The German Immigrant Experience in Late-Antebellum Kentucky

Paul Roides
Western Kentucky University

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.wku.edu/theses

Part of the United States History Commons

Recommended Citation
http://digitalcommons.wku.edu/theses/880

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by TopSCHOLAR®. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters Theses & Specialist Projects by an authorized administrator of TopSCHOLAR®. For more information, please contact topscholar@wku.edu.
THE GERMAN IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE IN
LATE-ANTEBELLUM KENTUCKY

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Paul Roides
April 12, 1995
THE GERMAN IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE IN
LATE-ANTEBELLUM KENTUCKY

Date Recommended  April 3, 1995
Director of Thesis  Marion B. Lucas

Charles Bussey

Richard D. Wiegel

Graduate Studies  5/2/95 Date
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Professor Thomas P. Baldwin of Western Kentucky University's Department of Modern Languages and Intercultural Studies for his invaluable encouragement and guidance in my research and writing of this paper. My appreciation is also extended to Professor Marion B. Lucas, for his editorial suggestions; Mrs. Nancy Baird and the staff of the Kentucky Library, for their diligent assistance in locating primary materials; and to Mrs. Carol Calamaio, of the University Honors Program office, for her superb word processing skills and positive suggestions.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ................................................................. iii  
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ......................................................... vii 
LIST OF TABLES ................................................................. viii  
ABSTRACT ............................................................................. x  
Chapter  
INTRODUCTION ........................................................................ 1  
PART ONE. THE EARLY PERIOD  
I. BEFORE THE 1848 SURGE OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION .......... 9  
   The Setting: Post-Jacksonian America and Kentucky  
   The Influence of European Visitors and Writers on German  
   Immigration  
   High Expectations Meet Reality  
   Common Stereotypes  
II. EARLY GERMAN SETTLERS IN KENTUCKY ......................... 27  
   The Magnet of Booming Louisville in the 1840s  
   The Lure of Kentucky  
III. SOCIALIZATION OF EARLY GERMAN IMMIGRANTS .......... 43  
   Politics and City Life  
   The Seeds of Nativism
VIII. THE AFTERMATH ........................................... 150

The Slow Process of Healing

An Epilogue and Some Conclusions

APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPENDIX</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORKS CITED</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Plan of Louisville in 1852, with overlay</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Map Showing Density of Foreign-born Population in Kentucky, 1850</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Advertisement of G. Baumann's Hardware Store</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Advertisement of Louis Stumpf's Bookstore</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Photograph of Monument to Theodore Ahrens, Sr. (1825-1903)</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Photograph of Monument to Ferdinand J. Pfinst (1835-1901)</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Photograph of Memorial Stone to the German Protestant Orphan Asylum</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kentucky Manufacturing Activity in 1850</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Late Antebellum Population of United States</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Total Immigration to United States in Years 1844 through 1860 Showing People Coming from Germany</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Germans/Foreigners Among the United States Population</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Selected Economic/Growth Statistics of United States</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>1860 Kentucky Nativity Synopsis</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Key Kentucky Counties with Highest Density of Foreign-born Residents in 1860</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Selected Mortality Statistics in Kentucky, 1850 and 1860</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Pauperism and Crime. Kentucky Compared to Several Other States with Significant Foreign Populations</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Persons over 20 Years of Age Who Cannot Read and Write</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Kentuckians Classified as Insane, Blind, Deaf and Dumb, and Idiotic in 1860</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Kentucky Children Attending School in Counties with Highest Foreign-born Populations—1850</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Average Wage Comparisons Between 1850 and 1860 in Kentucky</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. Ten Most Common Kentucky Occupations in 1850 and 1860 ........ 179
INTRODUCTION

Immigrant groups landing on American shores from the earliest colonists of Jamestown and Massachusetts Bay to the present day refugees from economic or political strife have numerous problems adjusting to a foreign culture. Coming to America in the score of years before the Civil War was a difficult experience for Germans. Their settlements in Kentucky—as in other locations throughout the United States—were fraught with numerous problems associated with entering a strange culture. An important distinction between other immigrant groups and the German group, however, is that the Germans constituted the first, massive, non-English-speaking group to seek a better life in the young Republic. When one considers that current American attitudes about immigration and foreigners reflect, in some measure, the deep-rooted nativist and isolationist sentiments seeded in our formative years as a nation, it is worthwhile to understand the cultural factors which still cause native-born Americans—themselves from immigrant stock—to view "would be" Americans in a different light.

While this thesis focuses almost entirely on the German-American experience in late-antebellum Kentucky, it will, from time to time, make comparisons to immigrants elsewhere in America, especially the Irish. In addition, the thesis will
explore the rich story of the strengths and weaknesses, the harmony and divisiveness, and the moderation and radicalism of Kentucky's German-born settlers.

The question of cultural assimilation among immigrant groups has frequently fascinated social historians. One of the central themes of inquiry continues to be the relative speed with which various early arriving groups blend into mainstream American society, losing their former culture while making their own distinctive cultural contributions to the new society.1 Regarding the Germans specifically, historian Kathleen Neils Conzen has produced some superb work in recent years on the subject of ethnicity and assimilation.2 In a seminal article, Conzen poses the question: "How did so highly structured and sophisticated an ethnic culture disappear so completely?"3 This thesis will try to shed light on the beginning of that process using the microcosm of Kentucky's antebellum experience with German immigrants.

---


In order to preserve a chronological versus thematic thread in the narrative, the paper is divided into three major parts: The Early Period—roughly 1840 to 1848 when Germans began arriving in Kentucky in greater numbers; The Years of Rapid Growth—1848 to 1855, following the revolution in Europe; and, The Years of Violence, Years of Healing—1855-1860, in the period leading up to the Civil War.

Much of the story of the early German immigration would have been lost without the census takers, both in Kentucky and nationwide. This is especially true after 1850 when the census process became more systematic and comprehensive. Accordingly, Appendices A and B of this paper contain over a dozen tables which highlight aspects of nationwide and Kentucky-related immigration and demographic data. The tables provide pertinent data on the two decades before the Civil War.

Although the emphasis of this paper will be on the broad events and developments in Kentucky's German-American community, various individuals—both influential and obscure—will be introduced to enrich the story and allow readers to understand the immigrant experience. Appendix C, for example, contains a synopsis of several influential "Forty-eighers," refugees from the Revolution of 1848 in Germany. Appendix D lists a number of typical immigrant families that settled on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River. Since these appendices provide essential background information for the text and will be referred to frequently, readers may wish to review beforehand this "cast of characters" as well as the census and demographic data.
This largely unknown group of typical German settlers form the essence of this study. A thorough analysis of the Kentucky census rolls from 1850 and 1860, reveals a picture hitherto unseen by social historians. Even with scant data, one can accurately assess the nature of the German immigration. When the census taker stopped at the home of a German immigrant family, he quickly recorded—often carelessly or unintelligibly—the name, occupation, age, net worth, place of birth, and handicaps (if any) of the head of the household. Following the husband's vital statistics, came those of the wife, after which the children were listed in descending order by age; place of birth and school attendance information was also recorded for each child. In many cases, one or more different names would be listed after the names of children in the household. The additional names listed in the different households could be any combination of the following: relatives, in-laws, apprentices to various trades, friends from the old country who may have just arrived, or even domestic servants, who were common in large and prosperous German-American households.

As an example of what a researcher can glean from meager census data, consider the case of Louisville blacksmith, George Miller, and family. They lived in the fifteenth residence visited by the enumerator on 6 August 1850 in District #1, City of Louisville, Jefferson county. George Miller, age forty-eight, claimed to own six hundred dollars worth of assets in real estate and no assets of significant value in personal property. His wife, Christine, was forty-six years old. Both were born in Germany. Among their five children, only the oldest two, sixteen-year-old Mary and
twelve-year-old Charles, were born in Germany. Henry, who was eight, was born in Maryland, while George, six, was born in Pennsylvania. It was only the toddler, two-year-old John, who was a native-born Kentuckian. Also recorded was the fact that the three eldest children had attended school in Kentucky during the previous twelve months.\footnote{Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1963), Kentucky District 1, City of Louisville, Jefferson county, 6 August 1850.}

As for other immigrant families—who they were, when they arrived, and what route they followed to Louisville—readers can study their census data in Appendix D and visualize for themselves the faces and daily lives of each family member. While doing so, one might consider the larger question of why they came to Kentucky. What were their aspirations? How did these families adapt to the new culture? It appears that George Miller, for example, believed that he could more fully realize his dreams in Kentucky after leaving Germany, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Seeking something better for his growing family, however, Miller stepped off a river boat at Louisville with wife and children sometime between 1844 and 1848. The Millers were just one of the thousands of German-immigrant families, some of whom crossed the Ohio into Kentucky, from Maysville in northeastern Mason county to Paducah in far-western McCracken county, searching for a better life.

Because of the relatively few Germans who settled in McCracken county, it is possible to trace the fortunes of two immigrant families, the Greifs and the Fishers of Paducah, and to compare their households and economic situations as recorded in the
1850 census with that of the 1860 census.\(^5\) When perusing their data in Appendix D, readers may be surprised at how much improvement ten years can make in the lives of some of the more industrious immigrant settlers when compared to some of the less successful.

Let us return to the topic of assimilation upon which social historians place much emphasis. I think the cultural, economic, and political contributions of individual immigrant groups in America are much more important than their swiftness in assimilating. Assimilation has been traditionally discussed in terms of the relative speed with which the various groups embraced the so-called "melting pot" theories widely espoused since the nineteenth century.\(^6\) I reject that overriding emphasis! In short, I view assimilation or Americanization as inevitable for any immigrant group that remains in this country. The values, vitality, and vibrancy they contributed to mainstream America are more important, not the velocity of the metamorphosis they all ultimately underwent. As the reader will see later in this paper, the Germans who came to America well before 1848 had already become "Americanized" by the 1850s. This group is referred to in Chapter IV as the "Grays." Since assimilation is inevitable, why does there remain--to this day--a preoccupation with how fast it occurs? The answers to this intriguing question are manifold and imbedded in the

\(^5\)See Appendix D.

\(^6\)The delayed Americanization of the German-Americans and the "trauma" of their dehyphenization is discussed in Conzen, "The Paradox of German-American Assimilation," 153-55; and, examined more fully in John A. Hawgood, The Tragedy of the German-Americans, The Germans in the United States of America During the Nineteenth Century and After (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1940).
American psyche—the product of over two centuries of cultural conditioning thoroughly infused with the immigration experience. Although this thesis will not attempt to answer that question definitely, it will reveal clues to its emotional components using the German immigrant experience in antebellum Kentucky as a backdrop.

The social, intellectual, religious, and economic strengths exemplified by the vibrant German culture, and spurred in part by the arrival of the "Forty-eighters," eventually overcame Kentucky's initial--yet persistent--animosity toward foreigners, and especially those affiliated with the Roman Catholic church. German-American cultural clubs founded in Kentucky, such as the Liederkranz and Turnvereine movements, and the various church, fraternal, and business associations, all played a role in unifying this particular immigrant group. This club-joining fervor--a distinct German predilection--helped Kentucky's German-Americans weather the storm of both self-inflicted and external political strife. In spite of great tension between radical and more moderate groups of German immigrants and in the face of an atmosphere of increasingly hostile nativist sentiment in Kentucky, I believe that German cultural cohesion, perseverance, and an instinctive love of freedom eventually spelled success for them as an immigrant group. This was especially true in the commercial magnet that Louisville became in the 1840s and 1850s.
PART ONE

THE EARLY PERIOD
CHAPTER I

BEFORE THE 1848 SURGE OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION

The Setting: Post-Jacksonian America and Kentucky

By 1840 more than 17 million people inhabited America's rapidly growing states and territories. Beginning with the first census of the United States in 1790, the young country had been consistently adding a third more people with each new decade. This growth rate did not abate until the 1860s, and never again would America absorb immigrants at the level of the antebellum years. Although the nation's size remained relatively unchanged in 1840 (since President Jefferson's fortuitous 1803 windfall of the Louisiana Purchase), profound changes had occurred within the boundaries of the young Republic's nearly 1.8 million square miles of real estate.¹

Among the multitude as America entered the tumultuous decade of the 1840s were nearly three million Negroes, of whom about two and one-half million were slaves. Almost 98 percent of those in bondage lived in what is now referred to as the Old South.² North of the Mason-Dixon line and Ohio River east of the Mississippi, slavery had been set on the course of extinction beginning with the admission of

---

²Ibid., 27.
Vermont in 1791, the nation's fourteenth state. In June of 1792, one more state would be added to the Union following an acrimonious constitutional debate. That state was Kentucky. While hammering out its first constitution in 1791, Kentucky reached a crucial turning point on the institution of slavery. Unlike its northern neighbors, however, Kentucky failed to turn. By a vote of 26 to 16, the new state's constitution protected the peculiar institution. By the end of the 1840s, Kentucky's constitutional delegates—who had not been convened since 1799—took extraordinary care in protecting slavery in the state's third constitution. Although antislavery factions were on the wane in the state by mid-century, the proslavery delegates feared the abolitionist sentiments of foreigners in Kentucky's growing urban centers, and especially the Germans of Louisville.

Nationally, politics had, by 1840, radically changed since the formative, pre-Jacksonian years of the Republic. Ushered in with the new decade was a distinct and mature two-party system composed of Democrats and Whigs, each vying for power. Moreover, the people of all the states (with the exception of South Carolina) were now voting for their Presidential favorites on a general ticket. The size of the electorate had swelled enormously. Nearly every free white male residing in a particular state on election day could exercise his franchise unimpeded by property qualifications, net

---


5*Historical Statistics*, 288.
worth, length of domicile, or other prerequisites. The "rise of the common man" had transfigured America, and his emergence was, perhaps, the greatest legacy of Andrew Jackson and his Democrats. It was also during this period that party reputations were built. Specifically, arriving German and Irish immigrants gravitated toward the warmer embrace offered by the Democratic party, as opposed to the suspicious and colder shoulder perceived from the Whig ranks. Try as they may, the Whigs could never overcome the nativist taint of their powerful party during the closely contested elections of the 1840s.

During the political ferment of America's new party era of Democrats and Whigs, sectional hostility flared up, Constitutional and State Rights arguments ground on, and over one million more square miles of territory were added to the United States under the aegis of "Manifest Destiny."\(^6\) The methods by which the country gained this territory, including the war with Mexico, ignited and sustained great animosity between and within the two parties. Into this political mine field came the Germans and the Irish in increasing numbers. Both groups settled predominantly in the North in their search for land or jobs enroute to a new future.

In spite of growing nativist sentiment in the 1840s among the American-born population, most still felt their own immigrant roots through the presence of foreign-born parents or grandparents. Granted, competition for land and jobs increased with the influx of foreigners, but there was an abundance of cheap, available land as the

\(^6\)Texas, Oregon, and the territory of the Mexican Cession were added in 1845, 1846, and 1848, respectively.
country stretched westward and opportunities abounded. There were forests to clear, rails to lay, canals to dig, and rivers to dredge. In the North, especially, free labor was at a premium. By 1840, the United States had laid fewer than three thousand miles of railroad track. By 1850, it had tripled this amount to over nine thousand miles, and would more than triple that again by the close of that decade. Having produced about two million tons of coal in 1840, American industry and railroads required over seven million tons of coal in 1850. The country was on the move and, best of all, prices and the cost of living were relatively stable, being higher in 1840 than they were in 1850.

Numerous foreign travelers had visited the United States by 1840 and had returned to Europe to publish their observations, both flattering and unflattering. Most famous among them were Frances Trollope, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Harriet Martineau. All would probably have agreed with the assessment of historian William MacDonald. "In no country in the world" he wrote, "was there greater legal and political freedom for the individual, or less conscious control of individual action by government, than in the United States between 1830 and 1840." This emphasis on

---

7*Historical Statistics*, 200; see Appendix A, Table 5.

8Ibid., 142. By 1844 coal production had almost doubled in comparison to 1840. See Appendix A, Table 5.

9Ibid., 232, 235.

individualism would forever mark Americans as a breed apart from the rest of the world.

Kentuckians, as much as any American, personified what was meant by the term "rugged individualism." As their state celebrated its fiftieth year in the Union, its prospects rarely seemed brighter. Visiting Louisville in 1843, a correspondent for Niles National Register of Baltimore filed this cryptic report:

This city is improving very fast now,—manufactures going ahead. There is quite an excitement,—business reviving, goods selling, very low,—river rising very fast,—the weather mild,—the markets full,—money getting more plentiful,—our people quite industrious,—the city healthy,—the courts have little to do.11

In 1840, Kentucky was beginning to grow rapidly with a total population edging toward 800 thousand. Of this number, about 200 thousand were slaves and free blacks.12 Word about Kentucky's plentiful, fertile land and the expanding work opportunities was beginning to get around—even the Germans in Europe began to hear more of this place of "unbegrenzte Moeglichkeiten."13

The Influence of European Visitors and Writers on German Immigration

Without a doubt, promotional literature published or translated in Germany was one of the primary causes of German emigration to the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. This literature included a wide assortment of material: the travel journals of Germans and other Europeans who had visited America,

11Niles National Register, 25 November 1843.


13"Unlimited possibilities."
scholarly textbooks, novels, short stories, and innumerable emigration-related pamphlets and tracts. In the introduction to one of the most influential books of this genre, Gottfried Duden's *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America*, first published in Germany in 1829, editor and translator, James W. Goodrich, noted that "over a hundred and fifty titles that could be considered emigration literature" appeared in Germany between 1827 and 1856. After having reviewed much of this literature, Goodrich added that the evidence "strongly suggests" that promotional material influenced German settlement patterns in the New World, doubtless an understatement. Goodrich pointed out that most of the foreign travelers to the United States prior to 1830 were from England and France. Upon returning to Europe, their journals were widely translated and distributed on the continent, "but it was the German people," observed Goodrich, "who seemed most susceptible to promotional literature," leading many to see America as an answer to the problems in Germany.

Gottfried Duden was quite a dreamer. While serving as a minor official in the Prussian Civil Service, he had become concerned about Germany's overpopulation which he believed to be at the root of myriad social problems of the day. A three-year visit to the United States, begun in 1824, convinced him that the only answer lay

---


15 Ibid.
in massive emigration of his countrymen to America. Enamored with the potential of the American West, Duden returned home and began a campaign to convince Germans to emigrate to America. Duden's dream envisioned the formation of German cultural centers and immediate establishment of farming communities in the New World. Duden believed that these communities would form the "mainstays of a transplanted Germania, a second Vaterland," so to speak, "for all emigrated Germans."\textsuperscript{16} The fervor of Duden's conviction is revealed in the following passage:

If a small city were founded with the intention of serving the American Germans as a center of culture, one would soon see a rejuvenated Germania arise and the European German would then have a second country here, such as the British have. If only a live interest for such a project would develop in Germany!\textsuperscript{17}

Duden was also an admiring visitor to Kentucky. He commented on the state's reputation for having fertile soil, and on the land prices in rural and urban areas. The rich, rural land that the Germans would want for farming communities was then selling for "twenty to thirty dollars per acre," while the "rapid population growth and vibrant economy" near Kentucky's cities often drove land prices ten times higher.\textsuperscript{18} Each German family could plan the amount of money they would need in order to buy either rural or populated land, according to where they wanted to settle. When making comparisons between America's feverish building projects, especially canals, and similar construction jobs that would take "centuries" to complete in Europe, Duden may have been exaggerating for dramatic effect. Nonetheless, he stressed that

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., xvi.
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., 179.
\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., 46. Profiteering in land was rampant at the time.
massive American projects, unlike the norm in Europe, "are completed in a few years through the voluntary cooperation of individual citizens." He used Kentucky to make his point by noting that "last year work was begun on the canal around the falls of the Ohio near Louisville in Kentucky." "It will be completed," he reported hearing, "during the next eight months."^{19}

Duden's influential book also included a closing "Postscript for emigrating farmers and for those who contemplate commercial undertaking." According to Duden, only four basics were required to ensure success:

1. Sufficient funds to defray initial expenses;
2. Good leadership;
3. Medical protection; and
4. The proximity of friendly families from the same country.^{20}

The less flattering side of Kentucky that escaped Duden's eye did not reach potential German emigrants. Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimer Eisenach, traveling through the region at about the same time gave a quite different story of the commercial and health risks. Disembarking at Shippingport, about two miles below Louisville, the Duke met a Dr. Croghan who gave him a short tour of the area. Croghan showed the Duke a parcel of land purchased in 1817 for two thousand dollars, which now, claimed Croghan, he was trying to unload for a paltry seven

^{19}Ibid., 186.

^{20}Ibid., 311. This "Postscript" referred readers to his thirty-first letter, written in March of 1827, just prior to his return to Germany. The details regarding his "actual requirements for a happy success" were contained therein.
hundred dollars. "He has hired a German gardener" recorded the Duke, "who has laid out a very pretty vegetable garden on this spot, which will yield considerable profit by his industrious management."21

At the time of Duke Bernard's sojourn in Kentucky, Louisville was swept by a smallpox epidemic and political strife gripped the state. "It was torn by parties," he wrote, and added that such struggles, "often terminating in sanguinary conflicts, were the order of the day." The Duke was warned to avoid the subject of politics altogether while traversing the state. Several political assassinations had recently occurred. "It is said," wrote the Duke, "to be almost as dangerous to speak upon the political relations of the state, as to converse upon religion in Spain."22 The Duke met and discussed the area's attributes with a merchant, Mr. Wenzel, a native of Bavaria.

Before leaving Kentucky, the Duke recounted a particularly lurid story concerning a slave auction he had witnessed in Louisville. The spectacle involved a pregnant mulatto woman and her two children who were offered for sale from a bench in a Louisville coffee-house.23 Unlike Duden, Duke Bernard chose to have his two-


22 Ibid., 2:130. The Duke could not have picked a worse time to visit Kentucky. The state's judicial system had split into two factions, the Old Court (of Appeals) and the New Court. The former was the legally constituted Court supporting anti-relief partisans, while the latter was a creature of the radical Relief party bent on assuaging land owners and speculators who felt victimized by banks. The violence did not cease until the New Court resigned on 1 January 1827.

23 Ibid., 2:133-34. As the "woman stood with her children . . . the auctioneer standing by her side," wrote Duke Bernard, "indulged himself in brutal jests upon her thriving condition, and sold her for four hundred dollars!"
volume travel journal published in the United States and in Germany. It appeared in 1828, a year before Duden's work but apparently had much less influence on prospective German emigrants.\textsuperscript{24}

Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstaecker, and Karl May were among the most influential writers in Germany making a contribution to growing emigration fever. All wrote popular frontier novels of the American West. Sealsfield had spent eight years in America, and Gerstaecker, six years, during the 1830s and 1840s. For Karl May, having an authentic style and vivid imagination were sufficient. He had never visited the wild West and is best known for his work published during the later (c. 1880) peak in German immigration.

In assessing these important writers in the \textit{Yearbook of German-American Studies}, Karl W. Doerry noted that May's fiction was marked by "a sense of paranoia," whereas Sealsfield's and Gerstaecker's work was not. In short, May stressed the untamed nature of the frontier where "patches of vegetation or mountains and valleys" could be "counted upon to hide some danger."\textsuperscript{25} Sealsfield, on the other hand, emphasized the American character using a wide assortment of heroes and villains in a frontier setting from 1820 to 1840. Among the speculators, squatters, planters, Southern belles, and numerous desperadoes, Sealsfield also placed the "hot-blooded Kentuckian." It was this sort of vibrancy in the New World that Sealsfield sought to


contrast with the mundane affairs of Europe. Germans, contemplating a new life, must have been mesmerized by Sealsfield's dramatic, action-packed stories of America.

Like Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstaecker also idealized the New World. Upon returning from his six-year stay in America (1838-1844), Gerstaecker began a prolific writing career. Before his death in 1872, he would produce about 150 works of fiction and nonfiction. His adventurous novels of frontier America, noted Doerry, are "full of ecstatic descriptions of a wilderness that is lush, idyllic and beautiful and sustains the frontiersman both physically and spiritually." Gerstaecker was "so impressed" with the positive attributes of backwoodsmen that he was "willing to overlook the negative aspects of America as atypical aberrations." Doerry added that Gerstaecker often pitted the vile "city Yankee" against the "ideal" of the noble woodsman. Naturally, good would ultimately triumph over evil. German readers, of course, could readily equate this heroic woodsman to a host of characters popularized in their own romantic legends.

---

26Ibid., 43. Also see the account of Sealsfield in Albert B. Faust, The German Element in the United States (2 vols., New York: The Steuben Society of America, 1927), 2:343-44. Sealsfield had gone to Europe to write and died while out of America, but so boastful was he of his adopted country that he ensured his tombstone epitaph read, "Burger von Nordamerika." In Billington, Land of Savagery/land of Promise, 287-88, the author noted that Sealsfield when writing about the Mexican War and the inadequacies of Mexican soldiers, claims that a "single Kentuckian with riding whip could drive the whole lot into a whimpering retreat."

27Doerry, "Three Versions of America," 43-44. Again, see Faust, The German Element, 2:345, where Gerstaecker's characters are credited with being historically accurate. After enduring trials and much toil, Gerstaecker's frontier characters "quite uniformly succeed."
Considering the flood of emigration-related fiction and nonfiction circulating in Germany in the early 1840s, it is no surprise that the number of Germans coming to America topped 30,000 for the first time in 1845, remaining well above that figure until the Civil War.  

In Germany, the "rush for the exit" had begun. Unfortunately, too many Germans had swallowed whole the fictionalized accounts of America.

High Expectations Meet Reality

Although the emigration guidebooks of the type written by Duden may have begun the exodus of Germans in the early 1830s, by the 1840s, economic factors played a larger role in the outflow as crops failed and food prices soared. Another major influence on the swelling of emigration was the letters sent home to family and friends from Germans already in America. Beginning in the 1830s, collections of these letters began to be published in book form in Germany. During the 1840s and 1850s, more than a dozen were in print. One historian believed that "private letters," more than any other factor, "remained the most important fund of advice and stimulus to immigration," and was especially true when those letters contained "passage money" from German kin in America.

---

28 *Historical Statistics*, 34.


30 Ibid., 42.

31 Conzen, "Germans," 410.
For the most part, emigrants disregarded advice concerning the optimum amount of cash that they should take with them to the New World. If the advice had been followed, noted one researcher, "95 percent" of those families dreaming of a new life "would have stayed at home."32 Because of the worsening economy in Germany in the 1840s, brought on by crop failures and the collapse of the cottage textile business, most families leaving for the States possessed only about fifty dollars per person. In many cases, the cost of steerage travel, alone, would put the trip to America in the dream category. Nevertheless, the Germans who made the Odyssey generally started on better financial footing than most Irish emigrants then fleeing to America.33

The influx of immigrants in the 1840s led to an adverse reaction by Americans who became more concerned with the types of immigrants reaching these shores. Among the many editorials that began to sound the alarm for stronger immigration laws was the following, entitled "Emigration to America," which appeared in 1845:

They mostly come this season from Bavaria, Hesse, and Munster. The first named in particular promise themselves far too much in this Eldorado, of which

32 Kamphoefner, et al., *News from the Land of Freedom*, 7-8. One emigration publication recommended taking at least one thousand talers (about seven hundred dollars) per family. Duden's influential book, as noted, listed sufficient "monetary means" as the number one requirement for success.

33 Ibid., 7. The cost of the ocean-leg of the trip averaged about thirty talers (twenty-one dollars) per adult. Added to this would be the cost of rail, canal, or steamship transfers to their ultimate in-land destinations. For a thorough comparison between the German and the Irish emigration, see Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940), Chapters 8 and 9.
they not rarely entertain the most absurd conceptions. Among them there are a
great many without any means.\textsuperscript{34}

The above article appeared two weeks after it had been reported that, in
response to American complaints "respecting the character of the Germans who have
emigrated to the United States," the Senate of Bremen had just adopted new
regulations prohibiting emigration of criminals or persons pending legal action. The
report contained a full translation of the new German emigration laws, which included
inspections of ships and passenger lists. Steep fines were added for shipping lines
violating the new laws.\textsuperscript{35} Early in 1846, the focus of the American press seemed to
shift to the larger problem of abject poverty among those leaving Europe. One article,
entitled "German Emigrants," made this plea: "The American government really ought
to take some measures for the welfare of the poor creatures . . . reports received
concerning the desperate condition of recent arrivals 'excite great indignation.'\textsuperscript{36}

A review of the Kentucky census data of 1850 supports the position of
immigration historians that most Germans coming to America ignored Duden's
advice.\textsuperscript{37} Most of the Germans were bent on acquiring a piece of land, free and clear.

\textsuperscript{34}Niles National Register, 12 July 1845.

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., 28 June 1845.

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., 26 February 1846.

\textsuperscript{37}See Appendix D, "Typical Immigrant Families in Kentucky." The Groffners of Kenton
county seemed to have just arrived with "monetary means," but the Greifs and Fishers of
Paducah still had fewer than one thousand in assets after years in the States. Also, note the
assets of George Miller and family (discussed in this paper's Introduction), after having spent
at least eight years in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky before 1850. Also see my
synopsis of Louisville's "Typical Family" at the end of Appendix D, The 1860 Census.
Assets of one hundred dollars in moveable property were still the norm.
Before 1850, a forty-acre piece of government land could be bought by putting up one-third of the total purchase price in cash, usually about $50 to $150. Not only did most of the German immigrants find this initial sum far beyond their means, but they suddenly discovered that they also needed about five hundred dollars for start-up capital. The many families, intent on farming, that arrived without such assets, quickly realized their plight. For the most part, they headed for cities where unskilled or semiskilled jobs could be had. After saving the requisite capital, many purchased farms in the surrounding region, while others adjusted their dreams and took up a new trade in the cities. Nearly nine out of every ten Germans coming to the United States in this period, for reasons relating to climate, economic opportunities, antislavery beliefs, and the strong links of "chain migration," chose to live in or near cities north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers. Louisville, Kentucky was one of the exceptions to this rule.

Common Stereotypes

Americans may have begun stereotyping German immigrants during the colonial period, but the biases which later fueled more overt expressions of nativism seemed to rise in tandem with the increasing immigration of the 1840s. In the case of the Germans, it would be a mistake to assume that negative stereotypes predominated. Historian Frederick C. Luebke noted that Americans generally viewed Germans as

---


39See distribution chart and discussion of settlement patterns in Conzen, "Germans," 412.
"industrious" and "thrifty." In addition to being "orderly, disciplined, and stable," males were respected for being "strongly attached" to family. Germans were also admired for achieving "success through hard work" and possessing "mechanical ingenuity." On the more negative side, Luebke added that Americans often viewed Germans as "a bit too authoritarian" and, although an intelligent people, somewhat "plodding in their mental processes." When considering these various traits, it is important to contrast them with what typified American settlers at the time. Among other things, Americans were highly individualistic, but they also regarded different or nonconforming groups with suspicion. In some situations, the German tendency to be "unimaginatively thorough," or even "stubborn and graceless in manner," could be advantageous.

