Andrea Mehrländer

THE GERMANS OF CHARLESTON, RICHMOND AND NEW ORLEANS DURING THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD, 1850–1870

A STUDY AND RESEARCH COMPENDIUM

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For K. B.,
who did not live long enough
to work on her own doctoral dissertation.

Foreword by *Robert N. Rosen*

Andrea Mehrländer was born and raised in Berlin. She became fascinated with the Old South at the age of ten after seeing "Gone with the Wind." As she states in her Acknowledgements "Thirty-two years have passed since then and my love of the Old South of the United States and its history has never let go of me." Her mission has been to chronicle the ethnic German experience in the Confederacy. Like Ulrich B. Phillips, the great pioneer and indefatigable researcher of the history of slavery, she has gone to extraordinary lengths over many years and has (as Phillips in the Preface to *American Negro Slavery* wrote) "panned the sands of the stream of Southern life and garnered their golden treasure."[1] Mehrländer travelled extensively and met with innumerable families of German descent who provided her with hitherto unknown privately held diaries, letters and documents. She has studied and analyzed the primary sources (state and federal census, church, immigrant society and business records, Confederate war pension files, slave schedules, and burial records) as no previous historian of the German-American experience in the Civil War ever has. As a result she has written a path-breaking book. It is the first monograph on ethnic Germans in the Confederacy and is the most authoritative study, indeed the definitive work, of German immigration into the South during the Civil War era.

Mehrländer has investigated and explained points of origin, means of travel, German-American life and society in the South, attitudes toward the war, German-American participation in the war effort, the prejudice encountered, and the extraordinary service this small but hard-working and talented group rendered to the Confederacy, both on the field of battle as well as in manufacturing, food production, blockade running and supplies.

In 1860, there were almost seventy-two thousand Germans in the South. Foreigners made up thirty-nine percent of the free white population of the eight largest cities in the South. Germans constituted a major component of this population. Mehrländer's command and understanding of extensive American and German sources has allowed her to write a brilliant prosopography, a collective biography, of many individuals throughout the South, centering on New Orleans, Richmond and Charleston. The reader learns the complex story of German intellectuals, "48'ers", laborers, craftsmen, merchants, restaurant owners, shoemakers, brewers, barkeepers, sailors, lithographers, German-language newspaper owners, confectioners, apothecaries, grocers, bakers, musicians – a host of people who, to a degree hitherto unknown, helped the Confederacy stay afloat. It was a German immigrant, Wilhelm Flegenheimer, who transcribed the Virginia Ordinance of Secession.[2]

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1   Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York: D. Appleton, 1918), vii.

2   Ira Berlin and Herbert Gutman were surprised by the importance of immigrant labor in the urban South during the ante bellum period. Indeed they believed these free white workers were a threat to the institution of slavery. See Berlin and Gutman, "Natives and Immigrants, Free Men and Slaves: Urban

This book chronicles the German militia groups and traces their histories from the 1850's to the 1870's. It describes German units in the Confederacy and the roles these units played in the war. On September 10, 1861, the German volunteers left Charleston for Virginia led by William K. Bachman, son of the famous minister and scientist, John Bachman. The Richmond Germans served in the well-equipped Virginia Rifles. Five of the 20th Louisiana Infantry Regiment's ten companies were ethnic German companies. Mehrländer estimates that between nine thousand and eighteen thousand German soldiers fought for the Confederacy. (Two hundred thousand fought for the Union.) "When this country [the Confederacy] cut itself off from all sources … and stood helplessly, …" Burghardt Hassel wrote in 1865, "it was Germans who supplied the powder for percussion caps … who called forth a thousand-armed industry all at once … showed how leather was made … made buttons, poured cannons and furnished artistic instruments."

Mehrländer also provides a visual record of almost sixty images which add another dimension to the story. Again, she has mined private collections and institutional collections in Germany and the South.

The book describes and analyzes the delicate issue of German loyalty – or lack thereof – to the Confederate cause. As is well known to Civil War scholars, German immigrants generally tended to disapprove of slavery in larger numbers than other white Southerners. Mehrländer explores the subtleties of their unwavering support for slavery and the Confederate cause in Charleston and the more complex situation in Richmond and New Orleans. (The loyalty of some of Richmond's Germans was openly questioned.) She concludes, however, that the members of the ethnic German minority were a significant factor politically, militarily and economically in the Civil War and Reconstruction; that quite a few owned slaves and supported the racial views of the white majority; that they overcame, by loyalty and hard work, the nativistic prejudice of their neighbors to become respected members of white Southern society before, during, and after the war. Indeed, Mehrländer contends that a higher percentage of the ethnic Germans in the South fought for the Confederacy than the percentage of their fellow ethnic Germans who fought for the Union.

In short, most ethnic Germans, like other ethnic groups – the Irish and the Jews – adapted to the dominant culture and to "Southern distinctiveness." Yet Mehrländer is careful to point out that a substantial majority of ethnic Germans in Richmond and New Orleans left the South because of the war, and that Richmond's German community was greatly shaken by the war, some being accused of spying, treason, smuggling and profiteering.

Mehrländer also chronicles the history of ethnic Germans after the war. While generally supporting the conservative, white regimes, some Germans in Louisiana supported the Republican Party. Michael Hahn, for example, became the first Republican Governor of Louisiana. Pro-Confederate Germans shunned him. In Charleston, German businessmen led the economic revitalization of the city after the war. John A. Wagener, a successful businessman and political moderate, was elected mayor in 1871.

This work is a major contribution to ethnic history and the Civil War. In recent years, historians have begun to chronicle the German-American experience in the War. This is

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Urban Working Men in the Antebellum South," *American Historical Review* 88 (December 1983): 1175–1200.

not without its difficulties, mainly because it requires proficiency in both English and German sources (including deciphering nineteenth century German handwriting), the lack of previous works to build upon (over half the states banned the teaching of German in schools as a result of World War I and World War II, which, needless to say, made the study of German-Americans anathema) and the resulting lack of memoirs, regimental and company histories and local histories.

There is however, more to Germans in the Civil War than Major Generals Franz Sigel and Carl Schurz. Scholars are busily at work to fill this gap. Clearly, ethnic German history focuses on the North. After all, 1.3 million Germans settled in the states that remained in the Union. Only 5.5% of all German immigrants settled in the South. William L. Burton published *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1988) in 1988; Stephen D. Engle, *Yankee Dutchman: The Life of Franz* Sigel (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993); Eric Bright, "Nothing to Fear from the Influence of Foreigners: The Patriotism of Richmond German-Americans During the Civil War," M. A. thesis, Virginia Polytechnic and State University, 1999; Anne J. Bailey, "In the Far Corner of the Confederacy: A Question of Conscience for German-speaking Texans," *Southern Families at War,* ed. Catherine Clinton (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Dean B. Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom: Europeans In the Civil War* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 2002); Joseph R. Reinhart edited German letters and a diary in *Two Germans in the Civil War* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004); Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang J. Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2006); and Christian B. Keller, *Chancellorsville and the Germans* (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 2007).

This important subject has come a long way from outdated and frequently erroneous works, such as Wilhelm Kaufman's *The Germans in the American Civil War* (1911) and Ella Lonn's *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (1940). But the writing of ethnic German-American history has only just begun. George Tindall, in his 1973 presidential address to the Southern Historical Association, reminded us that "the idea of ethnicity affords historians a strategic vantage point from which to re-assess the Southern past."[3]

Andrea Mehrländer has contributed mightily to this effort by allowing us to glimpse, for the first time, the true story of ethnic Germans in the Confederacy.

Robert N. Rosen, Esq.
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Lowcountry Sesquicentennial Coordinating Committee
Charleston, South Carolina

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[3] George B. Tindall, "Beyond the Mainstream: The Ethnic Southerners," *Journal of Southern History*, vol. XL, No. 1 (February, 1974), 3–18. See also: George B. Tindall, *The Ethnic Southerners* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1976).

Acknowledgements

On the afternoon of April 4, 1978, I was part of a birthday party going to the movies to see "Gone with the Wind." I was not quite ten years old and could not know what a major influence this classic film would have on the further course of my life. Thirty-two years have passed since then, and my love of the old South of the United States and its history has never let go of me. Benjamin Disraeli once said that the secret of success is the continuity of one's goal.

Indeed a kind fate at the turning points of my life has always given me people who have helped me to come a bit closer to this goal: the choice of study majors, a year at an American university, extensive travels to Civil War locations, and, finally, this book – a revised version of my dissertation "'Gott gebe uns bald bessere Zeiten…': Die Deutschen in Charleston, Richmond und New Orleans im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg, 1861 – 1865," completed at Ruhr University Bochum.

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I also had the privilege of finding a second advisor who spontaneously and enthusiastically agreed to read my work: Prof. Dr. Jürgen Heideking of the University of

Table of Contents

Introduction

This book examines the socio-economic situation, the political behavior, and the military participation of the ethnic German minority population in the Confederate States of America between 1861 and 1865. It will concentrate specifically on the cities of Charleston, New Orleans, and Richmond. This topic belongs to the history of ethnic minorities and their relationship to the majority society, but I will first examine it in the broader sense of social history, including an overview of thought and ideas, supported by both qualitative and quantitative sources.

In 1860 there were only 71,962 native Germans living in the eleven states of the subsequent Confederacy, and this group constituted only 1.3% of the entire free population in that area. On the other hand, according to the census of 1860 there were 1,229,210 persons living in the Northern states who had been born in Germany.[1] A discussion of the position of Germans in the Confederacy is still the largest and most serious research gap in the field of American Studies of the Civil War era, but is a book like this justified when it examines a minority of fewer than 72,000 people?

A German-Confederate history of the War of Secession could be written like this: Carl H. Schwecke from Hanover, a member of the German Artillery of Charleston, fired the so-called secession gun as a salute in front of the *Mercury* building in honor of South Carolina's secession from the Union on December 20, 1860.[2] In the Institute Hall Reverend John Bachman, of Swiss-German descent, blessed the young Confederacy.

When Virginia left the Union, calligrapher William Flegenheimer, from Leutershausen in Bavaria, preserved Virginia's Ordinance of Secession for posterity.[3] And General Lee used topographical maps of his home state during the following five years that had been drawn by Louis von Buchholtz.[4]

Almost all of the insignia of the new federation came into existence under German auspices: Nicola Marschall, who had immigrated from Prussia in 1849, designed the famous "stars and bars" flag, which was raised over the capitol in Montgomery on March 4, 1861. He also provided the basic design of the Confederate uniforms.[5]

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1 Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the original returns of the eighth census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), xxix–xxxii.

2 *Charleston Mercury*, January 21, 1861.

3 *Richmond Whig*, May 28, 1861 and June 24, 1861.

4 "Map of the State of Virginia: Containing the counties, principal towns, railroads, rivers and all other internal improvements" (Richmond: Ritchie & Dunnavant, 1858); "A Map of the State of Virginia, reduced from the nine sheet map of the state in conformity to law by Herman Boeye, 1828, corrected by order of the executive by L. v. Buchholtz." Both maps are now in the Virginia State Library & Archives in Richmond.

5 "Flag and Uniform of the Confederacy," *Confederate Veteran* XIII, 5 (May, 1905), 222–223; Peggy Robbins, "Fight for the Flag," *Civil War Times Illustrated* XXXV, 5 (October 1996), 32–38.

Fig. 0.1: HOYER & LUDWIG, LITHOGRAPHERS OF THE CONFEDERACY
Commercial advertisement of Hoyer & Ludwig, taken from the *Second Annual Directory for the City of Richmond*, compiled by W. Eugene Ferslew in 1860.

The unofficial national anthem of the Confederacy, "Dixie," was printed for the first time in 1860 by Philip P. Werlein, who was born in Bavaria in 1812; during the war he alone sold copies.[6]

Julius Baumgarten, 25 years old, an engraver from Hanover, designed not only the great state seal of the Confederacy but also the Confederate "medals of honor."[7]

On February 21, 1861, President Davis named Christopher G. Memminger, born in Mergentheim in Wuerttemberg, as the first Confederate Secretary of the Treasury. Memminger remained in this position until his resignation on July 18, 1864,[8] and in August 1862, the government ordered the production of Confederate money from the German company of Louis Hoyer & Charles Ludwig, which had already received the order to print Confederate stamps in April, 1861.[9]

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6 *New Orleans Times – Picayune*, January 25, 1937.

