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# A Passion for Liberty: German Immigrants in the Creation of the Republican Party and the Election of Lincoln

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## A Passion for Liberty: German Immigrants in the Creation of the Republican Party and the Election of Lincoln

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Molly L. Fischer

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[The] ‘Forty-Eighters’ brought something like a wave of spring sunshine. . . . They were mostly high-spirited young people, inspired by fresh ideals which they had failed to realize in the old world, but hoped to realize here; ready to enter upon any activity they might be capable of; and eager not only to make that activity profitable but also to render life merry and beautiful; and, withal, full of enthusiasm for the great American Republic which was to be their home and the home of their children.

—Carl Schurz

For most of a century, German-Americans nurtured the myth that they, as an ethnic group, had effected the election of Abraham Lincoln. By sheer numbers, they asserted, their votes had sent Lincoln to the White House. While historians have since disproven this myth, it is undeniable that German-Americans played a key role in the formation and early platform of the Republican Party. Those who arrived in the wake of the volatile German Revolutions of 1848-49, the so-called Forty-Eighters, played a particularly central role in formulating the Republican party’s immigration policy and in courting the votes of their countrymen for the Party’s principle cause, the abolition of slavery. Having been thwarted in their struggle to establish democracy in their homeland, they used their pens, presses, voices, and sabers to promote the cause of freedom in their new home.

### **The *Vormärz* and German Revolutions of 1848-1849**

During the period preceding the US Civil War, the nation of Germany as it exists now was unknown. Rather, thirty-nine individual states made up a loosely affiliated German Confederation or *Deutscher Bund*, ruled largely by various kings, dukes, and princes. Generally, the Confederation had no central leadership, though the states’ leaders did collaborate to pass legislation that would affect all of its residents.<sup>1</sup> One set of these universal regulations, the 1819 Carlsbad Decrees, attempted to suppress political protest by dissolving student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*), allowing for censorship of journals and newspapers for

dishonoring the confederation or for threatening the “maintenance of peace and quiet,”<sup>2</sup> and creating committees to investigate revolutionary plots. As one author described their effect, “youths of twenty who had never committed worse things than to sing bombastic songs about a mysterious abstraction they called Liberty, or wearing the tricolored ribbons of the *Burschenschaft* (black, red and gold), were kept in prison for years, often without ever being tried on specific charges.”<sup>3</sup>

The Carlsbad Decrees heralded the *Vormärz*, the decades preceding the eventual German Revolutions of 1848-1849, characterized by political resistance and sporadic insurrections. German speakers immigrated to the United States during this time to improve their living conditions generally, but also to escape political oppression or personal warrants or indictments. Gustave Koerner, later to serve as Lieutenant Governor of Illinois and United States Minister to Spain, fled his hometown of Frankfurt disguised in women’s clothing in 1833 to escape an arrest warrant for attempting to spark a revolution with his fellow students. He immigrated to Belleville, Illinois, with several other countrymen to what would grow into a thriving German-American settlement.<sup>4</sup> Most of these early arrivals—those who immigrated to the United States from the German states prior to the Revolutions of 1848-1849—tended to be more politically and religiously conservative than those who would follow. This included established German immigrants who settled along the eastern seaboard and in New Orleans back through the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

The desire for a united, democratically ruled Germany grew among its populace during the *Vormärz*. Some twenty-five thousand Germans rallied at Hambach Castle in 1832 in a peaceful demonstration promoting German unity and civil liberties. By 1848, these democratic aspirations came to a head—particularly among young *Burschenschaft* members, journalists, attorneys, and other young men of the educated middle and upper classes.<sup>6</sup> Notably missing among this group were those well versed in the procedures of political reform, and those well trained in warcraft. While soldiers of the various German state armies did participate in the revolutions, the typical German revolutionary soldier was a young man, fresh from university, with little if any battle experience.

The Revolutions began in earnest in Austria and Berlin in March of 1848 (hence the occasional use of the German term *Märzrevolution*), concurrent with plans to elect and institute a representative German national assembly. In April and May, Friedrich Hecker, a charismatic politician from the southwestern duchy of Baden, became something of a national folk hero when he led a group of his North Baden constituents against the grand-ducal government. He and his fellow revolutionaries fought “[w]ith guns of every pattern from the days of the arquebus

down, with swords dating back to the crusades . . . but by far the greater number bore the weapon of old Saturn himself, scythes fastened straight to their handles, with blades sharpened and whetted to the keenness of a razor's edge."<sup>7</sup> The German Confederation's army, however, quickly curtailed the Hecker Uprising. Hecker



Figure 1. Revolutionaries on the barricades in Berlin with the tricolored flag, March 19, 1848.