Perhaps most grating to the natives--baptized in notions of divine providence and now marching to the tune of "manifest destiny"--was that foreigners such as the Germans, once exposed to America's blessings, would persist in being "unwarrantably proud of their origins and culture." Other perceived negatives included their readiness to have a "celebration for everything, complete with parades and contests . . . ." More orthodox Americans, added Luebke, also viewed the "festive air" of German church affairs with disdain. Worse still was their "abandoned dancing and boorish swilling of beer, especially on the Sabbath." It appears that most of the negative stereotypes were
associated with German men. The German woman, in contrast, was widely viewed as the "model of cleanliness and efficiency."\textsuperscript{40}

When discussing Germans during this early period in Kentucky, it is important to understand how tensions between native and foreign settlers, exacerbated by many stereotypes, may have increased. In his discussion of the early immigration, Ray Allen Billington also noted American attitudes toward the Germans' rigidity of ways, their failure to adapt, and their insistence that their way had to be the better way. European observers even commented on these points when contrasting American ingenuity and frontier innovation with the "stubborn insistence of emigrants on using time-tested Old World techniques." Immigrants from Scandinavian countries, for example, were ridiculed for using inefficient axes they had brought from the old country, while scorn for Germans and Englishmen focused on their farming methods.\textsuperscript{41} Sticking to tradition, they often relied on servants to clear their lands "because they disliked the littered fields left by Americans." Apparently, many Americans viewed this as a snub. When immigrant-owned farms failed after using Old World techniques, as many did, the Americans, using proven frontier methods, probably gloated. Billington observed, "success in the West," in short, "depended on adaptation, not tradition."\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{40}Frederick C. Luebke, \textit{Germans in the New World—Essays in the History of Immigration} (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 112. For a historical perspective on how the Germans acquired various reputations, both positive and negative, see Gordon A. Craig, \textit{The Germans} (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1982), 15-34.

\textsuperscript{41}Ray Allen Billington, \textit{Land of Savagery/land of Promise}, 214.

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., 214-15.
By the mid-1840s, Germans must have known that the American "welcome mat" was becoming frayed. Quoting from one of the many European travel journals of the era, Billington noted that when Germans read how a westerner, after witnessing a steamboat explosion, remarked that it was "d----d lucky" no one was killed--"only a parcel of those Dutch"--it should have been obvious to Germans that they would find "a more congenial welcome elsewhere."\textsuperscript{43}

How these emotions and attitudes would affect the small but growing German communities in Kentucky, and especially the boom-town of Louisville, is explored in the next chapter.

\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., 286. Billington's work is a superb composite of numerous European novelists and travelers who were America's "image makers" overseas. Americans usually referred to Germans as "Dutch," a corruption of "deutsch."
By the 1840s, Louisville was certainly challenging both Cincinnati and Pittsburgh as linchpins of trade on the Ohio River. Enmity between these cities had existed for years. Arguments usually focused on which city possessed the greatest potential for future prosperity. Invariably, city boosters extolled their own virtues while excoriating all others on the river. Louisville seemed to be cast as an opportunist since it had staked its future on taking unseemly advantage of the Falls of the Ohio—the only point between Pittsburgh and New Orleans where navigation was hazardous in high water and next to impossible in low water.¹ The rivalry between these river cities began almost upon their founding in the late-eighteenth century. Three decades later the fight continued. A visitor to Cincinnati remarked that he had "discovered two ruling passions in that city: enmity against Pittsburgh and jealousy of Louisville."² Looking back at Louisville's history from the vantage point of 1852, city booster Benjamin Casseday was one of the first to write a book on the city he

¹The Ohio drops twenty-five feet in a span of two miles opposite Louisville. During low water in summer, only those oblivious to the river hazard tempted fate. Seasoned boatmen knew better.

²*Pittsburgh Gazette*, 5 February 1819.
obviously loved. Although long on praise, Casseday was quick to point out the city's flaws. He also had much to say about the state of Louisville's social life and the welcome mat the city presented to the nation and the world. "Society here," he wrote, has . . .

The power of generalization to the extent that sectional differences are lost by its members, and the Northern, Eastern, or Southern man, as well as the native of another country, seems to lose all identity of manner, and becomes only an integral part of one great circle.

Having begun the decade with an official total of 21,210 residents, Louisville had grown by 75 percent to "37,218 souls" by September of 1845, according to Casseday. One of the contributing factors to the increase was the completion of the Louisville and Frankfort Railroad. Plans for another rail link to Nashville were well underway. Louisville's growth may have been exaggerated at mid-decade, but less so by Casseday. In the month before Casseday's count, a correspondent for Niles National Register reported that buildings in the city were appearing faster than ever. "The population," he stated, "had reached 45,000 and is rapidly increasing."

After complementing Louisville for its "generalized" society and opportunities for upward mobility, Casseday balanced his acclaim by noting that the city's "worst feature" at the time was its "tendency to frivolity" versus more intellectual endeavors.

---

3Benjamin Casseday, The History of Louisville from the Earliest Settlement till the Year of 1852 (Louisville, Kentucky: Hull and Brother, 1852).

4Ibid., 213.

5Ibid., 214-15.

6Niles National Register, 23 August 1845. This total is higher than that reported by the official census (43,217) five years later.
The intellectual attractions, then few in number, were described as "dull and tame." The libraries were "little patronized." Louisvillians were much more captivated by events featuring the "song, the play or the dance." Attending lectures or engaging in quiet conversation apparently did not appeal to the river city residents. Indeed, Casseday paints a free-for-all picture of Louisville during its rapid growth in the 1840s. Although its residents shunned any tendency toward "cliqueism," their obsessive focus on money-making ventures and "desire for notoriety," observed Casseday, were a "glaring defect." The popularity of playing the role of a "genius in ballroom prattle" also reduced the city's educational standard. But, in spite of these flaws, Casseday was firm in his belief that "no society could be more agreeable to the stranger than that of Louisville." It was a place of "unbounded hospitality" which prided itself not only on its enthusiasm but also on its "generous, confiding frankness."

Between 1845 and 1847, over one-half million immigrants arrived in the United States. Of this number, one-third were Germans. Despite the volume, relatively few Germans settled in Kentucky; and those who did, settled predominantly in the Louisville area. Casseday noted that about five thousand Germans had made their homes in the Louisville area in 1845, about 13 percent of the city's population.

---

7 Casseday, 212-14.
8 Ibid., 214-15.
9 See Appendix A, Table 3.
That number would increase to 7,500 (or 20 percent) by the end of the decade. At that time, Louisville's German-born population would represent more than half of all Germans in Kentucky. However, perspective is important. The state total equated to only 2.4 percent of the Germans who had settled elsewhere in the United States. In short, over 97 percent of the German immigrants found other states more appealing at a time when Kentucky ranked ninth in population among the states and was moving toward eighth place. Moreover, as a percentage of the total Kentucky population, German immigrants only accounted for 1.4 percent of the state's nearly one million residents in 1850. Although one out of every five residents of Louisville was foreign-born, on a statewide basis only three out of every 100 people were foreigners, hardly anything to be alarmed about. Even as late as 1860, following the massive immigration surge of the 1850s, one could count only four counties (out of 110 in Kentucky) where foreigners represented ten percent or more of the population.

Louisville's Jefferson county and the two counties directly opposite Cincinnati---Kenton and Campbell---were, by far, the main attractions for Germans entering Kentucky. German immigrants arriving in Louisville gravitated toward the city's First and Second wards concentrating between Preston Street eastward to Beargrass Creek.

\[10^{\text{See Appendix B, Table 8.}}\]
\[11^{\text{Eighth Census of the United States in 1860, Volume 4, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), xx; and Appendix B, Table 6.}}\]
\[12^{\text{Appendix B, Table 6.}}\]
\[13^{\text{Appendix B, Table 9.}}\]
The Irish usually headed for the Eighth ward on the city's west side concentrating along Main and Market Streets from around Tenth Street westward.

A review of the settlement patterns in Louisville's 1850 census shows that the city's First ward, home to many Germans, was far from being an exclusive enclave. Among the Germans were many Americans, French, Irish, Swiss, and Dutch residents. As a general rule, the Germans who had arrived earliest were among the most prosperous. A good example of that prosperity would be brewer Andrew Nicholas and family. Andrew, age thirty-four, and his wife, Maria, age twenty-eight, had two children, ages four and twelve, who were both born in Kentucky. Their success is evident from the fact that they claimed five thousand dollars worth of real estate assets.
and were boarding five other brewers, ages twenty-four to fifty-six, in their residence.\(^{14}\) Skill as a brewer certainly could be lucrative considering that Louisville, by 1850, had a thirsty population. Casseday reported that the city had 275 tavern keepers, 231 barkeepers, and 45 liquor dealers.\(^{15}\) Although the Germans by no means cornered the market in brewing and drinking habits, one historian humorously observed that the teutonic tongue had, by that time, "developed precise terms" to express the "varying stages of alcoholic beatitude."\(^{16}\)

Most of the Germans coming to Louisville during the mid-1840s sought work as artisans, laborers, or farmers. Only a smattering could be considered intellectuals,\(^{17}\) as is certainly borne out by a review of the 1850 census. The most common occupation noted was "laborer." Many in this class were single men who roomed in boardinghouses. However, families headed by unskilled laborers were also common. Most possessed only one hundred dollars or two hundred dollars in moveable property. Laborer Louis Flash must have arrived at the dock of Louisville between 1845 and 1848. By 1850, Flash claimed ownership of five hundred dollars worth of real estate.

\(^{14}\) *Population Schedules*, Kentucky, District #1, City of Louisville, Jefferson County, 7 August 1850. Nicholas appears in the *Louisville Directory of 1855-56* as one of the owners of the William Tell Brewery on Green Street between Preston and Jackson Streets. His partner was named White.

\(^{15}\) Casseday, 228-30.

\(^{16}\) LaVern Rippley, *Of German Ways* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Dillon Press, 1970), 263. Rippley added that, contained in Lichtenberg's *Mythologie der Deutschen*, were "111 high German words for degrees of drunkenness" and "only 56" in the low German dialect.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 42.
His wife, Maria, and three of their children, ages five to nine, were born in Germany. His two-year old daughter, Magdalene, was Kentucky-born.\textsuperscript{18}

Although the city was booming in the 1840s, hardships were endemic in the immigrant community. The city as a whole prospered, but it also had the dubious distinction of being called "the Graveyard of the West" because of its frequent bouts with malaria and yellow fever.\textsuperscript{19} Cholera also reached epidemic proportions throughout the region. Barbara Kreutzer and her five children, ages three to eleven years, lived in a Louisville boardinghouse. The oldest child, Andrew, was born in Germany. Nine-year-old Maria was born on a steamboat. The three younger daughters were all born in Kentucky. There was no husband listed. Mrs. Kreutzer was unemployed and possessed no assets.\textsuperscript{20} It is quite possible that the one-time head of this family is one of the casualties shown in the mortality statistics listed in Appendix B, Table 10. Among the Germans, the rate of death from cholera in 1850 was higher than that of the Irish and nearly six times that of their proportionate share of the general population.

Unfortunately, by the end of the 1840s, there was a growing number of nativists who were quick to blame the Germans for spreading disease. Scare tactics were evident in many newspapers up and down the Ohio River, with Louisville's \textit{Daily Journal} being no exception. For example, one letter to the editor from a distant St.

\textsuperscript{18}Population Schedules, District #1, City of Louisville, 9 August 1850.

\textsuperscript{19}Casseday, 49.

\textsuperscript{20}Population Schedules, District #1, City of Louisville, 1 August 1850.
Louis citizen, identified only as "P," cited the extent of the cholera epidemic then sweeping the area. The writer reported that 903 locals had died during the week ending 2 July (1849), resulting in a nine-week total of 3,389 cholera deaths since 1 May. Prior to announcing these morbid statistics, the writer noted that a self-styled Committee of Public Health had decided on the cause of the epidemic. "Cholera," said the committee, "is an exhalation from Germany and other strange lands, and, to prevent its importation, the committee has established a vigorous quarantine." The writer ended by waxing complementary of Louisville: "While the other great cities of the West are so sorely afflicted with this pestilence, your city has escaped with so slight an affliction."\(^{21}\) Cincinnati was also among the river cities hardest hit by this particular epidemic. While Louisville reported only two cholera interments on 12 July 1849, its rival 100 miles up the Ohio, reported seventy-nine that day, with forty-five more as a result of other disease!\(^{22}\) One can only imagine the extent to which such reports may have poisoned the attitude of native Kentuckians toward the growing number of Germans in their midst.

As can be seen in the examples of typical German-immigrant families in Appendix D, many arrived in Kentucky by a variety of routes. In the early period, especially before the arrival of the steamboat, many Germans entered the state via overland routes from the east and north, and down the Ohio River. With the advent of river steamers, travel routes began to change. After enduring an arduous transatlantic

\(^{21}\) Louisvile *Daily Journal*, 13 July 1849.

\(^{22}\) Ibid.
passage of one to three months, more and more Germans opted to begin their journey to Kentucky from the port of New Orleans.\textsuperscript{23} By the 1840s, steamers could reach Louisville from New Orleans in as little as five days. Many, of course, transferred to other steamers--depending upon their destination--at Cairo, Illinois, where the Mississippi and Ohio met. The newspapers of all the river cities provided the details whenever a steamer docked. The following 1847 report from St. Louis, entitled "Emigrants" had overtones of exasperation, if not alarm:

The steamer Convoy brought up from New Orleans to Cairo, six hundred and seventy-five Germans, adults, and a host of children, besides one hundred negroes. Eleven children were born on the passage between the two points. One adult was lost overboard. The Germans were transferred to the steamer Saluda at Cairo, and arrived here yesterday, the largest number ever brought up by one boat . . . . The Ocean Wave, which arrived yesterday morning, had on board one hundred and fifty Germans; and the Mazeppa came up in the afternoon with two hundred and fifty more. We understand that nearly two thousand were still in New Orleans, destined for this place.\textsuperscript{24}

One suspects that the city fathers of St. Louis at this time would have been less than appreciative of Gottfried Duden's glowing reports of St. Louis and its fertile environs--likewise, perhaps, for Louisville's leaders. In early 1849, one Louisville newspaper reported the arrival of the steamer Winfield Scott carrying over four

\textsuperscript{23}George H. Yater, \textit{Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio: A History of Louisville and Jefferson County} (Louisville, Kentucky: The Heritage Corp. of Louisville and Jefferson county, 1979), 62.

\textsuperscript{24}Clipping from St Louis \textit{Republican}, 8 January 1847, in Draper MSS, 29CC175 (microfilm edition), State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
hundred Germans. The report noted that "many" among them appeared to be "in a dying state," and that this particular river trip had claimed thirty lives.²⁵

**The Lure of Kentucky**

As can be seen in the census data, prior to 1850 many Germans gravitated toward Kentucky after having tried their luck in other states. In many cases, these immigrants were desperate for work after having had their idealized visions of a pastoral family farm dashed on the frontier. "Contrary to stereotype," observed one historian, "Germans were not especially gifted in their choice of land." They tended to "settle on what was available."²⁶ These disgruntled and displaced farmers joined the increasing tide of Germans landing at Kentucky's river ports in search of jobs. In addition to Louisville, cities such as Lexington, Maysville, Paducah, Newport, and Covington offered job prospects and had German residents. Only in Paducah were the Germans relatively isolated--alone without the influence of their countrymen on their lives.²⁷

As can be seen in the census data, day laborers in Kentucky were being paid an average of fifty cents (with board) and sixty-nine cents (without board) by 1850.²⁸

These wages were meager for a single man, much less a married one with several

---

²⁵Yater, *Two Hundred Years*, 62.

²⁶Conzen, "Germans," 415. In Wittke, *We Who Built America*, 208, the author takes an opposing view stating that Germans were "shrewd" in their selection of land for farming.


²⁸Appendix B, Table 15.
mroughs to feed. Skilled labor, at the time, earned about twice that rate; but, looking at Kentucky's top ten occupations, one notes that the number of common day laborers, alone, exceeded the combined number employed in the eight professions ranked below them. Farmers, of course, dominated in the state.\textsuperscript{29} Industry had been expanding rapidly in Kentucky's cities in the 1840s. Although still ranking ninth in population, the state ranked much higher in a number of manufacturing areas by 1850. The arriving Germans were most--drawn to the expanding work available in the cordage, tobacco, meat packing, and cabinet-making industries in the river cities. Based on the value of product output, Kentucky ranked sixth or better among the states in the industries shown in Table 1.

Table 1.--Kentucky Manufacturing Activity in 1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank in U.S.</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>No. of Estabs.</th>
<th>No. of Workers</th>
<th>Product Value (Thousands $)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bagging, Rope, Cordage</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>2,205</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wool Carders</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tobacconists</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Iron Rolling</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pork &amp; Beef Packing</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Medicine, Drugs, Dye</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Cabinet Ware</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Confectioners</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Iron Furnaces</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1,904</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Saddles, Harnesses</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Coal Mining</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{29}Appendix B, Table 16.
Johann Smidt, a merchant from Bremen, and Theodor Schwarz were influential in Kentucky. Together this pair went into the tobacco business in Louisville and were the first to ship regional tobacco back to Europe under the label "Kentucky Tobacco." These same two later founded Louisville's first German bank in 1855. By the time Smidt died in 1871 while undergoing an operation in Germany, he had made numerous business trips from Louisville to Germany and England. These immigrant entrepreneurs, however, were still very much the exception to the rule as Kentucky approached mid-century.

Boardinghouses did a brisk business while railroad and turnpike-building projects demanded infusions of cheap labor. In one such boardinghouse in Newport, Kentucky, the census enumerator listed the following: a forty-five-year-old Welshman, employed as an iron moulder, his thirty-year-old English wife, and two small Ohio-born children. Also rooming there were ten others, all bachelors: a thirty-year-old English engineer, a thirty-year-old German machinist, seven twenty-one to forty-year-old German iron moulders, and one twenty-five-year-old native New Yorker, also an iron moulder. By 1850, Campbell county, in which Newport was situated, had almost thirty-five hundred foreign-born residents, second only to Louisville's Jefferson county. Neighboring Kenton county ran a close third. However, Campbell county did lead the state in one agricultural area: the number of gallons of wine produced. German farmers made their contribution here also.

---

30 Koerner, *Das Deutsche Element*, 351-52. Koerner misspelled Smidt's name as "Schmidt." Both Schwartz and Smidt are listed in the *Louisville Directory of 1855-56* as residing "in the country," attesting to their affluence.

31 *Population Schedules*, City of Newport, Campbell county, 29 August 1850.

32 Appendix B, Table 14.
Jefferson and Kenton counties ranked second and third in wine-making, respectively. It would be wrong to conclude that common laborers were a class of itinerant immigrants always on the move in search of money for their next meal. Granted, wages paid to most day laborers were meager; but many of the immense projects associated with turnpike, canal, and railway building provided some stability for large immigrant families. A good example of this would be the newly arrived Groffner family of Kenton county, shown in Appendix D. Unlike most other immigrants, the Groffners seemed to have followed Gottfried Duden's advice regarding how much money to bring with them. Being unskilled, forty-three-year-old Andrew Groffner still had to worry about housing and feeding the other ten members of his family which included five children, the eldest being only thirteen, and three relatives in their seventies. Better than average day-labor wages being paid for turnpike construction workers around Covington probably enticed Groffner off the steamboat the year before. The only other wage earner in this large family was twenty-nine-year-old Henry, also a laborer. Andrew's wife, Charlotte, certainly had her hands full with household duties, but she still may have had to perform some outside domestic work, or take in laundry from a nearby boardinghouse, to supplement what must have been barely a subsistence family income.

What the Groffner family, like so many others, probably had working in its favor was a healthy measure of hope and determination. They also had some fine examples of successful immigrant families to emulate. In the same neighborhood with the Groffners were the Hurstmanns who had come to Kentucky from Indiana about a

---

decade earlier. The thirty-eight-year-old merchant, Henry Hurstmann, had a net worth of eight thousand dollars and his three eldest children were attending school.\(^\text{34}\)

Further up the Ohio River, the city of Maysville also attracted Germans beginning in the early 1840s. The 1850 Census reveals a number of well established merchants, grocers, butchers, and gardeners. Maysville, in Mason county, even had a German-born lawyer, thirty-year-old Jacob Miller.\(^\text{35}\) With slightly more than one thousand foreign-born residents, Mason county ranked a distant fourth in the state in 1850. Even as late as 1860, the number of foreign-born hardly topped ten percent of Mason county's population.\(^\text{36}\)

Relatively few Germans ventured away from the Ohio River into interior Kentucky during the 1840s. The impact of the Ohio River on a city's growth potential was obvious when comparing the 1840 census with that of 1850. Inland Lexington, once the "Athens of the West," grew at a paltry rate of 31 percent during the 1840s, while Louisville's booming river economy resulted in a 104 percent rate of growth.\(^\text{37}\)

However, among the minority of Germans heading inland was Bavarian-born bookbinder Julius Ochs, who arrived in Frankfort in 1845 to continue his profession. Wasting no time in adapting to his environment, Ochs quickly joined the Mexican War effort which seemed to galvanize Kentuckians. He later became an abolitionist; and when the Civil War came, Ochs took a captaincy in an Ohio

\(^{34}\)Appendix D.

\(^{35}\)Population Schedules, City of Maysville, Mason county, 31 July 1850 to 8 August 1850.

\(^{36}\)Appendix B, Tables 9 and 14.

\(^{37}\)Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, (4 vols. Washington, D.C.: A.O.P. Nicholson Printer, 1855), 3:192-93. Fayette county's population, as a whole, grew by less than three percent in the 1840s while Jefferson county's growth was almost 100 percent in the same period.
Company. Julius Ochs' son, Adolph, was destined to become head of the *New York Times*.38

![Figure 2. Map drawn by the author using data from DeBow's *Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 236 and 242.](image)

Lexington's Fayette county had only 574 foreign-born residents in 1850, less than three percent of the county's population. The only inland Kentucky county to exceed five percent foreign-born population was Franklin with its 708 aliens, slightly less than six percent of the county total.

In this chapter and Appendix D, the writer touched upon a few of the economic considerations of the 1840s which probably influenced the settlement of Germans in Kentucky. Again, one must be mindful that comparatively few German immigrants settled south of the Ohio River. Although there were jobs to be had in a number of prospering Kentucky cities dotting the banks of the Ohio, most immigrants--wary of

---

economic fluctuations and American ways—lived a tenuous existence. Uprooted from
the old country, they longed to put down new roots, find a modicum of security,
marry, and raise families. The process of adapting, fraught with difficulty in a
strange culture, could at least be eased somewhat by settling among one's own
countrymen. With this buffer zone against the harsh realities of an alien environment,
perhaps America's golden door could be nudged open. For the Germans arriving in
Kentucky, the 1840s and 1850s would prove to be an awesome challenge which would
require unity.
CHAPTER III
SOCIALIZATION OF EARLY GERMAN IMMIGRANTS

Politics and City Life

In the early to mid-1840s, prior to the arrival of the intellectual and more radical Forty-eighters fleeing a failed revolution in Germany, the German-immigrant neighborhoods of Kentucky's river cities began to develop a strong sense of community. Churches were established, clubs were formed, shops were opened, and corner taverns became the focal points where politics, future plans, and news from home were discussed over beer and sausage. Nearly all of those taking their seats around the *Stammtisch* or reserved table at the neighborhood tavern were of peasant stock. Many still dreamed of becoming successful farmers once they had saved enough money from their dead-end jobs as cordage or iron workers to make the downpayment. For the most part, these simple, hard-working people remained detached from American politics. They were still getting over the cultural shock of their harrowing trip and arrival in a country bearing little resemblance to the land they had left in desperation. The older, more experienced men gathered around the *Stammtisch* to vent themselves over politics or injustices on the job. Having just stepped off a steamer at Louisville with a hungry family, it was enough to locate an
acquaintance or relative, find shelter and work, and begin to learn English. Besides, many remembered the little poem often recited in the village back home . . .

Viel bedenke, wenig sage;
Deine Noth nicht Jedem klage;
Hoere viel, thu nichts antworten;
Sei behutsam aller Orten;
Dich in jedes Kreuz wohl schicke;
So machest Du ein Meisterstuecke.

Think much, say little;
Don't complain of thy trouble to everyone;
Hear much, give little answer;
Be on thy guard everywhere;
In every difficulty carry thyself discreetly;
So makest thou a masterpiece.¹

Being wary of politics was certainly understandable when one considers that the Germans were totally unfamiliar with democratic institutions in the 1840s. Germany had not even become a unified country by that time. Most of the Germans came to America from an isolated village life that bordered on the medieval. Unlike their English or Irish brethren, they uniformly lacked political skills. For centuries their homeland had been a conglomeration of over 300 autonomous and semi-autonomous kingdoms, duchies, principalities, and free cities. The German immigrant may have been "fired by dreams of democracy," but his entire life experience "had

been developed in an autocratic society." Hence, any "delay" in assimilating, both politically and socially within mainstream America, must be viewed in this context.

Other forces were at work in retarding political involvement among Germans in Kentucky. When comparing German and Irish political skills and attitudes among immigrant communities, historian Frederick C. Luebke noted that German frontier churches, especially the Mennonite and Lutheran synods, viewed politics as a "worldly snare." Church leaders saw politics as "hopelessly corrupt," said Luebke, and generally believed that politicians of the day were "greedy, ignorant hacks given to bribery and demagoguery." Moreover, the diversity and lack of political savvy among the Germans made "unity in support of anyone or anything" nearly impossible to achieve.

By the summer of 1844, however, many of Louisville's Germans had been in Kentucky long enough to affiliate themselves with a political party. Both the Democratic and Whig parties were strong in the state and elections were renowned for their contentiousness. As immigrants, most Germans aligned themselves with the Democratic party if they had any political leanings at all. But many established Germans in Louisville seemed to be dyed-in-the-wool Whigs, despite that party's nativist taint. As election furor mounted in the Presidential contest between Democrat

---

2Davis-Dubois and Schewpe, *The Germans*, 172.
3Ibid.
James K. Polk and Whig Henry Clay, in 1844, the Louisville *Daily Journal* and the pen of its Whig editor, George D. Prentice, noted the following:

We saw a right pleasant sight yesterday. A German was driving his dray on Water Street, with a Whig flag flying above it, when a German locofoco snatched the flag and ran with it at the top of his speed. The Whig, however, seizing his dray-pin, pursued him to such good purpose, that the locofoco, to save his bones, dropped the flag. The Whig took up the flag, waved it in triumph, restored it to its place, proclaiming aloud that he would carry whatever flag he pleased.\(^5\)

Indeed, at least some Germans in Louisville were becoming politicized. Unfortunately, before the summer was over, political passions would be marked by nativist violence directed at both Germans and Irish.

Soon after running the story of the German drayman flying his Whig banner, the *Daily Journal* reported that Germans, holding a Whig rally at Feldbush's coffeehouse, were "pelted with stones" by ruffians. Fortunately, "a timely reinforcement of Whigs" appeared to disperse the troublemakers and preclude injuries. In an adjoining article, Prentice angrily charged that the locofocos of Louisville were "endeavoring to visit the German Whigs with vengeance." The fiery editor was obviously trying to court favor for his party in the German community. He sensationalized the treatment of German Whigs by claiming that Democrats "withhold them their patronage, injure their business, abuse their persons, and threaten to destroy their property." Prentice concluded by shaming his readers and asking: "is it not

\(^5\)Louisville *Daily Journal*, 11 July 1844. The term "locofoco" was widely used to describe the more radical, hard-money Democrats whose power base was in the Northeast.
plain" that both Whigs and liberal Democrats of Louisville "should give their aid and protection to the persecuted and oppressed German citizens?"  

Less than a week after the defense of German Whigs, Prentice ran a lengthy editorial on the numerous contributions and attributes of Louisville's growing German community. Appealing to what he believed was latent Whiggery among the Germans, Prentice wrote:

Though we do not desire to flatter you, we may say that we have marked your industrious habits, frugality, and morality, with the greatest pleasure. The records of our criminal jurisprudence are seldom stained by the names of Germans arraigned for a violation of the laws. Our jails, penitentiary, workhouses, contain comparatively fewer Germans than any other people. Vice has very few votaries among them.

Prentice's editorial included many more accolades regarding German traits such as "ingenuity in construction" and "skill in the arts." He praised the German character as "eminently adapting . . . to the enjoyment of Republican institutions." However, Prentice's political motives for being complementary soon become clear. He believed that German locofocos (Democrats) in Louisville were using un-American tactics to shame loyal German Whigs into joining the Democratic party. He reported that the German Locofoco Association had tried to force all German members to register their names in a protocol book. Those failing to do so, claimed Prentice, would be

---

6Ibid., 12 July 1844.

7The Louisville Directory for the Years 1843-1844 counted 4,534 Germans out of a total city population (including slaves) of 28,403. The First ward, where the Germans predominated, listed 315 voters. The Second ward, also home to many Germans, listed 388 voters. These statistics are from a chart in the Directory on page 173.

8Louisville Daily Journal, 16 July 1844.
banished and placarded if they tried to leave the party without publicly announcing their reasons. Prentice called this a "skene of tyranny" unknown in our history and which never would have been "tried with American locofocos." He concluded by asking: "If the Germans of Louisville do not put down the upstarts and would-be incendiaries who threaten honest men with ruin for the exercise of free suffrage, what resort remains?"

A few days later, apparently when the editor of the Daily Journal was in a better mood, a short announcement appeared under the title "GERMAN DISCUSSION TO-NIGHT.

The Germans of both parties were invited to attend a debate at the Whig pavilion between "Messrs. Huber and Tomppert." Said Prentice, "We know that they profess to desire the truth; and who will say it is not best to hear both sides." As election day approached, Prentice began quoting from old 1832 speeches of Henry Clay to assure his German readers that the Whig party was their best bet. He also challenged the Democrats to point to a single utterance of Henry Clay that disparaged Kentucky's foreign-born residents. The excerpts of Clay's speeches, which Prentice

---

9Ibid. A "skene" or skean is a foreign dagger of Scottish or Irish origin.

10Ibid., 17 July 1844. See Koerner, Das deutsche Element, 352-53, Philip Tomppert became a great influence in Louisville's German community. He arrived in the city circa 1836 and later participated actively in Democratic party politics. Following the peak of the Know-Nothings (after 1856), Tomppert earned many Vertrauensposten (positions of trust) in the community. I found Tomppert, age forty-one, in Louisville's 1850 census, District #1, dated 7 August. He claimed no assets and an occupation of "porter." Tomppert's wife, Margaret, age forty, was also German-born, but all five of the Tomppert children, ages two to fifteen, were born in America. His eldest daughter, Barbara, was born in Virginia, while his twelve-year-old son, Philip, and the younger children were born in Kentucky. The three eldest attended school.
used, singled out the Germans for their patriotism and numerous contributions to Kentucky's prosperity. Clay narrowly carried Kentucky in the 1844 Presidential election, but his loss of pivotal New York cost him the election to Democrat James K. Polk who ran on an expansionist platform. The Whigs also lost their slim majority in the United States Senate and would never again rule there. Being proslavery and expansionist by nature, Kentuckians favored the annexation of Texas in 1844, despite their esteem for native son, Henry Clay, who vacillated on Texas.