7 Michael P. Musick, "The Mystery of the Missing Confederate Medals of Honor," *Military Collector & Historian* XXIII, 3 (Fall, 1971), 74–78.

8 *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress*, ed. Ezra J. Warner, W. Buck Yearns (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), 171–173.

9 August Dietz, *The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond: Dietz Printing Co., 1929), 94f.: The company belonged to Louis Hoyer (born in Bremen in 1823) and Charles Ludwig (born in Baden in 1828).

Fig. 0.2: ONE DOLLAR BILL IN CONFEDERATE MONEY
Fredericksburg, May 4th, 1861, No. 4784: This One Dollar Bill was printed by Hoyer & Ludwig at
Richmond, Va. The company was formed by Charles Ludwig of Baden, a lithographer, and Ludwig Hoyer
of Bremen, a watchmaker, in 1858. It went out of business in 1864.
Private Collection of Andrea Mehrländer, Berlin

As did every individual Confederate state, South Carolina also had its own paper money.
The small bills for 5, 10, 25, and 50 cents were produced by the Hessian engraver
Friedrich W. Bornemann.[10]

The gardens of the "White House of the Confederacy" in Richmond were cared for by
E. G. Eggeling, a horticulturist from Hanover, whereas Heinrich Georg Müller, born in
Lauterbach in Hesse, was the President's bodyguard until the beginning of 1864; Mueller
later became the president of the Virginia Choral Society and president of the church
council of St. John's Church, Richmond.[11] The Westfalian pastor Karl Minnigerode was
highly respected in Richmond as Jefferson Davis' closest confidant and advisor. Minnigerode
offered the benediction at 16 sessions of the Confederate House of Representatives.[12] Jef-
ferson Davis learned of the upcoming evacuation of Richmond in Minnigerode's church.
After Davis was taken prisoner and accused of high treason on May 13, 1867 in Richmond,
the trial took place in the U. S. Customs House that had been designed and constructed in
1858 under the supervision of Albert Lybrock, an architect from the Rhineland.[13]

Edward V. Valentine, the sculptor asked to design the Lee Mausoleum, created a design
in 1883 modeled after Christian Daniel Rauch's 1815 tomb for Queen Louise with a marble
sarcophagus that was almost identical to that of the Prussian queen. Valentine had studied
with August Kiss in Berlin, a student of Rauch.[14]

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10 "Small Notes," *Charleston Mercury*, July 16, 1861.

11 Herrmann Schuricht, *The German Element in Virginia* (Baltimore, 1900), II, 50; "St. John's United
    Church of Christ," MSS 45A 237 b7, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

12 *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861–1865* (Washington: Government
    Printing Office, 1904/1905), Vol. VI and VII.

13 Mary Wingfield Scott, *Old Richmond Neighborhoods* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1950), 140.

14 *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon* (Leipzig/Wien: Bibliographisches Institut, 1896), Vol. X, 179.

This brief listing, even if accurate, of the German-Confederate symbiosis nonetheless distorts the real ethnic relationships of the 1860's and glorifies the situation in a filiopietistic manner: Until the beginning of the 20th century the reception in Germany of the Confederate side of the American Civil War was determined, in large part, by three authors.[15] Two of these, Colonel Johann Heinrich August Heros von Borcke and Major Justus Scheibert, had experienced the action first hand as war participants and observers on the staff of General J. E. B. Stuart – the only work that von Borcke and Scheibert issued together discusses the battle of Brandy Station: Heros von Borcke (1835–1895) served on Stuart's staff between 1862 and 1864. He published his war memoirs in English in 1865 and in German only in 1898.[16]

Justus Scheibert (1830–1904), a major in the Prussian pioneer corps, originally published four military history commentaries on the Civil War.[17]

The third author, General Hugo Friedrich Phillip Johann Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven (1855–1924) was one of the most important German military authors and after 1891 head of the adjutant major general staff. He used all the official sources at his disposal to draw parallels between the American Civil War and various European conflicts.[18]

It might be due to the biographical background of these authors that between 1865 and 1910 the history of the Confederacy in Germany was discussed almost exclusively as military history;[19] Confederate commanders and their strategies were often the subject of military history essays in the publication series *Jahrbücher für die deutsche Armee und Marine* between 1870 and 1900. On the other hand, this was also a reflection of the spirit of the times: Germany was involved in several conflicts during those years – for example the Prussian-Austrian War in 1866, the Franco-German War 1870/71, the German-Spanish dispute over the Caroline Islands in 1885, the 1894 Hottentot Uprising in German

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15 Works of American authors, which were first published in English and then translated into German, are disregarded, as well as German language Civil War studies that were distributed by German-American publishers. Cf.: Bibliography in Theophile Noack, *Der vierjährige Bürgerkrieg in Nordamerika von 1861–1865: Eine Skizze* (Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1889), 44ff.; Andrea Mehrländer, "Historiographical Survey of Research on Germans in the Confederacy (1865–to date)," Opening Statement for panel discussion on "New Perspectives in Civil War Ethnic History" at the Society of Civil War Historians' Second Biennial Meeting, Richmond, Va., June 19, 2010.

16 Heros von Borcke, *Zwei Jahre im Sattel und am Feinde: Erinnerungen aus dem Unabhängigkeitskriege der Konföderierten*, 2 volumes (Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 3. Edition, 1898). H. von Borcke's auto-biography was published in three volumes: Heros von Borcke, *Ein Reis vom alten Stamm: Junges Blut,* (Berlin: Paul Kittel, 1895); posthumously: Heros von Borcke, *Ein Reis vom alten Stamm: Auf dem Kriegspfade,* ed. by Hermann Müller-Bohn (Berlin: Paul Kittel, 1895) and Heros von Borcke, *Ein Reis vom alten Stamm: An des Grabes Rand,* ed. by Hermann Müller-Bohn (Berlin: Paul Kittel, 1896); Heros von Borcke and Justus Scheibert, *Die grosse Reiterschlacht bei Brandy Station, June 9, 1863* (Berlin: Paul Kittel, 1893).

17 Justus Scheibert, *Das Zusammenwirken der Armee und Marine* (Rathenow: Max Babenzien, 1887); ibid., *Der Bürgerkrieg in den nordamerikanischen Staaten, militärisch beleuchtet für den deutschen Offizier* (Berlin, 1874), his memoirs: ibid., *Sieben Monate in den Rebellen-Staaten während des nordamerikanischen Krieges 1863* (Stettin, 1868), and a revision of his memoirs with an evaluation of Confederate commanders and their strategies: ibid., *Mit Schwert und Feder* (Berlin, 1902).

18 Hugo Friedrich Phillip Johan Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven, *Studien über Kriegführung auf Grundlage des Nordamerikanischen Sezessionskrieges in Virginien* (Berlin: Mittler, 1903).

19 A bibliography of German (non-belletristic) literature about the reception of the Confederacy is to date only a research wish. A preliminary attempt is: Alexander C. Niven, "German Military Literature and the Confederacy," *American-German Review* 25, 3 (1959), 31–33.

Southwest Africa, or the 1904 Herero Uprising in German Southwest Africa – and had, in expectation of future warfare, a real interest in military studies. Prussian German militarism experienced a phenomenal increase after 1871, and the appetite for military history was nearly insatiable. In 1895 there were many military societies in the German Empire with no fewer than 1.3 million members.[20]

A federation that had fought to preserve slavery could hardly be expected to be popular among the German middle classes of the turn of the 20th century. Thus it is understandable that the memoirs of August Conrad, deputy consul of Hanover in Charleston and deputy director of William C. Bee & Co., a blockade-breaking firm, during the Civil War, were ignored when they were published in 1879. They offer an excellent description of German life in the center of the Secession.[21]

The 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Civil War in 1911 and 1912 saw the publication of several works in German that discussed, at least briefly, the question of German participation on the side of the South. Among them was a study by Ralph Lutz about the diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States, and works by Karl Bleibtreu, a Swiss author, and Wilhelm Kaufmann.[22] With careful attention to detail Kaufmann had written to more than 100 German-American war veterans and asked them about their personal memories and views. These men had, for the most part, served in the Union army, so Kaufmann's description as a whole favors the Northern states. In his generally useful biographical appendix Kaufmann names 32 persons as "German Confederates," and 500 persons as "German Union Officers."[23] Among the latter were a number of recognized former "48ers," who, after the war, recorded their experiences and impressions in the form of autobiographies.[24]

There was no comparable wave of publications on the Confederate side immediately after the war. For one thing there was a lack of "48ers" who wanted to write; for another thing the survivors were involved in rebuilding, and their time could not be spared for long-term writing projects that would have to confront not only the very painful military defeat but

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20 Indeed, the American Civil War was in many areas a dress rehearsal for European war strategy in World War I. Cf.: Jay Luvaas, *The Military Legacy of the Civil War: The European Inheritance* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, ²1988), and Edward Hagerman, *The American Civil War and the origins of modern warfare, ideas, organization, and field command* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1988).

21 August Conrad, *Schatten und Lichtblicke aus dem Amerikanischen Leben während des Sezessions-Krieges* (Hannover: Th. Schulze's Buchhandlung, 1879).

22 Ralph Lutz, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten während des Sezessionskrieges* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1911); Karl Bleibtreu, *Vor 50 Jahren: Das Volksheer im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg* (Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1912); Wilhelm Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkriege 1861–1865* (Munich/Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1911). Since 1999, Kaufmann's study has been available in English: Wilhelm Kaufmann, *The Germans in the American Civil War*, trans. by Steven Rowan, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Carlisle, PA: John Kallmann, Publishers, 1999).

23 Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkriege,* 443–556 (USA) and 566–576 (CSA).

24 Of the many, not always war-related publications of the "48ers", the following works provide extensive information: Eitel Wolf Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika: Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958); *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, ed. by Adolph E. Zucker (New York: Russel & Russel, ²1967); Marino Mania, *Deutsches Herz und amerikanischer Verstand: Die nationale und kulturelle Identität der Achtundvierziger in den USA* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1993), Bibliography: 95–141.

also the moral guilt of "fighting for slavery." There were no German-Confederate self-portraits at all in New Orleans – where the history of the German minority was written mainly by post-war immigrants John Hanno Deiler and Louis Voss – and only minimal ones in Richmond and Charleston. In Richmond Confederate veteran Herrmann Schuricht wrote a two-volume work called *The History of the German Element in Virginia*, published between 1898 and 1900. In Charleston the German self-representation was spread by Johann A. Wagener between 1871 and 1876; after his death by Franz Melchers, beginning in 1878, who sporadically sent letters or essays to Rattermann's *Deutscher Pionier* – both of these men had served with the Confederate Army.

Ten years after the end of the Civil War Johann A. Wagener wrote to the editors of the *Deutscher Pionier*, in Chicago: "I would have continued the series [sketches about the Germans in South Carolina after 1860] if it hadn't been such a ticklish subject, because we were the so-called 'rebels,' and the readers of the *Pionier* cultivate a somewhat 'sensitive' patriotism. From my point of view, I must be able to write freely and be judged liberally. I am convinced however that the time will not be far away, when even the Germans of the South, who defended their chosen sunny home so bravely and 'without fear or reproach,' will be allowed to explain the reasons for their actions without causing an uproar."[25] Wagener died in 1876 and was unable to realize his planned publications.

The silence of the Germans within the Confederacy, which could have indicated a guilty conscience, together with what Wilhelm Kaufmann wrote in 1911 about the Germans in the South – "Whereas the native-born Americans and the members of all the other immigrated nationalities divided into two enemy army camps, we find the Germans only on the side of the Union. There were almost no supporters of the secession among them, just as there were almost no German slaveowners" – meant that for more than 70 years not a single piece of writing appeared in Germany that discussed, either predominantly or exclusively, the Germans in the Confederacy.[26]

In the United States, on the other hand, after the ground-laying work of Ella Lonn's *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (1940) there have been only a few contributions – up to the mid-2000's – that have specifically treated the situation of Germans in the South: I will on purpose disregard the specific situation of the Texan Germans here and also not comment on the research done on them, as Texas was never part of the Deep South, and the Texan Germans, consequently, were never representative of Confederate Germans, who were predominantely urbanized. In 1860, the cities of Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans sheltered the largest urban communities of German immigrants in the South. Articles and monographies on these Germans were published between 1937 and 2008 by Robert T. Clark and John Nau, Keil and Hunter for New Orleans, Klaus Wust, Rudolph Bunzl, Michael Bell, Gregg Kimball, Eric W. Bright and Christian B. Keller for Richmond, and Michael Bell, Jason Silverman, Gerta Reinert, Helene Riley and Jeffery Strickland for Charleston.[27] With the exception of Bell's 1996 dissertation, none of these works were

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25 Letter from J. A. Wagener to the editors of the *Deutscher Pionier*, printed in "Editorielle Notizen", *Der Deutsche Pionier* 7 (1875/76), 77.

