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# Immigrants in Richmond after the Civil War : 1865-1880

Rudolph H. Bunzl

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## ABSTRACT

Title: Immigrants in Richmond After the Civil War: 1865-1880

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Richmond's foreign-born inhabitants in 1860 represented about twenty percent of the white population. The Irish and German communities were particularly influential. This thesis examines whether immigration resumed after the Civil War, where immigrants came from, and what role they played in the community.

Research included examination of naturalization and census records, church records, newspapers of the period, records of German organizations, and the records of the Virginia legislature. The conclusions are: Immigration resumed on a very small scale. Government efforts to attract more immigrants were unsuccessful. The majority of newcomers were Germans; others came from Scotland, Italy, Ireland, England, and France; and a few from other European countries. Some were influential religious figures while others were ancestors of families who are prominent today. German and Irish immigrants had their own churches and numerous clubs. The Scots formed a Caledonia Club. The Germans were particularly well organized and also maintained German-language newspapers.

IMMIGRANTS IN RICHMOND AFTER THE CIVIL WAR: 1865-1880

by

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B.S., Georgia Institute of Technology, 1943

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

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in

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## Chapter I

### Immigration and the Virginia Government

When one considers immigration to the United States in the nineteenth century, the so-called "old" immigration,<sup>1</sup> one generally thinks of the Germans and Scandinavians who settled in the Midwest, or the Irish who migrated to Boston, New York, and other eastern cities. Richmond, the city of William Byrd and other pre-revolutionary British families, the capital of the Confederacy, the epitome of Anglo-Saxon heritage, would not immediately come to mind as a community where more recent immigrants played a role. Yet, Michael Bell<sup>2</sup> and others have shown that in the mid-nineteenth century Richmond had a thriving community of new German immigrants.<sup>3</sup> Kathryn Mahone described and documented the

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<sup>1</sup>The terms "old" and "new" immigration were widely used by writers in the early twentieth century to distinguish between English-speaking, German, and Scandinavian immigrants they considered desirable, and the Italians, Slavs, and Jews, who came in large numbers from about 1890 on, and were considered less desirable at the time.

<sup>2</sup>Michael Everette Bell, "The German Immigrant Community of Richmond, Virginia: 1848-52" (M.A. thesis, University of Richmond, 1990).

<sup>3</sup>Among the others are: Myron Berman, Richmond's Jewry: Shabbat in Shockoe, 1769-1976 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979); Ignatius Remke, "Historical Sketch of St. Mary's Church, Richmond, Virginia, 1843-1935, by a Benedictine Father" n.p., 1935; Herrmann Schuricht, History (Footnote Continued)

Irish immigrant community, their life in Richmond, and their influence in politics, business, and industry.<sup>4</sup>

These studies covered the periods 1848 to 1852, and 1840 to 1860, respectively. Then came the Civil War and Reconstruction. Did immigration resume after the Civil War? If so, was it from Germany and Ireland, or were other countries represented? Why did new settlers come and what contributions, if any, did they make to rebuilding Richmond and to the life of the post-Civil War community? As a first step in examining these questions, the records of the Virginia state government were researched. It became evident that immigration was an important issue that was very much on the minds of politicians in Richmond.

On December 4, 1865, Virginia Governor Francis Harrison Pierpont sent his state of the commonwealth message to the "gentlemen of the Senate and House of Delegates." He reported on finances and made recommendations pertaining to railroads, voting, education, prisons, and matters involving freedmen. Then he continued under the heading immigration: "There is great interest felt throughout the state on the

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(Footnote Continued)  
of the German Element in Virginia, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Theo. Kroh & Sons, Printers, 1898-1900).