As George Prentice was exhorting the staunch old German Whigs to go among their countrymen and help swell the Whig ranks, the Germans of Louisville were at work strengthening their community ties. As early as 1840, they had already formed their own military company under the name of "National Garde." The unit, which soon expanded to two companies, included a number of prominent Germans. In 1847, these organizations expanded further to include artillery and infantry companies calling themselves the "United States Union Guard." Germans were also gaining a stronger foothold in business. On Main Street above First, blacksmith Henry Ruhl's shop sought "all kinds of ... work" while promising it would be completed "at the shortest notice." Finding a niche in the booming construction market, Ruhl advertised "Iron Railing at the Cincinnati prices," or, he claimed, "as low as any wrought ... this side


12Clark, A History of Kentucky, 302. Clark noted that "by 1844, a large percentage of the 50 thousand American settlers in Texas were Kentuckians."

13Koerner, Das deutsche Element, 355-56. Many Germans of Louisville participated in the Mexican War as part of infantry and cavalry regiments organized in Kentucky.
of the Mountains."\textsuperscript{14} Two blocks farther west, Emil and Julius Teschemacher ran a lithography shop near the city post office. Their business specialized in maps, plans, circulars, business cards, and assorted paper supplies.\textsuperscript{15} Jacob W. Kalfuss ran a thriving grocery business at a prime location on Market between Second and Third Streets. Located nearby was the Mechanics' Savings Bank where Kalfuss, the grocer, sat as a member of the board of directors.\textsuperscript{16} Among the most prosperous of Louisville's German-Americans in 1843 was John C. Wenzel, who lived at the Louisville Hotel. In addition to being one of eight directors of the Bank of Kentucky located on Main near Third Street, Wenzel sat on the board of the Louisville Gas Company Bank and was one of two directors of the Portland Dry Dock and Insurance Company, also situated on Main Street.\textsuperscript{17}

Louisville's German leaders were also instrumental in supporting two orphan asylums, one founded by the Sisters of Charity on Jefferson above Wenzel Street in the First ward, and the other founded by Protestant churches on First Street between Walnut and Prather in the Third ward.\textsuperscript{18} As German immigration increased and

\textsuperscript{14} The Louisville Directory for the Years 1843-1844, x.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., xii.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 79, 184.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 161, 182-85. On an 1831 map of Louisville, J. C. Wenzel's property appears as an eighteen-acre tract in the First ward. Later when Wenzel sold some of his property, Wenzel Street would run south through the area. J. C. Wenzel is probably the same Wenzel who met Duke Bernard during his visit to Louisville in the 1820s.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 193.
disease continued to visit Louisville, the city's need for orphanages would mount inexorably in the coming years.

The Seeds of Nativism

Not only did the election of 1844 spawn animosity between political factions in Louisville's German community, but defeat of the Whigs gave rise to more organized invective directed at all foreigners. Just six months before the election, the Beobachter am Ohio (Observer on the Ohio) was founded and quickly flourished as Louisville's German-language newspaper. Following the sporadic violence which broke out between Whigs and Democrats that summer, the Beobachter made the mistake of advising its subscribers to arm themselves when going to vote. Prentice's Daily Journal immediately pounced. After running a full translation of the Beobachter's inflammatory warning, Prentice extended an olive branch to the Germans of Louisville assuring them that the Whig party was their friend. The Beobachter quickly acknowledged their error and printed a retraction. Undoubtedly, the war of words between these two newspapers contributed to the unrest in the city. The

---

19The definitive works on this subject remain W. Darrell Overdyke, The Know-Nothing Party in the South (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1968), and, for Kentucky specifically, Geraldine McGann (Sister Agnes), Nativism in Kentucky to 1860 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1944).

Beobachter am Ohio, described as "Democratic with strongly radical leanings," published its first edition on 16 March 1844. It continued publishing until sometime in 1856.²¹

Following the Whig party's defeat in 1844, nativists began organizing in Kentucky. The common sentiment among them was that foreigners, ignorant of the American way, corrupted and brought disorder to the traditional political process. Moreover, they demonstrated an alarming tendency to vote en masse for Democratic candidates. Historian Ray Allen Billington noted that "This clannish method of voting" fueled charges that ignorant immigrants simply "cast their ballots as they were told to." Underlying this charge, added Billington, was the general belief "that Catholic priests were bartering votes for political favors."²² It was also clear by the mid-1840s that the Germans and Irish were beginning to influence the country's political balance by settling almost exclusively in the North. As the number of southern voters dwindled relative to the North, their status as a conscious minority grew increasingly intolerable. Concurrent with this vexing trend, the South's "bitterness against the foreign-born mounted proportionately."²³

By the summer of 1845, the stage was set for the founding of a nativist political party in Kentucky. Spearheading the movement in Louisville was George D.

²¹Karl J. Arndt, German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1855, History and Bibliography (New York: Johnson Reprints, 1965), 170.

²²Billington, The Protestant Crusade, 198.

²³Ibid., 241. Also see Appendix A, Table 4. By 1850, well over two million foreign-born people resided in the United States, yet only about 12 percent or 260 thousand of that number lived in the South.
Prentice's former employee, Walter N. Haldeman, now the editor of a rival Whig newspaper, the *Morning Courier*. At that time, Haldeman was also editing a new nativist sheet called the *American Democrat and Weekly Courier.* In July of 1845, Haldeman's *Courier* announced that citizens believing in American principles would be welcome to attend a meeting in Louisville on August 6 for the purpose of establishing a political party to represent their views. Thereafter, Haldeman's *Courier* became a strong supporter of Bourbon county's Garrett Davis. Davis was destined to become one of the most virulent of a small group of nativist delegates pushing a harsh anti-foreigner agenda at Kentucky's 1849 Constitutional Convention. After Henry Clay's 1844 defeat, the nativist movement had spread quickly from New York to Philadelphia, leaving sporadic violence in its wake. The principles of the American party then solidified. Its first convention was held in Philadelphia in July 1845. Thirteen states appointed delegations to attend this baptismal convention; four slave states were included, among them was Kentucky. On 6 August 1845, following the convention, Kentucky's Native American party took shape at a rally in Louisville attended by several hundred people.

---


27 Louisville *Daily Journal*, 8 August 1845.
Although anti-foreigner and anti-Catholic sentiment had "long flourished" in Kentucky, the animosity directed at the Catholics grew especially bitter in the period following America's Second Great Awakening.\textsuperscript{28} This new religious revival of the late-1820s and 1830s was electrified by Protestant fundamentalist preachers seeking myriad secular reforms. Perhaps most divisive among the reforms being pressed were temperance, sabbatarianism, and abolition. Larger numbers of Irish and German Catholics began arriving in the United States on the heels of the revival movement sweeping the country. Known for their festive traditions, which included Sunday outings enlivened with alcoholic beverages, it is hard to imagine a more inopportune time for their arrival.

As each steamship docked at a Kentucky river city in the 1840s, the state's Catholic population would grow. In 1850, Louisville alone would be home to about 15,000 German and Irish Catholics.\textsuperscript{29} Most Germans settling in America were more likely to be Protestants than Catholics, whereas among the Irish, the opposite was true. To the nativists, of course, they were all foreigners of suspicious allegiances, even though the underlying impulse of the American party movement was distinctly anti-Catholic. That impulse was fed by absurd notions of a looming papal conspiracy to dominate America. Not surprisingly, by the early 1840s, an "energetic branch" of the Protestant Reformation Society had based itself in Louisville to combat the imagined...

\textsuperscript{28}Overdyke, \textit{The Know-Nothing Party}, 26.

assault. From that vantage point, it soon led the attack on "foreign Catholicism" then being touted by assorted Protestant journals in the area. The anti-Catholic diatribes that frequented the pages of the Protestant publications also brought "Godless Germans" squarely into the crosshairs of the nativists. The wild stories then appearing in print shared many similarities with today's tabloids. Moreover, then as now, many people, primed by the pulpit, readily embraced the charges that conspiracies and cabals were rampant. It is small wonder that Louisville soon became a hotbed in this war of words when the National Central Union of Free Germans, an alien group of freethinkers, also opened its national headquarters in the city.

Following the birth of Kentucky's secretive American party, nativism festered and simmered for another decade. When the Whig party disintegrated in 1854, many of its members realigned themselves with the nativists. Emboldened as their ranks swelled, the Know-Nothings, now openly flaunting their brand of hatred, were swept into office at all levels of government. That resurgence, which will be explored later, ushered in one of the darkest chapters in Kentucky's history. In the years leading up to the nativist climax the Germans in the state remained determined to secure their freedoms and prevail. Proud of their traditions and in need of spiritual buttressing,

---


31 Ibid. For background on "Freethinking" Germans, see Faust, *The German Element*, 2:428.
they would begin the arduous work of transplanting their churches from the Old World to the "unreceptive soil of America."  

Religion and the German Immigrant Church

When many settlers were still venturing "down the Ohio" from points east and north, Covington, Kentucky, began to blossom. It was the first city in the state to attract German Catholics. Beginning slowly at first in the late-1830s, their number increased to about sixty families by 1842 when they founded their first church. By 1844, the small German Catholic community in nearby Newport also had their own church. At that time, most German priests arriving in America were quickly snared by bishops overwhelmed by burgeoning flocks of immigrants at east-coast ports. As the priority for serving western dioceses mounted, the bishops resorted to appeals for more priests from European mission societies. Indeed, Covington was fortunate during this early period to be blessed with the appearance of Father Ferdinand Kuehr who arrived in 1842. Inspired by the devotion of his small but growing congregation, he orchestrated the planning and construction of a German Catholic Church in 1843. Kuehr even used his novice carpentry skills to build single-handedly the church's altar.

---


34 Vercouteren, *The German Churches*, 3.
In 1848, a school was added, and, in 1851, a church expansion was required.\textsuperscript{35} By 1848, the German Catholics of Lewisburg, on the west side of Covington, were also looking to the future. They had begun a society to raise money for St. Aloysius School. In 1849, the school opened its doors to 23 children.\textsuperscript{36}

German Catholics in Louisville began building their first church, St. Boniface, in 1836. By 1842, Canon Salzbacher of Europe, then visiting the city, estimated that there were 300,000 German Catholics in the United States, with more than 4,000 in Louisville alone.\textsuperscript{37} In 1846, steady growth forced St. Boniface to divide into two congregations. Under the leadership of Father Carl Boeswald, an attempt was made to raise $12,000 for construction of the second church to handle the expanding congregation. However, finding the "spirit and zeal of the people ... lacking," progress soon ground to a halt. At that time, St. Boniface was still trying to pay off the loan secured to build the first church a decade earlier.\textsuperscript{38} Named for the Apostle of Germany, St. Boniface originally opened its doors in 1838 after German immigrants, then attending the English-speaking St. Louis church on Louisville's west side, pushed for their own ethnic church in the eastern district. That early effort was led by Father

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., 4-5.

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., 5.

\textsuperscript{37}Rothan, \textit{The German Catholic Immigrant}, 14n, 55. Within 20 years, the total Catholic population of Louisville would approach thirty thousand. For an inspiring history of St. Boniface, see John B. Wuest, O.F.M., \textit{One Hundred Years of St. Boniface Parish, Louisville, Kentucky: A Historical Sketch} (Louisville, n.p., 1937).

\textsuperscript{38}Rothan, \textit{The German Catholic Immigrant}, 55-56. According to Wuest, \textit{One Hundred Years of St. Boniface}, 24, the second parish founded by Father Boeswald was the Immaculate Conception.
Joseph Stahlschmidt.\(^3^9\) After a decade of growth, Louisville's German Catholic population seemed to peak in the mid-1840s. In 1847, Father Boeswald reported the size of the congregation to be about four thousand, the same number estimated by Salzbacher in 1842. Boeswald attributed the slow growth to "large landowners" who were reluctant to subdivide their land and thus attract immigrants. Said Boeswald, "there were only two hundred German landowners" then in the state. He also linked the main reasons for the flattening growth to the Germans being "anti-slave people," and the fact that younger Germans were already "emigrating from Kentucky to seek their fortunes elsewhere."\(^4^0\)

Isolated Paducah served a nearby German Catholic community of about two dozen families as early as 1830. By 1844, Four Mile Creek had attracted five families, with the number reaching thirty families by 1847. Both were "poorly provided" regarding a decent church or an available priest.\(^4^1\)

One historian, commenting on the immigrant and his church in America, observed that the German Catholic was determined to succeed against any odds and "was quick to adapt himself to the circumstances." In his struggle, "hardships and

---


\(^4^0\)Rothan, *The German Catholic Immigrant*, 56. See Wuest, *One Hundred Years of St. Boniface*, 42. Boeswald was replaced by Father Otto Jair, O.F.M. in 1849 when St. Boniface church and pastorate were transferred to the control of the Franciscan Fathers of Cincinnati, a Tyrolien Order. At that time, the congregation still numbered about four thousand.

\(^4^1\)Ibid. Rothan also points out that Cincinnati's *Wahrheits-Freund* was encouraging more German tradesmen to settle in Paducah, Kentucky. One advertisement, which ran in 1848, noted: "Above all [Germans] may find a good occupation as wagon-maker, furniture-maker, shoe-maker, soap-maker, painter. Three German smiths are already in the city and are doing well."
sacrifices . . . were discounted" and balanced against the positive advantages of "freedom and opportunity." His spiritual faith not only had "deep significance," but it also motivated him toward bold action as well. Hence, "construction of a church in his new settlement was his first concern" as was the funding of a school "for the Catholic education of his children." German Catholic societies provided him with "fellowship, unity, and protection" while his "spirit of fraternal charity" led to the creation of orphanages for destitute immigrant youngsters. Later, this spiritual wealth would gird him to face the browbeating of the radical Forty-eighters and virulent nativists "with defiance." Here, in a hostile environment, he would stand and "fight for his faith and rights."42

The Protestants, who numbered greatest among the German immigrants, also faced a difficult transition from the Old World. Oscar Handlin correctly noted that the established Lutheran churches in the United States "hardly satisfied the newcomer." These older churches had drifted away from their European-based counterparts. They had become "Americanized" and, as such, "tainted with laxity of observance and with latitudinarianism." Invariably, added Handlin, the situation demanded the "creation of still newer churches closer to the familiar Old World models."43

The demand for religious institutions on the frontier steadily increased as pioneering Germans pushed westward. More and more of the emigrants leaving Germany were coming from northern regions where the Lutheran Church was

42Ibid., 150.

43Handlin, Uprooted, 124-25.
strongest versus Bavaria, the Tyrol, and the Danube Valley where Catholicism dominated.

Historian Carl E. Schneider credits the Kirchenverein or Evangelical Lutheran Church with the "moulding of German culture in the West." Prior to the Civil War, nearly all of the Kirchenverein churches were founded in Missouri or north of the Ohio River. However, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West encompassed five states, including Kentucky. Schneider noted that the "most aggressive invasion" of the West by eastern Lutheranism was undertaken by this Synod. The Synod's first meeting dealt with the subject of expanding its frontier missions. This meeting was held in Jeffersontown, Kentucky in 1834. The following year, the Synod met across the Ohio River in Corydon, Indiana, in a divisive and faction-prone atmosphere. Some of the Germans present pushed for allegiance with the Evangelical United Church of Europe while others had opposing interests. One attendee from St. Louis even questioned the existence of a Lutheran Synod in America. "Such a response," observed Schneider, "indicated the inassimilable nature of the European Germans" with whom an alliance was being sought.

46 Ibid., 67. See also, Faust, The German Element, 2:411. German theologians were among the early migrations of Lutherans westward. Reverend Ernst L. Hazelius was one of the founders of the Theological Seminary in Lexington in 1834, and was a theology professor there for almost twenty years.
Moreover, the established Lutheran Church rooted in east-coast cities, was hardly "congenial to the adolescent mood of the West." The *Kirchenverein* of the West was "bent on making its own vital adjustments and establishing its own forms." The situation bears a striking resemblance to that which occurred among Louisville's German Catholics discussed earlier. They, too, wanted their own churches, not Americanized alloys of what they had held dear. Similarly, among the newcomers founding Evangelical *Kirchenvereine*, an emphasis on "certain racial characteristics" served to widen "the chasm between German- and English-speaking churches." The membership of the German church, reflecting a sentiment common to most immigrants, was usually "opposed to an organic relation with American synods." The *Kirchenverein* on the frontier would rather be left alone "to work out its problems in the sectional smugness of the West."\(^{48}\)

Perhaps the most vexing problem facing these pioneer Protestant churches was finding qualified leadership, a problem also shared by Kentucky's Catholics in the 1840s. Because of "roving imposters" and assorted "Herumlaeufer," many church boosters were "wary of all German preachers" who could not produce credentials from known German missionary societies. Imposters were denounced by legitimate pastors

\(^{47}\)Schneider, *The German Church*, 96-97.

\(^{48}\)Ibid., 101.
for corrupting the people by condoning drinking, gambling, dancing, Sabbath-breaking, and other sins.⁴⁹

Another problem came in the form of opposition to the Kirchenverein from within "Lutheran circles." Among the established churches there was "no mistaking the militant aversion shown by Lutheran pastors and laymen toward Evangelical and Reformed groups." Perhaps fearing the competition, Lutheran leaders viewed the merging of these upstart churches as "inherently sinful" and took it as "their God-given mission" to snuff out the fledgling Kirchenvereine.⁵⁰

When drafting their constitutions, the Evangelical Kirchenverein churches took special care in stressing the "privileges and obligations" of membership. "Baptism, confirmation, subscription to the creedal paragraph, moral character, and active interest in the work and welfare of the church were uniformly required." Common also in these founding documents were numerous exclusionary provisions aimed at "swearers, cursers, Sabbath-desecrators, drunkards, adulterers, harlots, thieves, deceivers, brawlers, irreconcilable persons, slaveholders, and members of secret societies such as Free Masons and Odd Fellows."⁵¹

⁴⁹Ibid., 199. A charlatan who "ran around" would be called a "Herumlæufer." Schneider noted that many Kirchenverein members and "even the officers were duped by the pleasing manners, conversational dexterity, and convincing documents of these vagabonds."

⁵⁰Ibid., 202.

⁵¹Ibid., 243-45. The church across the Ohio in Evansville permitted members who were merely "against whiskey."
Missionary work was quite popular with women of the Evangelical Church. Their numerous Missions-Frauenvereine or Frauenarbeit-Missionsvereine exemplified their frontier spirit in the Ohio Valley. These women's societies, often "organized by the pastor's wife," emphasized service and charitable responses to "special appeals" for help. They usually took the form of sewing societies where the women would meet regularly at the parsonage "to sew for home and foreign missions and for our meeting house." Missions-Frauenvereine were part of the church activity at St. Paul's in Louisville and at St. Paul's in Covington.\textsuperscript{52} Rumors often spread that these angels of mercy did not always content themselves with mere "sewing and knitting." Sometimes "their tongues were more agile than their fingers."\textsuperscript{53}

As Louisville, Covington, and Newport attracted larger numbers of poor immigrants in search of work, many of the German churches established Armenvereine to augment the women's societies. The Armenvereine or societies for the destitute took the lead in helping the downtrodden. In 1851, Louisville's St. Boniface Benevolent Society or Unterstuetzungsverein, founded in 1848, raised money to purchase a new cemetery lot on South Preston Street "for the purpose of burying poor Catholics without charge." Following the 1850 cholera epidemic, which had claimed the lives of over 200 of its flock, the Benevolent Society took direct action to aid its

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., 248, 248n. According to Vercouteren, The German Churches, 8, the German Protestant Evangelical St. Paul's Congregation was organized in Covington in 1847. Prior to that time, a pastor from Cincinnati would occasionally visit the group and conduct services in the city schoolhouse.

\textsuperscript{53}Schneider, The German Church, 249.
poorer members "who could ill afford the six dollars" to pay for burial in the Catholic Cemetery located on city's west side near the Alms House.\textsuperscript{54}

As a result of frequent cholera epidemics, which normally killed more adults than children, many German Protestant Orphans' homes appeared in the West. Reports indicate that as many as five orphanages may have existed in Kentucky between the years 1827 and 1867. This number was exceeded only by those in Ohio with ten orphanages and Missouri with eight. Under the watchful eye of German pastors in the river cities, these orphanages worked to rescue children from the "hands of strangers or unscrupulous persons."\textsuperscript{55} By 1850, social services were extended further to include \textit{Juenglingsvereine} or boys' clubs in response to the rising tide of immigration. Again, the task fell to the churches to provide the proper guidance to young men following their confirmation. After all, most cities, and especially those along the Ohio River, were "filled with wild temptations" and provided little outlet for "wholesome recreation." German fraternal societies were adult oriented and simply could not provide for the "religious and spiritual welfare" of the youth. Many of the younger immigrants were "without friends and relatives" and easily gravitated toward city saloons.\textsuperscript{56} A bold, community-wide effort, led by the churches, was required.

\textsuperscript{54}Elsie Rowell, \textit{The Social and Cultural Contributions of the Germans in Louisville from 1848-1855} (unpublished MA thesis, University of Kentucky, 1939), 23, 39. Also see Wuest, \textit{One Hundred Years of St. Boniface}, 48-49. This action by the Benevolent Society ignited a bitter "cemetery consecration feud" between the church elders and the Society which had, by then, become radicalized and wanted to be independent of church activity.

\textsuperscript{55}Schneider, \textit{The German Church}, 345, 345n.

\textsuperscript{56}Ibid., 249-50.
When discussing the immigrant church, it is best to equate it with a buffer, softening the cultural shock of its members new to America. Both Catholic and Protestant Germans shared many similar views in addition to their language and culture. All Germans had to contend with unfamiliar surroundings and structures upon arrival. Most government policies were incomprehensible in addition to being immediately suspect. Worse yet, German immigration in this early period coincided with an Age of Reform which put pressure on all levels of government to institute social change. "Programs of coercive reform," observed Luebke, "were offensive to large numbers of German Catholics and Lutherans." Believing America to be a beacon of freedom, nearly all Germans saw the government's primary mission as guarantor of "the fullest measure of personal liberty consonant with law and order." Those espousing prohibition, women's suffrage, and proper Sabbath-day conduct were overstepping their authority and encroaching on the Church's mission.57

In this formative early period of the German immigration many obstacles were overcome, but much uncertainty remained. The Germans of Kentucky had been exposed to the rough and tumble style of American politics. Nativism had reared its ugly head. The diversity of immigrant churches, some born out of desperation on the frontier, clashed with established German churches already Americanized. Adrift in the wide expanse of an alien continent, human instinct made all immigrants turn inward toward the more familiar surroundings of their ethnic neighborhoods. In those

57Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 85. Luebke also noted that many Germans believed that women's suffrage was "merely a political trick" to expand the power of prohibitionists.
early years, fresh off the steamboat at Louisville or Covington, it was enough for the
typical newcomer to find a room, land a job, and make quick provisions for his
burial. Germans had to stick together in this alien world. There was strength in
numbers. Many believed that they could preserve all of the ancestral traditions held
dear in the Old World. Others knew better. As the radical refugees from Germany's
failed revolution began arriving in the late 1840s, it became evident that new stresses
would assail the tenuous unity of immigrant neighborhoods. Moreover, for those
Germans and Americans who believed the tide of immigration had already peaked by
1849, a big surprise awaited them in the 1850s.

---

58Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 155.
PART TWO

1848 TO 1855: YEARS OF RAPID GROWTH
INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

In Part One of this regional view of early German immigration to the Ohio Valley, one can see how the problems the Germans faced were destined to set the pattern for later-arriving ethnic groups. Church and community ties were transplanted. Social and business clubs were established to cushion the hazards presented by an alien, foreign-speaking, materialistic culture. Mutual aid, fraternal, and benevolent societies eventually took root among all immigrant groups to provide food for the hungry, information to travelers, temporary shelter, care for orphans, and the assurance of proper burial. Universally, immigrants shared through their arduous experience a number of common human emotions: bewilderment, uncertainty, fear of new surroundings, melancholy, and guilt over leaving loved ones behind. Undoubtedly, many of these future Americans had deep misgivings from the first day they purchased a steerage ticket and boarded a ship in Hamburg or Bremen. More than a few had their doubts confirmed the moment they stepped off a steamer at Louisville or Covington. A nagging question would often linger in their minds: Did we do the right thing?

1Understandably, many German emigrants feared for their lives. In this era it was common for ships to founder at sea or steamboats to explode during river races. On 13 September 1858, over 450 emigrants lost their lives when the Austria caught fire while enroute from Hamburg to New York. An artist's rendition of this catastrophe can be seen in Adams, The German-Americans, 8.
We have already had a glimpse of America in the 1840s, and have discussed the influence that early travelers and writers may have had on Germans considering emigration. We have also noted how Americans of that era tended to view immigrants, how a clash of cultures and religions spawned nativist hatred, and how assimilation during a period of growing political and sectional strife would prove difficult for all immigrants. More will be added on these subjects. We also saw how the boom-town of Louisville presented alluring opportunities for both Germans and Irish in the 1840s as did other Ohio River cities.

In Part Two of this study, the explosive growth of Kentucky's German population during the period 1848 to 1855 will be discussed. Generational conflict between the older German settlers, the "Grays," and newer immigrants, the "Greens," would boil over. Moreover, the Revolution of 1848 would add a radical element to those fleeing to America. Cities in Kentucky would now be forced to contend with Forty-eighthers bent on radical change while their established German residents dug in to resist it.

By 1853, the city of Louisville would be home to 18,000 Germans with this number increasing daily. Ten German churches, seven Protestant and three Catholic, would be serving the community. Among them would be a group of radical "free thinkers." Also, in 1853, the diocese of Covington was established to serve the

---

2 Casseday, *The History of Louisville*, 216; Rothan, *The German Catholic Immigrant*, 56; and Rowell, *The Social and Cultural Contributions*, 14. Rowell states that there were three religious divisions among Louisville's eighteen thousand Germans: "ten thousand Roman Catholics, eight thousand Protestants, and five hundred "self-styled infidels."
rapidly rising population. Increasingly, the Kentucky side of the Ohio drew German-
Catholics because of its less crowded and lower cost-of-living advantages.³

As the German communities of Kentucky expanded so did their social and
political arena. With the infusion of more radical Forty-eighters—whose number
included freethinkers, rationalists, polemic journalists, and expatriate soldiers—
Louisville's German community fractured along ideological, religious, and generational
lines. Yet, at the same time this whirlwind of new ideas sparked the formation of the
Turnvereine movement, prompted scattered choral groups to organize the Liederkranz
singing society, and created an array of new fraternal, educational, and theatrical clubs.
Nearly a dozen German newspapers were founded in Louisville during this period, one
of which--The Anzeiger--would begin publishing in 1849, with a circulation of 300,
and would continue running its presses well into the twentieth century.⁴ Ludwig
Stierlin, one of the Anzeiger's editors, would become one of Kentucky's first German-
American historians, preserving much of the immigrant story that may otherwise have
been lost.⁵

Using Stierlin's observations, historian Gustav Koerner would later refer to
Louisville as "der Gruender des Vereins" (the founder of clubs), especially beginning
in 1848. Also, along with the founding of its Liederkranz circa 1848, Louisville's

---
³Rothan, The German Catholic Immigrant, 54-55.
⁵Ludwig Stierlin, Der Staat Kentucky, und die Stadt Louisville mit Besonderer
Beruecksichtigung des Deutschen Elementes (Louisville: G. S. Schumann, 1873).
German community would organize the *Hermann Verein* and the *Freier Gesellschaftsbund* during this period. As Louisville absorbed more and more of the Forty-eighthers at mid-century, their presence acted as a catalyst for change. These new Germans would be among the first to gravitate toward the young Republican party which, in their eyes, stood for "die Ideen der neuen Zeit und des Fortschritts" (the ideas of a new era of progress).\(^6\) Having reaffirmed their proslavery position in the 1849 Constitutional Convention, many Kentuckians reacted to these disruptive Germans with a resurgence of nativism in the form of the Know-Nothing party. Fearing for their lives and futures, Germans would draw closer together. One historian of the Forty-eighthers in America stated that the "Know-Nothing crusade of the 1850s enforced an artificial unity upon the German group, awakened the German element from their lethargy, and helped close the chasm which had divided the older and the newer immigration." It was this clash between leading Forty-eighthers and Know-Nothings that "helped build little German cultural islands in the great sea of Americanism."\(^7\)

Before examining the tumultuous events and changes taking place in Kentucky's German communities between 1848 and 1855, readers may wish to review the immigration statistics at Appendices A and B, and especially the Synopsis of Key

\(^6\) Koerner, *Das deutsche Element*, 355-56.

Forty-eighers in Kentucky at Appendix C. In this eight-year period over two-and-one-half million immigrants would debark on American shores, and over 800 thousand of them would be Germans. The Forty-eighers among them probably represented less than one percent. Only a handful of radicals from that small number would ever venture into Kentucky. It is easy to see why a few of them, such as Bernard Domschke and Karl Heinzen, were *persona non grata* in Louisville in the 1850s. They certainly triggered a level of turmoil and animosity heretofore unknown on the political front.

In the next three chapters the growth and social flowering of Kentucky's German-Americans will be explored with an eye toward those factors which contributed to and detracted from their difficult assimilation. Although nativist violence would erupt again, culminating in the "Bloody Monday" riots of 1855, it is important to remember that the Germans were only one of many immigrant groups in American history that faced the challenge of overt hatred and discrimination. So consistent is this deplorable trend in our history books that one is prone to view it as a perverted "right of passage" for fellow human beings whose only crime seems to be an unrelenting desire for the blessings of freedom.

---

CHAPTER IV

THE ARRIVAL OF THE FORTY-EIGHTERS IN KENTUCKY

The "Hot-bed" of Louisville

City booster, Ben Casseday, in his 1852 History of Louisville, referred to the rapidly growing number of Germans as "one of the best classes of our population." He added: "They are a careful, painstaking, and industrious people, of quiet, unobtrusive and inoffensive manners; and are, in the majority of instances, men of some education and ability." From Casseday's perspective, the Germans of Louisville were "rapidly rising in public estimation," and becoming "Americanized." He urged Louisvillians to embrace them because . . .

the influence of their philosophic habits of mind, of their thoughtfulness, and their love of the beautiful in nature and in art, is gradually incorporating itself into the social life of the city. The German character, in its higher developments, displays many attributes which are wanting, in more senses than one to our native population.