26 Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkriege*, iii–iv.

27 New Orleans: Robert T. Clark Jr., "The German Liberals in New Orleans (1840–1860)," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 20 (1937), 137–151; ibid., "The New Orleans German Colony in the Civil War," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 20 (1937), 990–1015, and ibid., "Reconstruction and the New Orleans German Colony," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 23 (April, 1940), 501–524; John F. Nau, *The Geman*

comparative; to the contrary, they treated the social situation of the ethnic German minority in a particular place at a particular time, often as case-studies or biographical research. Dean B. Mahin's *The Blessed Place of Freedom: Europeans in Civil War America.* (2002) is more or less an updated version of Ella Lonn's work, showing clearly that the author had no knowledge of the German language and simply compiled newer publications and findings, but did not analyze them.

The first comparative study on Confederate Germans considering social, cultural and military aspects was done by Robert Rosen in 2000 with *The Jewish Confederates*, focussing however, but naturally, only on those Germans that happened to be also Jewish.[28] At the same time, two other important German publications on the Civil War came out, Löffler's 1999 diplomatic history of Prussian-Saxonian relationships during the Civil War, and

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People of New Orleans, 1850–1900 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958); Hartmut Keil, "Ethnizität und Rasse: Die deutsche Bevölkerung und die Kritik der Sklaverei in der deutschen Presse von New Orleans," *Gesellschaft und Diplomatie im transatlantischen Kontext: Festschrift für Reinhard R. Dorries*, ed. Michael Wala (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 9–25; G. Howard Hunter, "The Politics of Resentment: Union Regiments and the New Orleans Immigrant Community, 1862–1864," *Louisiana History* 44,2 (2003), 185–210; Harold W. Hurst and Dean Sinclair, "Germans in Dixie: The German Element in Antebellum Southern Cities," *Southern Studies* 11,1/2 (2004), 47–67. Richmond: Klaus Wust, "German Immigrants and Nativism in Virginia, 1840–1860," *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* 29 (1956), 31–50 and ibid., *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969); Michael E. Bell, "Germany upon the James: German Immigrants in Antebellum Richmond, 1848–1852," (M.A., University of Richmond, 1990); Rudolph H. Bunzl, "Immigrants in Richmond after the Civil War, 1865–1880," (M.A., University of Richmond, 1994); Gregg D. Kimball, "Strangers in Dixie: Allegiances and Culture Among the Germans in Civil War Richmond," (paper delivered at the OAH Conference, Atlanta, 1994) and ibid., *American City, Southern Place: A Cultural History of Antebellum Richmond* (Athens/London: The University of Georgia Press, 2000); Eric W. Bright, "Nothing to fear from the influence of Foreigners: The Patriotism of Richmond's German-Americans during the Civil War," (M.A., Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1999); Christian B. Keller, "Pennsylvania and Virginia Germans During the Civil War: A Brief History and Comparative Analysis," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 109,1 (2001), 37–86; Charleston: Michael E. Bell, "'Hurrah für dies süsse, dies sonnige Leben': The Anomaly of Charleston, South Carolina's Antebellum German-Americans," (Dissertation, University of South Carolina at Columbia, 1996), and ibid., "'For God and the Fatherland': Charleston, South Carolina's Germans and the American Civil War," (paper delivered at the SSHA Conference, New Orleans, 1996); Gertha Reinert, "Aus dem Leben des Auswanderers Johann Andreas Wagener aus Sievern 1816–1876", *Jahrbuch MvM* 60 (1981), 123–159; Jason H. Silverman and Robert M. Gorman, "The Confederacy's Fighting Poet: General John Wagener," *North & South* II, 4 (April 1999), 42–49; Jason H. Silverman, "Ashley Wilkes Revisited: The Immigrant as Slaveowner in the Old South," *Journal of Confederate History* VII (1991), 123–135; Jeffery Strickland, "How the Germans Became White Southerners: German Immigrants and African Americans in Charleston, S.C., 1860–1880," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28,1 (Fall 2008), 52–69, and ibid., "Ethnicity and Race in the Urban South: German Immigrants and African Americans in Charleston, South Carolina During Reconstruction," (Ph. D. Diss., Florida State University, 2003); Helene M. Kastinger Riley, "Deutsche Einwanderer in South Carolina vor, während und nach dem amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg: ein Beitrag zur deutsch-amerikanischen Kulturgeschichte," *Die Auswanderung nach Nordamerika aus den Regionen des heutigen Rheinland-Pfalz,* ed. Werner Kremp and Paul Roland (Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2002), 1–20.

28 As far as Southern Jews and their role in the antebellum South and the Confederacy are concerned, see: Adam Mendelsohn, "'A Struggle Which Has Ended so Beneficently': A Century of Jewish Historical Writing About the American Civil War," *American Jewish History* 92,4 (2004), 437–454; *Jews and the Civil War: A Reader*, ed. Adam Mendelsohn and Jonathan D. Sarna (New York / London: New York University Press, 2010).

Helbich's impressive letter edition, entitled *Germans in the Civil War, the Letters They Wrote Home*.[29] Both of them, however, treat the 72,000 German-Confederates as a minor issue and a neglectable minority. In the antebellum period Northern and Southern states presented themselves to immigrants as two totally different systems; the so-called "Southern distinctiveness" lent even the ethnic German communities in the South the status of "being different."[30]

In this study I have limited myself to New Orleans, Charleston, and Richmond for the following reasons: in 1860 these three port and primate cities[31] were not only the three cities of the subsequent Confederacy with the largest populations, but, in 1860, they also sheltered the three largest urban communities of German immigrants. In addition these cities took on distinctive roles in the subsequent Confederacy itself: New Orleans as the largest trading metropolis of the South, Charleston as the "cradle of secession", and Richmond as the subsequent capital of the Confederacy.

The two decades between 1850 and 1870 form the time frame of my investigation, with a distinct emphasis on the war years. Although this time frame has rarely been used by American historians, it has great value if one is examining particular social continuities and discontinuities caused by the war among an ethnic minority.

The term "ethnic German minority" seems to me to be the best way to describe the group of Germans in the center of this study, because the term includes four categories of immigrants who were considered "Germans" in the eyes of their American neighbors:

– First-generation Germans, those born in Germany, who immigrated to America during their adult lifetimes, some of whom later became American citizens.
– German-born persons, who immigrated to America while very young, and who grew up in an American environment.
– Second-generation Germans, the sons and daughters of German immigrants, who culturally and linguistically remained loyal to Germany, attended German language schools, belonged to German clubs, or even returned briefly to Germany to study.

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29 Michael Löffler, *Preußens und Sachsens Beziehungen zu den USA während des Sezessionskrieges 1860–1865* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 1999); *Deutsche im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg: Briefe von Front und Farm 1861–1865*, ed. Wolfgang Helbich, Walter D. Kamphoefner (München: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2002), for the translation see: *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home*, ed. Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang J. Helbich (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 2006). The letters used for this publication are now part of the "Nordamerika-Briefsammlung" (NABS) of Gotha, Germany, the largest archival collection of letters written by German immigrants to the USA in the 19th century [formerly: "Bochumer Auswandererbriefsammlung" (BABS)]: www.auswandererbriefe.de/sammlung.html .

30 Drew Gilpin Faust, "The Peculiar South Revisited: White Society, Culture, and Politics in the Antebellum Period, 1800–1860," *Interpreting Southern History: Historiographical Essays in Honor of Sanford W. Higginbotham*, ed. John B. Boles / Evelyn Thomas Nolen (Baton Rouge / London: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 78–119.

31 This phenomenon was first recognized by M. Jefferson in 1939: In a primate city, the population growth of a particular state is overly concentrated on a single city, often the capital. In the historical view this can be attributed to the beginning stage of urbanization and can, if population growth continues, lead to overurbanization or metropolization; in this case the influx of population exceeds the integration capacity of the cities involved. This happened in New Orleans as well as in Richmond between 1862 and 1865: Burkhard Hofmeister, *Stadtgeographie* (Braunschweig: Westermann, 6th edition, 1994), 103ff.

– German families who had lived in America for generations and were American citizens with American names and in part no longer spoke German, but because of old traditions still retained important positions within the German community.

This study offers first a basic overview of the immigration and settlement of German immigrants in the southern part of the United States between 1820 and 1860. I will then analyze the specific profile of the urban German ethnic centers of settlement of New Orleans, Charleston, and Richmond.

The varying effects of the "know-nothing" movement on the antebellum living conditions of each ethnic German community and its political activities will be discussed in a comparative way, explaining why it was nativist agitation that lead to the establishment of ethnic German militias during the antebellum period.

These German militia companies have, to date, been ignored in previous research, but deserve attention because they formed the basis of the ethnic German military companies in 1861.

The most extensive part of this book is the socio-military analysis of twelve ethnic German companies in order to evaluate the military participation of the ethnic German population of Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans during the Civil War.

Two chapters consider various aspects of the Confederate home front with attention to the socio-economic situation of the ethnic German communities: everyday routine during the blockade, the efforts to provision the civilian population with food, and the burden of martial law.

My study concludes with an inventory of the development of ethnic German communities during the first five years of the Reconstruction Period: the primary fields of action of the ethnic German leaders of Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans during those years were local politics and immigration recruiting. Here too the 20-year period of my investigation offers the opportunity to compare personnel continuity between the antebellum and the postwar periods.[32]

My research concentrated mainly of the members of ethnic German military companies listed in the appendix (A–C), the group of influential ethnic German business people, sometimes consuls, and the ethnic German local politicians. Altogether this was a pool of about 1,350 persons. It goes without saying that only a fraction of the information collected can be reflected in this study as representative.

I also utilized the military service records of the ethnic German military units (Record Group 109), along with the files of the Confederate Secretary of War, the Secretary of State, the Adjutant and General Inspector, as well as the Confederate and Union military police (Provost Marshal). They provide information about all kinds of events that could affect an individual person in military service of the Confederate States during the war, and in some cases they include personal letters.[33] The so-called Amnesty Papers (Record

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32 Ingrid Schöberl's well-founded study of immigration recruiting offers almost no biographical background information about immigration agents and "commissioners" from the former Confederate states: Ingrid Schöberl, *Amerikanische Einwandererwerbung in Deutschland 1845–1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 69–94, 145–168.

33 An essential and supporting aid in evaluating military details was the 128-volume compilation *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901). Further referrals to this work will be abbreviated as *OR*.

Group 94), in which the handwritten requests for amnesty from President Johnson on May 29, 1865, are collected, sometimes include complete life stories, expanded with personal evaluations of the services rendered to the Confederacy, but often only the completed forms. The personal evaluations must, however, be used with caution, because the main reason for these papers was to receive an amnesty .

To determine the existence of economic ties between the Confederate government and German companies I used the papers of the Confederate Business File. These papers give information about the kind and extent of business dealings, list property confiscations, and name partners or owners of ships that participated in breaking the blockade. Information about the ships involved can be found in the so-called Vessel Papers.

The handwritten papers of the R. G. Dun Collection were of great value to me.[34] This credit information bureau was founded in 1841 by Lewis Tappan, a New York merchant and co-founder of the Anti-Slavery Society. By 1850, he had more than 2,000 employees scattered throughout the states of the Union and Canada; in 1854 the credit bureau was purchased by Benjamin Douglas; and in 1859 Robert Graham Dun took over the company. Reports were sent twice a year to the New York headquarters.

These reports contained information about the public reputation of business owners and information about their partners and creditors. Family relationships among the persons mentioned were always noted if relevant and were sometimes expanded with personal comments; there is information about national origin and in many cases about immigration and age. If a person was Jewish, this was always mentioned. The first Dun office was opened in New Orleans in 1845, in Charleston in 1853, and in Richmond in 1856.[35]

Indispensable sources for information on the individual level are of course the census lists of 1860, divided into free schedules and slave schedules (Record Group 29). They include the greatest amount of information about name, place of residence, age, sex, skin color, profession, real estate and personal fortune, and place of birth. Tax lists were also helpful.

