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Wegweiser für ansiedler im Territorium Kansas

Selections: Guide for settlers in Kansas Territory

by Karl Friedrich Kob

Translated by William Keel

Julia Trumpold

2005

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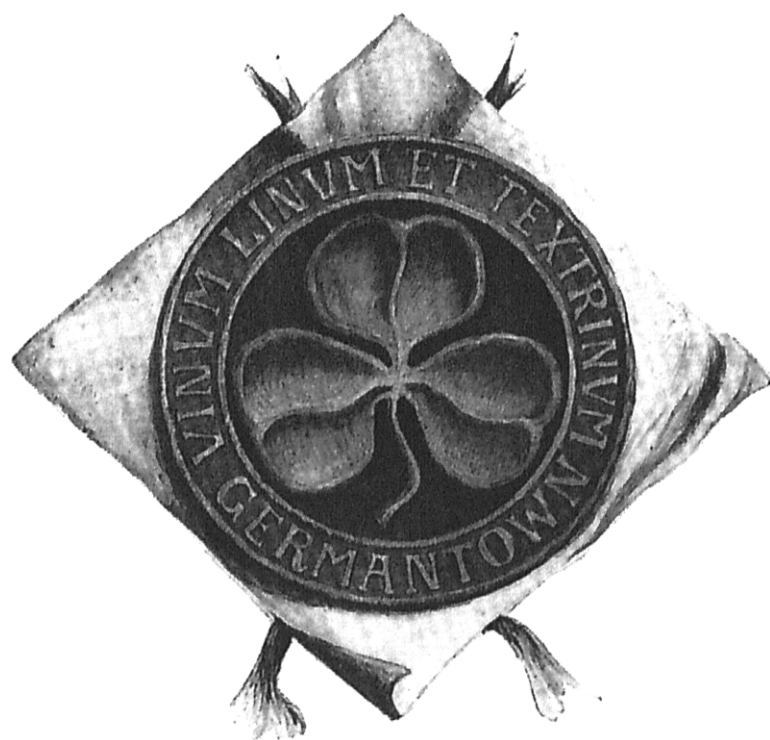
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YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 40

2005



The Society for

German-American Studies

Depicted on the front cover is the seal of Germantown, Pennsylvania, founded by Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1683. The seal was designed by Pastorius shortly before 1700. The three-fold cloverleaf with Latin motto denotes the three principal occupations among the citizens of Germantown: viticulture and wine-making, flax-growing, and textile production. The Latin motto reads *Vinum Linum et Textrinum* ("grapes/wine, flax/linen, and weaving mill/weaving"). Pastorius formulated the same motto in German as *Der Wein, der Lein und der Webeschrein*.

The Society for German-American Studies has elected to display the Germantown seal on its stationery and membership brochure as well as on the cover of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* in commemoration of the earliest group settlement of German-speaking immigrants in North America. Our source for the image is Rudolf Cronau, *Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika: Ruhmesblätter der Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1926), 69.

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The Society for German-American Studies was founded for the purpose of encouraging and advancing the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in North America. This includes coverage of the immigrants and their descendants from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other German-speaking areas of Europe. Members of the Society include representatives from various academic disciplines and others who share a common interest in German-American studies.

The *Yearbook* is published annually. The editor welcomes contributions in English, preferably, or German on all aspects of German-Americana from members of the Society. The manuscript should be prepared so that it can be read anonymously by the members of the Editorial Board, with the authors name appearing on a separate sheet only. For submission, four copies of the manuscript prepared in accordance with the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* are requested. All manuscripts and correspondence concerning the *Yearbook* should be addressed to William Keel, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, 1445 Jayhawk Blvd., University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-7950. Inquiries regarding book reviews for the *Yearbook* should be addressed to Timothy J. Holian, University of Wisconsin-Waukesha, 1500 N. University Dr., Waukesha, WI 53188-2799. The *Newsletter* appears four times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to La Vern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College, Northfield, MN 55057.

The SGAS annual membership dues, which include subscription to the *Yearbook* and the *Newsletter*, are \$30.00 for regular members. Membership applications to the Society for German-American Studies should be made to the Treasurer of the Society, William Roba, Scott Community College, 500 Belmont Road, Bettendorf, IA 52722. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

From the Editor ix

DonalF. Durnbaugh: In Memoriam 1

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

Frank Baron

*German Republicans and Radicals in the Struggle
for a Slave-Free Kansas: Charles F Kob and August Bondi* 3

HISTORICAL TEXTS

Karl Friedrich Kob

*Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas (1857),
with annotations by G. Scott Seeger* 29

*Excerpts from Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas (1857)
(Guide for Settlers in Kansas Territory),
translated by Julia Trumpold and William Keel* 75

August Bondi

*Excerpts from ^Autobiography of August Bondi, 1833-1907,
excerpted with annotations and index by Frank Baron* 87

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Timothy Holian

Paul C Nagel

The German Migration to Missouri: My Family's Story
Reviewed by Robert W Frizzell 161

- Christian Bauer
The Ritchie Boys: A Film by Christian Bauer
 Christian Bauer and Rebekka Göpfert
Die Ritchie Boys: Deutsche Emigranten beim US-Geheimdienst
Reviewed by Jerry Glenn 163
- Don Heinrich Tolzmann, ed.
Illinois' German Heritage
Reviewed by William D. Keel 165
- Ernst Grabovszki
Zwischen Kutte und Maske:
Das geheimnisvolle Leben des Charles Sealsfield
Reviewed by Jerry Schlich alter 166
- Christian Gellinek
Going Dutch—Gone American: German Settling North America
Reviewed by J. Gregory Redding 168
- Frank Mehring
Karl/Charles Folien: Deutsch-Amerikanischer Freiheitskämpfer
Reviewed by Gerhard Weiss 169
- Rudolf Leonhart
Memories of New Ulm:
My Experiences During the Indian Uprising in Minnesota
 Don Heinrich Tolzmann, trans, and ed.
Reviewed by Timothy J. Holian 171
- Philip Otterness
Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York
Reviewed by J. Gregory Redding 173
- Jürgen Macha and Andrea Wolf, eds.
Michael Zimmers Diary:
Ein deutsches Tagebuch aus dem Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg
Reviewed by William D. Keel 173
- C. George Fry and Joel R. Kurz
The Americanization Process in the Second Generation:
The German Lutheran Mathias Loy (1828-1915) Caught Between
Adaptation and Repristinization
Reviewed by Tom R. Schultz 179