Casseday seemed to be an early proponent of the "Melting Pot" theory of Americanization. He believed that each group's strengths complemented the other. American practicality and utilitarianism blended well with German philosophy and theory. Not only were the Germans "useful to the city" for its politics, but they were important to its future. In fact, the German citizens of Louisville were building diversity in the city and making it more competitive. We have "room and work for
many more," boasted Casseday. "Does the emigrant desire a home?" he asked. If so, "where can he better find it than near a city thus situated?"

Casseday’s glowing assessment of Louisville and its future failed to mention some of the profound changes occurring within the city's German community. For one thing, Louisville seemed to be a required stop for any number of notorious radicals traversing the United States at mid-century. One such visitor, going by the name of Dr. Krauth and nicknamed "Robespierre," even preached communism to Louisville's Germans in 1850. Krauth, a political refugee from Baden, told his audience that communism was a form of primitive Christianity, and, mimicking Karl Marx, claimed that this new movement would result in the withering away of the church and state. The communist Arbeiterbund, or Workers' party, which had "devoted disciples" in Louisville, reached a nationwide membership of about 5,000 by 1850. The American Arbeiterbund was destined to fizzle by 1855, but some of its urban remnants "survived as centers of social and cultural life." European communists soon learned that Germans in America were much more attracted to "social evenings, lodges, and beer halls" than to any plans for creating "cooperatives, a new currency, and utopian colonies in the Middle West."

1Casseday, The History of Louisville, 248-54.

2Stierlin, Der Staat Kentucky, 120-21.

3Wittke, Refugees of Revolution 171-74. The Arbeiterbund was founded by Wilhelm Weitling, a tailor, who demanded a "republic of the workers." Ironically, many of Weitling's proposals would be incorporated in Bismarck's worker reform programs in Germany thirty years later. Also see Idem, We Who Built America, 239-40, for more on Weitling's philosophy and activities.
Much more serious than any disunity created by the frequent appearance of visiting radicals was the clash between Kentucky's conservative Germans, the Grays, and the more liberal or radical Greens, who began arriving and staying in increasing numbers. One should note in Appendix C that most prominent among the Forty-eighthers were the journalists. In this group were many who merely fashioned themselves as such after having made incautious remarks at some German university or having written one or two antigovernment diatribes for an underground newspaper.\(^4\)

In Kentucky, of course, a few disgruntled radicals of this stripe, with pen in hand, could have an impact far out of proportion to their actual numbers. Worse yet, being ignorant of revered Madisonian concepts, the Constitutional issues then being hotly debated, and the American political party system in general, they soon provoked with their rhetoric and writing a new level of enmity against all foreigners, and Germans in particular. Wherever they landed, the Forty-eighthers, still in their revolutionary mode, made a campaign of German ethnicity. Said one historian: "their rhetoric contrasted German idealism with American materialism, to the magnification of the former and the denigration of the latter."\(^5\)

Any crusade using this theme grew shrill to American ears almost overnight. And, when some Germans began nodding to the drumbeat of such words, Americans began to question all aspects of their immigration policy.

---

\(^4\)Ibid., 173-74. Also see Leonard Koester, "German Newspapers Published in Louisville," *The German-American Review* (June/July, 1954), 25.

\(^5\)Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 162.
As noted earlier, having experienced the divisiveness of particularism back home, the German immigrants, quite naturally, did not warm to the issue of State Rights then prominent on the Democratic platform. This was conspicuously true among the Forty-eighters who "did not understand the question" of State Rights in its American constitutional context. Later, this issue would be brought to a head with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. The impact of that controversy will be examined more fully in Chapter VI. One must remember that German immigrants, however long they had been in the United States, never considered themselves "Kentuckians" or "New Yorkers" or "Virginians" as the natives were prone to bellow. The Germans, instead, readily took the label "Americans," thus explaining why issues such as State Rights--and later, popular sovereignty--hardly registered on their consciousness.

While the revolution was still underway in Europe, Germans in America began to greet those fleeing. Arriving in Louisville, the Forty-eighters created great excitement, optimism, and hunger for news from the continent. It was at this time, in 1849, that the Louisville Anzeiger became a popular daily sheet instead of a touch-and-go weekly. Almost to a man, the Germans of Louisville grew attached to their revolutionary brothers back home. Societies quickly appeared in the city, all formed to provide aid and comfort to the refugees. A German "Patriotic Society" staged a

---

7Ibid., 2:128.
8Stierlin, Der Staat Kentucky, 107.
benefit concert at Odd Fellows Hall for those fleeing the repression. The German owner of the Frankfurter Hof, a popular city tavern, renamed his establishment the "deutsche Republik" in honor of the revolution underway. And, recorded Stierlin, the city's newly organized Liederkranz made its first appearance to honor the Robert Blum family, "victim of the Hapsburgs."

In spite of the spirit of solidarity engendered for the Revolution by Louisville's Germans and by Germans throughout America, another political lesson they had yet to learn was that their adopted country was basically isolationist in its foreign policy and insisted on maintaining its neutrality. The Revolution certainly made for interesting reading in the papers, and even prompted expressions of encouragement and sympathy among native Americans, but any overt involvement was out of the question. Being ignorant of this American tradition, the Forty-eighters continued forming Revolutionsvereine for several years after 1848. Many of these radical clubs hatched fantastic plans to ship troops, equipment, and funds to Germany. One group in Louisville began planning in 1850 to raise a regiment of mounted artillery to ship to Europe in 1851.

During the ensuing Hungarian independence craze, the radicals of Louisville invited freedom fighter Louis Kossuth to the city. In December of 1851, Kossuth galvanized the local Germans and managed to raise fifteen hundred dollars. The

---


10 Stierlin, Der Staat Kentucky, 118-37.
brilliant orator, Gottfried Kinkel, also visited Louisville in 1852. Known as "the German Kossuth," Kinkel spoke at the Court House in English and German. Albert B. Faust noted that Kinkel's plan entailed floating a two million dollar loan in the United States which would be used to bankroll a more organized, second revolution in Europe. Perhaps Louisville's most bizarre visitor at this time was Karl Goepp whose dream was to create a "world republic" with the United States "to be the hub." After all other countries were annexed to America, the United States would be infused with teutonic ideals and become fully "Germanized."\(^{11}\)

After this parade of fiery orators and assorted crackpots, one can imagine the state of relations between Germans and native Kentuckians. Relations between the Grays and the Greens began to worsen also. The widening gap between these groups of Germans was more than generational, it was a divergence of dreams. The Grays had already embarked on the bumpy road to Americanization while many of the newly arrived Greens, and especially the radicals, balked at the prospect and continued to focus on Germany.

The Old Ways and the New--Gray versus Green

Perhaps the best way to describe one aspect of the growing enmity between the earlier and later German immigrants is to use a contemporary analogy most readers would understand. Imagine yourself in a rather stuffy, conservative office

\(^{11}\)Faust, \textit{The German Element}, 185-86, 186n. Goepp co-authored a book entitled \textit{The New Rome} (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1853) and dedicated it to President Franklin Pierce. The book's secondary title was \textit{The United States of the World}. 
environment performing the same mundane tasks day in and day out. It is an old firm that traditionally promotes its loyal employees based on seniority. Having worked for the company for over ten years, and having demonstrated exemplary habits of timeliness, efficiency, and dedication, you notice that the position of office manager is scheduled to become vacant upon the incumbent's pending promotion. Quite naturally, you begin to covet the more lucrative job, believing that you have earned advancement through hard work and loyal service. However, when your supervisor is promoted into the loftier vacancy, the company, breaking with tradition, decides to bring in an outsider to fill the vacant office manager position. Not only are you disappointed but you feel betrayed by the company. They did not even afford you the courtesy of explaining why they suddenly hired a much younger, college-educated outsider who had scant understanding of administrative procedures or company operations. Even more grating, on his first day on the job, your new supervisor convened an office meeting to announce that he is making numerous policy changes, and that he is already at work on a visionary plan to overhaul office operations and cut costs. During this brief introductory meeting, your new boss does not ask for suggestions, nor does he even solicit your cooperation. Feeling rejected and thoroughly frustrated with this turn of events, you announce that you are quitting. Two co-workers, who also had years of faithful service, join you in the walk-out.

Many of the very human emotional dynamics at work in the above scenario can be applied to events erupting between radical Forty-eighters and the more pragmatic, experienced German immigrants. Again, prior to 1848, most of the
Germans coming to Kentucky were of peasant stock. There were only a handful of intellectuals or cosmopolitans among them. After 1848, the equation began to change. Upon arrival, many of the Forty-eighers, fired by revolutionary zeal, began to look upon the Grays as "Stimmvieh" or voting cattle. Older Germans were castigated as "dull followers who never took any interest in politics," choosing instead to waste their time on trivial issues relating to "temperance and Sabbath laws."\(^{12}\)

Granted there was much sympathy across the German community for revolutionary ideals as they applied to the fatherland; but, the Grays and the Greens soon parted company over attempts by the radicals to foist such ideals on native Americans who, by that time, were growing increasingly suspicious of all foreigners. In Kentucky, of course, the Grays, for the most part, had learned to temper their antislavery leanings with a "When in Rome" attitude. The radical Greens did not. Not only did they bitterly denounce the peculiar institution, creating an explosive situation in a slave state, but they attacked the Grays as hypocrites for their toady acquiescence to a repugnant system. Frederick Luebke put it best when noting that the "vocal German idealists" were . . .

highly critical of the American political system and its apparent pragmatic qualities. Despite their intelligence and erudition, they failed to understand that pragmatism was a necessary ingredient in the American political recipe and they were too impatient . . . or disdainful to discover the truth through experience.\(^{13}\)

---

\(^{12}\)Ripley, *Of German Ways*, 42.

\(^{13}\)Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 82.
As bad blood increased between the Grays and the Greens, the radicals were emboldened to excoriate, on many fronts, the fractious older German leaders who appeared aimless and on the defensive. Their aim, said Carl Wittke, was to "stir them up to a better appreciation of their potentialities for spiritual and cultural progress."\(^\text{14}\)

Many of the Forty-eighers were apparently horrified upon arrival at how older Germans had corrupted their native tongue. In the eyes of the intellectuals this was tantamount to "deplorable cultural deterioration and petrification." Worse yet, Germans were being openly caricatured by Americans as pot-bellied, pipe-smoking Bavarians with the ever-present beer mug in hand. By substituting a whiskey bottle for the beer mug, one could just as easily identify the stereotypical Irishman.\(^\text{15}\)

Although animosity intensified between Grays and Greens, the Forty-eighers themselves, observed Wittke, should be viewed as both a "disintegrating force and an integrating force." It is a dynamic that concurrently "breaks down" an old allegiance while spawning another that "preserves" unity among the immigrants.\(^\text{16}\) Many Forty-eighers integrated--albeit grudgingly--into the German community, thereby yielding a synthesis of old and new. Others, like Karl Heinzen, whom Wittke called "that uncompromising Cato," could never bring himself to assimilate, especially in Louisville.\(^\text{17}\) Heinzen's time in Louisville will be discussed in Chapter VI.

---

\(^{14}\) Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 58. Also see Hawgood, *The Tragedy of the German-Americans*, Chapter 8, for a fine discussion of how the Greens viewed the Grays.

\(^{15}\) Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 15.

\(^{16}\) Ibid., 72-73.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 73.
As nativist sentiment intensified, the German community was spurred to preserve and defend their language and cultural traditions in the face of bigotry. Wittke called this a "crisis in assimilation" which acted to retard the "normal Americanization process" and delay the day when the hyphen would be dropped when identifying "German-Americans." In their reaction to nativist invective and violence, the radical Forty-eighters shamed the Grays with equal vehemence. This resulted in more Germans boasting publicly of their superior culture and taking direct action to found new clubs, schools, and newspapers "to ensure its survival."18 In response to the constant barrage of "America this and America that," one historian speculated that such frontier "puffing" must have grown especially shrill on German ears, thus prompting boastful counter-exhibitions of pride in all things German.19 In such an acrimonious atmosphere, it is easy to see why many of the radical Greens tended to wear their abolitionist sentiment on their sleeves as a badge of honor. To them, any "compromise with human slavery," considered the "blackest stain" on the flag of their adopted country, was unthinkable. Again, their dogmatic stand on this issue served to accentuate their differences with complacent older Germans who were accused of "blind loyalty" to the Democratic party. This situation may appear to be a force of disunity in the German community, but as Wittke points out, the radical Forty-eighters must get credit for their ability to "clarify political thinking." The end result was

18Ibid., 58-59, 74.

greater political unity among Germans. By penetrating the "innate conservatism of the older immigration," the radicals created a situation which eventually led to more and more Germans gravitating toward the Republican party.20

Germans knew that Southern politicians gained popularity by denouncing immigration as a threat to their institutions. As noted earlier, the balance of political power between the North and the South was already shifting northward. The immigrants merely accelerated the process, thus further alarming Southerners. Among Germans, economic competition was a key factor in their resistance to the expansion of slavery in the territories. This sentiment, of course, was bolstered by the Forty-eighters' fiery "revolutionary idealism" and by the "humanitarian" spirit common to most Germans. Swept into the vortex of this political controversy, many Forty-eighters allied with American reformers and, in the process, "became more pragmatic and more American" themselves.21

The rift between the Grays and the Greens continued unabated during the tumultuous 1850s. Although Germans increasingly gravitated toward Republican party principles--albeit wary of that party's roots--German desertion from the "old line Democracy was neither sudden nor unanimous." Even some Democrats could be counted among the Forty-eighters. Granted, most German-language newspapers touted Republican principles from time to time, but this did not signal wholesale defection. On one occasion, the Louisville Anzeiger, "after a brief flirtation with the radical anti-

20Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, 191.

21Ibid., 192.
Nebraska group," had second thoughts and quickly "returned to their earlier affiliation" with the Democratic party. The Anzeiger's major competitor at the time was the more radical Democratic sheet, Beobachter am Ohio, which would fold in 1856. Relations between the two papers were strained from the day the Anzeiger began publishing in 1849. In his discussion of German newspapers in Louisville, Leonard Koester tells an amusing anecdote of one German who "got a very peculiar impression of the American press." On his first day in the city he picked up a copy of the Anzeiger and, plastered across the front page, he "saw a big picture of a jackass with the caption 'Portrait of the editor of the Beobachter'."

Faust may be correct in noting that the "petty newspaper controversies" amongst Germans disappeared in the face of the "great responsibility imposed by the slavery question." Organizing in Louisville, and spreading westward in 1853, the National Central Union of Free Germans, composed of radical "freethinkers," considered itself an independent party. It was these newer German radicals who "pulled hardest" toward the fledgling Republican party in spite of its drawbacks--from the German viewpoint--of embracing temperance and Sabbath restrictions. There was a meeting of minds on the issue of slavery. Writing fifty years after these events, and using a wealth of primary sources, Faust noted that such honor and selflessness was

---

22Ibid., 200-201. Perhaps the earlier fate of the Herald des Westens was sobering to the Anzeiger's editor. The Kansas-Nebraska Act excited a mass rally of Germans in Louisville following its passage in 1854. When parting with the Democrats on this issue, the Anzeiger probably sought to be a moderating influence.

23Koester, "German Newspapers," 25.
indeed noble among the idealistic Germans. They had subordinated the lesser issues and petty squabbles "to advance the interests of humanity."24

Often acting with a blunt instrument--the pen--radical Forty-eighters reminded their more tepid countrymen why Germans, universally, were choosing to emigrate to the United States. When asked in the 1850s why they had risked everything and made the perilous journey, they always responded with variations on the theme that here "every man was an equal."25 Such arguments resonated deeply among the older Germans despite their understandable hesitancy to risk life and limb by denouncing slavery at a time when Kentucky ceased debating the issue.

In his opening discussion of the radical Forty-eighters among the tide of immigrants, Wittke correctly labeled them "the cultural leaven and the spiritual yeast for the whole German element," who "furnished the proud and aggressive leadership necessary to cope with [nativist] opposition." It was "under their vigorous leadership" that the German immigrant community embarked on a "cultural and political renaissance of unusual vitality," which Wittke called the German community's only true "Hellenic Age" in America.26 In the chapters to follow, other dimensions of this "renaissance," both positive and negative, will be explored.

26Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, v-vi.
CHAPTER V
A TIME OF HOPE, A TIME OF TRIBULATION

During the years 1849, 1850, and 1851, only one of every five immigrants coming to the United States would be German. Although the total number of Germans was still large, it represented only a fraction of, say 1854's total, when one out of every two immigrants was German. By 1852, the total population of the United States was around 25 million. Moreover, in the eight years since 1844, the pace of railway construction had accelerated at such a pitch, using the brawn of immigrant labor, that the country boasted of having nearly thirteen thousand miles of track in operation. The future was bright and the smell of money was in the air. True, the population had grown 27 percent in eight years, but more phenomenal still, total national wealth had expanded 50 percent to about nine billion dollars, while money in savings and in circulation had grown by well over 100 percent. These were flush times.

In Newport, Kentucky, newly arrived shoemaker, John Widicant, and wife Catherine, looked expectantly into the face of their newborn child, the first American

---

1See Appendix A, table 3, yearly immigration.
2See Appendix A, table 5, economic statistics.
citizen in their growing family of seven. Although Widicant was probably struggling to get established and provide a measure of security for his family, he was also counting his blessings. As already noted, many immigrant families never lived to see their ultimate destinations. Steaming up river toward Cincinnati and Newport, the riverboat *John Adams*, laden with heavy freight and a large number of passengers, met disaster at three in the morning on 27 January 1851 when striking a stump or snag midstream. Only five of its eighty-seven deck passengers, mostly German and Irish immigrants, were rescued from the frigid waters, whereas eighty-four of the one hundred more affluent cabin passengers survived the calamity. In all, only 107 of the 230 souls on board, including the ship's eleven officers, lived to describe how they were suddenly jarred awake and how the lumbering steamer nosed-down into the river, completely submerging within two minutes.

**The Flowering of Louisville's German Community**

For every German emigrant who met his fate by disaster on the high seas or on an overloaded river steamer, there were many more who succumbed to a variety of diseases upon arrival. With this in mind, it is easy to see why many of the more fortunate German immigrants adopted a *joie de vivre* attitude in Kentucky's river cities. As a people, the Germans had a long tradition of family and community celebrations. Their love of music, flowers, parades, and general conviviality, perhaps

---

3Population Schedules, City of Newport, Campbell Co., 29 August 1850.

4Louisville *Daily Courier*, 3 February 1851. Details were taken from a report made by officers of the *Peytona*, the rescuing ship.
best expressed in their word "Gemuetlichkeit," had become synonymous with their homeland. As one historian observed, all of this, and more, was transplanted to America. Wherever Germans congregated, "in towns, cities, villages, and in the open country," they "continued this love for out-of-doors, this delight in social contacts, these comfortable homes, this love for flowers." In particular, Sunday was traditionally a day where men would congregate, following church, at a local beer garden or, if celebrating a seasonal event, perhaps at a church picnic where a variety of boisterous activities and games would ensue. If picnics and other celebrations were not scheduled, families often satisfied their "back to nature" urges with long, leisurely strolls in the countryside.

As in the old country, Germans continued to "celebrate birthdays, betrothals, and weddings with great preparations and merrymaking." Common also were the formation of "Kraenzchen" or small visiting clubs in most German neighborhoods. The women, both old and young, who joined these Kraenzchen, would meet weekly, in rotation, at the members' homes. Naturally, there was much to chat about over tea, coffee, and cookies. Letters from the Old World were shared, new arrivals in the neighborhood were welcomed, and ways to help those less fortunate among them were discussed. The emphasis, however, was on having some fun. To the women of the

---

5 Gemuetlichkeit is one of those heartfelt German words which defies easy translation into English. Perhaps if readers could imagine a word meaning coziness, ready friendship, easy-going nature, generosity, and conviviality, all rolled into one, that would be Gemuetlichkeit.

6 Davis-Dubois and Schwegge, The Germans in American Life, 69.

7 Ibid., 76-79.
Kraenzchen, these warm moments together where they would "knit or embroider, play and sing and often dance" were therapeutic. Members considered themselves "intimate friends" who, after days of arduous domestic work, came to cherish the Kraenzchen as the "climactic event of the week."  

As a rule, the Germans in America tended to avoid establishing militia companies and similar organizations unlike other ethnic groups. Instead, to vent their outgoing social instincts, the Germans opted for a wide variety of clubs where the emphasis was on camaraderie, competition, and fun. When summing up the German contribution to America of "Blood, Brain, Brawn, and Buoyancy," Faust defined German buoyancy as a "love of life, an energy that appreciates the recreational aspects of living, and a spiritual awareness that responds to the fine arts." However noble these traits may seem, the fact remains that in Kentucky many Americans did not appreciate outward displays of "buoyancy" and revelry among large groups of Germans on Sundays. Moreover, the celebrations led to bitter divisions within the German community itself. "Freethinkers' journals attacked Lutheranism as rabidly as Catholicism." The conservatives labeled the radicals as "infidels" and "atheists." Radicals countered with: "America was a land of 'Sabbath gloom,' of 'barbarians' and 'fanatical Methodists' who lived in a 'primitive forest of churches and dogmas' and needed to be enlightened." Again, there was much intolerance, in part fueled by

---

8Ibid., 79.


10Quoted in Davis-Dubois and Schweppe, The Germans in American Life, 164.
ignorance, both inside and outside the German community. To be sure, the German tendency to show "more enthusiasm" than Americans in their Fourth of July celebrations probably riled more than a few native Kentuckians.\textsuperscript{11} Often referring to America as the "\textit{laender ohne musik}" (land without music), the Germans, and especially those in Louisville, were determined to remedy the situation, Sundays included.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{The \textit{Liederkranz} is Born}

Having its roots in the music-loving spirit of all Germans, Louisville's \textit{Liederkranz} was officially founded on 14 February 1848 to organize the male chorus clubs of the city.\textsuperscript{13} The Revolution of 1848, as already noted, had a unifying influence in the German-American community; and, it is evident that the \textit{Liederkranz}, in some measure, owed its founding to outward expressions of solidarity with the ideals of the freedom fighters. As more and more of the Forty-eighters began arriving in Louisville, their influence on the social, intellectual, and artistic community was "very stimulating."\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{11}Wittke, \textit{The Germans in America}, 10-15. Also see Wittke, \textit{We Who Built America}, 214.

\textsuperscript{12}Rippley, \textit{Of German Ways}, 283.

\textsuperscript{13}Using the actual \textit{Protokollbuch} of Louisville's \textit{Liederkranz} as a primary source, and many of Stierlin's observations in \textit{Der Staat Kentucky}, researcher Erna Ottl Gwinn's, "The \textit{Liederkranz} in Louisville 1848-1877," \textit{The Filson Club History Quarterly}, 49 (July, 1975), best captured the spirit of this organization. Also see the fine overview in Faust, \textit{The German Element}, 2:272-74.

\textsuperscript{14}Gwinn, "The \textit{Liederkranz}," 278; Stierlin, \textit{Der Staat Kentucky}, 106. As I noted in Chapter IV, the \textit{Liederkranz} held its first public performance in tribute to the Robert Blum family after it was learned that Blum had been executed in Europe. The memorial concert
The name "Liederkranz" is itself an expression of unity. "Lieder," meaning songs, and "kranz," meaning wreath, were joined to evoke a spirit of community using the symbol of the festive wreath enveloping the German songsters. Upon its founding, Louisville's Liederkranz "immediately developed a very active club life," and within a few months had formed an association with similar clubs in Newark, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh. On the Fourth of July, 1848, the Liederkranz was invited by the local militia to participate in festivities at Preston's Wood. By November of 1849, the club had expanded to such an extent that it budgeted fifty dollars per year to rent adequate space at the Deutschen Gesellschaft hall (German community center).

Being instrumental in the first attempts to form the North American Saengerbund in 1848, the singing clubs of Louisville and Madison, Indiana, were invited by the Cincinnati clubs, in June of 1849, to participate in a national festival hosted by that city. It was during that successful festival that the German Saengerbund of North America was founded. As a tribute to the initiative, spirit, and contributions of Kentucky's Liederkranz, Louisville was selected to host the annual was performed only three days after the Liederkranz was founded.

---

15Gwinn, "The Liederkranz," 277. For a full portrait of the 84-member 1865 Liederkranz, see Samuel W. Thomas, ed., Views of Louisville since 1766 (Louisville, Kentucky: The Courier Journal and The Louisville Times, 1971), 134-35. While one member is shown holding the Liederkranz banner, embroidered with a lyre encircled with a wreath, one sees the group's leader, then George Zoeller, standing in the center and holding his baton. Standing next to Zoeller is G. S. Schumann, the publisher of Stierlin's book, holding a sheet of music.

16Ibid.

17Ibid., 278-79; and Faust, The German Element, 2:273-74. Faust noted that the founder of Louisville's Liederkranz, Fritz Volkner, was active in the movement to sponsor annual Saengerfests where cities having clubs could compete for honors.
festivities in 1850. It is worth noting that not until 1862 did a similar national organization appear in Germany. One can only surmise the extent to which Germans, under the influence of Forty-eighters and rising nativist sentiment, rallied to preserve their cultural traditions in America. Moreover, the impulse to create national organizations was much more than an outward expression of newly enjoyed liberties, it became fundamental, in the eyes of many first-generation immigrants, to protecting the best features of their rich cultural heritage.

Louisville's 1850 Saengerfest was a smashing success. Even George Prentice's *Daily Journal* was heavy with praise for and pride in the event hosted by the city's Germans. On 15 May 1850, the *Journal* ran the headline, "Great Singing Festivity of the United German Singing Clubs of North America," and announced that "The Greatest Concert in the West" was scheduled for Saturday, 18 May. The singing clubs performed under the direction of Mr. Hoffman, Professor of Music in Louisville. Later, the *Journal* apologized for not giving the event more notice and added in a follow-up article that, coming to Louisville . . . "There will be three societies from Cincinnati, one from Memphis, one from St. Louis, one from Madison, and one from Indianapolis, in all about two hundred persons from a distance." Prentice reported that a reception for the visitors would be held Saturday, immediately followed by a public concert at the Brook Street Methodist Church. On Monday, he continued, a steamboat would convey the performers about ten miles distant to a "suitable location" where a "repast will be furnished," and all can join in the open-air singing. Two

---

18Louisville *Daily Journal*, 17 May 1850.
silver trophy cups would be awarded to societies judged to have the best performers. Said Prentice: "This festival will be a novelty to the citizens of Louisville, and will create great excitement in the music loving public."\textsuperscript{19} Indeed, it appears that the Germans of Louisville were determined to overcome shortcomings in the standard musical repertoire of native Kentuckians.

Following the festivities and competition, the \textit{Daily Journal} included rave reviews and noted that all selections received the "warmest approbations of the audience" with many of the "songs and choruses [being] loudly encored." Said Prentice: Some of the voices were "among the richest we have ever heard." "The good taste of the arrangements and the precision with which everything was executed reflects the highest credit upon Mr. Hoffman, the leader."\textsuperscript{20}

In 1850 Louisville's \textit{Liederkranz} arranged to have the first German theater established in the city. Staging an "unbelievable number and variety of plays, comedies, farces, operettas, and even small operas, " the lively theater group quickly "became the center of the German social life" in Louisville. As a measure of the breadth of vitality among Louisville's exuberant Germans, it was noted that "not even

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., 20 May 1850. Also see, Gwinn, "The \textit{Liederkranz}," 279. Song books were made available to all attendees, in German and English, for ten cents.
Cincinnati," another city touting itself as the "Athens of the West," managed to sustain "a standing German theater in those days."\(^{21}\)

The *Liederkranz* regularly participated in performances staged by the theater group which, perhaps, contributed to the group's success because of the emphasis the *Liederkranz* placed on cooperation versus competition. Among the unifying social affairs sponsored by the German theater were Sunday afternoon "Kaffeevisiten" or coffee klatches.\(^{22}\)

The *Liederkranz* also became closely associated with the Musical Association formed in 1852 which combined the talents of an orchestra with the Union Band. This alliance proved so successful that a concert held on 17 June 1852 netted the "remarkable sum of $898" from generous Louisville donors wanting to help with "securing a building for the German Protestant Orphanage." Over the years the *Liederkranz* performed "numerous benefit concerts" to endow the orphanage and other noble causes. Moreover, Louisville's *Liederkranz*, in the spirit of community harmony, "always had friendly ties" with the *Turnverein*, which was founded in 1850 and also

---

\(^{21}\)Gwinn, "The *Liederkranz*", 280. Also see, John J. Weisert, The Beginnings of German Theatricals in Louisville," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, 26 (October, 1952). Weisert noted that the impulse to create the theatrical group came from the *Liederkranz*.

\(^{22}\)Gwinn, "The *Liederkranz*," 280. Also see Koerner, *Das deutsche Element*, 353. Koerner differs from both Gwinn and Weisert concerning when a theater group first appeared in Louisville. Koerner said that George Walker founded the first German theatrical company in 1841, the *Volksbuehne*, but, having chosen a bad location, the enterprise flopped a year later. In 1847, Walker tried his luck again in Louisville with the *Patrioten*, a monthly newspaper.
emphasized support for charitable causes.\textsuperscript{23} Indicative of the fellowship frequently displayed by Louisville's Germans was a \textit{Turner} festival held at the Stein and Zink farm on 28 June 1852. On this happy occasion, the \textit{Liederkranz} joined "the Union Band, the German militia, the sharpshooters, and the \textit{Turners} from Louisville and Cincinnati" to celebrate the first annual \textit{Turner} festival, a reciprocal gesture of good will on the part of the \textit{Liederkranz} whose 1851 \textit{Saengerfest} competition in Cincinnati had enjoyed the avid support and participation of Louisville's \textit{Turnverein}.\textsuperscript{24}

\textbf{Clubs and Activities Proliferate}

Ludwig Stierlin arrived in Louisville in 1849. In his 1873 book he recorded that the city's first concert worthy of mention was performed at Odd Fellows Hall on 9 June 1849. Top billing went to two artists, a Mr. Krollman and a Mr. Erich, an accomplished cellist. Also highlighted was the superb bass voice of Mr. Reutlinger, "a political exile from Hanau, who made his debut in America that evening." At the second concert, held on 17 July 1849, Krollman and Erich again performed to great acclaim, this time accompanied on the piano by Ludwig Horst, "a Forty-eighter who had been teaching music in Bardstown."\textsuperscript{25}

By 1852, the musical contributions of Louisville's German community were receiving frequent praise in the city's newspapers. The Prussian exile, Mr. Otto

\textsuperscript{23}Gwinn, "The \textit{Liederkranz}," 280.

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., 280-81.