<sup>4</sup>Kathryn Lynn Mahone, "The Irish Community in Antebellum Richmond, 1840-1860" (M.A. thesis, University of Richmond, 1986).

subject of immigration. Some private companies have been formed; they need corporate powers to render them efficient." He mentioned the fact that the Congress of the United States in 1864 passed "some laws on the subject of foreign immigration ...". Their purpose was to encourage and regulate immigration, and "... to prevent, as far as possible, imposition upon the emigrant, who is too frequently imposed upon when he lands upon our shores." He told the legislators: "It is of the greatest importance to all who are interested in having emigrants come to our state, that they should be fairly and honestly dealt with. Whatever provision can be made by law to secure this object, should be adopted." He further thought that "Virginia, at this time, presents the best field for immigration in the United States ...," particularly in the fields of agriculture and mining.<sup>5</sup>

The general assembly acted promptly and by January 12, 1866, submitted a bill, "the provisions of which are designed to promote and encourage [immigration]." The report, signed by James Galt and Charles Herndon as co-chairmen of a

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<sup>5</sup>Virginia, Journal of the House of Delegates, 1865-69, A I b, reel 30, pp. 7-24, microfilm, Virginia State Library, Richmond. This message and subsequent legislative developments and actions were summarized by James Douglas Smith, "Virginia during Reconstruction, 1865-70" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1960), pp. 207-15.

joint Senate and House committee on immigration, made interesting reading.<sup>6</sup> It stated: "Under the circumstances by which we are surrounded -- looking to our immediate loss of capital, the upturning of our social system, and the entire overthrow and destruction of slave labor in Virginia -- no graver question could come up for consideration." The report made it clear that immigration was thought desirable so that Virginia "... may, at no distant day, be compensated for the loss of our slaves by the enhanced wealth growing out of the great development of our boundless resources." That development was to be fostered by turning "... a part of the great tide of immigration which is flowing into this country to our own state." Immigration was thought to bring material wealth, and the report cited statistics showing that Virginia and other former slaveholding states lost out to such states as New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin, even though "no state in the Union -- no country in the world surpasses Virginia in natural advantages of climate and soil, and in mineral resources." The writers described the state's advantages with great enthusiasm and in rich prose:

We can, in fact, offer to the immigrant every advantage and inducement to seek our shores. Political liberty;

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<sup>6</sup>Virginia, Journal of the Senate, December 4, 1865-March 3, 1866, A I a, reel 8, unit 3, document no. 3, microfilm, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

social advantages which, as a general rule, they have not in their own country; a rich and productive soil, yielding bountifully to the industrious husbandman; broad and navigable rivers, traversing nearly the entire breadth of the state; railroads running in every direction throughout the commonwealth; convenient markets; mines rich with gold, copper, lead, iron, coal, salt, and many other minerals. Surely Virginia can, with pride, but in all truth, challenge the world in the multitude and richness of inducements which she can offer to the emigrant from the old world to seek a home within her limits.

But they cautioned that they did not propose "... for the state in her present impoverished condition to expend any very large sum in her first experiment" and that they wanted to make sure that the demand for immigrants would exceed the supply.<sup>7</sup>

After debate and amendments, two laws were passed. On March 2, 1866, "an act to encourage immigration, and protect immigrant labor" took effect immediately.<sup>8</sup> The preamble made it clear that the motive was to replace lost slaves with immigrant labor. It dealt with enforcement of labor contracts made abroad, and gave immigrants the right to recover wages due under the contract if they were discharged without good cause. But it also provided that immigrants could be fined up to double the amount of wages due if they left prematurely or failed to repay their passage money or

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Virginia, Acts of the General Assembly, 1865-66  
(Richmond: Allegre & Goode, Printers, 1866), pp. 234-35.

obtained labor through the board. That bonus amounted to five dollars for each male over sixteen and two dollars for each unmarried female over eighteen. The final sentence of the law read: "In no event shall the operations of said board be a charge upon the treasury of the state."<sup>9</sup>

In the meantime, six different private organizations concerned with immigration had been incorporated. They were commercial enterprises established to make a profit through transportation activities and land sales. On February 5, 1866, the Virginia Land and Aid Immigration Company was founded. Its incorporators included names such as Lewis D. Crenshaw, Asa Rogers, and R. L. Montague. Its purposes were to encourage immigration of laborers and of people who wanted to buy or lease land, or provide for immigrants until they could provide for themselves; to act as agents for the sale or lease of land; and to provide transportation and accommodations.<sup>10</sup>

Three days later the Virginia and North Carolina Land, Emigration and Colonization Society was formed by, among others, Gilbert C. Walker (the future governor), G. W. Camp, Marshall Parks, and J. W. Hinton. This company was to establish agencies in Europe to promote immigration to

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 235-36.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 288-89.