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himself initially fled to Switzerland to avoid treason charges, then, like Koerner, settled near the Belleville area in southwestern Illinois.

Despite initial high hopes, a democratically elected German National Parliament met limited success. Before its dissolution, left-wing delegates exhorted their countrymen to resist and uphold the constitution that the assembly had written:

*Die Stunde ist gekommen da es sich entscheiden wird ob Deutschland frei und stark oder geknechtet und verachtet sein soll ... wir fragen Euch, werdet Ihr es dulden, daß Fürsten und Minister,*

*welche das Gesetz der Nation mit Füßen treten, Euch gegen Eure Brüder und Väter hetzen?* [The hour has come when it will be decided whether Germany should be free and strong or enslaved and despised . . . we ask you, will you tolerate that the princes and ministers, who kick the law of the nation with their feet, incite you against your brothers and fathers?]<sup>8</sup>

A final desperate campaign in defense of the constitution began in Baden and the Bavarian Palatinate in May of 1849. Baden declared its independence as a provisional republic, with Lorenz Brentano installed as the president of its short-lived revolutionary government.<sup>9</sup> The revolutionaries' hopes came to their ultimate end with the rebel troops' surrender to the Prussian Army at the Fortress of Rastatt on July 23, 1849. Political exiles fled the German states to avoid life imprisonment or execution. While many made stops in Switzerland, France, and England, the majority immigrated to the United States. Initially landing along the eastern seaboard and in New Orleans, most of the political exiles ultimately settled in the "German Triangle." The highly German cities of Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and St. Louis formed the triangle's three corners, with Chicago included in its bounds. These exiles of the 1848-1849 German Revolutions were referred to as *Achtundvierziger* or "Forty-Eighters."<sup>10</sup>

### The "Greens" and the "Grays"

After settling in their new land, the Forty-Eighters strove to create a livelihood. Some tried their hand at farming (referred to as so-called "Latin Farmers," having been classically educated in Europe). Those trained in law and in the English language attempted entrance to the American bar. The Forty-Eighters, however, came to be most closely associated with journalism. In the decades after the Revolutions, the German-language press in America proliferated. German political exiles helmed the majority of these newspapers and journals.<sup>11</sup>

As they struggled for their daily bread, the Forty-Eighters also sought their place within the larger German-American community. Well-educated, politically active, generally non-religious (in some cases, actively anti-religious), and dedicated to the ideals of the liberal republic, these new arrivals stood in contrast to those German immigrants who had settled in the United States in decades previous. Earlier settlers tended toward conservatism in politics, religion, and lifestyle. They had abandoned early utopian schemes, established a modest amount of wealth, developed communities in their new homeland, and become

comfortable in their political commitments.<sup>12</sup> That the two groups should view each other with some suspicion is understandable. In the newspapers of the time, settled immigrants called the enthusiastic newcomers “Greens,” unfamiliar with the ways of their new land and rudely outspoken in their criticisms; the Forty-Eighters, in turn, referred to earlier settlers as “Grays,” lacking passion in their ideals and stubbornly set in their ways.<sup>13</sup>

Gustave Koerner, who had settled across the Mississippi River from St. Louis in the town of Belleville, Illinois, after his 1833 escape from Frankfurt, was a target of this Forty-Eighter criticism. He remarked on the situation in his autobiography, referring to the St. Louis German-language newspaper *Anzeiger des Westens*, edited by the Forty-Eighter Henry Boernstein:

In some respects his stirring up of the people was not without its good effects, but no doubt he created strife and bad feeling, and above all roused the American population against the Germans and the newcomers in particular. A good deal of the very strong revival of the Native American feeling, just at this time and for some years to come, was owing to the arrogance, imperious and domineering conduct of the refugees.<sup>14</sup>

When Koerner wrote editorials in the *Belleviller Zeitung*, correcting the Forty-Eighters’ mischaracterizations of American institutions and “advising moderation and patience,” Boernstein struck back, calling Koerner “Gray Gustav” and declaring him “a relic of the olden times.”<sup>15</sup> It was to Koerner’s credit that he did not dismiss the Forty-Eighters outright; rather, Koerner formed close friendships with many of the newcomers, and became one of the staunch pillars of the German Republican community. This was uncharacteristic for the “Grays;” many would retain their suspicion of the new revolutionary arrivals.