\textsuperscript{25}Rowell, "The Social and Cultural Contributions," 51. Rowell used Stierlin as a source for information on this event.
Ruppius, had arrived in the city and had begun arranging a series of "promenade concerts," then popular in Germany. The *Daily Journal* reported that . . . "Mr. Ruppius is a man of untiring activity—a quality which the King of Prussia found so offensive that he gave Mr. Ruppius an invitation to leave his country." The *Journal* remarked that it was not the least bit sorry for "that tyrant" because he at least sent "to our country such enterprising and intelligent citizens." The article continued . . .

Mr. Ruppius and his associates, aided by Dr. Caspari, whose head is always forming, and whose hand is always executing plans for the benefit of his unfortunate countrymen, and of his fellow citizens here, have had erected a pleasant hall on Chestnut Street. Immediately following the premier performance led by Mr. Ruppius, the *Journal* proclaimed it "triumphantly successful," adding that "the band is by far the best that we have ever had in our city." The critique of the performance expressed doubt that "a better band" existed anywhere because in Louisville's group the "members are thoroughly educated musicians." The article then went on to describe the new hall built by the Germans. The hall was "very pleasant" and opened "on one side through arches into the grounds of Dr. Caspari's gymnasium," thus having "a wide veranda running along the side." "We are sure," concluded the *Journal*, that "entertainments such as these will have a good effect on our community, morally, as well as physically." Citizens were urged to attend the promenade concerts scheduled for every Tuesday and Friday evening during the season.26

---

26 *Louisville Daily Journal*, 31 May 1852. Similar rave reviews of the performance, which gave "unbounded gratification to all," were found in the *Louisville Daily Courier*, same date.
During the preceding several months, Prentice's Daily Journal had been giving considerable news coverage to Doctor Caspari, mentioned above in connection with the initiative of Mr. Ruppius. Apparently Caspari arrived in Louisville early in 1852 and, as a teacher of gymnastics, began looking for subscriptions to fund the building of a modern gymnasium to "accommodate more than a hundred persons." The site selected for the gymnasium was on Chestnut between Second and Third Streets. Membership subscriptions were set at six dollars per year, which the Daily Journal believed was "certainly a very low price." Said the Journal: "An establishment of this kind has long been needed . . . It will be a place where a man can go with one or more friends and take healthful exercise under the most pleasant auspices." As if to allay any suspicions or fears among the ladies, Prentice ended this article by noting that "the most perfect order will be observed" in order to ensure that Caspari's gym would be a "place of genteel resort."\(^{27}\)

With the Daily Journal's avid support, Caspari's funding drive was a swift success. By the end of May that same year, not only had the gymnasium been built, but Caspari, together with Mr. Ruppius, had expanded the facility to include an adjoining concert hall. Now the gentlemen of Louisville could listen to invigorating musical performances, courtesy of Mr. Ruppius, while limbering up on assorted contraptions, courtesy of Dr. Caspari.

By this time, German theatricals had been staged in Louisville for well over a year. Moreover, by late 1851, they had reached such a stage of sophistication and

\(^{27}\)Louisville Daily Journal, 6 February 1852.
success under the direction of Julius Boetzow and Ernst Magius that a move from Washington Hall on Fifth Street to the 500-seat Apollo Hall on Third Street was required. The Apollo, which added gas illumination in 1854, would serve as home to the theater company until the riots of 1855 suspended the performances. Over the four-year period that Boetzow led the company, many performers and rival troupes would come and go. On several occasions, because of limited audiences in Louisville, Boetzow would cajole visiting troupes, such as the Thielemanns and Adlersbergs of Cincinnati, to join forces with him in an effort to maintain both high standards and profitability. Some of the productions successfully staged in Louisville during this period were:

Lucretia Borgia (31 July 1852, by the Thielemann Company)

Preciosa (12 August 1852)

Romeo and Juliet (4 December 1852)

Wilhelm Tell (15 December 1852)

Californien, oder Die deutschen Auswanderer in Goldlande (19 February 1853)

Alles mit Gewalt (22 August 1853)

Zu ebener Erde und erster Stock (10 February 1854)

Der Mulatte (20 September 1854)

Weisert, "The Beginnings of German Theatricals," 347-48, 358. Also see Stierlin, Der Staat Kentucky, 119. Stierlin attended a Washington Hall staging of Friedrich Holm's Griseldis, performed by an earlier, unsuccessful theater troupe in February 1851. The performance was of such poor quality that Stierlin walked out on it.

Doktor Johannes Faust (7 October 1854) and, The Jew (30 April 1855)

Unfortunately, theater attendance had declined considerably by 1855. In May of that year, after attempting a revival of the Viennese play, Zu ebener Erde, Boetzow announced that he would disband his group on 2 June 1855. The hot weather and the rising tide of nativism had taken their toll on attendance. Not sitting still for this sad news, several actors from Boetzow's company decided to strike out on their own. They rented time in the city's Mozart Hall and staged a number of large productions, including The Merchant of Venice, until that summer's nativist violence in the city made recruitment of actors impossible.

Any discussion of the social scene among Kentucky's Germans during the 1850s would be incomplete without noting the influence of the Turnvereine movement. In the context of this study, the Turnvereine certainly could be viewed as a unifying organization within the German community because, unlike some of the other clubs, it tended to bring together a broad cross section of immigrants. In fact, the Turner began as a unifying organization in Berlin in 1811. Its founder, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852) or "Turnvater Jahn," morose over the state of affairs in central Europe, decided to take action to build German morale and esprit de corps.

---

30Ibid., 357.
31Ibid., 358.
while Prussia was under Napoleon's domination. Father Jahn was intensely patriotic and believed that rigorous physical exercise and camaraderie would allow the true German spirit to awaken. "Ardent patriotism and devotion to liberty," said one historian, "were fundamental principles of the *Turnvereine* from the day of their inception."33

When transplanted to Kentucky the patriotic spirit and exuberance of the *Turner* remained fervent, and especially after the Forty-eighters arrived. Shortly after the first *Turner* association got started in Cincinnati in 1848, clubs sprouted across the river in Covington and Newport, and further down the Ohio in Louisville. Louisville's *Turnverein*, as noted earlier, was founded in 1850 and quickly developed a harmonious relationship with the city's *Liederkranz* and other German clubs. Membership included a wide assortment of characters from one end of the political and religious spectrum to the other. However, the *Turner* leaders uniformly stressed to all members the "obligation to subordinate individual advantage to the well-being of the majority" and to dedicate themselves to the "improvement of their adopted fatherland."34

In Appendix C, readers can note the short biographical sketches of two of Louisville's most famous *Turnverein* personalities, Heinrich Miller and Wilhelm Vogt, both Forty-eighters and both successful jewelers in the city. In 1852, Vogt's physical prowess earned great distinction for Louisville when he captured first prize at the

33 Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 147.

34 Ibid., 151-52.
National *Turnerfest* in Cincinnati.\(^{35}\) Louisville's most famous political radical, Karl Heinzen, was also an ardent *Turner*, although it appears he was oblivious to some of the organization's founding principles.\(^{36}\)

When noting earlier how the German community often demonstrated greater patriotic enthusiasm than Americans during Independence Day celebrations, the *Turner* organizations probably contributed most to this situation. As a rule, the *Turnvereine* would take every opportunity to stage parades, extravaganzas, athletic competitions, and concerts to commemorate famous individuals and traditional holidays, both German and American.

Perhaps most important were the lasting contributions to the American cultural and intellectual scene made by the *Turnverein* movement. The diverse nature of their membership naturally led to the establishment of libraries and other educational activities. Lectures on politics, scientific achievements, history, and economics became regular fare during meetings at *Turner* halls. In the German communities of many cities, the *Turner* were among the most vocal who were advocating the inclusion of regular physical exercise programs in public schools. As early pioneers of what were then radical reform measures in America, the *Turner* organizations often incurred

\(^{35}\)Zucker, *The Forty-eighthers*, 319-20, 350. Before fleeing Germany, Vogt was honored at a banquet where Father Jahn himself paid tribute to Vogt. When Civil War came to Kentucky, Vogt could be found caring for wounded Union troops in Louisville.

\(^{36}\)See Wittke, *We Who Built America*, 219. While working in Boston, Heinzen was the "chief organizer" of that city's *Turnvereine*. 
the wrath of more conservative natives when pushing such things as direct election of public officials and better social welfare systems.37

The Turnvereine were also instrumental in the "cultural assimilation" of German Jews in the United States. The Jews among the Forty-eighters were an especially vibrant group. Within the German community, they were readily accepted as "fellow champions" of the spirit and ideals of 1848. As members of the Turnvereine, Jews were "prominent leaders" and "vigorously advocated" a host of radical programs. They were also active in literary and lecture clubs, and numbered among the most generous supporters of the German Theater.38

Following the introduction of an antislavery platform at the 1855 national Turnverein convention in Buffalo, the Turner clubs from Houston, Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, and Mobile split-off on their own. However, the Kentucky clubs from Louisville, Covington, and Newport "remained loyal to the national society."39 The implications of this stance will be discussed in the next chapter.

Another fraternal organization having great influence in Kentucky's German community was the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F.) which first appeared in Louisville in 1833. In 1844, the Louisville organization performed its first rituals in German. Among the "secret orders" then popular in America, the I.O.O.F. was surpassed in size only by the Masons. With their abiding oath of friendship, love, and

37Ibid., 220-21.

38Witke, Refugees of Revolution, 88-89.

39Ibid., 195. Baltimore, St. Louis, and Wheeling were the other "southern" clubs which did not secede. New Orleans quit the national association in 1857.
truth, the Odd Fellow "lodges" and "encampments" strove to "relieve the distressed, to visit the sick, to bury the dead, and to educate the orphan."\textsuperscript{40}

Regular meetings for both German and English lodges of the Order in Louisville were held at the Odd Fellows Hall on the corner of First and Jefferson Streets in the city's Fourth ward. On 20 April 1844, Hermann Lodge No. 17 was founded as the first German lodge in Louisville. It may also have been the first German Odd Fellows lodge west of the Alleghenies.\textsuperscript{41} Five years later, on 17 July 1849, Schiller Lodge No. 60 was founded in the city. Prior to the Civil War, two more German lodges of Odd Fellows would appear in Louisville: Louisville Lodge No. 81, founded on 15 April 1851, and Humboldt Lodge No. 141, founded on 19 July 1859. Although the exact founding date is a mystery, the Germania Lodge No. 143 of Covington had over sixty members at the end of the Civil War. Newport's William Tell Lodge No. 146 was probably organized just after the War.\textsuperscript{42} In honor of the wives and daughters of I.O.O.F. members, the German Rebecca Degree Lodge No. 59 was established in Louisville in 1851. The charter was granted in tribute to those "who are especially qualified to aid the sick and to protect the orphans."\textsuperscript{43}


\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., 249-50. Koester notes that many German clubs used the name Hermann in tribute to Arminius (Herman) the Cheruscan, who in 9 A.D. defeated the Romans in battle.

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., 250-253.

\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., 255.
The ladies of the I.O.O.F. Lodge probably worked tirelessly with other benevolent societies to reduce suffering during the cholera epidemic of 1850. Although one researcher claimed that "all the 'Aid' Societies formed for the purpose of mutual assistance in case of illness or death" were formed after 1855 (with the exception of the St. Boniface Aid Society), it appears that the ladies of the I.O.O.F. were on the scene much earlier.\textsuperscript{44} The Louisville City Directory of 1851-52 noted that "sick committees" supervised subcommittees which operated to provide aid and comfort in all eight wards of the city.\textsuperscript{45}

In this chapter only a few of the popular German clubs and social activities were discussed. In addition to the informal \textit{Kraenzchen}, the spirited \textit{Liederkranz}, the theatrical troupes and their weekly \textit{Kaffeevisiten}, the concerts of Mr. Ruppius, Dr. Caspari's gymnasium, the exuberant \textit{Turnverein}, and the German Odd Fellows of Kentucky, there were many other activities where the feelings of \textit{Germuetlichkeit}, brotherhood, and benevolence could be expressed. Hardly mentioned were the innumerable \textit{Schuetzenvereine} (sharpshooters' clubs), museum and literary societies, militias, building societies, and assorted church groups. Some of these clubs, such as Louisville's popular Orpheus Society, a group of 50 fun-loving singers and musicians,

\textsuperscript{44} See Rowell, "The Social and Cultural Contributions," 39.

lasted only a few decades.46 Others, such as the German Odd Fellows lodges, lasted well into the twentieth century even though they were ordered to dispense with the German language beginning in 1918.47

Plainly, one of the legacies of the early German immigration, especially after it was infused with the spirit of the Forty-eighters, was the club-joining zeal imparted to native Americans. It is important to note, however, that prior to the Civil War, Americans were not encouraged to join German clubs or actively participate in their competitions or other festivities. Only after the Civil War did the clubs become more inclusionary and allow the natives to be more than just spectators. As we shall see in the next chapter, the antebellum exclusionary practices of some German clubs, such as the Turnvereine, fueled nativist resentment in Kentucky.48

46The Orpheus Society was formed in 1849 and was at its peak membership in the 1860s and 1870s. See Thomas, Views of Louisville since 1766, 114-115, for a whimsical portrait of the 1860 Orpheus Society. The picture shows all members in a picnic setting, drinking and chatting. Bottles of German "Dry Catawba" wine fill a large picnic basket in the foreground while empty bottles are strewn about at the feet of lounging members.


48For a fine synopsis of "club Germans," see Conzen, "Germans," 415-17, under the subtitle "Urban Communities and Ethnic Culture."
CHAPTER VI
POLITICAL TURMOIL AND NATIVIST GROWTH

Before discussing aspects of nativism and politics as they affected Kentucky's Germans in the mid-1850s, it is helpful to recall from Chapters III and IV some of the conditions which sustained and exacerbated anti-foreigner sentiment in the previous decade. For one thing, nativist rhetoric and violence usually peaked during periods when local and national Whig candidates squared off against Democratic contenders in hotly contested bouts to capture or retain positions in government. Moreover, unlike today, the newspapers of the antebellum period loudly proclaimed their partisanship, often baiting and attacking rival sheets with scurrilous language. After snarling and spitting at each other for several months preceding elections, the big day would arrive, a degree of reverence would imbue the distinctly American ritual, and the best man—sometimes—would win.

It is also worth recalling that after the doyen of the Whigs, Henry Clay narrowly lost his 1844 bid for the Presidency to James K. Polk, the nativist American party was organized in Kentucky. Thirteen states, including Kentucky, were represented at the new party's first convention in July, 1845. When the twenty-ninth Congress (1845-1847) was seated, Democrats controlled both houses and the executive branch of government. In the election of the thirtieth Congress (1847-1849), the
Whigs captured a tenuous majority in the House of Representatives, but their days were numbered. They lost their House majority in the election of 1848, after which their numbers in both chambers steadily dwindled until the Whig party's collapse in 1854. The sectional rift between "Conscience" Whigs, predominating in the North, and "Cotton" Whigs, powerful in the South, proved insuperable after the party had twice suffered the misfortune of having their standard bearers die in office. The appearance of the Free Soil party and the American party further split the Whig ranks until the Republicans, seizing upon the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its unpopular repeal of the Missouri Compromise, were swept into office by the election of 1854. When the members of the thirty-fourth Congress (1855-1857) took their seats, the new Republicans in the House outnumbered Democrats 108 to 83. The Democrats retained a healthy majority over Republicans in the Senate, 40 to 15. With their party irrevocably shattered, the Whigs sought a modicum of political comfort in other parties, including the American or Know-Nothing party.

Quick to rationalize the debacle and affix blame outside of party ranks, many former Whigs saw the flood of immigrants, which reached its peak in 1854, as the fatal admixture that led directly to the death of their once powerful party.

---

1Historical Statistics, 293.

2The Whigs captured the Presidency only twice. William Henry Harrison was inaugurated in 1841 and died of pneumonia one month after taking his oath. Zachary Taylor, reared in Kentucky, took office in 1849 and died sixteen months after his inauguration. Southern Whigs felt betrayed by Taylor when he adopted, under the influence of William H. Seward, a distinctly national perspective instead of the expected Southern bias.

3Historical Statistics, 293.
Accordingly, the majority of the politically homeless Whigs in the South gravitated into the nativist American party. Many Whigs in the North had already made the same move after their 1852 Presidential candidate, Winfield Scott, failed to weaken the Democratic party's attractiveness to immigrants.4

In Kentucky, meanwhile, nativism was also undergoing a resurgence in tandem with the appearance of radical Forty-eighters and increasing numbers of steamers disgorging foreigners at river ports along the Ohio. Nativist violence in the state, as previously mentioned, erupted in the mid-1840s in conjunction with hotly contested elections. For several years thereafter, overt expressions of nativism appeared to wane. The issue then resurfaced in 1849 as Kentucky convened its Third Constitutional Convention where the volatile subjects of slavery and foreign immigration were fully debated.5

Nativist Arguments in Kentucky's Constitutional Debate

Shortly after delegate James Guthrie of Louisville was elected President of the Convention on its opening day, 1 October 1849, Garrett Davis, a lawyer from Bourbon county, moved to introduce a resolution which, if approved, would severely restrict the naturalization and rights of immigrants in Kentucky. The resolution, proposed on 4


October 1849, was immediately tabled and remained inert until 15 December 1849, when it was reintroduced by Davis.⁶

It was the aim of Davis, a proslavery activist and nativist compatriot of Walter N. Haldeman of Louisville, to keep foreigners out of American politics for as long as possible. His resolution stipulated that only naturalized citizens would be entitled to vote, hold office, or aspire to any position of trust in Kentucky. If Davis had left it at that, his resolution might have enjoyed more support. However, Davis, together with a handful of other nativist delegates, radicalized the resolution by stipulating that all immigrants wanting to become naturalized would have to wait twenty-one years after declaring their purpose to do so. What is more, the resolution was worded in such a way that immigrants who had already become naturalized, but who had not met the test of declaring their intent and having it officially recorded twenty-one years earlier, would be prohibited from holding office. In fact, under the provisions Davis was recommending, some naturalized citizens currently holding office could be ejected. Even minors who had emigrated with their parents would be required to wait twenty-one years to become citizens after having their names recorded by a state court.⁷

On Saturday evening, 15 December 1849, Garrett Davis finally regained the floor at the Statehouse where, for several hours, he defended the ideals of Native Americanism against the scourge of foreigners and Roman Catholics. Vigorously defending the rights of immigrants in the head-on debate with Davis, were William

⁶Ibid., 29, 996.

⁷Ibid., 996.
Preston, a young lawyer from Louisville; Charles A. Wickliffe, a lawyer and farmer from Nelson county; James Rudd, a Maryland native and farmer from Louisville; and Beverly L. Clarke, a Virginia native and lawyer from Simpson county.8

After detailing his own patriotic credentials, Davis wasted no time in furnishing the delegates with his version of American history beginning with the Revolution. At one point he read excerpts from the 24 July 1778 correspondence of Gouverneur Morris of New York, which, after disparaging the contribution of Baron Von Steuben, included the remark: "I do most devoutly wish we had not a single foreigner amongst us except the Marquis de Lafayette, who acts upon very different principles from those which govern the rest." Following this out-of-context extract, Davis included several others from John Adams, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson.9 After these preliminaries, Davis' real anti-foreigner motivations become obvious. Without presenting any evidence, he asserted that

Large numbers [of foreigners] in a short-time, a few months or weeks, after getting into the country, and very many before they have remained the full time of probation, fall into the hands of demagogues and unscrupulous managers of elections, and by the commission of perjury and other crimes are made to usurp against law a portion of the political sovereignty of the country.10

Davis claimed that European governments were conspiring to ship untold numbers of their refuse, "the paupers, the demoralized and the criminal," to America where these "teeming myriads" would, "in a few fleeting years," despoil the "noble Anglo-

---

8Ibid., 1002-25.
9Ibid., 1003-4.
10Ibid., 1004.
American race." He added a windy soliloquy on the depredations of European history to date and a distorted account of the social costs to Americans overrun with emigrants fleeing Europe. Davis then set his sights on "Romanism" and denounced the Catholic Church beginning from the days of St. Peter forward to the nineteenth century. Ending his lengthy anti-Catholic diatribe, Davis quoted extensively from editions of *Bronson's Review*, a Catholic publication, which he plainly viewed as subversive to American ideals. Asking whether "it is the intention of the Pope to possess this country?" Davis, quoting from these sources, responded: "Undoubtedly. In this intention he is aided by the Jesuits, and all the catholic prelates and priests. Undoubtedly, if they are faithful to their religion." Before yielding the floor to William Preston for rebuttal, Davis stressed that the foreigners, and especially the Germans, are the "natural foe" of slavery in Kentucky. They are quick to hear, claimed Davis, any "measure agitated to send these 200 thousand competitors away."

With "the slaves away," he continued:

the great tides of immigration will set in upon us, and precipitate upon our happy land . . . the chief misery . . . of Europe. Look at the myriads who are perpetually pouring into the northwestern states from the German hives--making large and exclusive settlements for themselves, which in a few years will number their thousands and tens of thousands; living in isolation, speaking a strange language, having alien manners, habits, opinions, and religious faiths, and a total

---

11Ibid., 1005-6.
12Ibid., 1006-9.
13Ibid., 1009-17.
14Ibid., 1015.
ignorance of our political institutions; all handed down with German phlegm and inflexiblility to their children through generations.\textsuperscript{15}

Concluding with patriotic chords reminiscent of Daniel Webster's fervent "Union forever" speech of 1830, Davis, at last, took his seat. Rising to present a stirring defense of the rights of the foreigner and freedom of religious opinion, was William Preston of Louisville. Apparently, Preston had been taking notes during Davis' vitriolic performance. He responded point-by-point to what he viewed as Davis' warped version of American, European, and Church history. "O, how unnecessary, how uncalled for!" said Preston were the distortions of Davis. "Where around us," he asked, "are the evidences of the mischievous power of the poor foreigner?" After citing many contributions of naturalized citizens who "have passed their lives in unobtrusive obscurity and peace" while living "quietly and honestly among us," Preston invited the delegates to look around themselves at the plain facts.

Is there a delegate on this floor a foreigner? Not one. Is there a member of congress from this state a foreigner? Not one. A member of our legislature? Not one. A minister to any foreign court? Not one. The danger then, exists only in the imagination, and those apprehensions are mere phantoms of the brain.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., 1017. Apparently, the proslavery delegates also used the anti-foreigner argument consistently when defending their interests at the convention. See Frank Furlong Mathias, "The Turbulent Years of Kentucky Politics, 1820-1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1966), 341. Mathias noted that during the debate in 1849 Silas Woodson, the delegate from Knox/Harlan counties (and future governor of Missouri in the 1870s), castigated proponents of slavery. "They have the audacity," said Woodson, "to tell the working man that slavery is good because it saves them from having to compete with the Irish and the Dutch [Germans]."

Preston then proceeded to debunk Davis' assertions of xenophobia among the founding fathers. He quoted passages from the *Notes on Virginia* where Jefferson strongly recommended a "revisal of the laws on the subject of naturalization." Wrote Jefferson:

> Considering the ordinary chances of human life, a denial of citizenship under a residence of fourteen years, is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask it. . . . shall we refuse the unhappy fugitives from distress, that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe?\(^{17}\)

After exposing Davis' wildly exaggerated projections regarding immigration statistics as groundless, Preston correctly noted the relative scarcity of foreigners in Kentucky, a "large and thinly settled territory." "There are," reported Preston, "not four thousand foreign votes in the state."\(^{18}\) Comparing Kentucky to the Atlantic border states, whose numbers of immigrants were much higher, Preston, sticking to the facts, noted that Kentucky should be "the last state of the Union that ought to be terrified at such illusory dangers." With only a "few, very few" foreigners among us, why, Preston asked, should Kentucky "be the first to manifest a timidity so unnecessary on the subject of the foreign vote?"\(^{19}\)

After finishing his remarks with a grave warning about where nativist intolerance would lead America, Preston yielded the floor to Charles A. Wickliffe. A

\(^{17}\)Ibid., 1019. Jefferson had successfully led the fight to repeal, in 1802, the Naturalization Act of 1798, which had required immigrants to wait fourteen years, instead of the usual five years, to achieve citizenship.

\(^{18}\)Ibid., 1021.

\(^{19}\)Ibid.
native of Nelson county, the center of the largest Catholic population in the state, Wickliffe condemned Davis' assertions and nativist paranoia regarding Catholic conspiracies. Having been raised in the first Catholic settlement west of the Allegheny mountains, Wickliffe gave a strong testimonial to the patriotism and fidelity of that denomination, both native and naturalized. He followed this with compelling arguments in favor of the current naturalization laws, and then concluded with a sobering thought on the potential consequences of denying citizenship for twenty-one years.

I cannot look upon a mass of foreign population, denied for half a life time the privileges of citizens, but with serious apprehension for the quiet of society. They will not feel that regard and reverence for the laws and the rights of society, if denied the privileges of citizens, as when they are made to feel the majesty of American citizens.

The Louisville farmer, James Rudd, then took the floor, and, after denouncing the "inflamatory" anti-Catholic lies of Davis as a disgrace to the Convention, continued the onslaught:

Let the German and the Irish come, and receive them on our shores, and give them a Christian reception, for they have done much for our country, and let religion stand on its own foundation. The Catholic religion wants no props. It stands on the eternal word of God, and does exist, and will exist, to the consummation of the world, notwithstanding the gentleman's opposition and calumny.

---

20Ibid., 1022-23.

21Ibid., 1023. Wickliffe was the Convention's most frequent speaker, rising 230 times to address the delegates with his impassioned defense of immigrants and Catholics.

22Ibid., 1024-25.
The convention then adjourned until Monday, 17 December 1849, when a vote on Garrett Davis' Native American resolution failed sixty-nine to six. When the convention reconvened the next day, twelve more delegates, absent when the vote was taken on the day before, added their voices in the negative. The final tally was eighty-one nays and six yeas. On 21 December 1849, after nearly three months of vigorous debate, the Convention delegates approved Kentucky's new Constitution by a vote of ninety-five to one. The lone dissenting voice was that of Garrett Davis. However, Davis and his Bourbon county friends did achieve a partial victory; Kentucky would remain a slave state and, as events proved, the days of free-flowing public debate on that issue were over.

Karl Heinzen and the Radicals in Louisville

One can only speculate on the level of support Kentucky's foreign-born population would have received in a Constitutional Convention had that body assembled in 1853 rather than 1849. Granted, by the end of 1853, the number of immigrants arriving in the United States was only a fraction of the nearly three million that should have arrived using Garrett Davis' distorted estimates; however, the German radicals, as previously noted, were rudely making their presence known in Kentucky. Among this small, but driven, group of men was Karl Heinzen.

---

23Ibid., 1052. For a fine analysis of nativist arguments at the 1849 Constitutional Convention, see McGann, Nativism in Kentucky.

24Report of the Debates, 1020. See Preston's response to Davis' exaggerated formula for estimating annual immigration. See Table 3, Appendix A, for the actual yearly totals which remained stable at around 370,000 for four years, 1850-1853.
During Germany's ill-fated Revolution, Heinzen was active among that group of radical republicans calling for the immediate eradication of monarchies. Any "moderates" among Heinzen's group were quickly labeled "traitors." The more liberal elements participating in the Revolution were generally "disseminated among students, Turner, and certain portions of the urban population" where the ideals of democracy rooted following the French Revolution.  

After spending only three months in America in 1847, Heinzen quickly returned to Germany when the Revolution erupted. In 1850, he again landed in the United States and soon demonstrated his restlessness. In rapid succession, he worked as editor of three newspapers: the Schnellpost, the New York Deutsche Zeitung, and the Janus, all of which folded because of financial problems. He then accepted an opportunity to become editor of the Herold des Westens (Herald of the West), a radical sheet in Louisville. 

In January of 1853, some of Louisville's more radical Forty-eighers had begun publishing their daily Herold in partnership with a German coffeehouse owner who had returned from California with money. After joining the new firm as editor, Heinzen promptly divided Louisville's German community with his abolitionist diatribes. It was not poor circulation--the affliction of many sheets--that led to the

\[25\] Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, 22-23.

demise of the *Herold* after an eleven-month run. Instead, on 3 December 1853, "the printing office and shop were burned to the ground." Following this latest calamity, Heinzen and his associates then founded *Der Pionier* (The Pioneer) which, as the official "organ of the radicals," frequently shifted its base of publication.

In Chapter IV, Louisville was discussed in the context of its being a "hot-bed" of radical ideas and a crossroads for an assortment of polemicists traversing the country in the 1850s. Such a reputation may have even influenced Heinzen to come to Kentucky. Moreover, if one were to classify the general religious affiliations among Germans as Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and Freethinkers, Heinzen would be solidly among the last. It was radical, "freethinking" Germans who established their National Central Union in Louisville in 1853. Rejecting churches altogether, the *Freimaennervereine* movement, which was founded in 1850 by Friedrich Hassaurek in Cincinnati, had quickly spread to Louisville and other cities. By 1854, "the movement was strong enough to enable the societies to hold state conventions." Free Germans at Louisville, together with the German Social Democratic Association at Richmond, and other such revolutionary societies where radical Forty-eighers congregated, presented a united front. The ultimate objective was to recreate America as a

---

27 Arndt, *German-American Newspapers*, 171. See Dobert, "The Radicals" 173, where the author notes that Heinzen's biographer claimed that the fire was accidental.


Germanic nation and revolutionize world government. State delegations, meeting in Cleveland in 1854, approved a national platform "opposed to slavery, despotism, and the Bible."\(^{30}\)

Understandably, many Americans, and especially those in Kentucky, became alarmed by the activities of such radicals. Many natives had welcomed the immigrants in good faith. Americans tended to view the growing radicalism with disdain and saw it in terms of an abuse of their trust. Expanding upon these sentiments, one historian said of the radicals: "Their societies threatened to make America the center of a world revolutionary movement and plunge the nation into the boiling caldron of European politics."\(^{31}\)

Before discussing Heinzen's infamous "Louisville Platform" of radical objectives, and its impact, it is important to understand the state of relations between immigrants and natives in Kentucky. With George Prentice's nativism becoming more pronounced in his *Daily Journal*, on one side, the radical freethinkers were espousing abolition, women's suffrage, direct elections, and anti-Bible heresies from their Louisville headquarters, on the other side.

Ever since the elections of 1844, Prentice's *Daily Journal*, bent on bringing more votes into the Whig fold, had frequently printed complimentary editorials--including lavish praise--regarding political and social activities among Louisville's Germans. However, in most of these cases, Prentice made a habit of including a

\(^{30}\)Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, 328-29.

\(^{31}\)Ibid., 329.
follow-on piece which lectured Germans for continually stressing their
"Germanness." By the 1850s, Prentice's Journal had grown immensely influential,
not only in Kentucky but throughout the West. In 1852, Prentice was highlighting
the fact that there were now "eighteen thousand Germans in Louisville, and almost
daily more arriving." About half of those arriving were "thought to be Protestants,
while the other half [were] Roman Catholics." Adding to the alarm which may have
followed this commentary, Prentice ran a piece several days later designed to send a
chill up the spine of every reader. It was entitled "Slaughtering dogs for food in
Germany due to famine."