Virginia and North Carolina, to operate ships from Europe to Norfolk, and to purchase and hold land for settlement and "colonization."<sup>11</sup> On February 10, 1866, yet another company was authorized to sell shares for the purpose of introducing "... immigrants to engage in the various occupations of labor in Virginia." The capital of this Virginia Immigration and Land Company was to be \$50,000 to \$100,000, and it was empowered to hold real estate not in excess of 15,000 acres.<sup>12</sup> And on February 12, there followed the Virginia Land, Trust and Immigration Company, chartered by people such as William G. Paine, Robert A. Lancaster, Franklin Stearns, Alexander Dudley, and George W. Palmer. The main purpose of this organization appeared to be purchase and sale of land, and the establishment of shipping facilities for immigrants and cargo. The company obviously had ambitious goals because the minimum capital was to be \$300,000, and this could be increased to a maximum of \$5,000,000. It also had the power to contract "... in the United States, Europe or elsewhere, except Africa, [underline by author] with any person whatsoever, for the manual labor or skill of such person on the farms, lands or other properties of said

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 293-96.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 287-88.

company, in ... any ... service requiring manual labor or skill."<sup>13</sup>

The fifth company to be incorporated was the American Immigration and Land Company on February 28. Some of the incorporators were John B. Evans, Edward Dudley Ragland, Nathaniel F. Bowe, and Joseph J. White. This corporation had a minimum capital of \$200,000 and a maximum of \$5,000,000, to be used for the encouragement of immigration from Europe not just to Virginia, but to all states of the former Confederacy. Among the stated specific objectives were "... supplying white men and women or immigrants with lands...."<sup>14</sup>

Finally, the Virginia Immigration Society was founded on March 3, 1866. It was authorized to hold up to \$300,000 and land not exceeding 5,000 acres for "... the purpose of bringing immigrants into this state."<sup>15</sup> On June 21, 1866, Robert E. Lee wrote from Lexington to Alexander Rives, one of the incorporators of this company, and also a judge of the Virginia court of appeals. The short letter stated clearly why Virginia wanted immigrants, who would be welcome, and how the leaders thought they could attract them.

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 290-93.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 296-98.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 287.

I am very glad to learn by your letter of the 21st ult., that the Va. Immigration Society is about to send one of its Directors to Europe, for the purpose of making arrangements for supplying the State with immigrants.

Good tenants to farm the uncultivated lands, and workmen and laborers of every description, are greatly needed in every portion of Va.; and persons of respectability of each class would be welcomed and received by our citizens. You, as well as the other Directors of the Company, are so intimately acquainted with the wants of the State, the character of its lands and of its people; that sending one of your own members abroad, as you propose, to establish agencies at important points, especially in Great Britain, is the surest means of accomplishing your object. I think it will be the best and quickest way of restoring the agricultural interests of the State; and must promote the general welfare of the country. You therefore have my earnest wishes for success.

I am with great respect,<sup>16</sup> yr. obdt. Svt.