Prior to the 1850s, like most established German-American immigrants, Koerner was a Democrat—“the party commonly associated with states’ rights, local self-rule, and social conservatism.”<sup>16</sup> This was understandable. The alternative, the Whig Party, was more closely associated with the banker or land speculator than with the small farmer or immigrant Western settler. The newly arrived pre-revolutionary German saw obvious similarities between the Whig Party and the ruling aristocracy in the homeland they had fled. The Whigs also tended toward nationalism that, at its most extreme, manifested in nativism and anti-immigrant policy.<sup>17</sup> Most of the successful, established German-language journals and newspapers in the United States, beginning in the 1830s, had Democratic

affiliation.<sup>18</sup> The majority of the newly arrived Forty-Eighters found the Democratic Party too conservative for their taste. Initially, they began planning for their own radical political party, the *Bund Freier Männer*.<sup>19</sup> However, in the 1850s, many of the “Greens” and “Grays” would unite over the issue that ultimately joined not only the two factions of German immigrants, but also the many disparate factions that eventually created the Republican Party—the abolition of slavery.

Generally, German-American settlers held a distaste for slavery.<sup>20</sup> Prior to 1854, however, their political priorities lay elsewhere: “Foremost in their list of requests were fair wages, protection from Sabbath and temperance laws, local self-rule, and free land for those seeking their fortune farther west—policies with which German immigrants initially tended to entrust the Democratic Party. Black slavery mattered little in this equation.”<sup>21</sup> Despite this, abolitionists viewed German immigrants as potential allies for at least a decade. At the seventh annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, members discussed creating and disseminating German-language abolitionist literature, stating, “the general passion of the Germans for liberty, gives the highest assurance that nothing is wanting but light to range them against oppression in this country, as they have fled from it in their fatherland.”<sup>22</sup> Upon their arrival in the United States, Forty-Eighters dove into abolitionism with gusto; they “saw antislavery as a natural extension of the liberal nationalism that they had fought for in Europe,”<sup>23</sup> slavery being “the ultimate travesty of individual rights.”<sup>24</sup> The Forty-Eighters were aware of the general “passion for liberty”<sup>25</sup> that even the most “Gray” of their countrymen held as a matter of principle, and took on the mantle of persuading their fellow countrymen to join them and vote for abolition.

### **The Republican Party**

Political concerns such as the participation of women and black activists divided early abolitionists. However, the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act brought the issue of slavery to the forefront of political discussion and served to unite these factions. No longer was slavery a foreign concept, of no concern to the citizen of a non-slave state; now, the law demanded residents in all states return escaped slaves to their masters. Furthermore, Senator Stephen Douglas’s Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 opened new states to the possibility of slavery by their residents’ popular vote. The majority of German immigrants, even long-time Douglas supporters, opposed the bill. Abolitionist factions seized on opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska

Bill and began organizing a new party, referred to as the Republican Party, with abolition as its ruling platform.

The Republican Party was a “fusion” party, formed of the abolitionist remnants of the defunct Whig Party, some Free Soil Democrats, and abolitionist members of the American or “Know Nothing” Party. While these factions all had abolitionism in common, some held views that made German immigrants—both old and new—understandably wary. The nativist Know Nothings made life difficult for German and Irish immigrants nationwide in the 1850s. Anti-immigrant sentiment came to a head in 1855, when a mob killed several German and Irish immigrants on Election Day in Louisville.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the Whig Party frequently promoted both Sabbath and temperance legislation. German immigrants were highly opposed to both types of legislation as a matter of cultural preservation.

It is difficult to overemphasize the role social drinking played in the cultural life of the nineteenth century German immigrant. As Allison Clark Efford states in her study on Civil War-era German immigrants, “the most elemental activity through which German Americans constituted themselves as a cultural group was social drinking.”<sup>27</sup> German saloons, public houses, and *Biergartens* provided spaces for men, women, and even children to gather, enjoy traditional music and dance, discuss the issues of the day, and affirm the “festive culture”<sup>28</sup> that they had known in their homeland. As Sunday was the only day a laborer would not work, it became the day on which Germans would relish these gatherings with their lager beer—much to the shock and distaste of those who promoted temperance and the preservation of the Sabbath for worship and prayer. Indeed, as historian Ernest Bruncken notes, “The truth was that what is called in German the ‘Weltanschauung’ [worldview] of the immigrants was so different from anything the native American mind was accustomed to, that it was almost impossible to find a common ground from which an understanding between the two classes could be had, until the ‘Forty-Eighters’ and the Puritan became united in a common hatred of slavery.”<sup>29</sup> If Germans were to join the Republican Party in any substantial number, they would need assurance that the Party would respect their cultural traditions. Democrats, attempting to prevent the loss of a valuable voting bloc, did their best to convince the German populace that the Republican Party fostered anti-immigrant policies through advocacy of Sabbath legislation and temperance.<sup>30</sup> However, the Democratic Party’s refusal to condemn slavery made the party more difficult for many Germans to support.