In one case in Wurtemburg, a dog buried for some days has been dug up, and,
what will scarcely appear credible, the flesh in its advanced state of
decomposition has actually been made use of as food . . . This, the writer says,
explains the reasons why Germans, in yet unheard numbers, are literally
besieging every port available for emigration.

In assessing the worsening state of German and American relations, consider
also how nativist attitudes toward German radicals could—and would--be used in broad
brush fashion against all Germans. Historians of the period generally agree with Carl
Wittke's view that the "tactless attitude" of the radicals "toward venerable American
institutions was a most important factor" in the rise of nativism. Moreover, the
"superior attitude" among Germans, and especially the intellectuals, toward American

---

32 See Louisville Daily Journal, 19 July 1844 and 6 August 1849, for just two examples.

33 Clark, A History of Kentucky, 241-43. Prentice's Daily Journal was considered the
"Whig Bible" in the region.

34 Louisville Daily Journal, 29 and 31 May 1852.

35 Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, 181.
culture and traditions, contributed to the "unfavorable reaction of many Americans." More than a few Kentuckians, to be sure, reading from Prentice's "Whig Bible," were having second thoughts concerning liberal immigration policies when, from their perspective, so many of the newcomers reviled American culture, choosing instead to bite the Christian hand extended to feed them. It was into this milieu that Karl Heinzen stepped in 1853, when he arrived in Louisville.

Heinzen's poem, written circa 1850, is revealing of his personality:

Sich amerikanisieren
Heisst ganz sich verlieren;
Als Teutscher sich treu geblieben
Heisst ehre und bildung lieben;
Doch lieber indianisch
Als teutsch-amerikanisch.

To Americanize oneself
Means to lose oneself
As a German, to remain
true to oneself
Means to love honor and
good breeding;
But one should prefer to
become an American-Indian
Than a German-American.

Regrouping after the destruction of the Herold des Westens in late 1853, Heinzen and his fellow radicals forged the Louisville Platform in 1854. In each of the platform's twelve points, observed one historian, "one can detect Heinzen's thought and

---

36Ibid., 178-79.

37Quoted in Wittke, We Who Built America, 212n (German only); and Rippley, Of German Ways, 260-61 (with translation). My translation differs slightly from Rippley's.
language.

Although the authors of the Louisville Platform viewed the United States Constitution as "the best now in existence . . . yet . . . neither perfect nor unimprovable," they sought, said another historian, "a fuller democratization of government processes, structures, and policies."

Among other things, the platform called for the direct, popular election of public officials, with recall provisions; safeguards for rigid separation of church and state affairs; more liberal naturalization laws; support for and protection of immigrants' rights; a bolder, more internationally oriented foreign policy, which espoused "liberty and democracy" as opposed to America's current isolationist stance; and, perhaps most divisive in the German community itself, equal rights for "women too."

Resembling the opening of the Declaration of Independence, the preamble to the Louisville Platform touted the motto of the Forty-eighers: "Liberty, Welfare, and Education for All." It then proceeded to denounce, with increasing dogmatism, the American definition of liberty, which included holding over three million people in bondage. The platform referred to slavery as "a political and moral cancer, that will by and by undermine all republicanism." Heinzen et al. also attacked northern discrimination against blacks by noting that the color of a man's skin "cannot justify a

---


40Ibid., 178-79.

41Ibid.
difference of legal rights. Such a bombshell was the publication of this "radical manifesto," which one researcher suggested had single-handedly "caused the development of the Know-Nothing movement," that after its dissemination the German community "suffered greatly."

Perhaps more than any other single event, the publication and distribution of Heinzen's Louisville Platform demonstrated the level of ignorance, not to mention naivete, that radical Forty-eighers generally exhibited regarding their host country's political customs. "If the Louisville Platform had received only local circulation", wrote one scholar, "it still would deserve more than a passing mention."

Unfortunately, a committee headed by L. Wittig, one of the platform's five signers, planned to have it widely disseminated. The Pioneer, Beobachter am Ohio, and Louisville Anzeiger "collaborated in an English translation of the platform, in its distribution to President Pierce and his Cabinet, members of the state legislature, and congressman, and in its publication in twenty-seven papers in fourteen states."

Concerning this burst of radical activity, which apparently prompted second thoughts among some, Eitel W. Dobert wrote this version:

---

42Ibid., 150.

43Arndt, German-American Newspapers, 168. Also see Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, 123, 163-65. He also believed that these few radicals "probably sparked Know-Nothingsm."

44McGann, Nativism in Kentucky, 65.

45See Dobert, "The Radicals," 173. Signers of the Louisville Platform were Burgeler, Stein, L. Wittig, B. Domschke, and Heinzen.

46McGann, Nativism in Kentucky, 65. The author cites the Louisville Anzeiger, 2 May 1854.
The supporters in Louisville decided to send a copy [of the platform] to each member of Congress, the Cabinet members, even the President. Eagerly they folded copies of the finely printed document and put them into envelopes. Then somehow, as the story goes, the envelopes disappeared, and only many weeks later were discovered under the sofa in the office of the editor of the Louisville Anzeiger!"47

Seemingly oblivious to the fact that Americans revered their Constitution to such an extent that they had refrained from tampering with it for fifty years, Heinzen, nonetheless, pushed for a major overhaul of its delicately balanced Articles.48 He attacked the immense power of the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, and as a patronage king, or, as Heinzen put it, "a king in morning coat."

Although containing an element of truth, Americans did not care to hear Heinzen's pronouncements that General Washington, the father of their country, could have declared himself "king of North America." And, had he wanted to under the current Constitution, he could have set the stage for the present incumbent to declare himself "His Majesty Washington X."49

What Heinzen and his associates were proposing was a unicameral government with tight legislative controls and led by an executive committee. As the radicals saw

---


48Amendment XII to the Constitution was adopted in 1804, Amendment XIII followed 61 years later in 1865.

49Dobert, "The Radicals," 175. Heinzen reveals his ignorance of American history with this remark. If Franklin Pierce had entertained any absurd notions of donning royal headgear as the fourteenth President, he would call himself His Majesty Washington XIV.
it, there was no need for a President or a Senate. Seeking an alliance "between the liberal German element and the progressive Americans," the radicals believed their platform would carry "into full effect those grand principles of the Declaration of Independence." In addition to the recommended changes already noted, they called for:

--deportation of immigrants not pledging their allegiance to the Constitution within five years of their arrival.
--creation of an immigrant protection agency within the government to combat abuses.
--intervention by the government to protect wage labor from the abuses of capitalism.
--free administration of justice, and free delivery of newspapers and pamphlets to enlighten the public.
--the promotion of free trade, and more internal improvements designed to serve the nation as a whole.

Concluding their twelve-point platform, the radicals demanded "penal reforms," "abolition of the penalty of death," "the revision of military laws," and repeal of all temperance laws which "encroached upon individual liberty."\(^{51}\)

Most of Heinzen's Louisville Platform seems tame, and at most progressive, by late-twentieth century standards; but, in the 1850s, and especially in the Southern slave state of Kentucky, his proposals were dynamite. The "belligerence and tactlessness" of the rationalist freethinkers--with Heinzen among the most rabid of the group--alarmed most Americans who were certainly not used to hearing foreign revolutionaries in their midst challenging the "sacred religious and social customs of

\(^{50}\)Ibid., 176. Also, see Wittke, *Refugees from Revolution*, 163-65.

\(^{51}\)Ibid., 173-74.
the Republic." Attacking all organized religion, and especially the Catholics, these radicals also produced "bitter divisions among the Germans themselves." In this respect, the extremist freethinkers, "out-know-nothinged" the know-nothings with their piercing and relentless slurs against Catholics, and "actually welcomed nativist attacks" on that church. Louisville's German-Catholics began publishing *Der Adler* (The Eagle) in 1852 to combat the "destructive tendencies" of rationalist propaganda.

When Archbishop Gaetano Bedini visited Louisville in December 1853, a large crowd of radicals marched to the intersection of Floyd and Market Streets where they burned him in effigy.

After having lit the fuse with his *Herold des Westens* and his Louisville Platform, Karl Heinzen, always restless, departed Louisville in October, 1854. The real fireworks began in 1855 when Louisville and Kentucky held their elections. In November of 1854, Heinzen started publishing his *Pioneer* in Cincinnati; but he soon moved the paper to New York where it ran for over three years. In 1859, Heinzen again moved the *Pioneer* to Boston, its final home for the next twenty years.

---


53 Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 134. In Arndt, *German-American Newspapers*, 169, the Louisville *Adler* is listed as having published only 46 editions between 19 August and 14 October 1852.

54 Wuest, *One Hundred Years of St. Boniface Parish*, 52. Also see Crews, *An American Holy Land*, 141-42.
Said one biographer of Heinzen: "Es war stolz auf seinen Pionier. Der Pionier war sein Lebenswerk und Lebenszweck. Kein Opfer war ihm zu gross, kein Gang zu schwer, ihn zu erhalten."\(^{55}\)

However, many Louisvillians, both German and American, wished that Karl Heinzen's path had never intersected with theirs.

**The Peak Years of German Immigration, 1852-54**

Between the years 1833 and 1850, numerous *Auswanderungsvereine* or emigration societies appeared in German cities such as Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Giessen, Leipzig, and Duesseldorf.\(^{56}\) Some of these societies, such as one in Frankfurt, looked with disdain on the German lower classes then corrupting their culture in America. The Frankfurt society even proposed to the government that "free passage for doctors, lawyers, teachers, preachers, painters, engineers, and architects," be subsidized "to enrich the intellectual and cultural life of pioneer America."\(^{57}\) Prussian bureaucrats were also concerned about maintaining German "cultural unity" in America. A report found in a 1849 Prussian archive included the following passage: "In North America,

\(^{55}\)Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika*, 117. I would translate Dobert's tribute to Heinzen's perseverance: He was proud of his Pioneer. The Pioneer was his life's work and life's aim. To him, no sacrifice was too great, nor was any path too difficult to maintain.


\(^{57}\)Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 47.
German immigrants become Anglo-Americans in the second generation. Therefore, we want to find a new area where the German nationality can be preserved.\textsuperscript{58}

By 1852, these societies were doing a booming business. For the most part, any government action to steer emigrants to locations other than America failed miserably. The number of German-born residents in the United States was approaching 600 thousand by 1850 and, extrapolating from the annual increase thereafter, that total must have surpassed one million in 1853 or 1854.\textsuperscript{59} "To America! To America!" echoed the "cry of half of Europe," as emigration literature, the flood of letters homeward from the New World, and the novels of America's overseas image-makers continued to shape dreams.\textsuperscript{60} Government agents, the village curmudgeon, or even a worried relative, "might caution against pitching hopes too high, but who would listen?"\textsuperscript{61}

One who did not listen was twenty-four-year-old Carl Berthold, an educated saddler and upholsterer, and son of a respected burgher from Waldeck, then one of the smallest of fourteen principalities in what is now Germany. With uncertain prospects in Korbach, Waldeck's largest town, Berthold teamed up with Wilhelm Richter, a

\textsuperscript{58}Quoted by Wittke, Ibid.

\textsuperscript{59}Historical Statistics, 32; and Table 3, Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{60}Billington, \textit{Land of Savagery/land of Promise}, 225, quoting from Friedrich Gerstaecker's \textit{Nach Amerika} (1855).

\textsuperscript{61}Ibid.
carpenter, and they departed for America in the spring of 1852. Berthold's sister, Wilhelmine, and her husband, Heinrich Bange, followed in the fall of that year.\textsuperscript{62}

Writing home from St. Louis on 23 February 1853, Berthold reveals that he is a true Democrat by lambasting the Whigs, referring to them as nativist aristocrats pushing a twenty-one-year naturalization requirement. Fortunately, the Whigs "got their necks broken" in the last election, wrote Berthold.

After reporting how friends and relatives were nowhere to be found in St. Louis, and that no one had offered to help him, Berthold ended: "there's too much lowdown goings-on here. I'll probably head for Louisville."\textsuperscript{63}

Writing from Louisville on 3 June 1854, Berthold apologized for the long delay in sending news. "I went from one city to the next," he said, "but I haven't found any city better and healthier than Louisville and so I have now decided to make my home here." The letterhead included a fine engraving of the bustling port of Louisville as seen from the Indiana side of the Ohio. "As you can see from the small picture, Louiswille is a beautiful city." The city, noted Berthold, "has good drinking water" and a population of 60,000, "of which 20,000 are Germans." Berthold emphasized, by underlining, that "A tenth of Louisv. is now made up of Waldeckers," expressing surprise at how many from his home region had settled in the city. "We Waldeckers,"


\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., 325-26. Berthold's spelling of Louisville was erratic.
boasted Berthold, "gave an extremely elegant ball on Tuesday, May 30th when we had
a pleasant night of music, song, and wine."\textsuperscript{64}

In a follow-up letter, dated 17 July, Berthold reported that his sister,
Wilhelmine, was ill. Adding to the gloom, it was evident that some of Berthold's
earlier optimism was waning. "It is very unhealthy this year," he reported, "the heat is
too oppressive, it's 109 degrees in the shade, that is why diseases are so common."
Making the best of the situation, Berthold added: "It's not too bad here, but in other
cities like St. Louis people and animals have been dying of heat stroke.\textsuperscript{65} After his
sister died in 1855, and after discovering that his swindling, alcoholic "brother-in-law"
had never married Wilhelmine, but was determined to "guzzle away all the money,"
Berthold left Louisville, despondent, for points south. His last letter home was written
from Jackson, Mississippi in the summer of 1857, where he was earning 15 dollars per
week as a harnessmaker. Returning home to Germany, circa 1860, Berthold remained
restless; he departed for Australia in 1862, and, except for one more letter to his
family, was never heard from again.\textsuperscript{66}

It is difficult to say how typical Carl Berthold was during the peak years of
German emigration. His letters home show optimism to begin with and then turn

\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., 329-31. In Figure 25, page 330, the editors reproduced a copy of Berthold's letter
showing the view of Louisville on the letterhead.

\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., 331. It appears that this letter, dated 17 July, was written in 1854. In Berthold's
next letter home, dated 25 October 1855, he includes the sad news that Wilhelmine had died
eight days after giving birth. She "passed away peacefully," wrote her brother, and her baby
died "a few weeks later."

\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., 331-34.
morose, at times bitter, as his difficulties mounted and the reality of his situation versus earlier expectations became clear. Perhaps Berthold, coming from a relatively well-to-do background, never could reconcile his status as a tradesman. He seems to have had higher expectations than most German emigrants who were more familiar with abject poverty before leaving for America. Hints of this class attitude appear in Berthold's letters. When writing home with news of his sister’s death, he remarks: "I had her buried in a manner befitting our social position."67

Other immigrants, such as Christian Lenz, who struggled as a small farmer in Indiana, opposite Louisville, also seemed a troubled soul. Coming to America in 1848, among the smaller group of Germans seeking only a "traditional, quiet, and orderly" life, Lenz held rigid views. Unlike Berthold, however, Lenz came from a poor background in Germany.68

While working as a farmer in Harrison county, Indiana, Lenz learned the cooper trade to help make ends meet. In 1852, after hearing from his brother back home that his sister wanted to marry a Catholic, the ever-pious Lenz replies: "She will shame herself in front of God and man if she takes up such a life."69 By May, 1855, poor business forced Lenz and his growing family to move to Louisville where he quickly found work for meager wages. Shortly after arriving in Louisville, his wife

67Ibid., 332.
68Ibid., 122.
69Ibid., 132.
and children became ill. Worse yet, Lenz, as can be seen in the extract of his letter in Appendix E, arrived shortly before the worst of the city's nativist violence.\(^\text{70}\)

In Louisville, Lenz belonged to the Reformed Church where, he wrote, "the true Word of God is preached, but where there are strict rules too." "No man addicted to drink or any other vice," said Lenz, "is admitted."\(^\text{71}\) In his 29 May 1855 letter from Louisville, he discussed some of the hostility and violence in that month's municipal elections. Lenz included some grim descriptions of city life: "We also had a famine," he wrote, "in the winter here in Louisville the poor people are given food every day, up to 4,000, unemployment is still here, many have no work and everything costs a lot."\(^\text{72}\)

It is useful here to reflect again on the discussion in the final sections of Chapter I, entitled "High Expectations Meet Reality" and "Common Stereotypes." Many Germans, one should remember, came to America with the single-minded purpose of becoming farmers or transplanting their occupations from the Old World. When things did not go according to plan, many Germans met failure because of their inflexibility or "rigidity of ways." Again, Billington's remark that "success in the West depended on adaption, not tradition," rings true. Although the experiences of Berthold and Lenz suggest this pattern, a review of the typical immigrant families, listed in

\(^{70}\)Ibid., 133-34. Ultimately, Mrs. Lenz gave birth to eleven children, eight of whom survived childhood.

\(^{71}\)Ibid., 135.

\(^{72}\)Ibid., 133.
Appendix D, will add perspective. The fact that so many Germans moved from one state to another, in itself, demonstrates a degree of flexibility.

Between the spring of 1852 and culminating with the violence of 1855, nativist newspapers in Kentucky increasingly drew their readers’ attention to mounting immigration, often using assorted scare tactics and stereotyping of foreigners.

Walter Haldeman's Louisville Daily Courier ran a story noting that "Some of the petty German princes" had begun charging six or seven dollars for exit permits. "This tyrannical measure," reported the Courier, was initiated because "the late increase in emigration . . . threatens to depopulate some districts of that country."\(^{73}\) This article, like so many others, was designed to make the city's natives restless. By 1852, the Germans, alone, made up more than one-third of the Louisville's population.

In Kenton county, where foreigners comprised twenty percent of the population, the Covington Journal unleashed an assortment of nativist tactics designed to fuel intolerance. Covington was an early Know-Nothing stronghold. Upon hearing of a meeting held by Irish and German citizens, the Journal wrote: "In political affairs we protest against all attempts to create classes, to excite the prejudice of one portion of the people against another portion, to all clannishness, and any nationality save American nationality."\(^{74}\)

In Part Three, the final section of this paper, the conduct of Kentucky's nativist press will be further examined. It is evident that soaring immigration rates contributed

---

\(^{73}\)Louisville Daily Courier, 29 May 1852.

\(^{74}\)The Covington Journal, 20 May 1854.
to nativist rantings. As the number of immigrants peaked in 1854, the once-mysterious Order of the Star-Spangled Banner not only began to shed its secretive Know-Nothing trappings but also commenced a concerted frontal assault on immigrants and Catholics nationwide.\textsuperscript{75}

In this atmosphere, a vicious cycle was created. Already harping on the "clannishness" and disloyalty of immigrant groups, the incessant drumbeat of the nativist press served only to drive these groups closer together. When this occurred, and when political alliances were formed among immigrants seeking to protect their rights, the nativists, in turn, accused them of hatching conspiracies and cabals.

In Kentucky, as elsewhere, a measure of artificial unity developed within otherwise diverse German neighborhoods, and among immigrant groups in general. As with necessity being the mother of invention, so it was to be with duress becoming the mother of unity in the mid-1850's.

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{75}See Oscar Handlin's, "The American Scene," in A. E. Zucker, ed., \textit{The Forty-Eighters}, 40-42, for an excellent overview of the emergence of the nativist American party. Handlin correctly noted that it was more than mere "xenophobia" or "anti-Catholicism" that unified the Know-Nothings. When the slavery issue had again polarized the country following passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, anti-immigrant sentiment provided "an instinctive rallying point" around which the nation could coalesce to deflect the crisis, albeit temporarily.
\end{footnotesize}
PART THREE

1855-1860: YEARS OF VIOLENCE, YEARS OF HEALING
INTRODUCTION TO PART THREE

In the preceding three chapters, many aspects of Kentucky's growing German population were discussed. The influence of the Forty-eighters, it was shown, could be viewed both in positive and negative terms: Positive, from the standpoint of how they focused attention on important social and political issues using their many talents; and negative, if one cares only to accentuate how the few radicals among the Forty-eighters divided the German community and increased enmity for all immigrants. The cultural renaissance which ensued among Kentucky's Germans, and especially those in Louisville, clearly would have been less enthusiastic, if not absent, had many of the enlightened Forty-eighters not appeared in the Ohio Valley. In short they were a catalyst for change.

Also discussed was the resounding defeat of attempts to impose harsher naturalization laws on Kentucky's foreign-born residents using the state's 1849 Constitution. After an overview of politics and Whig misfortunes, which contributed to that party's collapse, the discussion turned to Karl Heinzen and German radicalism. In this tempestuous milieu, while immigrants were arriving in record numbers, we again saw how anti-foreigner and anti-Catholic public sentiment could be manipulated for political ends.
In Part Three, rampant nativism will be discussed further, as will its violent consequences for all Kentuckians. In its bloody wake, a sense of gloom settled over the once-robust German communities. It was a gloom that would last until the end of the Civil War, when Germans throughout the country, after demonstrating their patriotism in battle, could celebrate both victory and a revival of their rich culture.
CHAPTER VII

THE KNOW-NOTHINGS EMERGE

The War of Words Continues

With his much-loved Whig party out of the running for statewide offices in the looming elections of May, 1855, George D. Prentice--still believing the Whigs would rise again--announced his switch to the American party as spring came to Kentucky.\(^1\) In a series of editorials which Prentice ran concurrent with his announcement, he defended nativist principles on constitutional grounds. He believed that citizens were entitled to use their franchise against foreigners and Catholics just as freely as they could against Whigs and Democrats.\(^2\)

Shortly after Prentice's announcement, it is believed that Sag-Nichts or Say-Nothing Societies first formed among the Germans and Irish in Kentucky to counter the rising power of the Know-Nothings.\(^3\) Although the Sag-Nichts never rivaled the Know-Nothings in scope or power, they did, nonetheless, make their presence known

---

\(^1\)Louisville *Daily Journal*, 20 March 1855.


\(^3\)Rowell, "The Social and Cultural Contributions," 85. Also see, McGann, *Nativism in Kentucky*, 84n, where the author notes that "the organization of German and Irish-born citizens into a counter-society of Sag-nichts was alleged to have taken place in Newport, Kentucky, April 9 of this year [1855]."

137
in Kentucky. The name, of course, suggests that Germans led the alliance. One may recall the popular village poem, quoted in Chapter III, which began with the line "Think much, say little," when assessing motivations among the Sag-Nichts. That poem also included the line "Be on thy guard everywhere." Sag-Nichts societies apparently appeared in northern Kentucky in April of 1855. The following article, appearing in the Covington Journal is revealing:

"SAM" AMONG THE SAG-NICHTS.--The Mansfield Herald tells of a good joke perpetuated by "Sam," in that city, at the recent election. The Herald says: 'Our good German friends fought violently for the Sag-Nicht ticket on Monday, and we were greatly surprised at the outbursts of rage and vexation manifested by many of them near the close of the day. — But the riddle was soon explained. About half on the Sag-Nicht ticket were discovered to be Know-Nothings!'

In an adjoining article, the Covington Journal defined the Sag-Nichts as a "new secret political organization."

---

4I found no conclusive evidence that Sag-Nichts societies were anything more than a loose, sporadic affiliation of like-minded immigrants. In my view, any power the Sag-Nichts may have enjoyed was chiefly in the fertile imaginations of the nativist press and its readership. In Rowell, "The Social and Cultural Contributions," 86, the author says that "on July 16, 1855, the Sag-Nichts held a meeting at Frankfort to nominate for the State Senate. Coleman Daniel was chosen as the candidate for the first six wards of Louisville." Also see, Congleton, "George D. Prentice," 222.

5Covington Journal, 21 April 1855. The Journal's inclusion of a definition for the Sag-Nichts suggests that it was a new "organization" that many readers would be unfamiliar with. I believe the Mansfield Herald was published in Mansfield, Ohio, which is located north of Columbus. During this period nativist sheets included many references to "Sam" or "Sam's boys." They were referring to members of the American party. Sam was a mythical character created by the Know-Nothings; he supposedly embodied the spirit and goals of their party. For more information on who "Sam" was, see Overdyke, The Know-Nothing party, 180-85.
During the previous month, the Covington Journal had focused its vitriolic writing on its sister city of Newport. The citizens of Newport had just voted down the Know-Nothing ticket in municipal elections. In doing so, they incurred the wrath of the Journal. "... it is fair to conclude that the popular sentiment of the town is Infidel, Agrarian, and Abolition. We need not add that in this country rank abolition and foul-mouthed Infidelity derive their vigor, if not their vitality, from foreigners." The Covington Journal, making no mention of the Sag-Nichts organization in March, instead used anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic propaganda regularly. The paper also included many snide stories, using immigrant stereotypes, to swell the Know-Nothing ranks in northern Kentucky.

For undulterated [sic] economy, commend us to the Germans. Give him a salary of forty cents a day and in ten years he will own a brick block, a fat horse, nine children, and a vrow [frau] broader than she is long and as good natured as a blind kitten.

By May of 1855, the Covington Journal was frequently referring to the Sag-Nichts as a political party, and even suggested that Democrats were subservient to it.

Do the Sag-Nichts belong to the Democratic party or do the Democrats belong to the Sag-Nichts party? In the cities and even in rural districts where the Germans have settled in any considerable number, it would seem that the Democrats have been swallowed up by the Sag-Nichts party. The adoption of

---

6Covington Journal, 10 March 1855. The Journal here showed its exasperation with the political situation. In the Presidential election of 1852, Democrats defeated Whigs in both Kenton and Campbell counties. In the Gubernatorial election of 1855, forty counties in Kentucky had elected Know-Nothing tickets, but Kenton and Campbell counties remained Democratic. See McGann's maps, Nativism in Kentucky, 104-105. The Know-Nothings had captured control of city government in Covington and Lexington in January, 1855.

7Covington Journal, 31 March 1855.
this foreign name shows that native feeling is at a low ebb . . . German influence controls . . . "Democrat" gives place to "Sag-Nicht." 8

In its futile attempt to shame the Democrats, the Journal continued this editorial line by invoking the name of Andrew Jackson, and adding that, were he to return from the grave, he would shudder at seeing that . . . "the great Democratic party of 1832 had dwindled down to a mere secret midnight cabal with a Dutch name. Doubtless, his first impulse would be to kick every Sag-Nicht to the other side of the Jordan." On that same page, the Journal's editor ran a piece entitled "Religious Liberty," which clearly implied that Germans in America had nothing to complain about. Focusing on religious persecution in Prussia, and calling it "monstrous," the Journal noted that fines were being arbitrarily imposed, goods were being confiscated, and men, both Protestant and Catholic, were being jailed for not conforming to the state religion. 9

The Covington Journal even resorted to the ploy of using a testimonial from a German disgruntled with politics in general. The article, featuring a Mr. Valentine Heckler, was entitled: "What an Intelligent German Thinks of the Know-Nothings." Although the piece was not that complimentary of the nativist party, it was aimed at sowing doubt among Germans who were overwhelmingly Democrats. Heckler said that if Americans came to Germany and got involved in politics, they too would be proscribed. Claiming that he had been proscribed by Know-Nothings, Whigs, and Democrats alike, since coming to America, Heckler added: "I am under greater

---

8Ibid., 5 May 1855.

9Ibid.
obligation to the natives than I am to the foreigners." While making his point, Heckler noted that he had been wiped out in business three times since arriving here, "twice by fire and once by robbery." Regarding his misfortune, Heckler recounted how Democrats and Whigs had helped him to get reestablished, adding: "no fellow countryman of mine ever yet lent me any aid for my distress." In short, Heckler was saying that he would support anyone he wanted for public office and would not be pressured.\(^\text{10}\)

If the Covington *Journal* had been serious about this latter strategy of appealing to independent-minded Germans, common sense should have dictated that such testimonials not be used on the same page with stories attacking all Germans. The Democrats retained control of Kenton and Campbell counties in 1855. Downriver in Jefferson county, however, the nativists were more successful—likewise in Mason county.

**Growing Tensions in Louisville**

One year before the May 1855 municipal elections in Kentucky, a weak-willed Democrat, President Franklin Pierce, signed the Kansas-Nebraska Act into law. The new law struck down the Missouri Compromise, in effect since 1820, and replaced it with a provision stating that, henceforward, "popular sovereignty" would determine where slavery was permitted. Out of respect for Henry Clay's legacy, the repeal of the

\(^{10}\)Ibid.
Missouri Compromise did not set well with many Kentuckians. More incensed were the Germans in Kentucky, who, under the leadership of the Forty-eights, became politically emancipated upon passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. Nationwide, the Germans viewed repeal of the Missouri Compromise as an "outrageous breach of faith" aimed at "admitting slavery by a back door." In Louisville, and throughout the country, Germans staged mass meetings and protests in reaction to passage of the 1854 bill. Not only was 1854 the year when Germans became politically emancipated in the United States, but the events of that year also initiated "a gradual estrangement between the German voters and the Democratic party."

By election day, 5 May 1855, Louisville's politicized Germans had taken a year's worth of abuse from the pen of George Prentice. Worse yet, Know-Nothing goon squads at Louisville's polling places were determined to prevent foreigners from voting. In his 19 May 1855 letter home, Christian Lenz, who had been living in Louisville for only a short time, wrote the following about the elections held earlier that month to pick state-wide Justices of the Peace:

---

11Henry Clay, once known as the "Great Pacifcator" for his impassioned defense of the Missouri Compromise, and later as the "Great Compromiser" for his support of the Compromise of 1850, died in 1852.

12Faust, The German Element, 2:128-29. Despite the potential benefits which could have accrued to German immigrants under the Kansas-Nebraska Act's squatter sovereignty features, Germans universally rejected the new law.

Yes, these are sad times in America, the Americans are rising up against the Germans with a strong hand. They don't want to let them vote and everywhere they want to beat and force them back, in the last election in Louisville they didn't let any Germans through and beat them back, destroyed German houses, shot and beat them up, and it's the same all over America . . . .

In spite of growing political tensions and increasing polarization between Germans and Americans in Louisville, the cultural scene within the city's large German community continued to flower throughout 1854 and early 1855. In 1854, New York's renowned Germania orchestra dissolved and its members scattered, many moving westward to cities such as Louisville, Chicago, and St. Louis where they contributed their talents. Not only did Louisville's German theatrical company have its "golden year" in 1854, but the Liederkranz, Turnvereine, and many other German clubs, discussed earlier, were enjoying great success.

It appears, however, that deep dissensions and polarization between Germans and Americans had also developed during these years. One researcher observed that "The German population of Louisville seemed to have been the most energetic and clannish of the foreign-born population." Moreover, their numerous social events during the period only welcomed Americans as spectators. Understandably, this fueled resentment among the natives. Ever since it had begun publishing in 1849, the Louisville Anzeiger had been editorializing about the need for Germans "to retain their

---

14 Kamphoefner, et al., News from the Land of Freedom, 133. Also see Rowell, "The Social and Cultural Contributions," 84-85, for a discussion of the riots in the city's First and Second wards.