Further important sources for researching the social network of an urban ethnic minority were the city directories issued yearly until 1860–1861. Among other items they listed ethnic associations, churches, militia companies, insurance companies, banks, and their boards of directors. The editors of the Charleston city directory from 1860 underlined the seriousness and accuracy of their publication with the following words: "We now repeat again, that no Northern men, either as printers, or otherwise, have had or have any connection with this publication."[36]

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34 James H. Madison, "The Credit Reports of R. G. Dun & Co. as historical sources," *Historical Methods Newsletter* 8 (September, 1975), 128–131. Cf. too: David Gerber, "Ethnics, Enterprise, and Middle Class Formation: Using the Dun and Bradstreet Collection for Research in Ethnic History," *Immigrant History Newsletter* 12 (1980), 1–7.

35 Robert Wellford Allen, Jr., "The Richmond Story: History of the Richmond District of Dun & Bradstreet, Inc. 1856–1952," (Richmond, 1952): Between 1856 and 1865 John Davies Jr. was the district manager; from 1866–1869 it was Joseph Scarlett, and between 1870 and 1873 it was J. A. Scarlett. In Charleston John E. Holmes was the district manager beginning in 1870; nothing is known of the Dun agents before him: *An Historical and Descriptive Review of the City of Charleston and her Manufacturing and Mercantile Industries including many sketches of leading Public and Private Citizens*, ed. by C. M. Tallman (New York: Empire Publishing Co., 1884), 76.

36 *Directory of the City of Charleston to which is added a Business Directory 1860*, compiled by W. Eugene Ferslew (Savannah: John M. Cooper & Co., 1860), "Preface".

Furthermore, I consulted the preserved collections of the local German-language newspapers in all three ethnic German communities and compared them with the English-language papers. The German-language newspapers of the Civil War era were the most important vehicle of the ethnic German self-representation within the Confederacy and cannot be rated highly enough in their significance.[37]

In New Orleans these papers were mainly the *Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung* (1849–1867), to a lesser extent the *Louisiana Staats-Zeitung* (1862–1865); for Charleston the *Deutsche Zeitung* (1853–1859), which stopped publishing at the beginning of the war, and its highly informative, bilingual anniversary issue of November 22, 1913; for Richmond the *Virginische Zeitung* of March 26, 1865 and the incomplete issues of the *Richmonder Anzeiger* from about 1860 to 1865, privately owned by the late August Dietz III in Richmond. For treatment of the early postwar years (1865–1870) I had at my disposal the *Südliche Correspondent* and the *Charlestoner Zeitung* for Charleston, for Richmond the *Richmond Patriot,* and for New Orleans the *New Orleans Journal*.

Consular correspondence, notes, questions, and surveys of the German consuls[38] were found, partially in very poor condition and very incomplete, in the State Archives in Hamburg and Bremen as well as in the Historic New Orleans Collection. In addition I used the correspondence of the Prussian and Hanseatic legations in Washington with the United States Department of State; these are found in the National Archives (Record Group 59).

An article by David Quick about my intended dissertation in the Charleston *Post & Courier* of August 3, 1995 resulted in an overwhelming flood of personal papers from the descendants of a number of ethnic German Civil War veterans, for which I am especially grateful.

All in all, these countless mosaic pieces enabled me to put together a picture of the life of ethnic German minorities in Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans before, during, and immediately after the Civil War.

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37 Andrea Mehrländer, "'…to strive for loyalty': German-Confederate Newspapers, the issue of slavery, and German ideological commitment, " *American Studies Journal* 48 (Winter 2001), 44–51.

38 For complete biographies of all the German consuls serving through the war years in Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans, as well as an evaluation of their diplomatic efficiency see my dissertation: Andrea Mehrländer, "'Gott gebe uns bald bessere Zeiten…': Die Deutschen von Charleston, Richmond und New Orleans im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg, 1861–1865," Diss. phil. Ruhr-Universität Bochum 1998, 570–672.

I. The "Period of the Great German-American Symbiosis": Immigration & Settlement, 1820 to 1860

The lack of research on the immigration of foreigners, especially Germans, to the American South[1] can be attributed to the hypothesis advanced by George B. Tindall, that the South is "the biggest single WASP nest this side of the Atlantic."[2]

Indeed the wave of immigration[3] to the North that began in the middle of the 19th century and continued until the end of the century hardly touched the South. On the eve of the Civil War, for example, the number of foreigners in the states that would become the Confederacy was 233,651 or 4.2% of the total free population of those states; German immigrants to these states numbered 71,962 persons or 1.28% of the total free population,[4] a number too low to attract researchers. Although there have been specific studies about particular nationality groups in particular places at particular times, there has to date not been a cross-regional and comparative immigration study for the South.[5]

In 1978 it was noted that the European immigrant had become the "invisible subject" of the historiography of the old South;[6] in the following decade the situation had not changed.[7]

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1 In this study the words "South" and "Southern states" refer, unless otherwise stated, to the eleven states that belonged to the Confederacy after 1860–1861: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Cf.: Michael K. Prince, "Coming to Terms with History: An Essay on Germany and the American South," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 76,1 (Winter 2000), 67–75.

2 George B. Tindall, *The Ethnic Southerners* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), 8. Cf. the earlier version as well: George B. Tindall, "Beyond the Mainstream: The Ethnic Southerners," *Journal of Southern History* XL (February, 1974), 3–18; Anne J. Bailey, *Invisible Southerners: Ethnicity in the Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 95 p.

3 *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, ed. by Willi Paul Adams (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1977), 184–211, 499–500.

4 Cf. Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, xxix, xxxi.

5 Jason H. Silverman, "Stars, Bars, and Foreigners: The Immigrant and the Making of the Confederacy," *Journal of Confederate History* I, 2 (Fall, 1988), 266, and Jason H. Silverman, "Writing Southern Ethnic History: An Historiographical Investigation," *Immigration History Newsletter* XIX, 1 (May, 1987), 1–4.

6 Randall M. Miller, "Immigrants in the Old South," *Immigration History Newsletter* X, 2 (November, 1978), 8.

7 Ira Berlin, Herbert G. Gutman, "Natives and Immigrants, Free Men and Slaves: Urban Workingmen in the Antebellum American South," *American Historical Review* 88 (1983), 1176: the authors refer to the following studies that interpret the urban South exclusively as a network of black and white racial relations: Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), and Claudia D. Goldin, *Urban Slavery in the American South, 1820–1860: A Quantitative History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Silverman, "Writing Southern Ethnic History," 2.

The 19th century was marked by formative events in the political and cultural development of both Germany and the United States. The political uprisings in Germany of 1817–1819, the "hep-hep" pogrom against Jews that started in Würzburg in 1819, the student protests against the Restoration of 1830–1832, and finally the unsuccessful revolution of 1848–1849 unleashed an emigration of some of Germany's finest intellects.[8] Having arrived before the outbreak of the Civil War in America, these newcomers were then, often only a few years after their arrival, involved in the bloodiest event in American history. The convictions, hopes, and expectations that they associated with their chosen adopted country would be questioned during this tensile test of the American nation.[9]

Compared to the mass of economically motivated emigrants, the political-religious free-thinkers, the "30ers" and the "48ers", formed only a very small part of the total emigration[10]; nonetheless, by their active engagement in American political life, they exercised considerable influence over the abolition of slavery and preservation of the Union",[11] while thousands of other German immigrants would defend their new homeland with weapons.

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8   The following four studies offer excellent research overviews of German emigration studies published between 1980 and 2009: Cornelia Pohlmann, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Braunschweig im Kräftespiel staatlicher Einflussnahme und öffentlicher Resonanz 1720–1897,* ed. Rudolf von Albertini and Eberhardt Schmitt (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002), 15–23; Wolfgang Helbich, "German Research on German Migration to the United States," *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 54.3 (2009): 383–404; *Die Deutschsprachige Auswanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten: Berichte über Forschungsstand and Quellen*, ed. by Willi Paul Adams (Berlin: John F. Kennedy Institut für Nordamerikastudien, FU Berlin, 1980); Reinhard R. Doerries, "German Emigration to the United States: A Review Essay on recent West German Publications," *Journal of American Ethnic History* VI, 1 (1986), 71–83; for further in-depth study, check: Wolfgang Riechmann, *"Vivat Amerika" – Auswanderung aus dem Kreis Minden 1816–1933* (Minden: J. C. C. Bruns, 1993), 25–34; *Die Auswanderung nach Nordamerika aus den Regionen des heutigen Rheinland-Pfalz*, ed. Werner Kremp and Paul Roland (Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2002); *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective,* ed. Wolfgang J. Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies / University of Wisconsin Press, 2004); *Schöne neue Welt: Rheinländer erobern Amerika: Führer und Schriften des Rheinischen Freilichtmuseums und Landesmuseums für Volkskunde in Kommern,* vol. 2, ed. Kornelia Panek (Wiehl: Martina Galunder-Verlag, 2001).

9   Cf. Wolfgang Helbich, "Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten? Das Amerika-Bild der deutschen Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert," *Deutschland and der Westen im 19. and 20. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 1 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1993), 295–321; Peter J. Brenner, *Reisen in die Neue Welt: Die Erfahrung Nordamerikas in deutschen Reise- and Auswandererberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991); Antonius Holtmann, "Amerika-Auswanderung im Kontext einer (gescheiterten) Revolution: 1848/49: Szenarien eines überschätzten Zusammenhangs," *Schöne Neue Welt: Rheinländer erobern Amerika*, ed. Landschaftsverband Rheinland (Wiehl: Galunder, 2001), 329–338; Winfried Herget, "'I Wish You Good Voyage': Zu den Sprachführern für Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert," *Menschen zwischen zwei Welten: Auswanderung, Ansiedlung, Akkulturation,* ed. Walter G. Rödel and Helmut Schmahl (Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2002), 131–157.

10   Andrea Mehrländer, "Die deutschen '1848er' im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg 1861–1865," (Staatsexamensarbeit, Technische Universität Berlin, 1992), 30–87.

11   Cf. Jörg Nagler, *Fremont contra Lincoln: Die deutsch-amerikanische Opposition in der Republikanischen Partei während des amerikanischen Bürgerkrieges* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1984), chapters 4 and 6; *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States*, ed. by Charlotte L. Brancaforte (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 37–278; Marino Mania, *Deutsches Herz and amerikanischer Verstand*, 95–141; *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820–1930*, eds. Dirk Hoerder, Jörg Nagler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Hartmut Keil, "Liberal Immigrants from Germany:

Fig. 1.1 THE EMIGRANTS' FAREWELL (1860), oil-painting by Antonie Volkmar (1827–after 1880).
Between 1820 and 1861, about 1.5 million Germans left their homeland for the United States; of those,
however, only 5.5 per cent chose the South as their final destination.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin

America had given the German immigrants political and religious freedom and a new
existence during a period of four peaceful antebellum decades. In April 1861, in the face of
the threatening crisis within the Union, the newly settled adopted citizens had to decide
with which side to cast their lot.

German mass immigration, strengthened by three waves before 1860, led to the creation
of a number of ethnic microcosms, which in turn allowed for the creation of a German
subculture in America. If only for the development of Civil War armies, the 580,000 Ger-
man men who immigrated to the United States after 1850 represented an immense human
potential.[12]

Due to cheap farmland in the Midwest and a high degree of industrialization in the
Northeast, almost 1.3 million Germans settled in the 23 states that would remain in the
Union after 1860, including the federal capital of Washington, D.C.;[13] only 5.5% of all

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Their Views of Slavery and Abolition," *Atlantic Migrations – Regions and Movements in Germany and
North America: USA during the 18th and 19th Century*, ed. Sabine Herwart and Claudia Schurmann
(Hamburg: LIT, 2007), 169–182; Ulrich Klemke, *Die deutsche politische Emigration nach Amerika
1815–1848: Biographisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 2007).

12 Indeed, it has been determined that native-born Americans, in comparison with their share of the
population, were the smallest contingent in the Union army: Murray M. Horowitz, "Ethnicity and
Command: The Civil War Experience," *Military Affairs* 42 (1978), 183, 188.