- Charles R. Mack and Henry H. Lesesne, eds.
Francis Lieber and the Culture of the Mind
Reviewed by Randall R. Donaldson 178
- Pearl Fichman
Before Memories Fade
Reviewed by Jerry Glenn 179
- Don Heinrich Tolzmann
German Heritage Guide to the State of Ohio
Reviewed by J. Gregory Redding 180
- Alexander Stephan, ed.
**Americanization and Anti-Americanism:
The German Encounter with American Culture After 1945**
Reviewed by Jörg Meindl 181
- Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed.
Edward E. Quniter, ed. and trans.
**The Day Book/Account Book of Alexander Mack, Jr. (1712-1803):
Weaver, Brethren Elder, Apologist, and Chronicler in Early America**
Reviewed by Karen M. Johnson-Weiner 183
- C. Richard Beam, ed., with Joshua R. Brown, ed. (vols, one and two)
and Jennifer L. Trout, ed. (vols, three, four and five)
The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary
Reviewed by William D. Keel 185
- Stephen Bowers Harroff
The Amish Schools of Indiana: Faith in Education
Reviewed by Gabriele Lunte 186
- Corinne and Russell Earnest
**To the Latest Posterity:
Pennsylvania-German Family Registers in the Fraktur Tradition**
Reviewed by Bethany M. Usher 188
- Christoph Mauch and Joseph Salmons, eds.
German-Jewish Identities in America
Reviewed by G. Scott Seeger 190

Axel W.-O. Schmidt, ed. One of the 999 About to Be Forgotten: The Memoirs of Carl Barus 1865-1935 <i>Reviewed by Timothy J. Holian</i>	192
Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop, eds. Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections <i>Reviewed by Heiko Mühr</i>	194
Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner, eds. German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective <i>Reviewed by William D. Keel</i>	196
Werner Möhr Albert Bloch: Caricaturist, Social Critic, and Translator of Karl Kraus <i>Reviewed by Randall P. Donaldson</i>	198
Antonius Holtmann A Lost American Dream: Civil War Letters (1862/63) of Immigrant Theodor Heinrich Brandes in Historical Contexts Eberhard Reichmann, trans. <i>Reviewed by Tom R. Schultz</i>	199
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
Dolores and Giles Hoyt Annual Bibliography of German-Americana	
<i>I. Supplements for 2003</i>	203
<i>II. Bibliography for 2004</i>	220
<i>III. Topical Index</i>	260
Five-Year Index of the <i>Yearbook of German-American Studies</i> (2001-2005)	267
SGAS Bylaws	281
SGAS Publication Fund Policy	287
SGAS Research Fund Policy	284

From the Editor

This issue of the *Yearbook* is devoted to the Germans who participated in the struggle for a slave-free Kansas in the era of "Bleeding Kansas" 150 years ago. The 1850s were tumultuous times in the United States and particularly in Kansas Territory. The Territory was opened for settlement in May 1854 with the signing into law of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Kansas became a rallying cry for the adherents of several factions, including those favoring the introduction of slavery, those favoring the total abolition of slavery and many who were simply proponents of free soil.

Coinciding with the effective abrogation of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which prohibited the spread of slavery north of the southern border of the state of Missouri, was the founding of a new political movement that became known as the Republican Party. Abolitionists, Whigs, Free Soilers and others merged in the summer of 1854 into this new and radical political association. The Republicans also attracted many of the leaders of the failed German revolutionary efforts of 1848-49 who had come as exiles to the United States in the early 1850s. These exiled Germans and Austrians saw in the goals of the fledgling Republican Party a new struggle for freedom and democracy on this side of the Atlantic.

The convergence of radical Germans and the Republican Party led directly to the involvement of some of these Forty-eighters in the struggle to prevent slavery from gaining a foothold in Kansas. Indeed, the chief agency of abolitionism in Kansas Territory, the Massachusetts-based New England Emigrant Aid Company, made a concerted effort to attract Germans to settle in Kansas in the belief that Germans would vote against the adoption of a proslavery constitution for Kansas. Many Germans also came on their own to the newest American frontier as land speculators, entrepreneurs, adventurers, or simply homesteaders. These Germans in Kansas apparently had a song that addressed the issues of free speech and free men:

Hurrah — Frei Kansas!

Frei Kansas, freie Erde,
Die Freiheit unser Hort,
Dafür, sei's mit dem Schwerte,
Sei es mit Tat und Wort!

Frei Kansas, freier Boden,
Von Vorrecht frei und Bann!
Dem schwarzen und dem rothen,
Sowie dem weißen Mann!

Frei Kansas, freie Erde!
Sei unser Feldgeschrei;
Krieg, Krieg, mit Wort und Schwerte,
Sei stets die Sklaverei!

("German-American abolitionist song" c. 1860,
<http://www.musicanet.org/robokopp/Lieder/freikans.html>
and <http://www.gtgl848.de/>)

In an introductory essay for this volume, Frank Baron examines the complexities of these issues and provides background information on the two individuals whose historical texts are reprinted in this special issue: Karl Friedrich Kob, whose *Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas* was published in 1857 with the support of the New England Aid Company and modeled on the company's English *Information for Kansas Immigrants* written by Thomas Webb, published in numerous editions in the mid-1850s; and August Bondi whose autobiography was published in 1910.

Kob was born in East Prussia in 1820 and trained as a physician at the University of Königsberg. He became involved in the ill-fated uprising in the Duchy of Holstein against Denmark in 1849-50. In the aftermath of the revolutionary period in Germany he emigrated, settling first in Hartford, Connecticut, and later living in Boston, Massachusetts. During the election of 1856 he became involved in Republican politics during Fremont's unsuccessful presidential campaign that championed "Free Soil, Free Men and Free Kansas." With the support of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, Kob published his settlers¹ guide for Germans, moved to Atchison, Kansas Territory, and began publishing the weekly *Kansas Zeitung* in the summer of 1857. Kob collaborated with other Germans in the territory and dreamed of a belt of anti-slavery German settlements extending from Kansas to Texas. He died in Leavenworth of "inflammation of the brain" in 1861. In addition to the original German text, excerpts in English translation that provide descriptions of the German settlements in Kansas Territory are included in this volume.