R. E. Lee

Each of the six corporations had different incorporators so that a total of about fifty men initially invested in the business of bringing immigrants to the state. Many appeared to be prominent Virginians and all had Anglo-Saxon names. One Samuel M. Wilson was involved in the Virginia Land and Aid Immigration Company and also in the Virginia and North Carolina Society, while John D. Davis helped found both the latter and the Virginia Immigration Society. Also of interest is the fact that William H. Richardson, who was

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<sup>16</sup> Robert E. Lee to Alexander Rives, June 21, 1866, Lee letterbook, 1865-66, pp. 165-66, Lee family papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

shortly to become the commissioner of immigration, was one of the incorporators of the Virginia Immigration Society.<sup>17</sup>

Later in 1866 Governor Pierpoint again commented on immigration. In his annual message dated December 3, 1866, he wrote that the board had been appointed and organized, that it could serve as "... the channel through which individuals may procure tenants, laborers and purchasers for their lands. But it will require active cooperation on the part of individuals to effect this object."<sup>18</sup> He continued with various suggestions for such cooperation and stressed that a geological survey, including a description of "mineral and botanical productions" was needed. This "... would not be expensive, and it is only in this way that our valuable mineral deposits and varied vegetable productions can be brought fully to public attention." He thought it would take two to three years to complete the survey at a cost of eight thousand to ten thousand dollars per year. The message shed additional light on why Virginia was so concerned about immigration. The governor wrote: "We must first depend upon the native now in the state, white and colored. This is to be encouraged by the repeal of

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<sup>17</sup>Acts of the General Assembly, 1865-66, p. 287.

<sup>18</sup>Journal of the House, 1865-69, A I b, reel 30, document no. 1, pp. 23-25.

oppressive laws, by the encouragement of common schools, and by fair wages and kind treatment." He made an eloquent plea for giving Negroes a fair chance regarding work, wages, and education, but, perhaps realizing that the plea would fall on deaf ears, continued that "the next hope for labor is from foreign emigration."<sup>19</sup>

Pierpoint described three classes of European immigrants: Small farmers who have heard about cheap and fertile land and want to better themselves, but do not have much money; young men used to working and looking for employment to improve their standard of living; and "... inmates of work-houses, alms-houses, prisons, and the purlieus of the

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 23. The plea reads: "The colored man has great odds against him. In many instances he is paid less wages than the white man, in the same field, and required to do the same amount of work. If he does not, he is denounced as worthless: he has the theories of the politicians and the dogmas of divines against him; the one class maintaining that the true theory of the organization of society is, that capital should own labor; and the other, proving to their own satisfaction, from the sacred record, that God in his wisdom made the negro for a slave -- that he is the laborer to be owned and worked for his own amelioration and advancement, and the general good of the few who should own slaves. Men are attached to their theories -- by these kings rule by Divine right. The negro has to progress, if progress he shall, against theories. In some sections of the state he has done well this year. He ought to have a fair chance; and it may be, when he shall have as many inducements to work as the white man, he will work. There are few who toil all day but cast a wistful eye at the setting sun. The negro should be tried hopefully; and I am pleased to find that a large number of the best men of the state are willing to encourage the freedman to work, and give him a fair chance, as regards wages and education."

cities, who have earned a precarious livelihood by their wits and vices." He thought that homes and employment must be provided by individuals through the immigration board to attract the desirable immigrants. He came out against the apparently prevailing practice of "... paying large sums of money to ... emigrant agents, as a reward upon each head brought here,..." He opposed appropriations to emigration societies or "any organization to which the state shall be a party, where money is to be paid out of the public treasury in proportion to the number of emigrants imported." He thought such practices would only bring paupers to Virginia.<sup>20</sup>

In the meantime, the board of immigration had started their work; some documents have been preserved. A letter from Commissioner William H. Richardson to P. C. Wright, Esq., president of the American Emigrant Aid Company in New York referred to what was apparently a gift of fifty shares of stock in that company. On September 14, 1866, Richardson refused to accept the shares because he was serving Virginia and "her brave and true, but now impoverished people."<sup>21</sup> It

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>21</sup>W. H. Richardson to P. C. Wright, September 14, 1866, records of the secretary of the board of immigration, Virginia Land Office inventory (hereafter "VLO"), Virginia State Archives, Richmond, item 138-1.

is not clear whether by that time he had given up his interest in the Virginia Immigration Society. The same letter contained a reference to General Gaspar Tochman, whose role in Virginia's immigration efforts will be examined separately.