13 The total of 1,301,136 Germans represented no less than 31.5% of all foreigners in the U.S. and
made up 13.2% of the entire population: Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German-Americans and Civil
War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis," *Civil War History* 37, 3 (1991), 245.

German America immigrants chose the South as their new home. However, only the criterion of settlement divided the German minority unwillingly into two groups in 1860: the individual decision of the German immigrants to settle in the South, suddenly took on an unforeseen dimension and made the Germans overnight literally into "Johnny Rebs".

1. A Forgotten Chapter: German Immigration and Settlement in the Southern United States in the Period between 1820 and 1860

In comparison with the numbers of those immigrating to the North the immigration of foreigners to the South was almost negligible, and a recognizable profile was only available after 1850, when the census included the category of "birthplace", information necessary to determine the country of origin. At that time every fifteenth immigrant settled in the slave-holding South; in 1860 only every seventeenth immigrant. In 1850 the foreign population amounted to 3.3% of the total free population of the region; in 1860 it was still only 4.2%.

Although there are no complete studies of migration patterns of European immigrants between the northern and southern states, sample studies have indicated that many European immigrants settled first in the North and then moved to the South some years later or else shuttled between the North and South depending on seasons and jobs.[14]

Almost 40,000 German immigrants had settled in the South by 1850; they made up almost 28% of the total immigration and composed 0.5% of the entire population. In comparison, more Germans lived in New York City than in the entire area of the states that would form the Confederacy. Only in Louisiana and Texas was the German share of the free population as much as 6%; in the other southern states the Germans did not reach even the 1% mark. Those who did come to the South, however, and until 1860 these were mostly men, settled mainly in the cities. With the exception of Texas and Florida Germans formed the second largest group among the ethnic minorities in all the other southern states between 1850 and 1860.

Of the 1.3 million Germans who immigrated to the United States before 1860, almost one million entered the country via New York City between 1847 and 1860.[15] The largest southern immigration port, which was also the second largest port in the entire nation, was New Orleans. During this same period 1,217 ships with about 240,600 Germans entered

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14 Herbert Weaver, "Foreigners in Ante-Bellum Towns of the Lower South," *Journal of Southern History* XIII, 1 (1947), 65ff.; Berlin/Gutman, "Natives and Immigrants, Free Men and Slaves," 1195; Waldemar Zacharasiewicz, "German Ethnicity in the American South and the Permeability of Ethnic Borders," *Southern Ethnicities*, ed. Youli Theodosiadou (Thessaloniki: Sfakianaki, 2008), 131–151; Dennis C. Roussey, "Friends and Foes of Slavery: Foreigners and Northerners in the Old South," *Journal of Social History* 35,2 (Winter 2001), 373–396.

15 Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863* (New York: Octagon Books, 1979), 188; Kornelia Panek, "Quellen zur Geschichte der deutschen Amerika-Auswanderung," *Archivar* 55,2 (2002), 129–133. German immigration to the US is now available for researchers through a few excellent online sources: For Lower-Saxony: *www.staatsarchiv.niedersachsen.de/Auswanderer-Quellen/Auswanderer. htm;* for the greater Stuttgart region: *www.auswanderer.lad-bw.de;* for Hamburg passenger lists: *www. hamburg.de/LinkToYourRoots/welcome.htm;* for Bremerhaven emigration: *www. deutsche-auswanderer-datenbank.de/dadframeset.htm* and *www.dausa.de;* for US counterparts check: *www.ellisisland.org* and *http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/* .

the port of New Orleans, only a quarter of the number entering New York. Whereas New York could retain many of the immigrants and offer them many job possibilities, New Orleans was, from the beginning, more of a transit station for those travelling on to Texas or up the Mississippi River to St. Louis and Cincinnati. Only a minority decided to stay for a longer period or permanently.[16]

Germans favored those states in the South with fewer slaves. Thus Louisiana and Texas placed first and second in German settlement preference; in terms of slave population these states ranked eighth and ninth. In 1850 and 1860 Virginia had the largest number of slaves, but was in third place in the preference of German immigrants. The Germans settled mainly in the area that seceded from Virginia in 1863 and became West Virginia, joining the Union side. Thus, for example, there were no slaves at all in the abolitionist center of Ohio County in 1860, but a quarter of the population of Ohio County consisted of foreigners.

Foreign workers were generally opposed to slavery and possessed, if at all, fewer slaves than did the white laborers and craftsmen born in the South. Nonetheless many foreign workers, even those without slaves, often adopted the racial prejudices of the South; anger on the part of foreigners over the threat to white jobs through competition from freed slaves increased throughout the antebellum period.[17] This resentment arose mainly from the fact that newly immigrated Europeans entered a labor market that had been the domain of the blacks: "Immigrants ignored local taboos […] and crashed into free black monopolies everywhere, from drayage to barbering."[18]

Even though less than half of all German immigrants gave specific information about their places of birth in 1860, it is nonetheless possible to identify the regions which supplied the greatest number of German immigrants to the South: the Kingdom of Prussia led with 12,092 persons, followed by Baden with 6,721 immigrants, and Bavaria with 6,674 persons. Emigrants from Baden most likely left because of the unsuccessful uprisings during the Revolution of 1848 and the terrible pogroms against the Jews in the same year, those emigrating from Bavaria were mostly Jews, who favored New Orleans and Mobile as places to settle. The Bavarians dominated in Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and North Carolina, while the Prussians were in first place in the other seven states.

On the eve of the Civil War, in 1860, almost 72,000 Germans called the South their new home; within ten years the number of German immigrants had not even doubled, and their share of the entire foreign population in the South came to 30.8%.[19]

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16 Of the 240,627 Germans who immigrated through New Orleans, one sixth (= 38,523 persons) found work in New Orleans with the help of the German Society: "Vierzehnter Jahresbericht der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans (1860 / 61)," Collection: Deutsches Haus, item 1N, in Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans.

17 Ira Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 230–233; Bruce Levine, "'Against All Slavery, Whether White or Black': German-Americans and the Irrepressible Conflict," *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World,* ed. by McBride David, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asiha Blackshire-Belay (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998), 53–64; Hartmut Keil, "German Immigrants and African-Americans in Mid-Nineteenth Century America," *Enemy Images in American History*, eds. Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase and Ursula Lehmkuhl (Providence/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997), 137–157.

18 Miller, "The Enemy Within", 35.

19 Cf. Weaver, "Foreigners in Ante-Bellum Towns," 63. For comparative population statistics of Germans in the South between 1850 and 1870 see Appendix D.
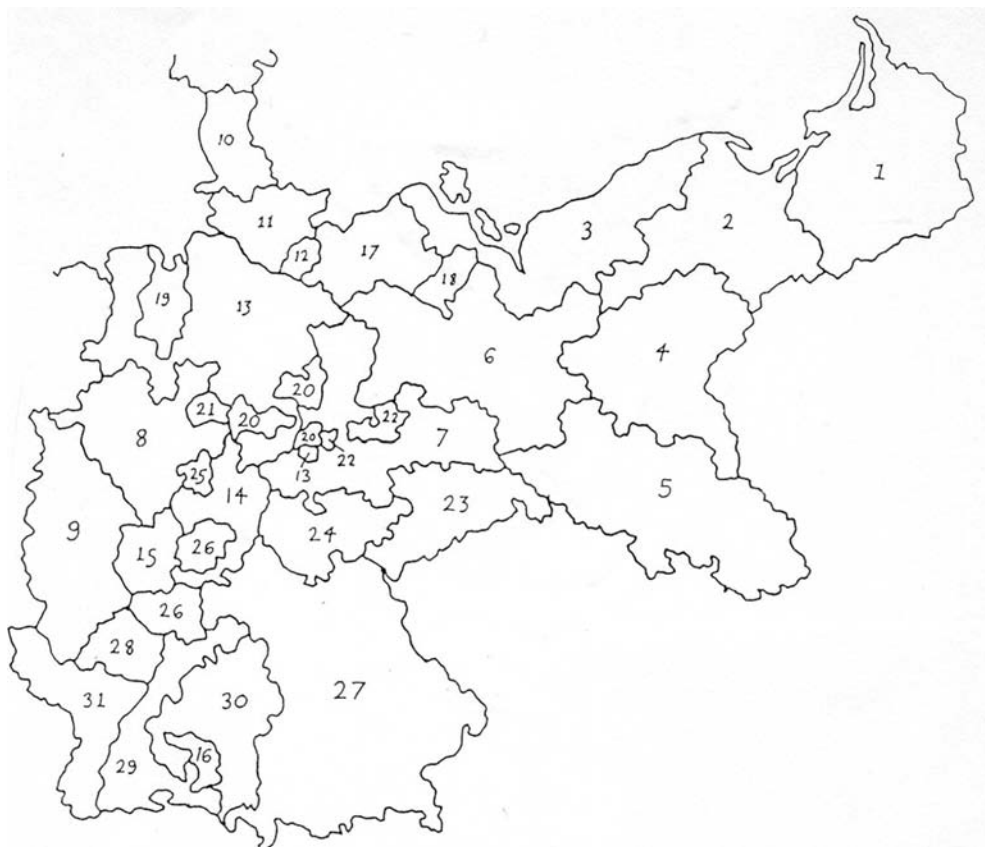
Fig. 1.2: GERMANY IN THE 19TH CENTURY
Map: Courtesy of Peter Marschalck, Osnabrück.

Prussia and its Provinces (up to 1865):

1. East Prussia	4. Posen	7. Saxony
2. West Prussia	5. Silesia	8. Westphalia
3. Pomerania	6. Brandenburg	9. Rhine Province

10. Duchy of Schleswig (Danish until 1865)
11. Duchy of Holstein   ] after 1866 the Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein
12. Duchy of Lauenburg   (after 1866 a Prussian province, 1876 to Schleswig-Holstein
13. Kingdom of Hanover   (after 1866 a Prussian province)
14. Electorate of Hesse (Kassel)
15. Duchy of Nassau   ] after 1866 the Prussian province of Hesse
16. Duchy of Hohenzollern   (after 1849 a Prussian province)

17. Gd. Duchy of Mecklenbrg-Schwerin	22. Duchy of Anhalt (Dessau)	27. Kingdom of Bavaria
18. Gd. Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz	23. Kingdom of Saxony	28. Palatinate
19. Grand Duchy of Oldenburg	24. Thuringian States	29. Grand Duchy of Baden
20. Duchy of Brunswick	25. Duchy of Waldeck	30. Kingdom of Württembrg
21. Duchy of Schaumburg-Lippe	26. Grand Duchy of Hesse	
31. Alsace-Lorraine (to German Empire in 1871)		

2. The "Avoidance of the South Syndrome": Mutualities among the German Revolutionaries of 1848

The "48ers" who immigrated between 1848 and 1856 composed only a small fraction of the tremendous stream of immigrants who flooded the United States during this period. Sources estimate that the "48ers" numbered between 3,000 and 4,000, of whom about one-tenth remained publicly active after settling in the United States and were noticed by the American press because of their outspoken political and military involvement.[20]

The unmarried young men were on average not older than twenty-eight years; the overwhelming majority had either attended university or came from the military, although basically all professions were represented. Most of them had fled abruptly and with little luggage from Germany to the "land of unlimited opportunities." Many of them had been in prison or had escaped from the death sentence. Others had already spent years in exile, preferably in Switzerland, England, or France;[21] these countries offered the possibility of returning quickly to the home country. The revolutionaries knew each other; they had fought together in the various centers of revolution – especially Berlin, Vienna and Baden[22]– for freedom, democracy, and national unity. Carl Schurz wrote: "My home country was closed to me. England was a stranger and would always remain so. Whereto then? 'To America,' I said to myself. 'There I'll find the ideals of which I had dreamed and for which I fought, perhaps not completely realized but moving toward hopeful and complete realization.'"[23]

Sophisticated and with some knowledge of other languages, mostly French, they settled in America, which at first was not regarded as a permanent place of residence.[24] Many

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20 Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607–1860*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 274; Hansen, "The Revolution of 1848 and German Emigration," *Journal of Economic and Business History* 2 (1929/30), 630–658; *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, 269; Carl F. Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), vii.