## German Immigrants and the Republican Platform

On February 22, 1856, four months before the Republican Party's first national convention, several Illinois newspaper editors who defined themselves as "Anti-Nebraska" editors (that is, those in opposition to Stephen Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act and the expansion of slavery generally) met on a snowy day in Decatur, Illinois. The editors gathered to coordinate for the upcoming election, discussing candidates and platform for both national and local office. Chicago's most influential German-language newspaper, the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, and the *The Journal* of Quincy, Illinois, represented the German press. George Schneider, a Forty-Eighter who had fought with revolutionary forces in both the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden before fleeing to the United States in 1849, helmed the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*.<sup>31</sup> Schneider had made valuable connections in Chicago over his three years as the paper's Editor-in-Chief. He had befriended the young Abraham Lincoln in 1853, describing him as a man "already necessary to know."<sup>32</sup>

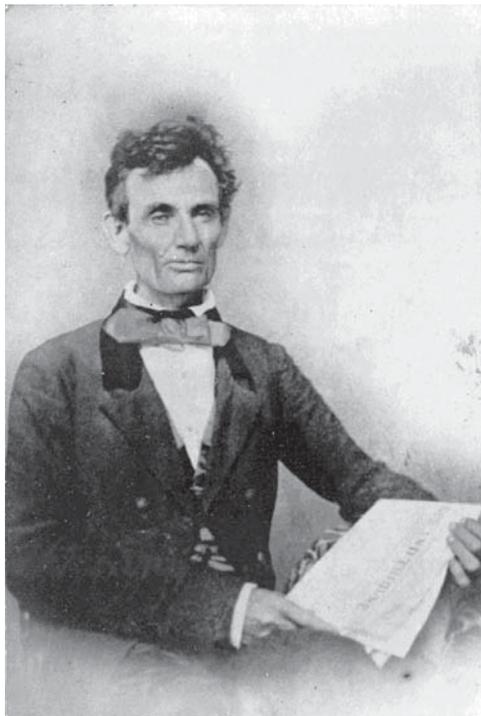


Figure 2. Abraham Lincoln holds an issue of his friend George Schneider's German-language *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* newspaper. Image by Johan Carl Frederic Polycarpus Von Schneidau, Chicago, Illinois, October 27, 1854.

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In the second of the known photographic images of Lincoln, he holds an issue of his friend George Schneider's *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* newspaper. The two had been enjoying dinner in late October 1854 when Schneider requested Lincoln sit for the portrait.<sup>33</sup>

Abraham Lincoln himself traveled up from Springfield to meet with the editors as they gathered in Decatur. He joined the deliberations of the Committee on Resolutions that day; his friend Schneider was serving on this committee. In addition to resolutions emphatically protesting the expansion of slavery into free territories, demanding the reinstatement of the Missouri Compromise, and asserting the continuing protections for free



Figure 3. George Schneider, Editor-in-Chief of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*. Lithograph based on image by Alfred Brisbois, Mosher Gallery, Chicago.

speech and a free press, Schneider himself formulated language that specifically rebuked Know-Nothingism and anti-immigrant sentiment. His role, as reported in the meeting's commemorative in the year 1900, was "the faithful representative of the German Anti-Nebraska element in his championship of religious tolerance and the maintenance of the naturalization laws as they were, as against the demand for the exclusion of persons of foreign-birth from the rights of American citizenship."<sup>34</sup> Historian Bruncken says of Schneider, "it was due to his untiring efforts, ably abetted as he was by . . . Abraham Lincoln, who told his old Whig friends that Mr. Schneider's resolutions contained nothing but what was laid down in the Declaration of Independence, that [this resolution was] adopted in spite of the very large 'American' element represented at the convention."<sup>35</sup> In May of 1856, the first Illinois Republican State Convention adopted a similar immigrant-inclusive platform, as did the first National Convention of the Republican Party at Philadelphia the following month, at which Mr. Schneider served as a delegate.