Bondi, born in 1833, was an Austrian Jew whose family immigrated to the United States in late-1848 following the upheavals in Austria during the revolutionary period and settled initially in St. Louis. Bondi moved into Kansas Territory in April 1855, settling near a number of John Brown's sons in southeastern Franklin County. He and several other German/Austrian abolitionists rode with John Brown during the 1856 territorial skirmishes against the pro-slavery Missourians—the period known as "Bleeding Kansas." Bondi later served three years in Company K of the 5th Kansas Calvary during the Civil War as a Union soldier and was wounded while on a patrol

near Pine Bluff, Arkansas, on 11 September 1864. After his discharge in November 1864 he operated a store in Leavenworth, Kansas. Bondi moved to Salina, Kansas, in 1866 and spent the remainder of his life there as a successful businessman and judge. Bondi died in Salina in 1907. The autobiography was published for his family in Galesburg, Illinois, by the Wagoner Printing Company in 1910 and is now a rare book. The first five chapters of his autobiography reprinted here offer a firsthand perspective on the German-Austrian contributions in the struggle for a free Kansas in the years prior to the American Civil War.

For Kobs German text we have attempted to remain true to his German orthography where possible. For instance, nineteenth-century spelling of verbs ending in —*iren* rather than Modern German *-ieren* is retained (e.g., *rapportirte*, *cultivirt*) and irregular grammatical forms are also kept where nineteenth-century usage was not consistent (e.g., the plural of *Boot* could be *Boote* or *Böte*). Words or names that were emphasized in the German printed version by the technique known as *Sperrung* appear in boldface in our reprint. Where Kob used roman type instead of fraktur we have used italics. His use of English terms is not consistent. He may use roman type for an English word such as *claim* and a few lines later use the same word capitalized and in fraktur. We have attempted to mark actual omissions of letters and typographical errors by [*sic*] in square brackets. Kob also used a system of footnotes. We have included his footnotes at the point in the text at which they occurred. We have also included images of the original cover and the final page (48) of his guide (by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, call number US 287738.57*).

We should also note that volume 40 represents the twenty-fifth anniversary issue of the *Yearbook*. When the Society began publication of the *Yearbook* in 1981, we decided to continue the volume numbers of the *Journal of German-American Studies*, whose last issue in 1980 was volume 15. This issue of the *Yearbook* also contains a five-year index covering volumes 36-40 (2001-2005), including the two supplemental issues published in 2003 and 2006, respectively.

The editor wishes to especially thank his colleagues in Kansas, Frank Baron, Scott Seeger and Julia Trumpold, for their contributions to this volume. As always, our appreciation is extended to Timothy Holian for editing the book reviews and also Dolores and Giles Hoyt for the compilation of the annual bibliography. The next volume of the *Yearbook* is scheduled to appear in the spring of 2007 and will again be devoted to individual essays addressing the scholarly interests of the membership.

William Keel, Editor
Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
The University of Kansas
September 2006

Donald F. Durnbaugh: In Memoriam

We were very saddened to learn in the fall of 2005 that our colleague and friend of many years, Don Durnbaugh, had died on August 27 in a Newark, New Jersey, hospital following a sudden illness while returning with his wife Hedda from a trip to Europe. Don had been an active member of the Society for German-American Studies for over two decades and had served conscientiously and diligently as a member of the Editorial Board for the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* since 1996. Over the years, Don had himself contributed several scholarly essays to the *Yearbook*—in our last issue (volume 39 [2004]) his article on the Brethren relief effort after World War II known as "Heifer International" was published posthumously. His wisdom, sage advice and good humor will be sorely missed by all who knew him and worked with him.

Don was born in Detroit, Michigan, in 1927. His education included a B.A. degree at Manchester College in North Manchester, Indiana (1949), an M.A. in history at the University of Michigan (1952) and a Ph.D. in history at the University of Pennsylvania (1960). He also studied at the Philipps-Universität in Marburg, Germany. After teaching history for four years at Juniata College in Pennsylvania, Don was named professor of church history at Bethany Theological Seminary in 1962, teaching there until 1988. In that year he returned to Juniata as the J. Omar Good Distinguished Visiting Professor and a year later was named the Carl W. Ziegler Professor of History and Religion at Elizabethtown College (Pennsylvania). He retired there in 1993.

He was a noted historian of Anabaptist and Pietist religions. His publication record includes some 200 articles and reviews on the history of the Brethren Church and other Anabaptist religious movements. The sixteen monographs and edited volumes by Don Durnbaugh include such titles as *Fruit of the Vine: A History of the Brethren, 1708-1995* (1997); *The Believers Church: The History and Character of Radical Protestantism* (1968); and *The Brethren in Colonial America: A Source Book on the Transplantation and Development of the Church of the Brethren in the Eighteenth Century* (1967). Don was also the primary editor of *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (covering the years from 1708 until 1980) whose first three volumes were published in 1983-84. At the time of his death he was co-editing volume four of that encyclopedia which documents the history of the Brethren from 1980 to 1995 (published in 2006).

Over the years, Don received numerous honors and awards for his scholarship. He received honorary doctorates from both Manchester College (1980) as well as Juniata College (2003). He was awarded the Colonial History Award by the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania in 1957 and named a Distinguished Scholar by the

Communal Studies Association in 2002. He held a unique position in the Church of the Brethren as "dean of the Brethren historians" (Dale W. Brown, Bethany Theological Seminary) and was considered a leading authority on the historic peace churches and the American communitarian movements. In a 1997 *Festschrift* celebrating Don Durnbaughs scholarly contributions, Donald E. Miller wrote: "Don is internationally known and widely considered to be the leading twentieth century historian of the Church of the Brethren and other Brethren groups that originated in Schwarzenau, Germany, in the early eighteenth century" (*From Age to Age: Historians and the Modern Church*). We are proud to have been counted among his colleagues.

William D. Keel, Editor
Yearbook of German-American Studies

Karl Friedrich Kob

Excerpts from
Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas (1857)
(Guide for Settlers in Kansas Territory)¹

Foreword

During a longer expedition through Kanas Territory, the author of this circular found the country so favorable for German settlement and so promising economically, that he had to immediately impart to his countrymen his collected experiences in this form. May the practical use of this text offset the lack of elegance in the authors writing style and permit the critical reader be more indulgent in this respect. My intention was only to write clearly, precisely and truthfully; the esteemed readers may judge whether the first two aims were reached; the author vouches completely for the truthfulness of his words.

Anyone who desires more information about any aspect in the text or anything not covered therein regarding the conditions in Kansas, Nebraska and western Missouri can receive this from the author. He will himself be settling in Atchison and begin publishing a German weekly newspaper there under the title "Kansas-Zeitung." In addition to this newspaper and in collaboration with two capable American businessmen I have also opened a land and information office (see advertisements).

I confidently entrust this work to my countrymen for their examination and evaluation, knowing that I have their best interests at heart. May each one keep in mind that every settler in Kansas is participating, even if passively, in the great struggle against slavery and thus indirectly taking part in the most significant development of the American states. The more we succeed in resisting slavery and driving it back, the closer we come to our final goal—its total abolition. Each battle against slavery is at the same time a service to humanity and freedom.