21 Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848/49* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1930), 543–544; Myron Berman, *Richmond's Jewry, 1769–1976: Shabbat in Shockoe* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979), 48–49; Bertram W. Korn, "Jewish 48'ers in America," *American Jewish Archives* 1 (1949), 3–20; Paul Neitzke, *Die deutschen politischen Flüchtlinge in der Schweiz 1848–1849* (Charlottenburg: Gebr. Hoffmann, 1927); Edgar Bauer, *Konfidentenberichte über die europäische Emigration in London 1852–1861*, ed. by Erik Gamby (Trier: Karl-Marx-Haus, 1989); Imma Melzer, "Pfälzische Emigranten in Frankreich während and nach der Revolution von 1848/49," *Francia* 12 (1984), 371–424.

22 Rüdiger Hachtmann, *Berlin 1848: Eine Politik- and Gesellschaftsgeschichte der Revolution* (Bonn: J.H.W.Dietz Nachf., 1997).

23 Carl Schurz, *Revolutionär and Staatsmann: Sein Leben in Selbstzeugnissen, Bildern and Dokumenten*, ed. by Rüdiger Wersich (Munich: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1979), 72.

24 Walter D. Kamphoefner, "'Auch unser Deutschland muß einmal frei werden': The Immigrant Civil War Experience as a Mirror on Political Conditions in Germany," *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776,* ed. David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 87–107; Wolfgang Hochhbruck, "Der Zweite Frühling der Revolutionäre: 1848/49 and der amerikanische Bürgerkrieg," *Baden 1848/49: Bewältigung and Nachwirkungen einer Revolution,* ed. Hans-Peter Becht, Kurt Kochstuhl, and Clemens Rehm (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002), 239–253.

returned once to Germany before they established themselves permanently in America. The hope of a successful revolution at home died only very slowly.

The great expectations of America that motivated the "48ers" were not unfounded, because the United States had been the only government of importance to have sent a congratulatory message to the parliament in Frankfurt.[25] Many might also have read Bromme's "Handbuch für Auswanderer": "The advantages that America promises and offers the immigrant are easily purchased land, complete political and religious freedom of business and commerce, low taxes, general political and religious freedom to think and believe what one wishes [...] Whoever lives here and wants to be content must take off his European skin and never crawl back into it."[26]

The great majority of the "48ers" were intellectuals with complex ideas and demands upon society. They settled mainly in the cities of the Middle West: Chicago, St. Louis, and Milwaukee, the "German Athens" – avoiding the South as a place of settlement as much as possible.[27]

But even urban America had little use for Europeans with a university education: "Knowledge is respected but only according to its everyday usefulness and practicability; this means that a talented tanner is worth more than a scholarly pedant." For this reason Traugott Bromme wrote that there "were only two classes, farmers and craftsmen, who will be certain to prosper in America, and only these people should go there."[28]

2.1 The Ideals of the "48ers": A Private Declaration of War on the South

For many "48ers" the ideals of the revolution of 1848 were the only things they rescued from Europe. These men were obsessed by their demands for freedom, social equality, and true democracy. At first they viewed America as the basis for a renewed revolution in Europe and remained expectantly waiting until "things started moving again over there."[29] After 1854, however, even the last hopes for a new revival had been dashed, and the "48ers" began to try to realize their goals in the U.S. They did this in many very different ways.[30]

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25 Carl J. Friedrich, "The European Background," *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, ed. by Adolph E. Zucker (New York: Russel & Russel, [2]1967), 4.

26 Traugott Bromme, *Hand- und Reisebuch für Auswanderer und Reisende nach Nord-, Mittel- und Süd-Amerika*, ed. Gustav Struve (Bamberg: Buchner'sche Buchhandlung, 14th edition, 1866), 487–488.

27 James A. Dunlevy, "Regional Preferences and Migrant Settlement: On the avoidance of the South by nineteenth-century Immigrants," *Research in Economic History* VIII (1983), 218. To a great extent he follows the argumentation of Caroline E. MacGill, "Immigration to the Southern States 1783–1865," *The South in the Building of a Nation : Economic History*, Vol. V, ed. by James Curtis Ballagh (Richmond: Southern Historical Publication Society, 1910), 595–606.

28 Bromme, *Hand- and Reisebuch für Auswanderer*, 71, 489.

29 Carl F. Wittke, *We Who Built America* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1945), 193.

30 *Achtundvierziger/Forty-Eighters: Die deutsche Revolution von 1848/49, die Vereinigten Staaten und der amerikanische Bürgerkrieg*, ed. by Wolfgang Hochbruck, Ulrich Bachteler, Henning Zimmermann (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2000); Joachim Reppmann, *Freedom, Education and Well-being for All! Forty-Eighters from Schleswig-Holstein in the USA 1847–1860* (Preetz: Hesperian Press, 1999), 58–133, Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana, Il., and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson, *Germans and the Revolution of 1848–1849* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); Don Heinrich Tolzmann (ed.), *The German-American Forty-Eighters, 1848–1998* (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American

Because of the complexity of their demands, it is difficult to speak of groupings; the borders among the individual groups are fluid; and some of the "48ers" moved frequently from camp to camp. However, from an American perspective, the following differentiation makes sense: a) liberals, b) socialists / "Turners", c) radicals, and d) free thinkers.

a) The group of liberals was led by Carl Schurz (1829–1906),[31] who, as a member of the Republican Party, favored equality under law for all citizens and the unconditional abolition of slavery.[32] He believed that human beings could change; freedom and equality would make the former slaves into respected and productive members of the American society. For him slavery was the only "shadow on the shield of the republic."[33] The liberals generally tried to achieve their aims through political activity within the Republican Party. Unity, freedom, and equality became the central emphasis of American politics for Schurz.[34] He fought bitterly to preserve the Union; he knew from personal experience the meaning of mini-states. On February 15, 1858, Schurz wrote the following in a letter:

> The power of slavery shows itself shamelessly as the most unscrupulous despotism [...] We are going to have a special interest war on the most colossal scale; [...] I do not believe in a permanent dissolution of the Union; this federation is not the result of imagination or political speculation [...] The guarantee for the future of this republic lies in the fact that strength is to be found on the same side [of the Union] where rights and progressive principles are.[35]

There was no place in the South for "48ers" so strongly associated with the Republican Party and so adamantly opposed to slavery.[36]

Center, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis; Indiana German Heritage Society, 1998); Mischa Honeck, "In Pursuit of 'Freedom': African-, Anglo-, and German-American Alliances in the Abolition Movement," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 38 (2006): 99–117.

31 Cf. Hans L. Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982).

32 For further goals cf.: Bayard Quincy Morgan, "Carl Schurz," *The Forty Eighters,* ed. by Adolph E. Zucker, 244.

33 Carl Schurz, *Unter dem Sternenbanner: Lebenserinnerungen 1852–1869*, ed. by Joachim Lindner (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, ²1981), 55. Cf. his speech "On American Greatness," *American-German Review* 9.3 (1943), 34. Other influential "Liberals" who supported Schurz's crusade for freedom were Hecker, Claußen and Börnstein: Sabine Freitag, "A Republikaner Becomes a Republican: Friedrich Hecker and the Emergence of the Republican Party," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 33 (1998), 5–17; Ernst-Erich Marhencke, "Hans Reimer Claußen (1804–1894): Kämpfer für Freiheit und Recht in zwei Welten: Ein Beitrag zur Herkunft und Wirken der `Achtundvierziger'," Ph. D. diss., University of Kiel, 1998; Heinrich Börnstein, *Memoirs of a Nobody: The Missouri Years of an Austrian Radical, 1849–1866,* transl. by Steven Rowan (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997).

34 Cf. Schurz's speech "On True Americanism" in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on April 18, 1859. Printed in *American-German Review* 9,2 (1942), 18 and 34.

35 Eberhard Kessel, *Die Briefe von Carl Schurz an Gottfried Kinkel*, ed. by Ernst Fraenkel [et al.] (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965), 137.

36 Wolfgang Hochbruck cites an outstanding website for mostly northern liberal "48ers" during the Civil War, entitled "Forty-Eighters in the American Civil War: An Annotated Bibliography," *http://www.gtg1848.de/bibl.html.*

b) The socialist "48ers" were led by Wilhelm Weitling (1808–1871), a tailor's apprentice. In his publications[37] he demanded shared goods, elimination of money and private property, as well as far-reaching self-government. His goal was a world republic as a craftsmen's state with a corporate base. To realize his goals he purchased a 100-acre farm in Iowa for the members of the "Allgemeiner Arbeiterbund," which he had founded. He established the Communia settlement which existed for almost two years.[38] The goals of the "Turner" movement were more successful and included social equality and a republican state order, based on Rousseau's idea of the sovereignty of the people.

It goes without saying that there were not many followers of Weitling's brand of committed socialism in the South and that the elimination of private property and money was not taken seriously in a society in which fewer than 390,000 free citizens called 3.5 million slaves their property.

It was somewhat different with the founding of "Turner" societies; in 1859 a total of ninety-one societies with about 6,300 members belonged to the "United Turner Association", and another 3,000 "Turner" belonged to sixty-one independent societies. Although most of the societies were in the North, New Orleans was the southernmost of the five national "Turner" districts in 1853. Every southern coastal town between Galveston and Richmond had one or two such societies until 1860. In 1855 the "United Turner Association" had officially endorsed the abolition of slavery and thus directly threatened the social system of the South, causing the withdrawal of all Southern Turner societies from membership.[39]

c) Radical "48ers" such as Theodor Poesche (1826–1899) harbored a vision of the annexation of the world by America, first Cuba and Santo Domingo, then Mexico and Latin America, followed by Europe and Australia. Poesche published a book called *The New Rome: The United States of the World*, dedicated to President Pierce: "We demand extension of American freedom! [...] An Empire, not of conquest and of subjugation, not

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37 Wilhelm Weitling, *Die Menschheit wie sie ist and sein sollte* (Bern: Jenni and Sohn, 1845); Weitling, *Der Katechismus der Arbeiter* (New York, 1854); Weitling, *Garantien der Harmonie and Freiheit* (Vivis: Selbstverlag, 1842); Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika*, 220–21.

38 Eitel Wolf Dobert, "The Radicals," *The Forty-Eighters*, ed. by Adolph Zucker (New York: Russel & Russel, ²1967), 179–80; *Wilhelm Weitling: Ein deutscher Arbeiterkommunist*, ed. by Lothar Knatz, Hans-Arthur Marsiske (Hamburg: Ergebnisse Verlag, 1989).

39 Henry Metzner, *Geschichte des Turner-Bundes* (Indianapolis: "Zukunft", 1874); Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner: Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit, 1848–1918* (München: Moss, 1979); Annette R. Hofmann, "One Hundred Fifty Years of Loyalty: The Turner Movement in the United States," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 34 (1999), 63–81; C. Eugene Miller, "The Contribution of German Immigrants to the Union Cause in Kentucky," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 64,4 (October, 1990), 462–478; Dolores J. Hoyt, *A Strong Mind in a Strong Body: Libraries in the German-American Turner Movement* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); Robert Knight Barney, "Knights of Cause and Exercise: German Forty-Eighters and Turnvereine in the United States during the Ante-Bellum Period," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 13,2 (1982), 62–79; Mary Lon Lecompte, "German-American turnvereins in frontier Texas, 1851–1880," *Journal of the West* 26 (January, 1987), 18–25; *Südwestdeutsche Turner in der Emigration*, ed. Annette R. Hofmann, and Michael Krüger (Schorndorf: Hofmann, 2004); Stephen D. Engle, "A Raised Consciousness: Franz Sigel and German Ethnic Identity in the Civil War," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 34 (1999), 1–17, and ibid., *Yankee Dutchmann: The Life of Franz Sigel* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press,1993).

of inheritance, not of international frictions and hatreds, but of fraternity, of equality, and of freedom!"[40]

In March 1854 another radical effort, called the Louisville Platform, attracted much attention when it was published in Kentucky by Karl Heinzen (1809–1880) and Bernard Domschke (1827–1869).[41] These radicals demanded a revision of the federal Constitution and abolition of the office of President. All Germans living in North America were supposed to join together to form the Union of Free Germans, a purely German state. These revolutionary hotheads called forth in the North as in the South the resistance of all those who saw in this kind of separatist movement a serious threat for the American union of states that was still in formation.

d) Finally, the group of free thinkers urged taxation of church property and the abolition of the Sunday laws. Many "48ers" were free thinkers and had already broken with their Catholic and Protestant churches at home to join free communities independent of the state.[42] They rejected any church dogma and attempted to combine science and religion. Friedrich Schünemann-Pott and Eduard Schröter, both former ministers, were outspoken representatives of free thought in the U.S. Pastor Schünemann-Pott became the speaker of the Free Community of Philadelphia and edited the *Blätter für freies religiöses Leben* for 21 years. Schröter was the speaker of several Free Communities in Wisconsin and edited the *Humanist*, an anticlerical publication. They were opposed to the temperance movement as well as to the exaggerated Puritan sanctification of Sundays.[43]

Forty-eighters were suspicious of Catholics and Lutherans, whose numbers were much greater than those of the free-thinkers. Friedrich Hassaurek considered Catholics to be dangerous and destructive to the republic because of their connection to the Pope.[44] The rigorous anticlerical position of the "Turners" among the "48ers" was based on their deep disappointment over the cooperation of clerical and reactionary groups during the revolution of 1848.[45]

Southern society was based on the combination of a "Herrenvolk democracy" and Protestantism; Catholics belonged to the edge of society. Those who wanted to be successfully assimilated in the South had to imitate the majority and go to a Protestant church regularly – something that did not appeal to forty-eighters at all. Neither of the two

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40 Theodor Poesche and Charles Goepp, *The New Rome: The United States of the World* (New York: Putnam & Son, 1853), quoted in Theodore Huebener, *The Germans in America* (Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1962), 101; Charles Reitz, "Horace Greeley and the German Forty-Eighters in the Kansas Free State Struggle," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 43 (2008), 1–34.