On December 31, 1866, Commissioner Richardson submitted his first report.<sup>22</sup> He began by stating that 1500 copies of the board's message to the people of Great Britain had been printed and that the board's request for cooperation from the people of Virginia had been published by Richmond newspapers as a free public service. He wrote nothing about how the message to Great Britain was circulated, but mentioned that it could not be translated into European languages because the board had no money.<sup>23</sup> As for funds, he tried to obtain loans and donations as specified in the law, but received only a five hundred dollar loan and a hundred dollar donation. He discontinued these efforts as "being manifestly hopeless." He described an attempt to purchase fifty and hundred acre farms for "seven hundred emigrants of

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<sup>22</sup>Journal of the Senate, A I a, reel 8, unit 4, document no. 7, pp. 3-6.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 3. The pamphlet is entitled "The state of Virginia to the people of Great Britain" and is indexed under JV7109.V8 1866a at the Virginia State Library. Library personnel were unable to locate the volume on February 2, 1993, and on March 26, 1993.

a select class," who were thought to have brought "more than \$280,000 in gold," but the representative of the immigrants did not buy because he believed the price was too high. The rest of the report was a repetition of the themes sounded by the governor -- the need for labor, the types of immigrants desired, and the fact that "northern emigrant societies and other speculators in the emigrant trade" procured only unsatisfactory employees. Richardson stated that there was no need to send an agent to Great Britain, but that a capable, knowledgeable, and energetic representative was indispensable on the European continent.<sup>24</sup>

Thos. J. Randolph, president, R. Barton Haxall, and Wm. W. Crump transmitted this report to the general assembly and summarized its contents. They emphasized that the

... efforts have led to no practical result. ... [The] sums [expended] were so utterly inadequate that no plan commensurate with the magnitude and importance of the subject could be proposed or executed. ... In the opinion of the Board further legislation is indispensable, and the general assembly is invoked to reconsider the act of March 3, 1866, and to pass such a law as will give vigor and efficiency to the efforts to induce emigration from abroad ...<sup>25</sup>

How did the general assembly react? On January 29, 1867, they passed what appeared to be technical amendments to the March 3, 1866, act incorporating the Virginia

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 1



Immigration Society.<sup>26</sup> More importantly, on February 16 an act allowing aliens to own land became law.<sup>27</sup> On February 26 the Irish Emigrant Aid Society of Virginia was incorporated. Its purpose was "... to afford aid and information to emigrants, and generally to promote their welfare."<sup>28</sup> And on March 16, the general assembly resolved

First: That we hereby invite immigration embracing all classes of men, from all countries, to Virginia, to settle the surplus lands and to engage in all great industrial pursuits.

Second: That we earnestly recommend the citizens of Virginia to hold primary meetings in their respective counties, inviting immigration within their limits, and to appoint a principal agent in each, through whom communication may be held respecting lands offered for sale.

Third: That General Daniel Ruggles of Fredericksburg and General Wm. H. Richardson of Richmond city are hereby recommended as gentlemen well qualified to induce immigration to the state, and with whom communication by county agents is respectfully requested.<sup>29</sup>

But there is no evidence that any really meaningful legislation was passed in response to the pleas of the governor, the commissioner, and the board of immigration. Yet, the politicians kept on talking.

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<sup>26</sup> Acts of the General Assembly, 1866-67 (Richmond: James E. Goode, Printer, 1867), p. 579.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 642-43.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 677.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 786-87.