Boston, May 26, 1857

Karl F. Kob

Present State of Population and Settlement in the Territory

The first company of emigrants from Massachusetts set foot on Kansas soil in August 1854. In the spring of 1857, the population was estimated to be 60,000; the

large immigration this year comes to at least 30,000, so that the present population can be judged to be nearly 90,000. To explain this unusually rapid settlement, it is absolutely necessary, although I would have rather avoided it, to mention the political motives which play such a powerful role.

When Missouri entered the Union in 1820, there was an intense dispute whether it would allow and protect slavery in its constitution or should remain a free state. Both parties were almost equally divided on this issue and finally a compromise was proposed and agreed to, according to which Missouri was to become a slave state, but all other territories above thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, north latitude were to be reserved forever for free labor. In 1854, however, when Kansas and Nebraska became territories, this compromise was repealed, by claiming that it restricted the democratic freedom of the settlers at people and that the people should decide for themselves whether to they would tolerate slavery or not. It is understandable, of, course, that both parties hurried to fill the territory with supporters of their respective positions. The history of the past years shows to what extent the decision of that question was really left to the people. The population is divided roughly as follows; there are ten free state or free soil men to one of the proslavery men. Because of violence, deception, and the help of the government, Kansas has still not been admitted as a free state, and time will tell whether the assurances of the governmental agencies are telling the truth or not. To the credit of our countrymen, I should mention that every one of the Germans here are against slavery. I say everyone, since the few miserable subjects who favor the slavery party are not worth speaking of. I could mention names, but this would accord them too much honor. There are a total of five who openly identify with the proslavery party. The number of Germans in the territory is nearly 4,000. When we discuss the several towns below, we will note the proportion of Germans in each settlement. For now it suffices to say that there is hardly a settlement in which several Germans cannot be found.

The population lives partly in towns and partly on their claims in the countryside. The latter is by far the larger number. From Wyandotte to Fort Riley, a distance of over 150 miles, all of the sections within 4 or 5 miles of both banks of the Kansas River have been claimed by settlers. The Indian lands, which according to law may not be settled, are, of course, excluded. On every claim of 160 acres, there is the little house of a settler; many with outbuildings, a garden, and fencing. It is pleasant to see the friendly white New England houses, often built with considerable luxury.

The first towns appear along the Kansas River. The following are the most important.

Lawrence. It was laid out by the first settlers in 1854 and was named in honor of Amos A. Lawrence of Boston. It is on the right bank of the Kansas River, thirty-five miles above its mouth in the Missouri. The location is excellently suitable and healthful. Woodland and rolling prairie extend to about one mile from the river and flatten suddenly to a level prairie. The town, comprising one square mile, has been constructed on this level spot. Sturdy trees grow along the banks of the river and in the surrounding area, giving the town a friendly look. A stone fort, built on the nearest extent of the main prairie, on the so-called Mount Oread, to defend against the "knights" of slavery, lends the present the town a picturesque air. Lawrence has more than 2,500 inhabitants, but 300 to 500 non-residents can be found there daily, lending it the lively bustle of a town with 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. Lawrence is

the main trade and supply center for the territory; it equips dozens of settlers for the start of a new life every day. Every morning there is a cattle and horse market. Farmers buy a yoke of oxen right away, together with a wagon and accessories. The prices vary amazingly here, always according to the number of buyers and sellers. All merchants, and, to tell the truth, everyone here is more or less a merchant, make astounding profits. The need is often so great that goods are sold unopened. Several businesses here make over \$100,000 in profit. Therefore, the real estate value here is already high; claims near Lawrence run \$4,000 to \$6,000, and building lots, which by the way are quite small (50 by 125 feet), cost \$1,000 to \$5,000 on the main street. Because Lawrence will certainly soon become a city of 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, the primary shortage is of workers and construction material. Brickmakers, quarrymen, masons, cabinetmakers, and carpenters workers will have employment here for years. The people of Lawrence are highly educated, determined, and entrepreneurial. In spite of the major disturbances and business delays caused by two attacks of Missouri border ruffians, the citizens have remained steadfast to their principles and have remained faithful to their town that is endangered to some extent due to the hate of the slaveholders. Nor has anyone lost courage. There are a lot of attractive stone buildings, 2 churches and 5 hotels, 2 general stores, and 2 newspapers, etc.(see the advertisements in this pamphlet). About 60 Germans reside in Lawrence and surrounding areas.

Eudora. This is a newly surveyed city, founded by the Germans of Chicago this past spring. It is located at the mouth of the Wakarusa in the Kansas River, nine miles below Lawrence. Its location is excellent. Its success depends only on the energy and the resources of the company to make something thriving out of it. The company has 500 investors, each of whom receives two lots. The land was bought from an Indian for \$5,000 (600 acres), but the conditions of purchase are not considered ideal. Because the Indian titles are still valid, it will be difficult for incoming Germans to make claims in the environs. If the necessary capital is available, Udora can certainly develop into an important production center. We wish the best of luck and success to the energetic entrepreneurs.

Topeka. This town, also founded in 1854, lies on the south bank of the Kansas River, 25 miles northwest of Lawrence and 75 miles east of Fort Riley. It already has more than 1,000 inhabitants. Depending on its location, a share of ten lots costs \$600 to \$1,000 now. A few lots on a good locations cost \$150 each. Topeka is a lively, invitingly laid out town and may be highly recommended to German entrepreneurs and workers. Topeka is the main town of the Free State Party. They have held their meetings in Constitution Hall and have selected the town as the seat of government [for the territory].

Tecumseh. This little town lies 5 miles from Topeka, 20 miles from Lawrence, and also south bank of the Kansas River. The land around Tecumseh and Topeka is very fertile and is ideally located. Claims cost \$1,000-\$2,000. A sturdy bridge will be built over the river at Tecumseh, to be finished this fall at a cost of \$20,000. I have not met many Germans here. To the south, however, at Deer Creek, there are a several German families. Tecumseh has approximately 800 inhabitants.