The new Republican Party and its first nominee, John C. Frémont, carried eleven Northern states in the 1856 election. In the years that followed,

Republicans concentrated on expanding their base. For German Republicans, in addition to constant promotion in the pages of the German-language press, campaigning involved deploying a troupe of speakers to curry votes and advocate the Republican platform. Forty-Eighters served as party surrogates across the nation. None of these speakers would gain as much stature—or as much of Abraham Lincoln’s favor—as Carl Schurz.

Schurz was already well-known among the Forty-Eighter community. Having fought in the Revolutions and escaped from the Fortress of Rastatt during its Prussian occupation, Schurz had later returned to Germany from his exile in Switzerland under a false identity to plan and execute the daring escape of his friend and mentor Gottfried Kinkel from a Spandau prison. Kinkel was something of a revolutionary hero, and those in exiled international revolutionary communities celebrated Schurz’s part in his escape.<sup>36</sup> After Schurz’s arrival in the United States, he taught himself English by

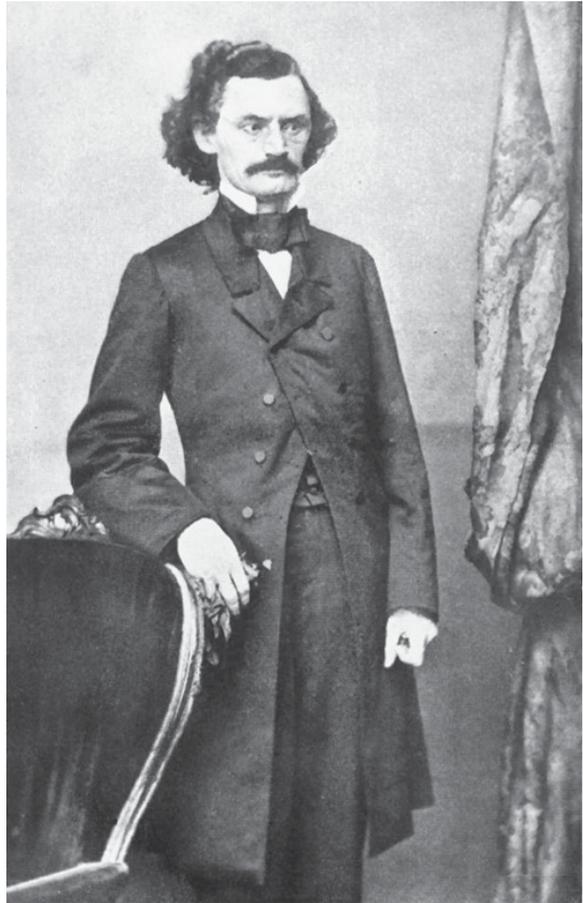


Figure 4. Carl Schurz, 1861. Image by Matthew Brady.

reading newspapers, gaining fluency that allowed him to become one of the busiest and most well-known Republican speakers in the nation. He settled in Watertown, Wisconsin, and lost a devastatingly close race to become the state’s Lieutenant Governor in 1857.<sup>37</sup> After establishing a legal practice in Milwaukee,

he devoted himself almost solely to the circuit of Republican advocacy in the years before the election of 1860.

### The 1860 Election

The Republican Party eagerly anticipated the 1860 election, though the identity of its nominee was by no means certain. Lincoln, for his part, had done what he could to court the Germans of Illinois. In May of 1859, he sent a letter with his views on immigrant rights to the editor of the German-language Springfield *Illinois Staats-Anzeiger*, Theodore Canisius. Canisius published this letter within the *Staats-Anzeiger* to assure its German readers of Lincoln's views. In this letter, Lincoln declared his opposition to a recent law in Massachusetts that required a two-year residency before a naturalized citizen could vote. It read, in part, "I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I could favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of white men, even though born in different lands, and speaking different languages from myself."<sup>38</sup> German-language newspapers reprinted the letter nationwide.

Thirteen days after composing his letter to Canisius, Lincoln signed a contract with the man: Lincoln purchased the *Illinois Staats-Anzeiger*, press and all, and contracted Canisius to run the paper, bearing its expenses and reaping its income. The paper was, Lincoln specified, "in political sentiment, not to depart from the Philadelphia and Illinois Republican platform."<sup>39</sup> Should Canisius publish the newspaper to Lincoln's satisfaction through the 1860 election, the paper would become Canisius's property and remain such as long as it supported the Republican Party.