A report of the Committee on Agriculture, Industrial Interests and Immigration to the 1867-68 Virginia constitutional convention dealt with the changed labor conditions caused by the abolition of slavery.<sup>30</sup> Andrew Milbourn, chairman, recommended that immigration should be regulated, "... for, if properly directed and fostered, it will speedily become a public blessing. Educated labor is essential to our prosperity,..." he wrote, and "... in order to draw the most desirable population to our shores, we must do as others ..., and by a liberal and enlightened policy, and sensible laws, induce them to come." Beautiful words -- but what the committee actually recommended was a board consisting of a superintendent elected by the general assembly and two assistant superintendents appointed by the governor subject to Senate confirmation. The superintendent's duties were to be the collection of statistics on industry, on "... the sex, ages and pecuniary condition ..." of immigrants, on their occupational qualifications, and their distribution in various sections of Virginia. There were a number of other provisions pertaining to reporting, compensation of the

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<sup>30</sup>Virginia Constitutional Records, 1867-68, reel 5, document no. 33, pp. 165-67, microfilm, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

board, and frequency of meetings, but not one word about how to attract immigrants.<sup>31</sup>

Richardson continued to write letters. On April 2, 1869, he informed a Mr. Lucas, who had apparently inquired from London, that the board had no funds, but that Virginia needed "agricultural laborers and domestic servants," gardeners, iron foundry puddlers, and "skilled rolling mill workmen." Employment had to be secured before the immigrants arrived, and the puddlers, for instance, had to obligate themselves to work for one year. The pay offered was six dollars per long ton of iron, out of which the worker was to pay for his helper. But the real emphasis seemed to be on how much land was available for sale. Richardson cited a six thousand acre estate in Orange county, near a railroad and accessible to Richmond, Alexandria, and Washington, suitable for the "production of cereals and grass," all for \$120,000 including a mansion.<sup>32</sup>

On February 15, 1870, the commissioner sent his second report to the board of immigration. He pointed out that correspondence took up all of his time and mentioned 165 pages during the last eleven months. He again complained

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 167.

<sup>32</sup>W. H. Richardson to J. E. Lucas, April 2, 1869, VLO item 138-10.

about inadequate funding and -- a new difficulty -- that most immigrants arrived in New York, where they were influenced against settling in Virginia. Richardson continued with his wishful thinking of attracting British families who would have money for purchasing land. He devoted a long section of the report to summarizing the proceedings of a conference held in London in July 1869, where emigration to the British colonies and the United States was discussed. Regarding the above-mentioned correspondence with Mr. Lucas, he reported that Lucas and his partner John Everett had been appointed to "... secure the investment of British capital in Virginia, and the settlement of numbers of the industrial classes. But no benefit whatsoever has resulted,...." Richardson pinned all his hopes on the work of General Tochman, the new European agent, about whom more will be written later.<sup>33</sup>

Again there was a transmittal report dated February 28, 1870, and signed by Thos. J. Randolph, president, R. B. Haxall, and new board member Wm. H. MacFarland. The report praised General Tochman and suggested that he should appear before the appropriate committee of the legislature to give information relevant to the need for additional legislation.

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<sup>33</sup>Journal of the Senate, 1869-70 (Richmond: James E. Goode's Steam Presses, 1870), document no. 3, pp. 4-8.

But this document also touched on the real reasons why Virginia was unable to attract the type of immigrants that its leaders thought they needed. A section read:

The foreign immigrant who settles on the vacant land of the west, settles most frequently in communities of his own people, having his own domestic and social habits, his own moral and religious ideas and feelings. He is conscious of little that is new, save the soil under his feet and the skies over his head. The foreign immigrant, on the contrary, who arrives in Virginia, finds himself in an old settled country, sparsely populated, it is true, but yet sufficiently well settled to compel him to associate with a people whose language, whose domestic and social habits, whose whole current of thought, whose institutions, soil, climate, and culture, are all new and strange to him. Hence he will often remain no longer than will enable him to acquire means to join his countrymen in the west.<sup>34</sup>

The Senate had created a committee on immigration in February 1870. Matters pertaining to immigration came up throughout the spring and were referred to the new committee.<sup>35</sup> For instance, a bill to encourage immigration and foreign trade to Virginia was introduced by Senator Walter H. Taylor of Norfolk city and Princess Anne county,<sup>36</sup> and there were some proposals pertaining to the exclusion of "pauper" immigrants.<sup>37</sup> On March 30 it was reported that five hundred immigrants from Holland were penniless and that