German Settlements at Mill Creek. We will pass over the towns of Big Springs, Washington, and Lecompton, the base of the proslavery government, because they do not promise much growth for the future. We turn here to the southwest and come

to a little river, called Mill Creek. Unfortunately, the creek flows primarily through the land of the Pottawatomie Indians, which is not yet available for settlement. At the southwest corner of this reservation, a German settlement begins that extends twelve miles upstream to the source of Mill Creek. This company emigrated from Cincinnati a few years ago, but, according to Mr. E. Hohnick, the present leader of the settlement, the well-to-do members of this group returned immediately; they returned because they did not find any theaters, beer saloons, or concert halls in the settlement. Despite the fact that the people started with little or nothing, the settlement can be considered prosperous. It includes the whole Mill Creek Valley, which is romantically enclosed by a steeply rising high plain. The land is primarily bottom land with a lot of wooded areas. Approximately 5 miles south from the edge of the colony are an inn and a store. If the required capital is available, there is a lot of water power for mills. Deposits of bituminous coal are found here. German manufacturers and tanners etc. would find it an ideal location to start a business among their countrymen. When I asked whether the people were happy here, I always got a "yes" as an answer. When I suggested that they will miss all the pleasures of the great city of Cincinnati and would have to work even harder here, they responded: We have a home, and we work for ourselves and not for a boss. Even the poorest had two or three yokes of oxen, cows, sheep, etc. In short, the time of hardship and misery is over, and there are the best prospects for continued growth. The colony increases in size daily and attracts even Americans (two of them joined during my visit). The cultivation of grapes has also begun; unfortunately, the people had too much to do initially in securing the necessities of daily life. Although the planting and cultivation of grapes on that account lags behind, there is no doubt that grapes of a very high quality could be grown on the southern slopes; wild grapes grow here everywhere in amazing quantities and size. The colony consists of approximately eighty farms and is the oldest and most significant German colony. Having started with hardly any resources, and abandoned by their leaders, German diligence and stamina prevailed over all difficulties. Conditions are now favorable, and people live in relative prosperity. There is probably no need to assure you that no friends of slavery abide here.

Settlement on Rock Creek. There is another German settlement on Rock Creek, on the north side of the Kansas River above Louisville. Although less significant than Mill Creek, it is, nevertheless, prosperous. The settlers came with relatively good resources. The soil is excellent, and there is enough wood. Given the intelligence and energy of the farmers, there is nothing to hinder continued prosperity. I should add that, in addition to these colonies, there are individual German farmers in every county of the territory. They represent the majority of the Germans here. This is especially the case in the counties that border the Shawnee reserve and the Missouri River.

Manhattan. We pass by Wabaunsee, a newly founded town, and come to Manhattan, which lies at the confluence of the Big Blue and Kansas rivers, 18 miles from Fort Riley and 75 miles from Lawrence. Because it spans 14,000 acres, it is the largest town site in terms of physical size. The surrounding area is charming; the Kansas Valley is very broad here, and the plateaus enclosing the valley make it quite picturesque. A high point, Blue Mont, provides a marvelous view. The nearness to the fort guarantees good prices for all products. Here hay costs \$7 per ton, and \$12

in the Fort, grain \$1.50 at delivery. The region of the Big Blue has a lot of timber and terrific soil. Approximately ten miles from Manhattan, upriver to the north, there are many unclaimed lands. One arm of the river, called the Little Blue, is called the Garden of Kansas. The humus layer of the bottom land is eight feet thick, and the grass is so high during the summer that it hides rider and horse. Grain yields a 70-to-100-fold harvest. The town has sawmills, stores, hotels, etc., and approximately 700 inhabitants. Every German craftsman can find a good livelihood here. If he wants to build in the town, he can get a building site from Mr. Mead free of charge. I advise everyone to contact him directly. The fenced and partly cultivated farms here cost \$2,000-\$3,000.

Ogden. This is a new town on the north side of the Kansas River, 5 miles from Fort Riley. Because it has become the seat of the land office and the county government, it will probably prosper quickly. Mr. Parsons and Mr. Mobly have promised to give free lots to German immigrants. The cost of a share for ten lots was \$150 at the time of my visit. One could not wish for more in terms of the soil quality. There are still many claims to be had in the surrounding areas.

Riley City. On the slope above the fort on the south side of the river lies the newly founded Riley City. Because of the nearness to the fort and the conjunction of the Great Mormon Trail and other trails in this area, prosperity is guaranteed. I encountered several fellow countrymen here who either owned clothing stores or practiced various trades. They were enthusiastic about the possibilities of earning money. A German watchmaker, for example, earned \$90 during his first month. The building lots are relatively inexpensive.

At the confluence of the Red Republican and the Smoky Hill forks, which form the Kansas River, lies Fort Riley. It is nicely situated on the high plateau and offers an attractive view over the valley; 600-800 soldiers man the garrison. Nine miles up the Republican there is a German settlement of ten farms, who settled there this spring because of the plentiful timber. The valley of the Smoky Hill fork is already populated for twenty miles up the river. The high plateaus are significantly higher, rockier and geological analysis reveals a richness in minerals. There are many salt deposits in the Saline River. The landscape loses its friendly rolling character and becomes more disjointed and grotesque. Clark Creek, which flows south to north from Council Grove, displays a peculiar character: it appears as if the banks were made of stone walls and at a distance one can imagine seeing great fortifications. When the water level is high, steamboats can make their way up to the fort. Within a few years a train route from the Missouri up to this point will certainly have been completed.

Now we will head south and find, except for a few settlements, untilled land for some thirty-five miles in the valley of Clark Creek down to Council Grove. This is a town on the Santa Fe Trail; it has approximately 200 inhabitants. It lies on the Neosho River which flows into the Arkansas. The entire Neosho valley with all of its numerous tributaries provides an ideal location for German settlers. The valley of Cotton[wood] River, which joins with the Neosho six miles below the newly-founded town Emporia, offers equally attractive features. The area is very attractive; timber and creeks are abundant. Mr. Leonhard[t] and 4 other Germans have staked out claims nearby and one could not wish for more from the soil. There is even a newspaper being published here. German emigrants should contact Mr. Dietzler (or possibly Deitzler) the founder of the town, or Mr. Leonhard[t].² Because of its

location and environment the town promises a lot for the future. The distance from Lawrence is 65 miles. If we follow the course of the Neosho, we will find, slightly to south, the towns of Neosho, Burlington and, even further south, the newly laid out town of **Humboldt**. Around this town, some 20 German families, mostly from Hartford, have settled under the leadership of Mr. Serenbetz. The town is located in Allen County in the southeast and southwest quarter of section 4, township 26, south, range 18, east of the assumed range 1. The location is conducive to sound health. It lies on the eastern side of the Neosho on a mild flattening of the plateau. The riverbank is rocky here. The river itself is navigable from this point. Timber is plentiful here with oak and walnut are the prevalent varieties. There is a lot of game here, mostly deer. In the middle of April, at a time when the grass around Lawrence was just beginning to sprout, the fresh grass was already about four inches tall here. Like everywhere in southern Kansas, there is pasture for the animals all winter long. People assured me that the lower part of the very tall grass stays green even in December. There are over 400 vacant claims, all of them with woods, around the city. Half of the town company are Americans; the company officials have been elected from them and the Germans. The president is our countryman Dr. M. Hartmann of Lawrence. Experience has taught us that a mixed population contributes best to the rapid development of towns. Colonies made up only of Germans are not yet as prosperous. On the contrary, their health deteriorates quite soon from the cancer of internal disputes, and they usually die from the subsequent legal fees. We advise, therefore, that people organize joint settlements; putting the industriousness and perseverance of the Germans together with energy and initiative of the Americans. This can be very beneficial for both sides; moreover, the healthy competition keeps the people fresh and lively and protects them from the terrible one-sidedness and mindless isolation into which the German sinks when he is not in touch with Americans.

