), p. 13.

be found a fairly large Secessionist group. August Becker, for some time editor of the *Wecker,* relates an occurrence that was probably quite symptomatic of the general attitude in the Concordia Society. Becker was chatting one evening in 1861 in the club rooms with his friend, Justus Bruehl, concerning the probable outcome of the war and gave frank expression to his Union sympathies. Thereupon all other members left the room by way of a demonstration of their feelings, leaving Becker and Bruehl finally quite alone. "You spoke too vigorously," said Bruehl, "These gentlemen are all devoted to the Confederate cause." [84]

One well-known Forty-Eighter is found even among the adherents of the Southern cause: Dr. Adalbert John Volck.[85] His house in Baltimore became a rendezvous for Southern sympathizers in the earlier years of the War, and at times he offered Confederate soldiers a hiding place there. Further than that, Volck actively assisted in smuggling medical supplies into the South. Suspicion fell on him so definitely, that in 1861, at the instance of General Butler, he was for some time incarcerated in Fort McHenry.[86] It was as a caricaturist that Volck gained his chief importance during the Civil War. Quite consciously he attempted to counteract the influence of the famous cartoonist on the Northern side, Thomas Nast, who also happened to be a German Forty-Eighter. Under the pseudonym, "V. Blada," he published a series of cartoons, in which he attempted to heap ridicule on the Union, especially on President Lincoln and General Butler.[87] His *Con-*

[84] *Der deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati, 1869), I, 286. Strongly pro-Southern, too, was Gustav Wilhelm Lurman, a wealthy Baltimore merchant, who had come from Bremen before 1835. Mrs. Elinor S. Heiser, his granddaughter, characterizes him in her reminiscences, *Days Gone By* (Baltimore, 1940), p. 90: "His sympathies were strongly with the South in the Civil War, and in its behalf he gave and lost largely his fortune."

[85] Adalbert J. Volck (1828-1912), was born in Augsburg, Germany. After his participation in the Revolution of 1848 in Berlin he had to flee Germany and came to the United States in 1849. Following a two-years' stay in the Middle West he was called in 1851 as instructor to the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. He was a Charter member of the Maryland State Dental Association and a founder of the Association of Dental Surgeons. See *Dictionary of American Biography, Encyclopedia Americana* (1939), Vol. 28, pp. 172 f. A full account of his life and work is given by George C. Keidel in *Catonsville Biographies* published in the Catonsville, Md., *Argus,* Oct. 2-Nov. 20, 1915.

[86] When after the conclusion of the War General Butler was a candidate for the governorship of Massachusetts Volck's caricatures helped considerably in bringing about his defeat.

[87] Albert Shaw, *Abraham Lincoln. A Cartoon History* (New York, 1929), I, pp. 12, 63; II, pp. 236, 253.

federate War Etchings and his *Sketches from the Civil War* in which he shows markedly artistic gifts, were of considerable aid to the cause of the South. It was either he or his brother, the sculptor Frederic Volck, who made the famous bust of Jefferson Davis which was engraved on the ten cent stamps of the Confederacy.[88] Adalbert Volck's sketch of Stonewall Jackson was very popular in the South and his portrait of Robert E. Lee hangs in the Valentine Museum in Richmond, Va. Volck continued in his love for the South to the very end of his days, displaying it also in another art at which he later tried his hand, the work of the silversmith. The last significant work he undertook in this field was a memorial shield, completed in 1909, three years before his death: "To the Women of the South—As a continual reminder . . . of the splendid example of self-sacrifice, endurance and womanly virtues displayed during the war between the States." Volck is particularly interesting because he was an exception to the vast majority of the liberal Forty-Eighters who favored the side of the North.

From all this it becomes evident that the picture presented by the Maryland Germans during the Civil War is by no means a unified one and that their attitude cannot be set down in a simple statement. Still one might generalize from the evidence as follows: in the western part of the State where the German element had largely been amalgamated by other groups of settlers, the exceptionally vigorous pro-Union attitude of Frederick and Washington Counties can probably be justly attributed to the strong German element in the population. It is in the rural districts, in the western counties, that we find the large number of Marylanders of Pennsylvania-German stock who clung conservatively to their traditional membership in the Democratic party and yet remained adherents of the Union. In Baltimore the Germans were much more recent arrivals, the German language and German social life still flourished there, and therefore one can speak here of a more definitely German attitude than in the western settlements dating back to Colonial times. The Germans in Baltimore represented the most southerly outpost of the Republican Party. Hence there were to be found here the most fiery Lincoln adher-

[88] August Dietz, *The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America"* (Richmond, Va., 1929), p. 222.

ents south of the Mason and Dixon Line. In Western Maryland the Union sympathizers remained within the Democratic Party organization, whereas in Baltimore they were Republicans as a matter of course. This keen party feeling in turn drove the Democratic Germans of Baltimore into the radical, secessionist wing of the party, in contrast to the conservative Democrats of Western Maryland. The urban section of the German element in Maryland separated itself, politically speaking, approximately along the lines of its sociological strata. Among the wealthy Germans, bound to the South by the ties of the tobacco trade, there were many Secessionists or at least Southern sympathizers.[89] Just as there was in Baltimore the southernmost group of Lincoln enthusiasts so there was here also the northernmost clique of German adherents of the Confederate cause. The latter were mostly men who had been in the country for a considerable time, generally more than ten years, and had become quite acclimatized. The middle and lower social strata of German immigrants, men who were in general associated with the *Turner* movement, stood as a group behind the Union cause. Their intellectual leaders were liberal refugees from the Revolution of 1848 who without the least hesitation flocked to the Republican banner. We have mentioned above how important it was for this group, perhaps the most valuable to America of all German immigrants, that they found it possible through joining in the fight for a holy cause to unite themselves spiritually with their new fatherland. On the other hand, it is unnecessary to dwell at length on the advantages accruing to the Union cause through the fact that the strong and enterprising young men of this generation of German immigrants placed their strength at the disposal of the North. This was of decisive importance especially in the border states where public opinion was divided and where a few brave individuals counted for ever so much more than in the homogeneous and safe atmosphere of Northern states. And how important it was to preserve for the Union Maryland in particular can be seen by one glance at the map and the geographical position of the nation's capital.

[89] Cf. Robert T. Clark, Jr. "The New Orleans German Colony in the Civil War," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XX (1937), pp. 990-1015. Clark shows that also in New Orleans the wealthy members of the German colony were ardent adherents of the Confederacy, "because their income was derived in one way or another from the proceeds of slave labor."

It seems fitting to close this essay with a quotation from a speech by President Theodore Roosevelt delivered in 1903: [80]

> The other day I went out to the battle-field of Antietam, here in Maryland. There the Memorial Church is the German Lutheran Church, which was founded in 1768, the settlement in the neighborhood of Antietam being originaly exclusively a German settlement. There is a list of its pastors, and curiously enough, a series of memorial windows of men with German names—men who belonged to the Maryland regiment recruited largely from that region for the Civil War, which Maryland regiment was mainly composed of men of German extraction. In the Civil War it would be difficult to paint in too strong colors what I may wellnigh call the all-importance of the attitude of the American citizens of German birth and extraction toward the cause of the Union and liberty, especially in what were then known as the border states. It would have been out of question to have kept Missouri loyal had it not been for the German element therein. So it was in Kentucky,—and but little less important was the part played by the Germans in Maryland.

[80] Quoted in *The Pennsylvania German*, V (1904), 44.