15 Davis-Dubois and Schweppe, The Germans in American Life, 160. Also see Appendix D, the 1860 Census, showing musician Phillip Schenker and family arriving in Louisville, circa 1854.
native language and customs."¹⁶ Not only had nativism, over the years, created "a uniform dislike of foreigners among a large number of Kentuckians," but by 1854, the radical Forty-eighters had "lost the good will of the Americans in Louisville."¹⁷ To be sure, the relentless, virulent pen of George D. Prentice contributed much to the tense atmosphere, but the Beobachter am Ohio, before its demise in 1856, also provoked ill feelings. On one occasion, the Beobachter attacked "all private property and urged that Capitalists and priests be hanged together according to the philosophy of the guillotine and the gallows."¹⁸

"Bloody Monday." 6 August 1855

When the Louisville Daily Journal rolled off the presses on election day, 6 August 1855, Prentice, and the Know-Nothings, could smell victory at the polls. Using the strong-arm tactics that had served them well in previous elections, they aimed to hobble the city's foreign-born citizens from exercising their franchise. Having suffered defeat at the hands of better-organized nativists that spring, the Democratic party, and its many Irish and German supporters, knew that voting that Monday could be hazardous to one's health. During the preceding week, Prentice's

¹⁶Charles E. Deusner, "The Know Nothing Riots in Louisville," The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society; 61 (April, 1963), 124-25. Also see McGann, Nativism in Kentucky, 60.


¹⁸Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, 167. Also see, Stierlin, Der Staat Kentucky, 124.
Journal had been exhorting Know-Nothings to "organize" their vote for maximum effect, and to take action to exclude "fraudulent" voters in the coming election."\(^{19}\) In the few remaining days leading up to the election, Prentice's editorializing grew increasingly vehement. By 3 August, he was declaring: "The war has opened." And, after a rousing weekend, led his Election Day headline with "Americans are you all ready? We think we hear you shout 'Ready!' Well, fire! and may heaven have mercy on the foe."\(^{20}\)

Anticipating violence, the Louisville Anzeiger took a much more moderating and community-minded approach in its editorial line. The paper urged its German readers to go proudly to the polling places and exercise their "sacred right." Moreover, in preparing themselves for potential problems, the Anzeiger cautioned voters to avoid any drinking or celebrating beforehand, to refrain from going to the polling places in groups, and to vote early in the day. One researcher noted: "The torrent of hate emanating from the Journal did not sway the Anzeiger from its course of making every effort to avoid giving offense or occasion for the Know-Nothings to resort to violence."\(^{21}\)

\(^{19}\)Louisville Daily Journal, 28 July 1855.

\(^{20}\)Ibid., 3 August and 6 August 1855. See Congleton, "George D. Prentice," 224, 224n-225n, where the author quoted McGann regarding Louisville's torch-light procession of 1,500 Know-Nothings on the Saturday night before the elections.

\(^{21}\)Louisville Anzeiger, 5 August 1855; Thomas P. Baldwin, "George D. Prentice, the Louisville Anzeiger, and the 1855 Bloody Monday Riots," The Filson Club History Quarterly, 67 (October, 1993), 491-93. Professor Baldwin's article not only represents the latest scholarship on some of the causes of the riots, but also serves as a convincing rebuttal to a number of other works on the subject which tend to downplay the culpability of Prentice;
Unfortunately, many of the suspicions and apprehensions among the general public were confirmed shortly after the polls opened on election day. A shortage of polling places, together with a large early turnout, resulted in impatient crowds waiting to vote. As tempers flared, rioting and mob violence broke out. With only one polling station per ward, and the Know-Nothings already in control of the city government, the nativists sought to "manage" the vote. In his narrative history of Louisville, George H. Yater said this of Know-Nothing antics that day:

Long before the polls opened at six a.m. "executive committees" of the American party took control of the single voting places in each of the city's eight wards, backed by selected police officers, all party members. Their instructions: admit only those who show a yellow ticket, the sign of American party membership. Naturalized citizens, carrying their citizenship papers, waited patiently in long lines in the hot August sun while Know-Nothings, carrying their yellow tickets, were admitted by back doors. In the lines of waiting voters fights broke out between naturalized citizens and Know-Nothing "bullies." By noon the Germans and Irish had given up attempts to vote.

Conflicting stories abound regarding details of the outbreak of violence. However, it appears that gangs of Know-Nothings ignited the violence as they chased or accosted Germans on the streets in the heart of the city's First ward. In that area a Know-Nothing mob gathered at about eleven in the morning and threatened to burn St.

The works of Charles Deusner, Betty Carolyn Congleton, Walter Mallalieu, and Wallace S. Hutcheon. These works, and several others, were used in my research on the period.


23Yater, Two Hundred Years, 69. See McGann, Nativism in Kentucky, 101, for unofficial counts of votes cast in the city's First, Second, and Eighth wards. Of potential voters in the predominantly German wards, only about eleven percent managed to vote, while 35 percent in the Irish Eighth ward recorded their votes. Also see the assessment of Congleton, "George D. Prentice," 231-32.
Martin's church, which they believed contained a cache of weapons and ammunition. At that point, Mayor Barbee, at the request of Bishop Spaulding, issued orders and moved to protect the church.\textsuperscript{24} Soon after this potential disaster was defused, Ambruster's Brewery on Jefferson Street was attacked and heavily damaged by a nativist mob. While chasing a German near the brewery, members of the mob claimed that a shot was fired from one of the brewery windows. Before torching Ambruster's, mob members looted it of a stock of beer to help fuel their rampage; the total damage was later fixed at twenty-five thousand dollars.\textsuperscript{25} The home of the owner, William Ambruster, was also burned.

Mayhem had also broken out in the west end of the city, just inside the Irish Eighth ward. Along Main Street, between Tenth and Eleventh Streets, a dozen row houses were burned and their owner, Patrick Quinn, was murdered. Other structures burned by angry mobs included copper shops on Main Street and a First ward grocery store.\textsuperscript{26} It was in the Eighth ward, however, where the greatest destruction and loss of life occurred. In his description of the violence, George Yater said of the row house torching:

Some tenants were burned to death, others killed by gunfire as they attempted to escape. One man who, despite thirteen bullet wounds, survived the hail of gunfire was roughly carried off to jail. Owner Francis Quinn's desperate offer of money to the rioters was of no avail. He was killed and his body thrown into

\textsuperscript{24}Kennedy, "The Know-Nothing Movement," 22. Mayor Barbee, a Know-Nothing, was later praised for his decisiveness and attempts to quell the mounting violence.

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., 23.

\textsuperscript{26}Congleton, George D. Prentice," 225.
one of his blazing buildings. As night fell, the Louisville skies glowed red, reinforced by additional fires set in the German wards.  

Several days later, shaken by what had transpired, Bishop Spaulding included the following passage in a report to his Archbishop: "We have just passed through a reign of terror, surpassed only by the Philadelphia riots. Nearly a hundred poor Irish and Germans have been butchered or burned and some twenty houses have been fired and burnt to the ground."  

Few historians can agree on the exact number of deaths resulting from the "Bloody Monday" riots; however, the general consensus is that about twenty people, three-quarters of whom were foreign-born, lost their lives that day. Many more suffered injuries; and property damage, although immense, was never accurately assessed. Violence had also erupted during the election in Paducah, and although there were no fatalities, several people were seriously injured.  

Former Whig and admirer of Henry Clay, Charles S. Morehead, was elected to the Governorship on the Know-Nothing ticket. Although winning the office by a narrow margin of less than 5,000 votes statewide, Morehead must have been grateful to his nativist supporters in Louisville's Jefferson county, where they gave him in excess of a 2,000-vote majority over his Democratic opponent, Beverly L. Clarke. That August, the nativists enjoyed impressive victories throughout the state. In the 

---

27Yater, Two Hundred Years, 69. This author, unlike Congleton, referred to Quinn as "Francis" Quinn.  


29See McGann, Nativism in Kentucky, 100-111. Charges, counter-charges, and lawsuits ensued for years following the riots as those injured sought to recover damages.
Kentucky legislature, Know-Nothings would rule thirteen to seven in the Senate, and sixty-one to thirty-nine in the House. When the 34th Congress took their seats in December, 1855, six of Kentucky's ten representatives in Washington would be Know-Nothings. Humphrey Marshall, one-time Kentucky historian and Mexican War hero, also won election to the United States Senate on the Know-Nothing ticket. Indeed, immigrants in America were correct in assuming that many Whigs harbored nativist sympathies. When their party had collapsed, many found a new home among the Know-Nothings.\(^{30}\)

While George Prentice was to spend the following weeks and months defending his actions leading up to the riots, the Germans, many among them now questioning their future in Louisville, tried to make the best of the situation by drawing together. One thing was certain: Their renaissance days of social activity would end while the Know-Nothings governed. Violence was not to disappear from Louisville in these tumultuous years before the War came.

---

\(^{30}\)Turner, "The Know-Nothing Movement," 279. McGann, Nativism in Kentucky, 101. Also see Overdyke, The Know-Nothing party, 83, where the author noted that the Know-Nothing nomination of Humphrey Marshall was so vehemently opposed by Walter Haldeman of the Louisville Courier that the party expelled Haldeman in 1855. Haldeman's editorship of the nativist Courier then ended, and he was thus spared, unlike Prentice, from accusations of complicity in the events resulting in "Bloody Monday." Overdyke incorrectly refers to him as "William" Haldeman.
Despite some ruminations in the German Community about leaving Louisville in the wake of the rioting, little apparently came of these understandable reactions. Toward the end of August, wrote Ludwig Stierlin, a committee led by two Germans and an American named Webster tried to organize a large group of the city's Germans for resettlement in the Kansas territory the following spring. This plan soon collapsed.\(^1\) Stierlin did note, however, that most of the Germans who eventually did leave Louisville were Forty-eighters, and they were destined for "Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Louis, and other places in the West."\(^2\)

---

\(^1\)Stierlin, *Der Staat Kentucky*, 173. Indeed, the abandonment of the Kansas emigration plan was fortuitous. Had the Germans departed Louisville in reaction to "Bloody Monday," they would have resettled in a location soon to be called "Bleeding Kansas."

\(^2\)Ibid. Also see Deusner, "The Know-Nothing Riots," 147, where the author uses Louisville's rising numbers of eligible voters and rising property assessments to refute the "mass foreign exodus" claim of some historians. In my view, Deusner weakened his case when noting that Louisville "appeared to be just as attractive to foreigners after the riots as before." In Koester, "German Newspapers," 25, the author seemed to exaggerate conditions in the city after the riots: "Immigration to Louisville ceased, the growth of the city was severely stunted, many left for Huntingburg in southern Indiana and other surrounding cities, and only one German paper survived." Immigration did not cease, the city continued to grow--albeit at a slower pace, and all of the German newspapers, excepting the *Anzeiger* and *Beobachter*, died long before the riots of 1855.
Overwhelmingly, Louisville's Germans realized that they had made an enormous investment over the years in hard work and sacrifice for the betterment of their community. They could not simply abandon their homes, businesses, schools, churches, and orphanages. They knew, as did the city's historian, Ben Casseday, the extent of their tangible and intangible contributions to the prosperity of Louisville. Now it was time to turn inward, pause, reflect upon the future, and slowly strengthen their community and neighborhood ties. Public gatherings, picnics, and social affairs were curtailed or cancelled.

The *Liederkranz*, which for a short period had discontinued its meetings, reappeared publicly in 1856 to support benefit performances for the German Protestant Orphanage and to assist in fund-raising for *Turnverein* hospitalization insurance. The *Liederkranz* also renewed its association with the German theater which had attempted a revival in 1857. Poor attendance, however, soon led to failure of the new theatrical enterprise. Two years after the rioting, many in the German community were still fearful of attending public functions. They had good cause to feel this way. Sporadic violence continued against the Germans in Kentucky. During a gala dedication ceremony in May 1856, members of the *Turnverein* in Covington were besieged by ruffians who apparently had felt snubbed at an earlier *Turner* celebration. The mob quickly turned ugly, rocks were thrown, and Covington's *Turner* Hall was encircled. The Germans inside the hall grabbed their weapons. After Covington's mayor had

---

3 Gwinn, "The *Liederkranz*," 282.

4 Ibid.
appealed to the Germans to end the confrontation and surrender their weapons, about
100 Turner were arrested, thus defusing the situation.\(^5\) Even three years later, nativist
violence would mar a Turner festival in Louisville. After supporting a benefit
performance for the Institute of the Blind, which included the Liederkranz, a group of
Turner were attacked when returning home. Three received bullet wounds. Returning
to collect their equipment the following day, they found only remnants left behind by
vandals.\(^6\)

By 1859, however, commemoration ceremonies for the death of German
scientist Alexander von Humboldt and the centennial of Friedrich Schiller's birth
provided the impetus for Louisville's Germans to express themselves publicly. A
broad range of clubs, lodges, singing societies, and musical bands paraded through the
heart of the city displaying their distinctive insignia and banners.\(^7\) In the spring of
1860, the Liederkranz organized a gala affair at the Masonic Hall which included eight
singing societies from Louisville and out-of-state. The celebration carried over until
the next day when a large picnic was held at a local farm. The festivities included
music, dancing, and games for the children. Although invited to attend these
functions, Americans participated only as visitors and spectators.\(^8\) In spite of the pre-

\(^5\)Wittke, Refugees from Revolution, 188.
\(^6\)Gwinn, "The Liederkranz," 282.
\(^7\)Ibid.
\(^8\)Ibid., 283.
war reawakening of the Liederkranz, the singing societies of Louisville would not begin their "Golden Age" of activity until 1866.9

Again, the major impediment to any resurgence of enthusiasm among Germans in the prewar period was directly linked to the outbreak of sporadic violence in Louisville. The power of the Know-Nothings in the state also gave Germans pause. Kentucky was one of the last three states in the South "to abandon secrecy and assume

9Ibid., 283-84; Stierlin, Der Staat Kentucky, part 4, 11. The Liederkranz suspended its meetings during the war years. Many of its members enlisted in the Army "for the preservation of the Union and for liberty and justice."
a traditional party organization."\textsuperscript{10} Although the Know-Nothings finally shed their secret trappings following an August 1856 Grand Council meeting attended by four hundred delegates in Lexington, the vestiges of nativism remained strong for some time. Note the die-hard tenor of the following letter to the editor of the Louisville Weekly Journal:\textsuperscript{11}

\textit{SAG-NICHT BARGAIN AND CORRUPTION IN NELSON county.} The \textit{Sag-Nichts} have offered members of the American party $10 in this vicinity to withdraw and publish their names as having gone over to \textit{Sag-Nichtism} . . . Hard run indeed must they be, when they resort to such pitiful subterfuges as these to bolster their one-idea party.

This you know is the headquarters of \textit{Roman-Sag-Nichtism} in Kentucky. Yet this party is on the wane . . . Sam's boys are working harmoniously together, and will continue their noble efforts until old Nelson shall be delivered from Sag-Nicht dominion.

H. McKay

In that same issue of Prentice's \textit{Weekly Journal}, the fiery editor claimed that "\textit{Sag-Nicht} and \textit{Fremont} [Republican] organs" had started an unprecedented campaign of "falsehood and misrepresentation" regarding Kentucky's recent elections. Prentice then ran a gushy poem about himself, entitled "\textit{ON SEEING G.D.P.}," ostensibly written by a little girl who had spotted him on the street. When introducing the poem of this swooning little "genius," Prentice remarked: "If any of the \textit{Sag-Nicht} editors are mad, let them bite themselves."

\textsuperscript{10}Overdyke, \textit{The Know-Nothing party}, 80. Tennessee and Texas were the other holdouts.

\textsuperscript{11}Louisville \textit{Weekly Journal}, 20 August 1856.
By 1858, the Know-Nothings had lost control of both houses of the state legislature to the Democrats; and, by 1860, growing Union sentiment in Kentucky had led directly to the demise of the American party.12

Although the Know-Nothings had renounced their oaths and dismantled their organization at a Louisville meeting in June of 1857,13 the city retained a reputation for violence. The city's Germans, even two years after the riots, had every reason to avoid social engagements and stay off city streets. In July, 1857, George Prentice of the Journal, and R. T. Durrett, the editor who had replaced Walter Haldeman at the Courier, "fought in the streets with pistols, wounding three bystanders."14 Worse still, two months before the pistol fight, a mob broke into the city jail and grabbed three blacks who had just been acquitted by a jury. The three were quickly lynched, while a fourth black, who had also been acquitted, cut his own throat before the mob could hang him. Wrote the editor of the Louisville Democrat following this incident: "It was another damning outrage upon law and order . . . We have said a thousand times that there was no law in Louisville."15

In spite of lingering nativism and repeated acts of violence, Kentucky's Germans made progress during these gloomy years.

---


13Hutcheon, "The Louisville Riots," 170. The author noted that many of the former Know-Nothings were "absorbed by the Republican party, a fact not lost on the foreign-born who avoided that party."

14Overdyke, The Know-Nothing party, 172.

The Slow Process of Healing

In 1856, the Concordia Choral Society, the second oldest of Louisville's German singing clubs, allied itself with St. Boniface Church. The Concordia, founded that year by the church's organist, Casper August Friekel, was made up of Catholic men who supported church activities. In 1857, a new rectory was built for the St. Boniface Parish and, on 5 April 1858, the cornerstone for the new St. John's church was laid at the corner of Walnut and Clay Streets in the German First ward. Concurrent with this growth, the emphasis on Catholic education continued.

In 1855, Brothers of the Holy Cross from Notre Dame, in Indiana, came to Louisville to assume instruction for Catholic boys; education of the girls was entrusted to Clara Urich at a salary of $24 per month. An old frame house, used by the church in earlier years, was renovated to provide a school for smaller children. By 1858, four hundred children were attending these Catholic schools, and, by 1860, "new teachers were again obtained . . . when the Sisters of Notre Dame of Milwaukee were hired to teach girls, and Xavierian Brothers were hired for the boys."\(^{16}\) The German-Catholics of Louisville had "increased sufficiently" by 1860 to require the services of four churches: St. Boniface, The Immaculate Conception, St. Martin, and St. Peter.\(^{17}\) Moreover, by 1856, further up-river in Covington, that city's first Catholic bishop, Aloysius Carrell, was enjoying growth in his diocese which encompassed three churches in Covington, two in Newport, and smaller congregations in Jamestown and

\(^{16}\) Wuest, *One Hundred Years of St. Boniface*, 55-62.

\(^{17}\) Rothan, *The German Catholic Immigrant*, 56-57.
Carrollton. One of his priests now had to detach himself occasionally from a Newport church to serve another isolated log church composed of forty-five families.\(^\text{18}\) Church expansion also continued during this period among Covington's Protestant congregations, where education of children was also stressed—an issue which caused some disputes among Germans there.\(^\text{19}\)

The Kirchenverein churches of the West did not fare as well as might be expected on both the religious and educational fronts. Said one historian: "the original evangelical fervor did not long continue." "In later years" there were increasing "complaints . . . concerning the small number of conversions and the ineffectiveness of preaching the Gospel." As frontier conditions disappeared, the evangelizing spirit of the fathers was "succeeded by the sophistication of the rising generation." The old type of emotional preaching "gradually gave way to the ethical and doctrinal which, catering more to traditional German character traits, profited more by calm reasoning."\(^\text{20}\)

As for secular education, Louisville's Germans could be considered pioneers in its advancement. In early 1855, a Swiss Professor named N. W. Hailman arrived in the city and immediately began advertizing for prospective students to study both

---

\(^\text{18}\)Ibid., 54-55.

\(^\text{19}\)Vercouteren, The German Churches, 7-8, 17.

\(^\text{20}\)Schneider, The German Churches, 275. Also see Schneider's Appendix X and XI, 511-16. A Kirchenverein church was founded in Newport in 1862, and another, St. Paul's, in Louisville in 1864. Also St. John's in Louisville was affiliated with the Kirchenverein from 1856 to 1866.
ancient and modern languages. Upon establishment of the Hailman School, William Mueller of Bonn University joined the faculty as a teacher. Joining Mueller was Fraeulein Viedahl, "the first kindergarten teacher in the city," and one of the first to use the new Froebel Method of instruction. The Hailman School grew steadily. Justice Louis Brandeis, of the United States Supreme Court, and a Louisville native, "was a pupil in the Hailman school and ardent admirer of Mr. Hailman." One researcher said of the educational ferment led by the Germans:

---

Figure 4. Advertisement from the Louisville Directory of 1855-56, 241.

---


No group contributed more to the educational improvement of Louisville than the Germans . . . [their] Freie Buergerschule, the Hailman School, German Protestant Orphan's School, and St. Boniface School, all employed instructors who elevated the standards of both preparation and methods for the Louisville teaching profession. Their insistence that German be taught in the public schools opened up the fields of German culture not only to the German children but also to their American schoolmates.23

Readers may have noted in the Kentucky census data in Appendix B, table 16, that the occupation of "teacher" moved into the top ten professions in the state by 1860. Numbering twenty-six hundred, they ranked just below the blacksmiths.

As the terror of the days of rioting receded in memory, members of the German community slowly emerged on other fronts. After German cabinetmakers in Cincinnati formed an alliance with an American cabinetmaking union in 1859, Louisville's German furniture workers quickly followed their example.24 For a short period in 1859, Die Staats-Zeitung, a Republican antislavery weekly, was edited and published by the Gebruder Lange in Louisville. One of the Lange brothers contributed regular columns and poetry.25 Among the forty-two German-born delegates attending the 1860 Republican Convention in Chicago was Louis Dembitz of Kentucky who, along with others at a pre-convention assembly at Chicago's German House, developed the "Dutch Plank" that was merged into the Republican platform.26

24Levine, The Spirit of 1848, 126.
25Arndt, German American Newspapers, 172.
26Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, 213. Among other things, the "Dutch Plank" called for equality between native and naturalized citizens, and no abridgement or impairment of rights of citizenship "heretofore accorded to immigrants from foreign lands."
The "Homesteading" provisions of the platform appealed to many Germans who responded to cry "Vote Yourself a Farm!" at Republican campaign rallies.27

Figure 5. Cave Hill monument to Theodore Ahrens, Sr. His headstone reads "DEAR AND GOOD TO ALL." His wife's stone reads "SHE LIVED FOR OTHERS." Photo by author.

27Wittke, The Germans in America, 20-21. The Homestead Act emanating from the Republican platform was passed in 1862. That Act, and later land measures, virtually gave the land away. For the best discussion on the German contribution—or lack of it—to the 1860 Republican Presidential victory, see Frederick C. Luebke, ed., Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971). Included in Luebke's book are compelling arguments by Joseph Schafer, "Who Elected Lincoln?" 46-61, and Andreas Dorpalen, "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War," 68-91, which refute as exaggerations the claim made by prominent German politicians and writers that it was the German vote which gave Lincoln his victory.
Several industrious Germans settled in Louisville in the post-rioting period. Among them were Albert Fink and Theodore Ahrens, Sr. Fink, who arrived in Louisville in 1857, was the designer of the bridge truss bearing his name that was used to support the weight of locomotives crossing the Ohio River. He was also the architect of the Rotunda of the Jefferson county Courthouse. He later became Vice-President of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. Ahrens, whose Cave Hill Cemetery monument is shown in Figure 5, arrived in Louisville in 1858. He, along with Henry Ott, built the largest plumbing, brass, iron, and enameled goods factory in the South. Ahrens also served as President of Louisville's Turnverein.

Ferdinand J. Pfingst (1835-1901) also built a strong reputation as a tobacconist after coming to Louisville. His monument, shown in Figure 6, is considered by many to be the most beautiful at Cave Hill Cemetery. He selected the statue while on a visit to the Berlin Art Academy. Pure bronze from Munich was imported for its construction. Also buried at Cave Hill is Nicola Marschall (1829-1917), a Prussian immigrant who designed a flag and uniform for the Confederate Army. Marschall was a draftsman and portrait painter in Louisville.

---

28Samuel W. Thomas, Cave Hill Cemetery: A Pictorial Guide and Its History (Louisville, Kentucky: Cave Hill Co., 1985), 27, 98.

29Ibid., 25. Louisville's early historian, Ben Casseday (1824-1878), whose book contributed much to my research, is also buried at Cave Hill in Section B, Lot 75.
The stigma of nativism and the South's reputation of inhospitality to foreigners had an impact on later German immigration in that region. Using census data of German-born residents in over twenty urban centers from 1850 to 1950, Kathleen Neils Conzen showed that growth of this group leveled off in Louisville in 1860 and peaked in 1870. New Orleans had almost twenty thousand German-born residents at its peak in 1860, followed by a steady drop in all decades thereafter, with fewer than nine thousand in that city by 1900. Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and even Louisville, all straddling the country's sectional divide, seemed to draw heavily from the German immigration surges of both the 1850s and 1880s, whereas New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and Boston registered their
greatest number of German-born residents in 1900, with Detroit reaching its maximum in 1910. Also surprising in Conzen's data was the fact that Louisville's doubling of German-born residents between 1850 and 1870 was not that remarkable when compared to many urban areas in the North during the same period. In New York, Milwaukee, and Boston, the number of German-born residents trebled, while those of Detroit and Newark quadrupled. And in Chicago, a real magnet for all immigrants, German residents increased ten times (5,035 to 52,316) during this score of years.\(^{30}\)

When the War came in 1861, Kentucky's Germans, and especially the ever-energetic members of *Turnvereine*, rallied overwhelmingly to the Union cause. Protecting Louisville, and among the heroes at Munfordville, the *Turner Soldaten* won the praise of Kentuckians in the tense period before Confederate troops withdrew from the state.\(^{31}\) Christian Lenz moved back across the river to Harrison county after having failed as a cooper in Louisville. In 1864, Lenz, too poor to buy a substitute, was drafted into the Union Army and was mustered-in at Jeffersonville, Indiana. He later saw action in the battle of Franklin, Tennessee and in Nashville.\(^{32}\)

---


\(^{31}\)C. Eugene Miller, "The Contribution of German Immigrants to the Union Cause in Kentucky," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, 64 (October, 1990), 462-78. Even the former Nemesis of the foreigners, George Prentice, praised the patriotism of the Germans.

Following the Civil War, as mentioned earlier, Louisville's German cultural scene underwent a rapid revival. Having been baptized in a bloody conflict which raged for four years, and after having endured more than a decade of nativist hostility that preceded the war, Germans everywhere could now publicly express pride in their accomplishments. During parades, picnics, competitions, and cultural events, Kentucky's German-born citizens more readily welcomed the natives to participate actively in "German-American" festivities. Continuing their rich cultural traditions,
the Germans had much more to offer Kentucky and their adopted country. On all fronts—education, business, politics, the arts, and philanthropy—Germans made positive contributions. Their benevolent societies, mutual aid societies, and distinctive work in behalf of orphans are just a few examples of their emphasis of philanthropic initiatives. One testimonial to the efforts of the Ladies Aid Society in Louisville is shown in Figure 7.

Perhaps most surprising was the German emergence in American politics following the Civil War. Names such as Lorenz Brentano, Heinrich Karl Vortriede (once a Louisville teacher), Han Claussen, Friedrich Hassaurek, and, of course, Carl Schurz, all Forty-eiters, are but a few of the notables who energized the political front.

In Louisville, too, there was a surprise following the war: Philip Tomppert, the political activist who had arrived from Germany (via Virginia) in 1836, and who appeared in the city's 1850 census as a penniless "porter," was elected Mayor of Louisville on the Democratic ticket in 1865! Indeed, for Philip Tomppert, like so many of his countrymen, America was, and would remain, that land of "unbegrenzte moeglichkeiten."  

In my view, the full cultural assimilation of German-Americans, which was buffeted by two enormous immigration surges in the nineteenth century—and the

\[\text{33 Population Schedules, City of Louisville, District #1, 7 August 1850; and Chapter 3, this paper.}\]

\[\text{34 "Unlimited possibilities."}\]
generational conflict produced by those surges--may have been retarded. As noted in
the Introduction to this paper, Germans represented the first massive group of non-
English-speaking immigrants to arrive in the United States. What is more, considering
the country's moral and political climate in the antebellum years, and especially in
Kentucky, both German and Irish immigrants arrived at a "difficult" time. I would
also concur with the work of Kathleen Neils Conzen, Ray Allen Billington, Oscar
Handlin, and others, who observed that Germans, as a rule, had difficulty in adapting
to America's frontier.

Yet, as I also emphasized in this paper's Introduction, I do not believe it is
important, nor useful to the discussion, to stress the speed with which immigrant
groups assimilate or become "Americanized." It is much more useful, and certainly
more interesting, to focus on the distinctive contributions made by each group that
sought and found America's shores. That is what I have tried to do while exploring
the German immigrant experience in late-antebellum Kentucky. To be sure,
Louisville's first historian, Ben Casseday, well-understood the potential benefits to the
city as German immigrants flocked to its river port. Casseday optimistically noted
that "the influence of their philosophic habits of mind, of their thoughtfulness, and
their love of the beautiful in nature and in art, is gradually incorporating itself into the
social life of the city."35

That "influence" is felt today throughout Kentucky and America.