A similar mixed settlement will be founded under the leadership of Mr. Dietzler [or possibly Deitzler] at the source of the Verdigris River, approximately twenty-five miles west of Humboldt. The name of that settlement will be Guttenberg. We want to draw the attention of our fellow countrymen in particular to these places because the best lands are in southern Kansas, where grapes can be cultivated, the amount of rain is greater, and thus promises more bountiful harvests. The region is rich in timber. Finally, there are still many claims, nearly all of the claims, to be had and larger parties of German farmers can settle here next to each other. There is also a political consideration that I wish to mention. In western Texas there is already a strong, prosperous German anti-slavery settlement of 50,000-80,000 Germans. If we are successful in establishing German settlements in southern Kansas, we will be able to extend our hands to our brothers in Texas in a matter of a few years, and be able to build a belt of freedom around those unfortunate southern states afflicted with slavery. Moreover, the settler in southern Kansas is safe from all disturbances. For if it should come to bloody struggles again, which we do not expect, the conflicts will occur at critical places such as Lawrence, Leavenworth, etc. No, the mission of the German settler in the south is a peaceful and purely passive one. The settler only becomes active when he casts his vote during elections to express that he will not tolerate slavery in Kansas.

After this political digression, let us return to Humboldt. It should be noted

that the town company will offer significant advantages to every German who settles there. A hotel, a bridge, a school, a store, a saw mill, and many houses are being built.

If we make our way west [*sic*; east] of Humboldt, we approach the area of the Osage River. This important river flows into the Missouri below Jefferson City. It flows through Kansas east to west [*sic*; west to east] over 100 miles, its headwaters extend up to those of the Neosho and the Wakarusa, and the number of its tributaries is legion. The drainage area of the river is often depicted as the region in which the settlers suffer the most from malaria. This could be due to the low lying land and the abundance of water, but it is primarily on account of the neglect of normal precautions and the irregular habits of the first settlers. Because of the numerous creeks, the area is one of the most abundantly wooded areas in Kansas; it is a low-lying land that is as fertile as the areas of the Cottonwood and the Neosho. If we travel from south to north, we come first upon the town of **Moneka** on Sugar Creek. It was founded last year and it is growing quickly. Some 15 miles north on Pottawatomie Creek is **Hyatt**. The president of the Kansas National Committee, Mr. Thaddeus Hyatt, founded this town, and his generous support made it possible for 86 of the poorest but bravest combatants for freedom and justice during the last Kansas struggles to settle there. This town has also prospered quickly. German settlers will receive every kind of help and assistance from Mr. Hyatt. Numerous claims are still available. There are still a lot of claims available. The land is excellent and there is more than enough wood available. We advise our fellow countrymen concerning settlement in Hyatt to contact Mr. Hyatt directly at 46 Morton Street in New York, where he will certainly provide them with detailed information and all manner of support.

Osawatomie. Twenty miles north at the mouth of Pottawatomie Creek into the Osage River lies **Osawatomie**. This town was founded in 1855 and is doing well, despite the many troubles that have afflicted it. It was here that old, courageous [John] Brown bravely resisted 400 knights of slavery with only 34 men. They were forced to flee quickly back to Missouri suffering a loss of 42 dead and 100 wounded. In his small band of heroes there were also 5 Germans, one of whom as well as a noble Hungarian unfortunately sealed their love of liberty by their honorable death. One of Browns 4 sons also died a valiant death here. The town has an excellent sawmill and a very good hotel. The claims around it are mostly taken, but 4 to 5 miles away there are still very many unoccupied.

Council City. Approximately 25 miles northeast, the town Council City lies in a charming valley, formed by Schwitzler and Dragoon Creek. It lies on the great Santa Fe Trail, 20 miles south of Topeka, 35 miles away from Lawrence, and 90 miles from Wyandotte. The soil is wonderful here. There is sufficient wood, coal, and limestone, and a kind of marble which is the only marble found in Kansas so far. In the vicinity the timber, primarily walnut, is excellent. Claims are still available. The town has two sawmills and a hotel, etc. Mr. Scuyler will help German settlers with advice and support; he is one of the founders of the town and an honorable and just man.—Due to lack of space, we need to pass over many towns and villages such as Bloomington, Franklin, Milliard, Brownville, Ashland, Ottawa, Zeandale, Osage Valley, Palmyra, etc. However, it is clear that the southern part of Kansas with its mild climate, abundant rain, excellent soil, and plentiful timber, is destined to become a

veritable bread basket and will in a few years overtake the older, northern states in population and wealth.

If we now turn to the northern side of the Kansas River, we will find, at the confluence of that river with the Missouri, the new town of **Wyandotte**. Although only founded this spring, it has already become astonishingly well developed. We find two hotels. E. Hung has transformed a large steamboat, the *St. Paul*, into a warehouse at the landing. The upper level has become a hotel with 150 beds. Over 100 houses are being built. A newspaper will be published soon. A daily stage route with excellent carriages and four splendid horses maintain the connection with Lawrence, which is thirty miles distant. I found a great number of German countrymen; some of whom had started commercial businesses while others pursued trades. The excellent location of the town on the Missouri and Kansas Rivers has increased the price of lots so high that a share of ten lots costs over \$1,000. Unfortunately, because the surrounding land belongs to the Indians, no claims in the area are available.

Four miles further north we arrive at the rival of Wyandotte, namely:

Quindaro. This town, too, had its beginnings this spring, and has arisen almost by magic. No town in Kansas is situated more romantically than is Quindaro. The town is located in a ravine between high rocky cliffs, often 60-80 feet high, and the banks of the Missouri. The rocks provide a secure landing for ships now and in the future, a feature that Wyandotte lacks. (The Missouri is a swift river that carries sand and soil, changing its riverbed quite often, and, as a result, soil deposits block the landing place for ships after a few years and create a new one on the other side of the river.) The town, therefore, enjoys a special advantage. Because wealthy merchants with significant capital have already built their warehouses here, the question arises which of the towns will prevail. Although the cost of overcoming the obstacles of the terrain in Quindaro is great, energy and the power of money have often achieved much more difficult things. Here, also, a newspaper will be published soon. Approximately 100 houses are being built. Several Germans have already settled here and are pursuing their trades. Claims are not available here either.