41 Carl F. Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen (1809–1880)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945); Ferdinand Freiligrath, *"Trotz alledem und alledem": Ferdinand Freiligraths Briefe an Karl Heinzen 1845 bis 1848. Mit einem Verzeichnis der Schriften Heinzens*, ed. Gerhard Friesen (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1998).

42 Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America*, 222–225.

43 Cf. the case study of Newark, New Jersey: Maria Wagner, "The Forty-Eighters in Their Struggle against American Puritanism: The Case Study of Newark, New Jersey," *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States,* ed. by Charlotte L. Brancaforte (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 219–229; Michael Hochgeschwender, *Wahrheit, Einheit, Ordnung: Der US-amerikanische Katholizimsus und die Sklaven-frage, 1835–1870* (Paderborn. Schöningh, 2006).

44 Eitel Wolf Dobert, "The Radicals," 168.

45 Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner ...*, 48.

religious groups actively attempted to gain immigrants as congregation members. As a result ethnic churches were founded.[46]

2.2 The Lonely Crowd: "48ers" in the South, especially in the Cities of Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans

Among the more than 300 "48ers" whose biographies are known, only eight settled in the South:[47] Eduard Degener, Oswald Dietz, Carl A. Douai, Julius Dresel, Gustav Eisenlohr,[48] Anton Eickhoff, Dr. Benjamin Maas, and Charles T. Mohr. The first five settled in the area of New Braunfels, Texas; Eickhoff and Dr. Maas settled in New Orleans; and Mohr worked as a botanist in Mobile, Alabama.

Except for Mohr, none of the men settled in the deep South but rather in cosmopolitan New Orleans and western Texas, and only three of them, Degener,[49] Dr. Maas, and Mohr, remained permanently in the South. In addition, Wilhelm Flegenheimer, Oswald Heinrich, Burghardt Hassel, and Albert Lybrock were important "48ers" in Richmond[50], as was Ludwig von Reizenstein, an engineer and writer, in New Orleans. Charleston, indeed, really had no "48ers," at least none that could be identified as such.

The "48ers" who settled permanently in the South might have become active politically on occasion, but for the most part they were intellectuals who devoted themselves to their professional work: Dr. Maas, a socialist and enthusiastic "Turner," was one of the leading doctors in New Orleans for forty-one years. He was politically very active and an unconditional supporter of the Republicans; he certainly would not have been able to stay in
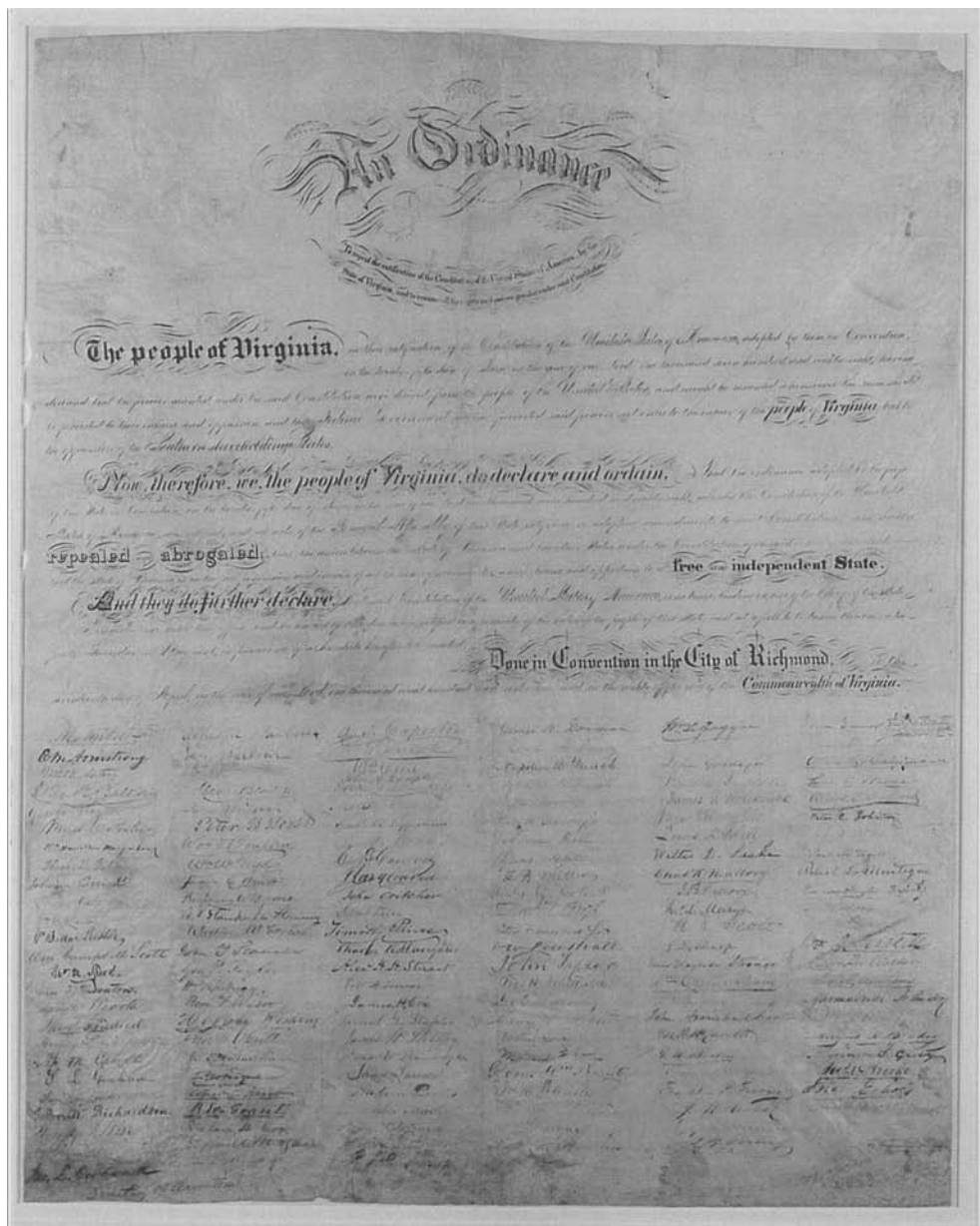
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46 Miller, "The Enemy Within," 31, 48.

47 Zucker did not aim for a complete biographical list, but his list is sometimes used that way; according to Zucker 2.6% of the "48ers" on his list settled in the South. For Douai see: Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson, *Adolf Douai, 1819–1888: The Turbulent Life of a German Forty-Eighter in the Homeland and in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000); Clifford Neal Smith, *German Revolutionists of 1848: Among whom many Immigrants to America*, German-American Genealogical Research Monograph No. 21 (McNeal: By the Author, 1985), 4 vols. The extensive research on the Lieber Family in South Carolina will be neglected here: Franz Lieber, officially not a "48er", but a member of the "Greys", the German intellectuals emigrating in the 1830's, held a professorship at South Carolina College from 1835 to 1857, but left the South prior to the war. Both his sons, though, fought for the Confederacy: Hartmut Keil, "Francis Lieber's Attitudes on Race, Slavery, and Abolition," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28,1 (Fall 2008), 13–33; *Franz Lieber und die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert,* ed. Peter Schäfer and Karl Schmitt (Weimar/Köln/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1993); James O. Breeden, "Oscar Lieber: Southern Scientist, Southern Patriot," *Civil War History* 36, 3 (Sept. 1990), 227–233.

48 "Pastor Gus. Wilh. Eisenlohr," *Der Deutsche Pionier* 13 (1881), 77–78.

49 Degener was an exception among the "48ers"; he came from a wealthy family and purchased a large estate in Texas, which he worked without slaves. After Degener lost both of his sons in the Nueces Massacre, he became increasingly involved in politics and represented Texas in Congress for two terms. He died in 1890. Cf. Zucker, 286.

50 For "48ers" in Richmond, cf.: Werner Steger, "Das andere 1848: Deutsche Immigranten in den Südstaaten der USA," *Achtundvierziger/Forty-Eighters: Die deutschen Revolutionen von 1848/49, die Vereinigten Staaten und der amerikanische Bürgerkrieg*, ed. by Wolfgang Hochbruck, Ulrich Bachteler, Henning Zimmermann (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2000), 85–97, as well as Steger, "German Immigrants, the Revolution of 1848, and the Politics of Liberalism in Antebellum Richmond," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 34 (1999), 19–34.

Fig. 1.3: THE VIRGINIA ORDINANCE OF SECESSION (1861)
In May 1861, Wilhelm Flegenheimer (1832–1910) of Leutershausen, Grand Duchy of Baden, was ordered by the State Convention to transcribe the "Ordinance of Secession" on parchment. His ornamental penmanship wad lauded in the **Richmond Whig** of May 28th, 1861. Flegenheimer, an active participant in the revolution of 1848, escaped to Virginia in 1851, where he moved in with his uncle, Wolf Thalheimer (1809–1883), the founder of Thalhimer's Department Store in Richmond.
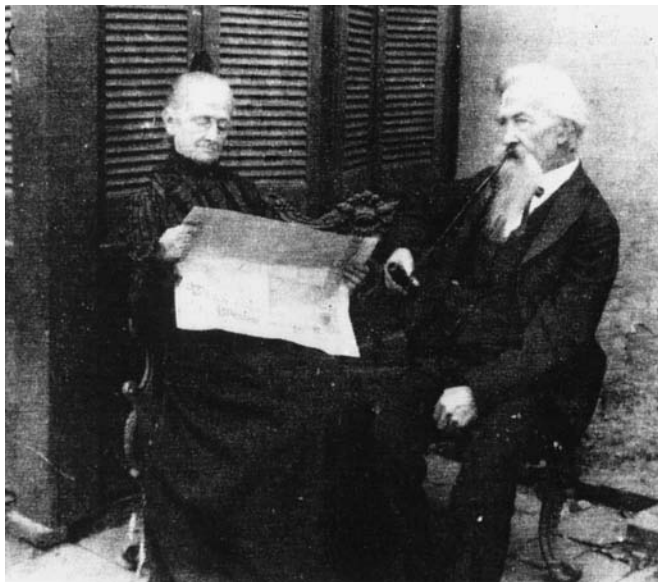*The Library of Virginia, Richmond*

Fig. 1.4: BURGHARDT HAS-SEL (1828–1912) WITH HIS WIFE MARIA, NÈE GER-HARDT (1837–1919)
Burghardt Hassel, born at Kassel as one of four brothers, was editor and publisher of two German-speaking newspapers in Richmond, Va., the *Richmonder Anzeiger* and the *Virginische Zeitung*. Originally a "Forty-eighter", Hassel left Germany in 1850, spending some time in New York and Baltimore, before he came to Richmond in 1852. In 1857, he married Maria Gerhardt of Gelnhausen, Wiesbaden and became the father of five children.
Virginia Historical Society, Richmond

New Orleans had the city not been taken by the Union in April 1862. Carl Douai, for example, had to flee from Texas in 1856.