Carl Schurz, Gustave Koerner, and Forty-Eighter Frederick Hassaurek of Ohio were prominent figures at the 1860 Republican Convention in Chicago.<sup>40</sup> Once again, the party adopted a pro-immigrant platform similar to the one first composed by Schneider. The adopted resolution, written by Koerner and Schurz, read, "The Republican Party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation, by which the rights of citizenship heretofore accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired, and is in favor of giving a full and sufficient protection to all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad."<sup>41</sup> The 1860 Republican Party platform included the statement, referred to as the "Dutch Plank," as resolution number fourteen.

Most of the German-Americans in attendance at the convention, including Wisconsin's Schurz, had enthusiastically backed the nomination of United States Senator and established abolitionist William H. Seward. Two rounds of voting made it clear that Seward would not gain the nomination, and the party eventually nominated Koerner's preferred candidate, Abraham Lincoln. Koerner and Schurz were both among the party that traveled to Springfield to inform Lincoln of his nomination. Though disappointed by Seward's defeat, Schurz threw his whole-hearted support behind Lincoln's candidacy and became one of his most fervent champions. Lincoln would write in a letter to Schurz the following month, "to the extent of our limited acquaintance, no man stands nearer my heart than yourself."<sup>42</sup>

After Lincoln's nomination, Koerner stated, "And now commenced a campaign such as I never witnessed before or after. No party ever entered upon a canvass with more devotion to principle than did the Republican Party in 1860."<sup>43</sup> The Party's German surrogates such as Schurz, Koerner, Schneider, and Hassaurek, barely rested. They continually spoke and headlined at political meetings across the West. Nationwide, Republican German-language newspaper editors sought to convince their readers to support Lincoln. On November 3, 1860, the editor of the *Minnesota Staatszeitung*, Forty-Eighter Albert Wolff, used the German involvement in the creation of the Republican platform as a key argument for why his readers should vote Republican. He argued that the immigrant element was virtually unrepresented at the Democratic National Convention, while citing Schurz and Hassaurek's prominent roles in the Republican Convention and its platform's

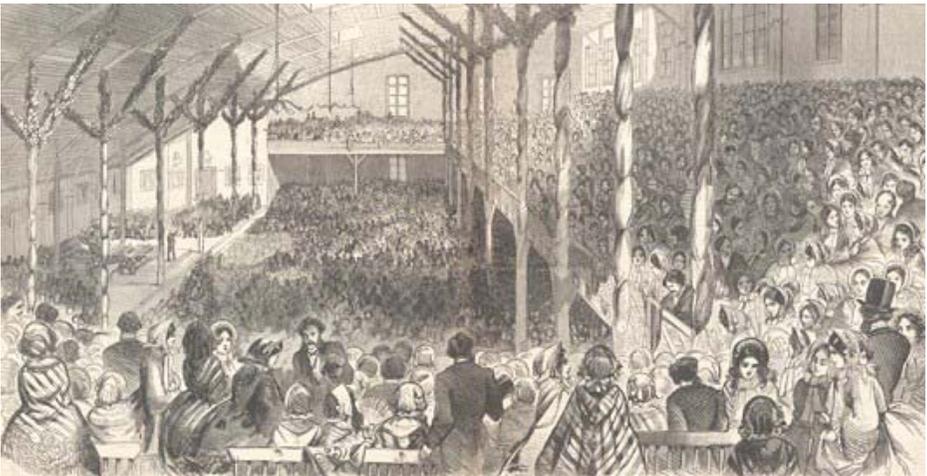


Figure 5. "The Republicans in Nominating Convention in Their Wigwam at Chicago, May 1860," from Harper's Weekly, May 19, 1860.