35 Casseday, 248.
APPENDIX A

UNITED STATES CENSUS AND DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1840 TO 1860
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Foreign-born*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), 25, (hereafter cited as Historical Statistics). *Foreign-born population excludes free blacks and slaves; figures prior to 1850 are not available. All figures rounded to nearest 100,000 residents. Among cities, a total of 62 had over 10,000, and 174 others listed between 2,500 and 10,000 residents (Ibid., 29). Also, not until the 1880 census did the figures on all American workers reveal that more than half (50.6 percent) had non-agricultural occupations. In 1840, this figure had been less than one-third (31.4) of the work force (Ibid., 63).
### Table 3.--Total Immigration to United States in Years 1844 through 1860

Showing People Coming from Germany

(In Thousands of Immigrants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Germans</th>
<th>Percent German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>114.4</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>154.4</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>235.0</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>226.6</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>297.0</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>370.0</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>379.5</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>371.6</td>
<td>145.9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>368.6</td>
<td>141.9</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854*</td>
<td>427.9</td>
<td>215.0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>200.9</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>200.4</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>251.3</td>
<td>91.8</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>123.1</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>121.3</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>153.6</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,074.2</td>
<td>1,336.2</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Historical Statistics, 34. *Of the total number of immigrants arriving in the peak year of 1854, over 100,000 were under the age of fifteen (Ibid., 37). Notes: In the three years between 1852 and 1854, over one-half million Germans arrived in the United States. The surge of Germans depicted here was second only to that of the Irish whose numbers exceeded 100,000 for eight consecutive years between 1847 and 1854. The peak of Irish immigration came in 1851 with over 221,000 arrivals. The Germans would again exceed their peak number in 1882 during another massive surge between 1880 and 1892. Between 1866 and 1892, German immigration exceeded 100,000 on sixteen occasions. The Irish, however, never again exceeded 100,000 annual arrivals after 1854.
Table 4.--Germans/Foreigners Among the United States Population
(In Thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total U.S. Population</th>
<th>Total Foreign-Born</th>
<th>Total German-Born</th>
<th>Percent of U.S. Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign-Born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>23,192</td>
<td>2,211</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>31,443</td>
<td>4,136</td>
<td>1,301</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1844</th>
<th>1852</th>
<th>1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miles of Railroad Operated</td>
<td>4,377</td>
<td>12,908</td>
<td>30,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patents Granted</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>1,019</td>
<td>4,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of Living Index (1913=100)</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Price Index (1913=100)</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings Bank Depositors (Thousands)</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of Deposits (Millions $)</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>149.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currency &amp; Gold in Circulation (Millions $)</td>
<td>167.3</td>
<td>361.0</td>
<td>435.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Surplus/Deficit (Millions $)</td>
<td>+7.0</td>
<td>+5.7</td>
<td>-7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Public Debt (Millions $)</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>64.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Debt (Per Capita $)</td>
<td>1.15 (est)</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated National Wealth (Millions $)</td>
<td>5,922</td>
<td>8,838</td>
<td>16,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal Production (Millions of Net Tons)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Trade Vessels (Millions Net Tons)</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. Population (Millions)</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources (in order listed): Historical Statistics, 200, 313, 235 (Average of Federal Reserve and Burgess Indices used), 232 (Snyder-Tucker GPI used as a broad composite reflecting wholesale prices, wages, cost of living, and rents), 271 (depositors and deposits), 276, 297, 306 (total and per capita debt), 9, 142, 215, and 26. Note: The U.S. Government ran a surplus in its finances for eleven of the seventeen years between 1844 and 1860.
APPENDIX B

KENTUCKY-RELATED CENSUS AND DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1840 TO 1860
Table 6.--Kentucky Population in 1850 versus 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky Population</td>
<td>982.4</td>
<td>1,155.7</td>
<td>173.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky Foreign-born</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky German-born</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total U.S. German-born</td>
<td>573.2</td>
<td>1,301.1</td>
<td>727.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *DeBow’s Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, D.C.: Senate Printer, 1854), 40 and 114. *Eighth Census of the United States in 1860*, (4 vols., Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1860), 4:xx, xxviii, and xxix. Note: As a percentage of the state population, Kentucky’s German-born residents accounted for 1.4 percent of the total in 1850 and 2.4 percent in 1860. Within the total U.S. population, German-born residents were 2.5 percent and 4.1 percent in 1850 and 1860, respectively.

Table 7.--1860 Kentucky Nativity Synopsis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent of Natives and Foreign-born in 1860</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>94.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born</td>
<td>5.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Total U. S. Percent was 13.15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alien Distribution in Kentucky (of the 5.17 Percent)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German-born</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish-born</td>
<td>1.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English-born</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Alien-born</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.--Foreign-born Population in Selected Northern, Southern, and Border State Cities in 1850 and 1860
(Thousands of Residents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>1850 Native</th>
<th>1850 Foreign</th>
<th>1850 German</th>
<th>1850 % German</th>
<th>1860 Native</th>
<th>1860 Foreign</th>
<th>1860 German</th>
<th>1860 % German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>130.5</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>160.0</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>104.1</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savannah</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>96.1</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.--Key Kentucky Counties with Highest Density of Foreign-born Residents in 1860
(Thousands of Residents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Total Free Population</th>
<th>Total Foreign-born</th>
<th>Percent Foreign Within County</th>
<th>Percent of State-wide Foreign-born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenton</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Others</td>
<td>719.1</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>870.5</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eighth Census, 1:183-5. Notes: Of the almost 60,000 foreign-born Kentucky residents in 1860, approximately 27,200 were German; 22,200 Irish; 4,500 English; 2,100 French; 1,100 Scottish; and 2,600 other nationalities. The 30 percent or nearly 18,000 foreign-born residents not identified by specific location were scattered in very small percentages throughout Kentucky's other 105 counties in 1860.
Table 10.--Selected Mortality Statistics in Kentucky, 1850 and 1860*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause of Death</th>
<th>German (1850)</th>
<th>Irish (1850)</th>
<th>Aggregate White Deaths</th>
<th>1850 Deaths</th>
<th>% German</th>
<th>% Irish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1860*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cholera</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>1,420</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8.31</td>
<td>4.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption (TB)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>877</td>
<td>1,742</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typhoid Fever</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>896</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dysentary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accident (Unspecified)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smallpox</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intemperance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>16.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Others</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>6,663</td>
<td>13,334</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>10,641</td>
<td>16,467</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Mortality Statistics of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, (4 vols., Washington, D.C.: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1855), 3:95-9; Eighth Census of the United States, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), 4:28. Notes: When assessing the significance of the percentage of German and Irish deaths in Kentucky in 1850, consider that the Germans accounted for slightly less than two percent and the Irish about one percent of the State's white population. *The column for Aggregate White Deaths in 1860 is only added to compare to the Aggregate 1850 numbers. Comparisons, by nativity, between 1850 and 1860 are not possible because mortality statistics omitted nativity data in 1860. The high rate of death among the Irish resulting from Intemperance does not appear to be an isolated anomaly. In 1850, there were 558 deaths due to intemperance nationwide; 73 (or 13 percent) were Irish immigrants, whereas only five (or less than one percent) were German immigrants. The suicide rate for the Irish was also about 15 percent higher than that of the Germans (Mortality Statistics..., 21-22).
Table 11.--Pauperism and Crime. Kentucky Compared to Several Other States with Significant Foreign Populations--1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Paupers on 1 June 1860</th>
<th>Number in Prison on 1 June 1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>1,149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>5,206</td>
<td>1,297</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eighth Census, 4:512. Notes: Good comparative data from 1850 are not available; however, of the 160 criminals convicted that year in Kentucky, 34 were foreigners. Data on penitentiary population was also unavailable for Kentucky, but in 1850 Indiana had 146 convicts of which eight were born in Germany, and of the 47 inmates in jails and houses of correction, only one was German (DeBow's Compendium, 165). At the State prison in Frankfort in 1850 there were 21 foreigners among the 147 white inmates (Ibid., 166). In 1850, Kentucky reported 971 native and 155 foreign paupers (Ibid., 163).

Table 12.--Persons over 20 Years of Age Who Cannot Read and Write. Kentucky Compared to Several Other States--1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Native</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Foreign as a Percent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>65,749</td>
<td>4,291</td>
<td>70,040</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>33,780</td>
<td>3,738</td>
<td>37,518</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>51,173</td>
<td>9,372</td>
<td>60,545</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>15,792</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>16,208</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eighth Census, 4:508. Notes: As a percentage of Kentucky's foreign-born population in 1860 (about 60,000), the number of foreign-born illiterate persons over 20 years of age represented only about seven percent. In 1860, the largest cities in these four states--Louisville, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Charleston--had foreign populations of about 23,000; 53,000; 96,000; and 6,000 respectively. In 1850, the white illiteracy rate in Kentucky was 8.74 percent. Among the foreigners then, there were 2,347 (or 12.45 percent) over the age of 20 who were illiterate (DeBow's Compendium, 152).
Table 13.--Kentuckians Classified as Insane, Blind, Deaf and Dumb, and Idiotic in 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Whites</th>
<th>Total Foreign-born</th>
<th>Total German-born</th>
<th>Percent German-born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insane</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf and Dumb</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiotic</td>
<td>880</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,435</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eighth Census, 4:624-55.

Table 14.--Kentucky Children Attending School in Counties with Highest Foreign-born Populations--1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Total Foreign-born</th>
<th>Total Children in School</th>
<th>Total Foreign-born in School</th>
<th>Percent Attending School Who Were Foreign-born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>15,782</td>
<td>7,744</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>3,414</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenton</td>
<td>3,364</td>
<td>2,396</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>1,034</td>
<td>2,548</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Seventh Census, 3:41, 620-21. Note: By 1860, over 180,000 Kentucky children (almost 20 percent of the State's free population) attended school. Many of this number were undoubtedly the Kentucky-born children of immigrants. Of the nearly 60,000 foreign-born residents, only about 2,500 (or four percent) were children attending school in 1860 (Eighth Census, 4:507).
Table 15.--Average Wage Comparisons Between 1850 and 1860 in Kentucky

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monthly Farm hand with</td>
<td>$10.00</td>
<td>$13.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Labor with Board</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Labor without Board</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Carpenter without</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DeBow's Compendium, 164; Eighth Census, 4:512. Note: Unskilled women were frequently employed as domestics. In 1860, the average weekly rate with board for a female domestic in Kentucky was $1.47. The wages in 1850 in Kentucky averaged about ten percent lower than in Indiana and Missouri for day labor, and 15 to 20 percent lower than in Illinois.

Table 16.--Ten Most Common Kentucky Occupations in 1850 and 1860 (Thousands Employed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>114.7</td>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>110.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>Farm Laborers</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Other Laborers</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smiths</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Seamstresses</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordwainers</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>Scale-makers</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masons</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Seventh Census, 3:623-24; Eighth Census, 4:186-87. Note: Total male employment was 191,075 in 1850. Total employment was 257,218 in 1860.
APPENDIX C

A SYNOPSIS OF KEY "FORTY-EIGHTERS" IN KENTUCKY
A SYNOPSIS OF KEY "FORTY-EIGHTERS" IN KENTUCKY

In the final section of the book *The Forty-eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, editor A. E. Zucker includes a ninety-page biographical dictionary which contains personality sketches of about three hundred of the estimated four thousand Forty-eighters who came to America in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Of the 300 listed, the largest single group were journalists, numbering 74, followed by soldiers--67, physicians--37, teachers--25, turners--25, lawyers--22, and businessmen--21. The arts were also represented by 35 authors, musicians, and poets. Nearly all of the Forty-eighters sought the cosmopolitan embrace of northern cities. Very few settled in the Old South. Less than a dozen of those listed by Zucker spent time in Kentucky. They were:

**HERMANN I. DETTWEILER** (1825-1878). Dettweiler fled Germany in 1848 after serving as a dragoon and revolutionary soldier. Little is known of his activity in Kentucky, but he served as a lieutenant in Company C, Sixth Kentucky Infantry during the Civil War and mustered out as a captain upon being wounded. After the war, his popularity in Louisville led to his election to the post of constable.

**BERNARD DOMSCHKE** (d. 1869). After fleeing Germany in 1850 where he was a theology and philosophy student, Domschke tried unsuccessfully to establish a Republican newspaper in Milwaukee. He had earlier learned the

---


2Ibid., 269-70.
newspaper trade while working for the *New England Zeitung* in Boston. He contributed often to the *Atlantische Studien*, a journal published in Goettingen, Germany. This publication provided factual information for prospective immigrants who, by 1855, were getting distorted news on the lives of Germans in America. An associate of Karl Heinzen, Domschke was one of the five signers of the "Louisville Platform" in 1854. He was a virulent anti-Catholic and was against creating any union with immigrant groups (especially the Irish) to combat nativism.  

ALBERT FINK (1827-1897). Fink left Germany in 1849 after obtaining an engineering degree. He is best known as the inventor of a truss for bridges which is named after him. As a bridge designer, Fink made his way to Kentucky where, in 1857, he worked as a construction engineer for the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. Fink was the architect of the Rotunda of the Jefferson county Court House. He later served as vice-president of Louisville and Nashville Railroad.

WILHEIM GOEPPEL (1830-1879). Goepper was still a student when joining the revolutionaries in 1848. Upon his arrival in America in 1848, he dabbled in various occupations. He eventually became an innkeeper and banker in Louisville. While in Louisville, he served as board member for a bank, insurance company, and orphanage. He also attained great success as a restaurateur in the city.

KARL PETER HEINZEN (1809-1880). Heinzen was foremost a journalist and always a freedom fighter, but suffered for his dogmatism. As a student, he was expelled from the University of Bonn for making insurrectionary remarks. He took an active part in the revolution, but had to flee in 1850, first to Switzerland and then to America. He is most noted for his editorship of the *Pioneer* in Cincinnati, New York, and Boston. For a short period, Heinzen edited the *Herald des Westens* in Louisville, but the business was soon destroyed by fire of suspicious origin. Heinzen is linked to the "Louisville Platform" of 1854 as Thomas Jefferson is to the Declaration of Independence. Four other German radicals co-authored this incendiary document.

HEINRICH MILLER (1829-?). Miller was an accomplished jeweler and engraver. He fled to the United States in 1849 and opened an engraving business in Louisville. As one of the founders of Louisville's *Turnverein*, he

---

3See Ibid., 119, where the author quotes a particularly rabid piece by Domschke.

4Ibid., 170-77, contains the highlights of Heinzen's turbulent and confrontational life, both in Germany and America.
became imbued with the idealism of the movement and went on to serve in a number of its national posts.

**CHARLES THEODOR MOHR (1824-1901).** Mohr was a botanist who traveled widely but had to flee Germany after becoming involved with the revolution. Upon arriving in the United States, Mohr was smitten with the Gold Rush fever, but his dreams led to bust. From 1852 to 1857, he was a pharmacist in Louisville. Unlike most other Germans, Mohr apparently warmed to the Southern living style. After leaving Louisville in 1857, he set up another pharmacy in Mobile where he remained until his death in 1901.

**JOHANN RITTIG (1824-?).** Rittig was a journalist, actor, and one-time law student. He arrived in Cincinnati in 1852 after being sentenced to death (in absentia) for revolutionary activity in Austria. In Cincinnati, Rittig founded a short-lived antislavery sheet. He was also a frequent contributor to the *Westliche Post*, a Republican newspaper started in 1857. Between 1852 and 1857, Rittig joined a German theater company and toured midwestern cities, including Louisville.

**WILHELM STENGELE (182[?]-1879).** Stengel was also a contributor to the *Westliche Post* of St. Louis along with Carl Schurz and other German-born Republicans. He was an accomplished journalist and painter, and served in the Civil War as a chaplain with an Ohio regiment. After fleeing the German Revolution, he made his first home in Louisville where he worked as a journalist, drawing teacher, and portrait painter.

**WILHELM VOGT (1823-1871).** Vogt was a jeweler, goldsmith, and famous Turner. Fleeing Frankfurt, Germany to avoid arrest, he arrived in Louisville in 1848 and established a jewelry business. Vogt also helped to found Louisville's *Turnverein* and taught gymnastics. He won first prize in 1852 at the National *Turner* competition held that year in Cincinnati.

---

5The *Westliche Post* was an influential St. Louis newspaper which translated important information from the English-language press for the benefit of the German community. In Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 2:350, the author noted that Rittig wrote a sketch in the late 1850s entitled "Federzeichnungen aus dem amerikanischen Stadtleben," which I would translate as "Light Sketches of American City Life."

6In Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters*, 215-16, the author describes Stengel's unconventional career as an Army Chaplain. Packing a revolver, Stengel closed one of his fiery sermons with the words, "Make way for freedom—death to the traitors!"
APPENDIX D

TYPICAL GERMAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN KENTUCKY
The 1850 Census

The German farm families in Kentucky were typically large. The members of the Shrimp family of Newport, Campbell county, Kentucky, apparently were newcomers from Ohio as were many of their countrymen in Northern Kentucky at mid-century. The names, ages, and places of birth of the Shrimps are:

- Thomas Shrimp 42 Germany
- Caroline 40 Germany
- Mary 20 Germany
- Susan 18 Germany
- Caroline 16 Germany
- Nicholas 14 Germany
- Thomas 10 Germany
- Michael 6 Germany
- Burkhart 4 Ohio
- John 2 Ohio

A German brewer, Peter Constance, also appears to have crossed the Ohio into Kentucky in the late-1840s. The city of Newport had close to six thousand residents in 1850, and Campbell county, as a whole, had nearly thirty-five hundred foreign-born residents. It appears that Constance saw a growing, less competitive, market for his beer in Kentucky. Along with the following name, age, and birth data, the census-taker also recorded that Constance had real estate assets worth five thousand dollars—a large sum for the time:

---


2Population Schedules, Newport, Campbell county, 29 August 1850. DeBow's Compendium of the Seventh Census, 182, noted that in 1850 Kentucky had 81 brewing and distilling establishments, exceeded only by New York and Pennsylvania. In volume of ales, however, Kentucky ranked tenth among the States.
Settling in the Paducah area in the mid-1840s was the printer, William Greif, who, in 1850 claimed assets worth seven hundred dollars.\(^3\) His family was recorded by the census-taker thusly:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafayette</td>
<td>1 mo.</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also settling in Paducah was hotel keeper, John G. Fisher, and his small family. The 1850 census showed that Fisher possessed only five hundred dollars in assets.\(^4\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John G.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>7 mos.</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Compare the families and fortunes of the Greifs and Fishers in 1850, respectively, with their situations as shown in the 1860 census on pages 190-191.

\(^3\) *Population Schedules*, Division 1, Paducah Suburbs, McCracken county, 27 July 1850.

\(^4\) Ibid., 22 August 1850.
In the city of Maysville, in northeastern Mason county, a German-born gardener, John Schweiss settled, perhaps before 1840.\textsuperscript{5} Son, Henry, was attending school.

\begin{verbatim}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Schweiss</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabina</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>11 mos.</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{verbatim}

In Kenton county, many German and Irish turnpike laborers were lured by the wages being offered around the city of Covington. The large Groffner family appeared to have just stepped off the river boat, based on the German birth of one-year old Henry. Andrew Groffner told the census-taker he was a common laborer, and claimed one thousand dollars worth of real estate assets. The three elderly Groffners are probably in-laws. The twenty-nine-year-old, Henry, who was also listed as a laborer, could be Andrew Groffner's younger brother or nephew. All were born in Germany with the exception of seventy-two-year-old Mattis, who was born in France.\textsuperscript{6}

\begin{verbatim}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Groffner</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{5}Population Schedules, City of Maysville, Mason county, 7 August 1850. There were only about 1,000 foreign-born residents in all of Mason county in 1850. The City of Maysville had a large population of Irish laborers at the time. The two German grocers noted in the census rolls had children who were all born in Kentucky. Jacob Link, 47, the German-born butcher, had a 50-year old Pennsylvania-born wife, and three teenage children, the two eldest of which were also born in Pennsylvania with the youngest born in Ohio. The German-born lawyer, Jacob Miller, 30, had a 28-year old Ohio-born wife, and two toddlers, also Ohio-born. Upon reviewing the Maysville census of 1860, I noted that nearly all of the Germans had disappeared, along with the Irish.

\textsuperscript{6}Population Schedules, City of Covington, Kenton county, 13 August 1850. As in Campbell county, there were about 3,500 foreign-born residents in Kenton county in 1850. Outside Jefferson county, Campbell and Kenton counties had the largest concentrations of Germans in the state. In Covington, most Germans were single, male laborers between 18 and 50 years of age. It was also apparent that the Germans and Irish generally kept to their own neighborhoods.
Among the most prosperous Germans in Covington was merchant, Henry Hurstmann, who claimed eight thousand dollars worth of real estate. The Hurstmann family appears to have come to Kentucky by way of Indiana. The three oldest children were attending school:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry Hurstmann</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Indiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Indiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berrett</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The oddity in this family is five-year-old Henry's German birth. One explanation could be that Margaret returned home to Germany upon becoming pregnant, gave birth to her son there, and then returned to the United States with the baby and her mother-in-law, Catherine. The Hurstmanns could easily afford such a trip.

In addition to the case of Louisville blacksmith, George Miller, whose family situation and mobility were discussed in this paper's Introduction, many younger entrepreneurs were evident in Louisville's 1850 census. Among them was twenty-eight-year-old cabinetmaker, George Kohmeyer, who listed fourteen hundred dollars in real estate assets. Along with his German-born wife, Margaret, age twenty-three, and their baby, Henry, born in Kentucky, there were also eleven other German-born

---

7Ibid., 16 August, 1850.
cabinetmakers, between the ages of fifteen and forty, who resided in the same
dwelling owned by Kohmeyer.8

The 1860 Census

In general, German-born Kentuckians listed in the 1860 Census were
considerably more affluent, both in real estate and personal property wealth, than those
recorded in the 1850 census. Although the 1850s were punctuated with political
turmoil, epidemics, and economic recession, the German community had become well-
established by 1860. This was especially true in Louisville, in spite of the city's
nativist violence in 1855 and recession of 1857.

The pattern of births within German families, however, may have been
disrupted by the nativist violence or the sudden drop in immigration occurring at mid-
decade, or both. This seemed to be the case in Louisville where the recession in 1857
may have also retarded growth of German-immigrant families. For example, many of
the city's German families listed in the 1860 census with six- and seven-year-old
children appear to have delayed having more children until the late-1850s. Exceptions
to this pattern were difficult to find. Upon noticing that Louisville shoemaker, Frank
Yenawein and his wife Susan had a four-year-old daughter, I almost missed the fact
that the child's place of birth was recorded as "NY," not "KY."9

8Population Schedules, District 1, City of Louisville, Jefferson county, 8 August 1850.
The Kohmeyer family could not be found in the 1860 census.

9Population Schedules, National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1967), District 1, City
of Louisville, Jefferson county, 5 June 1860.
The successful German-born cooper, Jack Schaeffer, and his family, may have come to Louisville after the 1855 riots. His nine-year-old son Henry and five-year-old daughter Caroline were born in Ohio, but one-year-old Phillip was born in Kentucky.\(^9\)

As noted earlier, it was possible to trace the fortunes of two German families, the Greifs and the Fishers of Paducah, to see what happened to them during the 1850s.

William Greif, the printer, who claimed seven hundred dollars worth of personal property in 1850, claimed five thousand dollars in real estate and two hundred dollars in personal property value in 1860. His French-born wife, Margaret, also claimed twenty-five hundred dollars in real estate and four hundred dollars in personal property. The printer of 1850 had obviously made a name for himself by 1860. He was now the Commissioner of Deeds and a Notary Public in Paducah. He also had a new addition to his family, a son, six-year-old Francis. His four eldest children were now attending school.\(^11\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anton</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary B</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafayette</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In revisiting the Fisher family in the 1860 census, the following facts were noted. John G. Fisher, now a forty-four-year-old brewer and tavern owner, and his thirty-nine-year-old Prussian-born wife, Mary, listed twelve thousand dollars in real estate and three thousand dollars in personal property assets! Such wealth placed the Fishers among Paducah’s most wealthy families. There were now a total of five Fisher

\(^9\)Ibid.

\(^11\)Population Schedules, Division 1, Paducah Suburbs, McCracken county, 31 July 1860. The Greif comparison between 1850 and 1860 censuses is a good example of the haphazard way information was recorded by enumerators. In the ten years between these two countings, William Greif aged 14 years, while the eldest son William aged only five years. Major discrepancies also can be noted in the ages of other Greif children.
children, ages one to sixteen, with the three eldest attending school. Also living in the household were the following: a twenty-two-year-old Irish woman working as a servant, a twenty-one-year-old German barkeeper, three younger brewers (two Bavarian-born and one Danish-born), and a sixty-five-year-old Prussian-born mother-in-law who was listed as owning two thousand dollars worth of real estate. Indeed, the Fisher family, like the Greifs, had prospered during the 1850s in Paducah.\textsuperscript{12}

In Louisville, the growing Schenkler family was headed by German-born Phillip Schenkler, a musician claiming only one hundred dollars worth of personal property. The two eldest daughters were attending school.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
Phillip Schenkler & 37 & Germany \\
Kate & 38 & Germany \\
Kate & 12 & Germany \\
Philapena & 8 & Germany \\
Phillip & 5 & Kentucky \\
George & 3 & Kentucky \\
Caroline & 1 & Kentucky \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The Schenklers appear to have arrived in Kentucky during the peak immigration years of 1853-1854.\textsuperscript{13}

One of the most frequently listed trades in Louisville's First ward was that of cooper. These families, like that of Christian Lenz (whose letters sent to his brother in Germany indicate that demand for coopers was often tenuous), moved more frequently. An example is the Heady family with one hundred dollars in assets. The eldest children had not attended school.\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
Joseph Heady & 35 & Germany \\
Elizabeth & 35 & Germany \\
Catherine & 10 & Indiana \\
John & 7 & Indiana \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., 30 July 1860.

\textsuperscript{13}Population Schedules, District 1, City of Louisville, Jefferson county, 5 June 1860.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., 2 June 1860. The Heady's were also one of the few families listed with four-year-old children. Because of economic necessity, Joseph Heady may have had to come to Louisville for work shortly after the city's 1855 riots.
On the whole, German-born tradesmen and entrepreneurs seemed to be prospering in Louisville in 1860. Typical were:

--Bavarian-born master blacksmith, Jacob Baker, forty years old, and owner of three thousand dollars in real estate and personal property. His thirty-year-old wife, Sarah, was Kentucky-born. The Bakers had two adolescent children, both born in Indiana, and both attending school.\(^{15}\)

--Tavern keeper Otto Brandt, forty-nine, who was now a single head of household. Brandt had five children, ages six to fourteen, all Kentucky-born and all attending school. His net worth was listed as thirty-one hundred dollars.\(^{16}\)

German-born carpenters in Kentucky generally seemed to be the most mobile group of tradesmen. Among them were:

--The Deasel family of Paducah. This family, headed by Rudolph Deasel, thirty-eight, appeared to have just moved south from Wisconsin, where Rosa Deasel, thirty-two, had given birth to five-year-old Matilda and one-year-old Charley.\(^{17}\)

--The Fickart family of Louisville. Saxon-born Henry Fickart, thirty-eight, and his Baden-born wife, Francis, twenty-five, had two small children. Three-year-old Henry Jr. was born in Iowa and eight-month-old Adolph was a Kentuckian.\(^{18}\)

\(^{15}\)Ibid. Germans with American-born wives were much more common in the 1860 census than in the 1850 tally. Baker appears in the *Louisville Directory of 1859-60* with his blacksmith shop located on Bardstown Pike between Underhill Street and Broadway.

\(^{16}\)Ibid.

\(^{17}\)Population Schedules, District 2, City of Paducah, McCracken county, 26 July 1860. This example also shows how some Germans began to Americanize the names of their children. Naming their toddler "Charley" would have been unheard of back in Germany.

\(^{18}\)Population Schedules, District 1, City of Louisville, Jefferson county, 7 June 1860.
--Hovia and Francis Knapp, both thirty-three, and of Prussian birth. They apparently came to Louisville in the year of the census. Their five-year-old son Frank was born in New York, while one-year-old Anna was born in Wisconsin.19

--The Gussmans of Louisville. Charles Gussman, thirty, and his twenty-two-year-old wife had three children, ages five, four, and one. The eldest two children were born in Connecticut, and the youngest in Iowa.20

The Typical Family

In general, the most common family situation noted in Louisville's German community in 1860 included a skilled or semi-skilled father, about thirty years old, with a wife in her late twenties. The typical family possessed about one hundred dollars in personal property and had three or four children, all born in Kentucky with an occasional eldest child born in back in Germany, back east, or "at sea."

Unskilled day laborers were also prevalent in the German communities in Jefferson, Kenton, and Campbell counties. Normally, these were smaller families, such as the Kolbs of Louisville, who possessed no assets, and had three children, ages six, five, and one—all born in Kentucky. One of the exceptions was the ten-member Schneider family headed by Michael Schneider, a forty-five-year-old laborer, who listed only two hundred dollars in assets after having spent over a decade in the United States. The three eldest Schneider children, ages fourteen to twenty were born in Bavaria, and the five youngest children, ages two to eleven, were born in Iowa. The small Straub family had also just arrived in Louisville from Bavaria. Their three-

19Ibid.

20Ibid.
year-old, Gertrude, was born in the old country, while one-year-old Teresa was born
"at sea." Only two-month-old Mary was Kentucky-born.\footnote{Ibid.}
APPENDIX E

AN EXTRACT FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF CHRISTIAN LENZ
The date of 6 August 1855 is often referred to as "Bloody Monday" by Kentucky historians. The name suits it well. In a letter to his brother Wilhelm in Germany, dated 22 October 1855, Christian Lenz, writing from his home in Louisville, provided the following description of Bloody Monday:

Dear Brother, since I have waited so long for your letter but I don't hear or see one so I will write again . . . You write about the children if I want to have them come or not, I already wrote you in the last letter that the Germans are unwanted in America, but from last February till now it's cost a lot of blood, on August 6th there was an election in Louisville where they had it in for the Germans and those from Ireland, they wanted to cast their votes like always but they got beaten and pushed around, then there was a real fight with much blood shed, the Americans got shot at from all the houses where many were staying inside, they got fed up with this and set fire to the houses, destroyed many dwellings, murdering, burning and robbing what they could get, they hanged, burned, cut off people's heads, shot. In short, many people lost their lives in these days, Germans and Americans, many women and children that they wouldn't let out of the houses burned to death. Dear brother I watched

---


2The exact casualty figures of the Bloody Monday riots are still unknown, but at least twenty-two were recorded dead. The majority of these were foreign-born residents of Louisville. The burning and destruction of property was a tremendous loss that was also never fully documented.
how they ran through the streets like the screaming seven to see human blood. Since that time many Germans have fled and have moved away, one this way and the other that way. Now dear brother should anyone else move to America, no--stay where you were born that is your home, if I were still in Germany I wouldn't look at America, even if there's nothing besides bread and potatoes and salt that is still better than meat three times a day in a foreign country.

3The translator noted that Lenz' reference to the screaming seven is possibly an allusion to the apocalypse as described by St. John in The Revelation.

4See Stierlin, 171-73; One group did plan a move to Kansas but never went. Some Forty-eighters did depart for other cities. Again, although exact numbers are unknown, Lenz' reference to Germans fleeing 'this way and . . . that way' appears accurate.

5Christian Lenz was listed in the Louisville Directory of 1859-60 as a cooper residing in a house on the north side of Ballard Street, between Campbell and Wenzel Streets, in the east end of the First ward.
WORKS CITED

Manuscripts

Draper MSS. 29CC175 (microfilm edition). State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

Printed Documents


_Louisville City Directory, 1843-44, 1855-56, and 1859-60._

Secondary Works


Yater, George H. *Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio: A History of Louisville and Jefferson County.* Louisville, Kentucky: The Heritage Corp. of Louisville and Jefferson County, 1979.


**Articles**


________. "German Newspapers Published in Louisville." *The American-German Review* (June/July, 1954), 24-27.


**Unpublished Material**


**Newspapers** (with the exception of the *Anzeiger* and *Niles National Register*, all are nativist sheets of the 1840s and 1850s):
- Covington *Journal*
- Frankfort *Commonwealth*
- Louisville *Anzeiger*
- Louisville *Daily Journal*
- Louisville *Daily Courier*
- Maysville *Eagle*

*Niles National Register.* (Baltimore). 25 November 1843-28 February 1846.