Charles T. Mohr, a pharmacist and botanist from Württemberg, was active as a pharmacist for more than forty years, published extensively, and, at the time of his death in 1901, left a herbarium with more than 25,000 pressed plants to the University of Alabama. As a scientist, he was interested in developing medications for the Confederacy during the war, but politics was a foreign concept to him. If he had lived in the Union, he would have produced the same medications there.

Ludwig von Reizenstein was an excellent technical designer and engineer; he became known, however, for his activities as a writer.[51] In addition, he also possessed the largest collection of rare insects in the state of Louisiana. Reizenstein died in New Orleans in 1888.

Wilhelm Flegenheimer, from Baden, arrived at the home of his uncle, Wolf Thalheimer, in Richmond in 1851; he became a graphic artist and calligrapher. His most famous work was the secession declaration of the state of Virginia.[52]

Albert Leibrock (subsequently: Lybrock), from St. Johann in the Rhineland, studied at the Polytechnic Institute in Karlsruhe, emigrated in 1848, and became a self-employed architect in Richmond in 1855. Between 1855 and 1885 he designed and built thirteen of

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51 Baron Ludwig v. Reizenstein, *The Mysteries of New Orleans,* transl. by Steven Rowan (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), and Rowan, "'Smoking Myriads of Houses:' German-American Novelists View 1850's St. Louis," *Gateway Heritage* XX,4 (Spring 2000), 30–41; for German translations, see: Ludwig Freiherr v. Reizenstein, *Die Geheimnisse von New-Orleans: Roman von Ludwig Reizenstein,* ed. Steven Rowan (Shreveport: Éditions Tintamarre, 2004); Patricia Herminghouse, "The German Secrets of New Orleans," *German Studies Review* 27,1 (2004), 1–16.

52 *Richmond Whig*, June 14, 1861 and May 28, 1861; *Richmond Dispatch*, May 29, 1861.

Fig. 1.5: RICHMONDER ANZEI-
GER, MAY 2nd, 1863.
War-time issue of B. Hassel's *Richmonder Anzeiger*, which was published in Richmond between 1853 and ca.1870. From November 1862 onwards, Hassel delivered his newspaper to 26 cities in eight Confederate States.
The Library of Virginia, Richmond

the most important buildings in Richmond. Oswald J. Heinrich, a mining engineer and architect from Dresden, emigrated first to Augusta, Georgia, in 1852 and moved to Richmond in 1855. Together with Albert Leibrock, Heinrich designed the tomb of President James Monroe in 1858; he founded the engineering firm of Heinrich & Koch the same year. In 1878 Heinrich moved to Drifton, Pennsylvania, where he opened a mining academy.

Burghardt Hassel, from Kassel, immigrated to New York in 1850 and settled in Richmond at the end of 1852. On June 1, 1853 he began to publish the *Richmonder Anzeiger*; in addition the Sunday edition of the *Virginische Zeitung* appeared in 1873. After almost sixty years of uninterrupted newspaper and schoolbook publishing activity, Burghardt Hassel died in Richmond in 1912; his newspaper outlasted him by fourteen years.

These men, who had gone through the revolution as inexperienced students, did not see themselves first and foremost as political fighters for an ideology; they were rather enthusiastic scholars and devoted to their professional success. This situation enabled them to lead a mostly peaceful, long-term existence in the South, without creating enemies. In

their non-political stance they resembled the majority of their less intellectual fellow countrymen who also eschewed political activity in their new home in America's South: "Most German immigrants to the Confederacy were simple people lured to America by the promise of land and wealth and not, contrary to popular belief, political refugees from the failed European revolutions of 1848."[53]

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53 Jason H. Silverman, "Germans," *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy*, ed. by Richard N. Current [et al.] (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), Vol. II, 275.

II. In the Land of Masters and Slaves: The Urban South as the New Home of German Immigrants

When Wilbur J. Cash published *The Mind of the South* in 1941, the urban South had not yet been discovered by historical research: "Here were no towns to rank as more than trading posts save New Orleans, Charleston, Richmond, and Norfolk; […] for even these four (three of which were scarcely more than overgrown villages) were rather mere depots on the road to the markets of the world, mere adjuncts to the plantation, than living entities in their own right, after the fashion of Boston and New York and Philadelphia."[1]

Although this historiographical deficiency has been partially eliminated,[2] neglect of the importance of ethnic groups for the development of the urban South has continued.[3]

And yet in 1850 no fewer than 44.3% of all foreigners who had emigrated to the South lived in the eight largest cities of the South and represented together more than 39% of the free white population of these cities. The Germans dominated especially in New Orleans (12.9%) and Charleston (9.1%), followed by Memphis (5.5%) and Richmond (5.0%). Weaver's estimation that in 1860 about 80–90% of all foreigners in the South were urbanized, may be too high, but he judges correctly." [...] that their urbanization in this section was more complete than in any other region of comparable population."[4]

In the social order of the South the city had the function of a synapse; the city was the contact point where the interests of the planter aristocracy came together with the interests of those in trade and finance. The urban services kept the southern agrarian economy, based on slavery, alive. On the other hand the city was also the source of increasing diversification of the southern society; it was the cities of the South, not its plantations, that attracted the European immigrants.[5]

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1 Wilbur J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), 99.

2 David Ward's *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in the Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); *The City in Southern History: The Growth of Urban Civilization in the South*, ed. Blaine A. Brownell, David R. Goldfield (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1977); Lawrence H. Larsen, *The Urban South: A History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990); Don H. Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile 1860–1910* (Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

3 Berlin/Gutman, "Natives and Immigrants, Free Men and Slaves," 1175; Edward Pessen, "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?" *American Historical Review* 85 (1980), 1119–1149.

4 Weaver, "Foreigners in Ante-Bellum Southern Towns," 67.

5 Miller speaks of a "Southern gemeinschaft society" or of a "Herrenvolk democracy" and lists the following elements of patriarchal rule: close family connections, holding on to traditional values, and belonging to the white race; these determined the foundation of the southern social system. Cf. Randall Miller, "The Enemy Within: Some Effects of foreign Immigrants on Antebellum Southern Cities," *Southern Studies* 24 (Spring, 1985), 30.

In the first half of the 19th century the urban southern population grew three and a half times as fast as the entire population of the South. This was not due to the stream of immigrants alone, but also can be attributed to the improvement of the quality of life in the South.[6]

In 1860 the South had only twelve cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants. The only city comparable in size to northern cities was New Orleans with close to 170,000 inhabitants. As might be expected, the six largest cities were port cities, including Memphis as a river port on the Mississippi, and at the same time junctions or end stations of railroad lines.

The economic inferiority as compared to the North and the resulting loss of political power within the nation led to an aggressive policy on the part of the South to develop its cities and to connect them. Southern railroads quadrupled their miles of usable tracks in the 1850's, whereas the northern railroads tripled theirs. In 1852 Virginia's track network ranked seventh in the country; by 1858 it placed third after New York and Pennsylvania.[7]

Direct trade with Europe and other foreign ports became the priority of the southern port cities; Richmond specialized in South America; Savannah had a good wood trade with seven Caribbean islands;[8] Charleston, Norfolk, and Wilmington concentrated on trade partners in the northern states, along with some contacts in Europe; and New Orleans and Mobile covered the greater part of the transatlantic trade. In 1830 New Orleans had a favorable trade balance of 22 million dollars, which increased to 185 million dollars by 1860.

As a result of the recession of 1837, which demonstrated the necessity of locally based production, a number of spinning factories, mills, iron works, and tobacco factories had been created. By 1860 Richmond had developed into the largest tobacco producer in the world; there were 52 tobacco factories on the banks of the James River.[9] Richmond also led in the production of wheat flour[10] and possessed the Tredegar and Belle Isle Iron Works that represented a unique industrial diversification in the South.

The important changes occurring in the everyday urban South up to the outbreak of the Civil War affected poor and rich, black and white, free men and slaves alike.

The urban elite contributed in great measure to these changes: one study states that, of the sixty-five leading businessmen in Richmond between 1840 and 1860, two-thirds of them owned property with an average value of $14,897; their average age was forty; 80% of them were married; and two-thirds of them owned between one and six slaves. Goldfield speaks of Richmond's elite as white, male, and native, and defines the three characteristics of southern urbanization as "leadership, labor, local government."[11] They dominated the city government, were part owners of the most important railroad and canal projects, sup-

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6 David R. Goldfield, "Pursuing the American Urban Dream: Cities in the Old South," *The City in Southern History*, ed. Blaine A. Brownell, David R. Goldfield (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1977), 53.

7 David R. Goldfield, "Pursuing the American Urban Dream: Cities in the Old South," 56.

8 John A. Eisterhold, "Savannah: Lumber Center of the South Atlantic," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 57 (Winter 1973), 526–543.

9 David R. Goldfield, "Pursuing the American Urban Dream: Cities in the Old South," 58.

10 Thomas S. Berry, "The Rise of Flour Milling in Richmond," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 78 (October 1970), 387–408.

11 David R. Goldfield, "Pursuing the American Urban Dream: Cities in the Old South," 59ff.

ported charitable organizations, and controlled the local press. In these respects Richmond's elite did not differ from the leading classes of any other city of the era. The competition felt among southern sister cities such as Savannah and Charleston, Mobile and New Orleans was sometimes greater and more complicated than the competition between North and South.

The urban elite of the South formed so-called Boards of Trade or Chambers of Commerce and thus made the connection between business and urban development apparent to the public. The establishment of so-called City Directories aided the flow of information among business people; in the middle of the century it was easily possible to find out who produced what and where in any southern city.[12]

In the southern cities of the antebellum period white male immigrants not only made up the majority among the foreign population but also provided an even higher percentage within the group of urban laborers and craftsmen: the expansion of the railroad track network and the building of canals demanded countless laborers, whom the South could not provide by itself. Many Southern cities were in effect immigrant cities.[13] White immigrants found their social entrance on the bottom end of the free white hierarchy in the South, and on the eve of the Civil War white immigrants provided the majority of the free labor force. The further south the city, the greater the percentage of foreign laborers in general: they amounted to two-thirds in Mobile, about 50% in Charleston and Baton Rouge, and 40% in Nashville and Richmond.[14]

Irish and German immigrants laid tracks, dug canals, and hired themselves out as day laborers for odd jobs. Their competition was made up of slaves, the cheapest laborers, and free blacks; the latter were not only generally cheaper than immigrants, but they also had the great advantage that they usually did not organize strikes for better pay and improvement of labor conditions, as did immigrant workers.[15]

White laborers feared the competition of free blacks and slaves, and, because white workers often came out as the losers, they left the South as soon as they found work elsewhere. White immigrants who were unskilled generally found work only in jobs that

12 David R. Goldfield, "Pursuing the American Urban Dream: Cities in the Old South," 63; *Bibliography of American Directories through 1860*, comp. Dorothea N. Spear (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1961) and Peter R. Knights, "City Directories as Aids to Ante-Bellum Urban Studies: A Research Note," *Historical Methods Newsletter* II, 4 (Sept. 1969), 2: By 1854 thirty American cities could boast of their regular "City Directory" publications.

13 Berlin/Gutman, "Natives and Immigrants, Free Men and Slaves," 1178: The study considers Mobile, Baton Rouge, Charleston, Lynchburg, Nashville, Richmond. Randall M. Miller offers the following numbers for the period between 1850 and 1860: In New Orleans 70% of the white men over eighteen had been born abroad, in Charleston 45% (1850) and 49% (1860), in Savannah 37% (1850) and 51% (1860), in Memphis 35% (1850) and 49% (1860), in Augusta 21% (1850) and 35% (1860), in Nashville 22% (1850) and 38% (1860), and in Richmond 25% (1850) and 34% (1860). Neither Atlanta nor Montgomery showed an increase: cf.: Miller, "The Enemy Within," 33 (footnote).

14 Berlin/Gutman, "Natives and Immigrants, Free Men and Slaves," 1180ff. Cf.: Fred Siegel, "Artisans and Immigrants in the Politics of Late Antebellum Georgia," *Civil War History* 18 (1981), 221–230.

15 Randall M. Miller, "The Fabric of Control: Slavery in Antebellum Southern Textile Mills," *Business History Review* 55,4 (1981), 471–490. David R. Goldfield, "Pursuing the American Urban Dream: Cities in the Old South," 65.