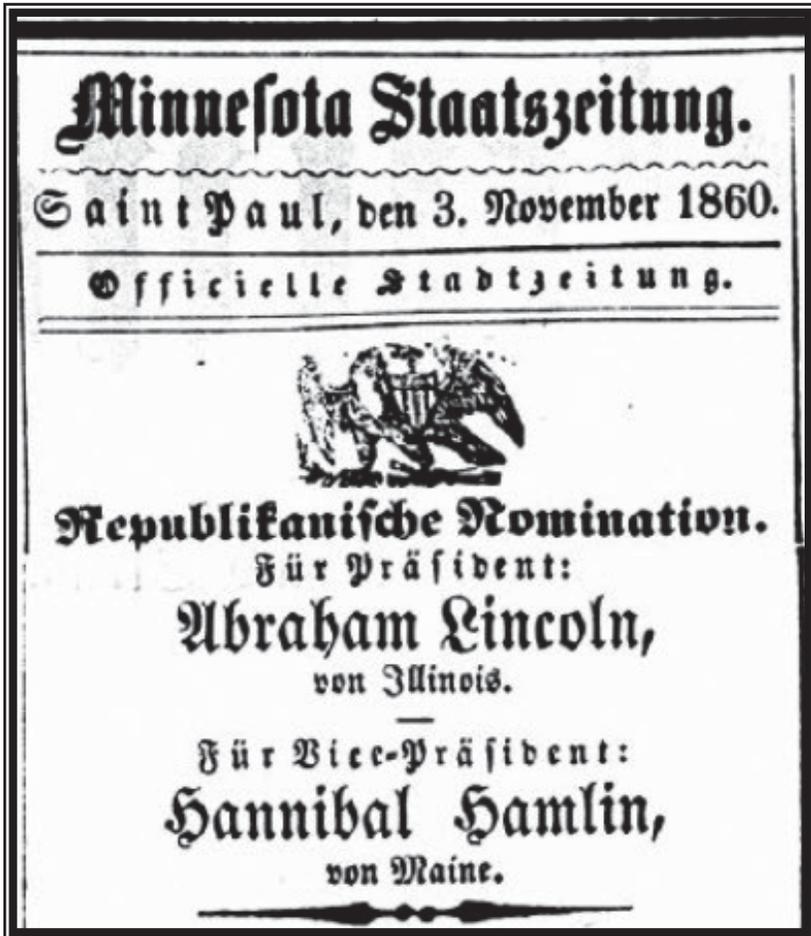


Figure 6. The *Minnesota Staatszeitung* endorses the Lincoln-Hamlin ticket, November 3, 1860.

creation. The pro-immigrant Dutch Plank, he asserted, would never have been included in the Republican platform without the involvement of “efficient, brave Germans.”<sup>44</sup>

These efforts did not go to waste. On November 6, Lincoln won the presidency, carrying eighteen states and one-hundred-eighty electoral votes. For years, German Republicans claimed that their votes had turned the tide. Historians have since determined that this was most likely not true—except in Lincoln’s home state of Illinois, where German votes may very well have tipped the balance. This

occurred despite the fact that a slim majority of German-Americans, historians now estimate, probably voted for Douglas, the Democratic nominee.<sup>45</sup> Regardless of whether the votes they gained help him achieve election, Lincoln appreciated and rewarded his most steadfast German supporters. He appointed Carl Schurz minister to Spain in 1861. Gustav Koerner later filled the post when Schurz resigned to serve as a general in the Union Army. Lincoln named Hassaurek US minister to Ecuador and appointed George Schneider consul general at Elsinore, Denmark. Schneider turned over the daily management of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* to Lorenzo Brentano, the former president of the 1849 provisional Republic of Baden. Brentano would later serve Illinois in the US House of Representatives.

German-Americans went on to serve honorably in the Union Army as well. Along with Schurz, the Union had several other German-born generals, many of whom fought in the German Revolutions of 1848-1849. These include Franz Sigel, Alexander Schimmelfennig, Louis Blenker, August Willich, and Max Weber. Friedrich Hecker commanded an Illinois infantry made entirely of immigrants.<sup>46</sup> German-born soldiers enlisted in the Union rolls at a higher rate than any other foreign-born group.<sup>47</sup> After his service to the Union Army, Schurz became the first German-born member of the United States Senate, representing the state of Missouri. He would later serve as Secretary of the Interior under President Rutherford B. Hayes.

German-Americans were at the heart of the endeavor to create a new political party, dedicated to the cause of abolition. Previous idealistic struggles in the homeland they fled prepared Forty-Eighters well for this challenge. Some have since speculated on how Germany's subsequent history might have differed, had the revolutionaries won in 1848. In his foreword to a volume commemorating the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the German Revolutions, German Honorary Consul Richard E. Schade writes,

Imagine the establishment of a German democracy driven by consensus politics in the 1850s. Then—one might speculate—the Wilhelminian Reich and the complex constellation of factors leading to 1914 might never have occurred. Had the Great War not come to pass, then the postwar crises, inflation and governmental chaos, might not have developed in such a way as to be manipulated by totalitarian true-believers. Had the latter not been the case, then the inhumanities of another war might not have occurred. Hypothetical though these musings are, imagine a chain of events which would have led to the

commemoration of a century of German democracy in 1948, rather than to forty odd years of Cold War prior to the Wende of 1989.<sup>48</sup>

Such a discussion, of course, can only remain an exercise in conjecture. However, that German-American immigrants played a major role in the creation and early promotion of the Republican Party is undeniable. Germany's loss of a generation of passionate, politically active exiles became the Republican Party's gain.