Six miles northwest we pass **Delaware City**, a small town of no particular importance up to now, and land, six miles further north, in **Leavenworth**. It lies on a rocky bank two and a half miles below the Fort of the same name, 30 miles from Lawrence, 50 from Topeka, 20 from Atchison, 58 north of Osawatomie. It stretches one mile along the river. Until now it has served as the port of Kansas, and therefore is a lively city with brisk commerce. On September 15, 1854, the first house was completed, and in January 1856 it already contained 307 houses, and now more than 500, with approximately 3,000 inhabitants. Of these, almost half are German. Many of them are wealthy and educated merchants and businessmen of all kinds. There is already a *Turnverein*. A choir is being organized, and soon German music and German culture will be firmly established on the left bank of the Missouri. Every kind of business will be represented here and in 10 to 15 years Leavenworth will certainly be a significant town. It already has five hotels; a German one owned by Mr. Menger can be highly recommended. Two banks handle financial transactions; a variety of stores are now present (pharmacies, watch and jewelry stores, clothing stores). The connoisseur finds here restaurants and breweries, that feature an excellent lager beer in their cellars. In short, there are clear signs of rapid progress. The nearness to the fort contributes to that. The 2,000 soldiers stationed there quickly spend their

82

monthly allotment (which by the way amounts to \$11 for a private, in addition to room and board and uniforms). From Leavenworth the Missouri makes a big bend westwards; at the most extreme point of this bend lies the town of **Atchison**. It was founded by proslavery men, and it suffered very much on that account, but the Free State people have taken over the town now, so that it is now in a good position to secure a rapid development. If one looks at the map, one will find immediately that it is closer to the center of the territory than any other town on the Missouri. Once the train route between Chicago and St. Joseph is completed, there will be an effort to locate the point from which all other places of the territory can be reached most efficiently. This point is Atchison. This city has the advantage, moreover, that all the land to the west is open for settlers. The soil is good, and the many Germans who have already settled there are entirely satisfied. Atchison has a very nice, high and healthy location; the town has approximately 300 houses now, and over 100 more are going to be built. It serves as the county seat, and has been selected as the main center for the various New England aid companies, that have also decided to make it their primary port on the Missouri. They have even allocated a sum of \$120,000 to build new houses during the coming eighteen months. At the present time, the share of ten lots costs \$1,500. An English newspaper already exists, and a German one will begin publication on July 1, 1857. Mr. Pomeroy, general agent of the New England Aid Company, has a great preference for German settlers and will grant them special advantages; he has already demonstrated that in many cases.

We should mention **Doniphan** and **Palmira** of the remaining towns further north, however, they have not developed significantly. To the west, however, **Grasshopper Falls**, on the river of the same name, promises to become a significant interior town. The land in the valley is excellent and many claims are still available.

Some Advice and Contacts for Immigrants

If someone decides to immigrate to Kansas, he should ask himself when would be the best time to travel. If the immigrant wants to run a commercial business or if he wants to pursue a trade, the arrival time is of no consequence. In the case of agriculture, especially if the farmer does not have the capital to purchase an existing farm, it is best to arrive by mid-May. Anyone who is able to cultivate at least six acres in the first year will have enough harvest to feed himself and his family through the winter. What kind of supplies one should bring along is another consideration. Because it is possible to purchase things after arrival, I advise everyone to bring as little as possible. Aside from bedding, blankets, clothes, and perhaps some pieces of beloved furniture, all supplies can be bought there as cheaply as in the east. We still advise every craftsman to bring his own tools. Freight costs \$2.50 for 100 pounds from Boston to Kansas. The fare from Boston is \$31, children under 4 years of age are free, from 4 to 12 they pay half, and for every passenger 100 pounds of baggage are free, the same amount from New York and Philadelphia. The tickets should be bought from the New England Aid Company or its agents; if you buy tickets at the train stations they will cost \$5-\$6 more. It is advisable for immigrants from Germany to travel directly to Boston and get in touch with Dr. Thomas Webb, the secretary of the company, at 3 Winter Street.

This company has the philanthropic principle of making Kansas a free state and

stands ready to assist German immigrants with advice and support. It is important for larger parties to contact this company, not only for protection against deceit and deceivers but also to obtain material advantages such as advances of seed grain, sawmills etc. The company does maintain offices and agents in all the larger cities who are easy to reach. However, it is best for everyone to land right in Boston, the headquarters of the same, since all needs, negotiations and contracts etc. can be finalized there much quicker. If the parties are significant in the number of members (more than 25), the company will send its own travel agents along and the unknowing immigrants who cannot speak English are well served. The tickets from the company assure first class on the railroad and also on the steamboat from Jefferson City to Leavenworth on the Missouri; the meals on the steamboats, which by the way are splendid, are included in the fare. The route of travel is left to the passengers to decide. Choosing the northern route, you will have the magnificent pleasure of seeing the great natural wonder of America, the Niagara Fall; from there you continue via Detroit and Chicago to St. Louis. If you select the central route, you will pass through Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago; if you select the southern one, you can travel from Cleveland to Cincinnati and from there directly to St. Louis. The last route is apparently the shortest; until recently it was not usable since the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Company only turned over its route from Cincinnati to St. Louis for use by the public a few weeks ago. From Philadelphia you travel via Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. As soon as the Pacific Railroad from Jefferson City to Kansas is built, which should be the case in a few years, the trip from Boston to Kansas will be able to be made in 4 to 5 days; currently you need 7 days.

All freight goods must be shipped by the immigrant to Simmons & Leadbeater, 16 South Main Street, St. Louis; they are the agents of the New England Company and are in direct contact with all parts of Kansas by their subagents. They are the largest and most reliable shipping firm of this kind and we recommend them most warmly.

After the railroad is built between Hannibal and St. Joseph, the shortest route to Kansas will be the route from Chicago via Hannibal. The immigrants from Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa will also take this route, since they have already been traveling this way by wagon.

As we take leave of our readers, we implore them to seriously consider all the points covered in this text. We are convinced, that the advantages which Kansas offers the immigrants will soon become clear to them. Every German who has \$100 to \$500 left over after paying the travel costs, should not hesitate for long deciding what to do, since he will be able to secure for himself and his progeny a happy home and a worry-free future in Kansas.