## Notes

1. The largest and most powerful of the German states, Prussia and Austria, had their desires particularly well-represented in the Carlsbad and other larger Germanic decrees. See Ernest Bruncken, "German Political Refugees in the United States: 1815-1860," in *The German-American Forty-Eighters: 1848-1998*, edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1998), 17.

2. "Die Protokolle des Carlsbader Congresses von 1819," in *Wichtige Urkunden für den Rechtszustand der Deutschen Nation, mit Eigenhändigen Anmerkungen*, edited by Johann Ludwig Klüber and C. Welcker, 106-182, (Mannheim: Friedrich Bassermann, 1845), 106-182.

3. Bruncken, 17.

4. Gustave Koerner, *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896: Life-Sketches Written at the Suggestion of His Children*, Volume I, edited by Thomas J. McCormack (Cedar Rapids, IA: Torch Press, 1909). Koerner's name is alternately spelled Gustav and Gustave, Koerner and Körner.

5. Bruncken, 26.

6. Bruncken, 32.

7. M.J. Becker, "The Forty-Eighters: The Major Figures," in *The German-American Forty-Eighters: 1848-1998*, edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1998), 79.

8. Julius Fröbel, Franz Raveau, Hellmuth Wöhler, and Ludwig Simon von Trier, "Aufruf an das Deutsche Heer!" *Deutsche Reichstag Zeitung*, May 8, 1849, 451, accessed April 25, 2017.

9. Becker, 93.

10. Tobias Brinkmann, "Chicago," in *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History*, edited by Thomas Adam (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005).

11. Bruncken, 38.

12. Bruncken, 45.

13. Christina Bearden-White, "Illinois Germans and the Coming of the Civil War: Reshaping Ethnic Identity," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 109, iss. 3 (fall 2016): 238.

14. Koerner, vol. I, 549. Note that at the point in history during which Koerner wrote his memoirs, “Native American” referred to those of European ancestry born on United States soil, rather than to the indigenous peoples of the Americas.

15. Koerner, vol. I, 550

16. Mischa Honeck, *We Are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists After 1848* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 107.

17. Bruncken, 29.

18. Allison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute/Cambridge, 2013), 44.

19. Bruncken, 46.

20. Honeck, 30.

21. Honeck, 29. There were, of course, exceptions. See, for example: Hartmut Keil, “Francis Lieber’s Attitudes on Race, Slavery, and Abolition,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28, no. 1 (Fall 2008): 13-33.

22. American Anti-Slavery Society, “Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting (Excerpts),” New York, 1840, Anti-Slavery Collection: 18th-19th Century, The Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition, Yale University.

23. Efford, 54.

24. Ibid.

25. American Anti-Slavery Society.

26. Bruncken, 48.

27. Efford, 40.

28. Ibid.

29. Bruncken, 41.

30. Bruncken, 49.

31. Paul Selby, “George Schneider,” *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1906* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Society, 1906), 331.

32. Ida M. Tarbell, *The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: S.S. McClure, 1896), 20.

33. Ibid.

34. Ezra M. Prince, editor, *Meeting of May 29, 1900 Commemorative of the Convention of May 29, 1856 That Organized the Republican party in the State of Illinois* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 1900).

35. Bruncken, 52.

36. Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, Vol. I (New York: McClure, 1906), 338.

37. Incidentally, Schurz's wife, Margarethe Meyer Schurz, is renowned in her own right for having introduced the German idea of kindergarten to America. Ms. Schurz opened the country's first kindergarten in the Schurz home in Watertown in 1854.

38. Roy P. Basler, editor, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Volume III (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 381.

39. Basler, vol. III, 383.

40. Proceedings of the Republican National Convention Held at Chicago, May 16, 17 and 18, 1860 (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Company), 1860.

41. Koerner, vol. II, 87.

42. Basler, vol. IV, 78.

43. Koerner, vol. II, 96.

44. Albert Wolff, "Ein ernstes Wort in ernster Stunde [A serious word in a serious hour]," *Minnesota Staatszeitung*, November 3, 1860, edited by Albert Wolff, Minnesota Historical Society Digital Newspaper Hub.

45. James M. Bergquist, "People and Politics in Transition: The Illinois Germans, 1850–1860," in *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 196.

46. Becker, 80.

47. Wolfgang Hochbruck, "American Civil War, German Participants in," in *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History*, edited by Thomas Adam (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005).

48. Richard E. Schade, "Foreword," in *The German-American Forty-Eighters: 1848-1998*, edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1998), v.

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