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Notes

¹ We have translated only the "Foreword" and the descriptive passages about the various settlements in Kansas Territory that Kob believed would be of interest to the potential German settler into English. It is in these passages that Kob expresses his vision of a future Kansas free of slavery and populated with a significant number of Germans. The more technical information on supplies for settlers and land claims in the first pages of Kobs *Wegweiser* have not been translated since it essentially repeats material contained in such guides as Thomas Webbs *Information for Kansas Immigrants*, published in several editions beginning in 1855 in Boston.

² This is very likely George W. Deitzler who was active in anti-slavery groups in Kansas Territory and later served as colonel of the 1st Kansas Regiment at the Battle of Wilson's Creek in 1861. Mr. Leonhard is very likely the anti-slavery activist Charles Leonhardt of Lawrence.

Illinois' German Heritage.

Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing Co. 2005. 190pp. \$16.95.

Tolzmann's latest edition of historical texts and essays provides readers with a close look at one of the more neglected states in the German-American settlement area: Illinois. By bringing together firsthand accounts from the nineteenth century and essays from twentieth-century historians, this book explores the rich German heritage of Illinois from the earliest settlements to the present. More importantly, we learn about the significant role played by German leaders in Illinois during the tumultuous years leading up to, during and following the Civil War. The essays, together with Tolzmann's contributions in the area of research tools, offer both scholar and interested layperson an excellent introduction to the state's German side.

Following a brief introduction, which provides bibliographic detail on the selections edited for this volume, Tolzmann has culled and translated two chapters from Gustav Körner's book published in 1880, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848* that focus on the important German enclave east of St. Louis near Belleville, Illinois, that gave rise to the term "Latin Farmers" and also on settlements in central Illinois such as Highland settled by the Swiss. A third chapter, devoted to the Germans in Chicago, is taken from a 1932 publication, *The Germans of Chicago*, by Andrew Jacke Townsend.

After giving the reader an overview of the German settlements and important figures throughout the state, Tolzmann presents three biographical sketches of significant German immigrants in the nineteenth century: Gustav Körner (by Everts B. Greene, 1907), Friedrich Hecker (by Alice Reynolds, 1946), and Francis A. Hoffmann (by D. I. Nelke, 1895). Both Körner and Hoffmann served as lieutenant governor of Illinois in the years surrounding the Civil War and were active in Republican politics, especially in the political career of Abraham Lincoln. Hecker, of course, was the hero of 1848 fame, who settled on a farm near Belleville, Illinois, and continued to speak out and serve the cause of liberty for the remainder of his life (Hecker enlisted as a private in the volunteer infantry formed in St. Louis in April 1861 upon Lincoln's call to put down the rebellion; he later became a colonel of his own regiment in Illinois).

In addition to providing lengthy annotated notes to each of the first six chapters, Tolzmann summarizes the development of the German community in Illinois in a final chapter on its "German Heritage." After placing the Germans of Illinois in the overall context of German immigration and settlement in the nineteenth century, he provides interesting details on political, religious and cultural life of the Germans in Illinois during that period. Of particular note are the events surrounding the controversial Haymarket Riot of 1886 and the subsequent pardon of some of the perpetrators by German-American governor John Peter Altgeld in 1893. This chapter concludes with a focus on the twentieth century, giving special attention to the German-American Alliance and the anti-German feelings during the World War One era, as well as developments since that time such as the formation of a new organization based in Chicago, the German-American National Kongress (D.A.N.K.). The volume also includes a guide to sources and an index.

In comparison with some of the editor's earlier publications of edited texts, the typographical errors appear greatly reduced. A second edition should, however, correct misspellings such as "Speier" (6; instead of *Speyer*), "Berkley" (9; instead of *Berkeley*), "18544" (74; instead of *1854*), or "principle" (94; instead of *principal*). Electronic word division has also apparently led to a number of unfortunate glitches that should be remedied, such as "Rhei-nkreis" (16) or "Man-nheim" (21). On page 75 we also find six lines of text repeated causing much confusion as to whether the Germans of Chicago favored or opposed the right of new immigrants to vote on the important issue of allowing slavery in Kansas Territory. But despite such *Schönheitsfehler* this is a volume worthy of widespread attention, both for those interested in the heritage of the German community in Illinois and beyond the borders of that state. Tolzmann believes that "German immigration has had a deep and lasting influence on the social, cultural, economic, religious, and political landscape of the state" (161). This reviewer concurs that the chapters presented by the editor confirm that claim.

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Zwischen Kutte und Maske: Das geheimnisvolle Leben des Charles Sealsfield.

By Ernst Grabovszki. Vienna: Styria, 2005. 240pp. €24.90.

New biographies of celebrated writers usually tend to inaugurate a paradigm shift. Ernst Grabovszki's recent biography of Charles Sealsfield confirms this thesis. However, it does so in a curious way. After Eduard Castle's seminal biography of Charles Sealsfield, *Der geheimnisvolle Unbekannte: Das Leben Charles Sealsfield* (1952) had begun to be subjected to critical scrutiny by a new generation of Sealsfield scholars in the 1970s, a narrative was revealed, containing undocumented assertions, couched in terms of victimization and conspiracy. Since then surprisingly few attempts have been made to reinterpret Sealsfield's life—a life that, however shrouded in obscurity, has become fashionably modern and familiar and easily amenable to contemporary discourse. After all, the stranger, the other, the migrant, the imposter, *der Grenzgänger*—all have become common subjects of scholarly interest and widely used tools in literary studies.

Grabovszki's study, however, does not delve into these issues. Instead of adorning Sealsfield with metaphysical or cultural categories, the biographer brings to light a quotidian Sealsfield, a Sealsfield accessible to historical scrutiny. The result is that "the mysterious life" announced in the subtitle as an implicit thesis is completely overturned: Sealsfield emerges as a comprehensible and predictable figure, idiosyncratic perhaps but also mundane. What contributes to this view, among others, is the biographer's detailed descriptions of Sealsfield's relationships with his publishers and his interest in the stock market, culminating in the deprecatory remark about Sealsfield's dubious moral stance: "Sealsfield hat mit seinen versuchten Kontaktaufnahmen mit Metternich und der amerikanischen Regierung bewiesen, dass er auch Ausnahmen machen kann, vor allem dann, wenn der Geldbeutel zu füllen ist" (184).

The paradigm shift in this new biography involves creating a Sealsfield that is a fully explicable historical figure. Unlike Castle, who saw Sealsfield as the pawn