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-3.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 69, 72.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 197.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 187, 222.

legislation was needed to deal with serious problems, but on April 16 the committee reported that this was untrue and that the immigrants were thriving.<sup>38</sup>

Also referred to this committee was a "memorial" from Tochman, probably the result of the board of immigration's February recommendation that he should appear in person.<sup>39</sup> On June 18, 1870, chairman William A. Anderson of Rockbridge, Bath, and Alleghany counties reported as follows:

The senate committee on immigration have carefully considered the memorial of General G. Tochman to the general assembly, praying for an appropriation of ten thousand dollars to defray the expenses of foreign and domestic agencies employed by him for the introduction of immigrants into this state, and asking that a lien may be given him by law upon lands sold to immigrants through the instrumentality of the agencies under his control,... report [that it is]

1. Inexpedient [to authorize the appropriation] ...
2. Impracticable [to create the lien]<sup>40</sup>

A new flurry of activity started with Governor Gilbert C. Walker's message to the Senate and House on December 6, 1871. He urged immediate action on immigration and stressed the need for capital and population. He thought Virginia with its "unequaled climate" and resources should be able to compete with the western states, particularly since direct

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 237, 325.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 342.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 535.

steamship transportation was now available from Liverpool to Norfolk. He proposed a specific plan, including establishment of a bureau of immigration, agencies in Europe, and a depot to receive immigrants in Norfolk; the preparation of a new pamphlet to disseminate information about Virginia; and giving the commissioner authority to sell land.<sup>41</sup>

Bills to amend the March 3, 1866, immigration act and to establish a board of agriculture, immigration, and statistics were introduced in the House and Senate on December 15, 1871, and on February 2, 1872, respectively.<sup>42</sup> Neither bill appears to have passed. Generals Richardson and Tochman labored on, and some of Richardson's correspondence has been preserved.

For instance, there was an exchange of letters with Robert Somers in Glasgow, starting on March 13, 1872, when Somers wrote to Richardson introducing and recommending John Hartling and James Brown, two "good Scottish factory workers," who wanted to settle in Virginia.<sup>43</sup> No record could be found of Richardson's advice to them, but on September

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<sup>41</sup>Journal of the Senate, 1871-72 (Richmond: C. A. Schaffter, 1871), pp. 13-18.

<sup>42</sup>Journal of the House, 1871-72 (Richmond: C. A. Schaffter, 1872), pp. 68, 248.

<sup>43</sup>Robert Somers to W. H. Richardson, March 13, 1872, VLO item 137-1.

20, 1872, he wrote to Somers. He complained that, since the board had no money, immigrants arriving in Norfolk from Liverpool listen to the wrong people and do not necessarily buy land in the right localities.<sup>44</sup> Somers replied at great length on October 29, 1872, and minced no words. It was essential, he wrote, that southern states take more active measures if they want immigrants. He criticized the fact that Virginia was spending money on railroads and other investments while "... grudging the smallest appropriation for the purpose of directing some proportion of the great stream of emigration from Europe into their own borders." He explained that Hartling and Brown had not followed Richardson's recommendations because they accidentally met a Scottish merchant who helped them buy a farm in Orange county. He suggested more personal contacts with immigrants to counteract the press and the work of agents from northern states and Canada, who were fostering prejudice against the southern climate and labor conditions. Somers apparently was the author of a pamphlet or book entitled "Southern States Since the War," a publication which, according to him, created great interest in the British press. He concluded with the statement that "hundreds of thousands"

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<sup>44</sup>Richardson to Somers, September 20, 1872, VLO item 138-9.



immigrants would like to help rebuild the southern states and requested a meeting to determine how British labor and capital could be attracted to the South.<sup>45</sup> Whether such a meeting ever took place is not known.

Richardson received somewhat different advice in a lengthy letter from the Reverend King Eagles, the vicar of a small parish in Taunton, Somersetshire, in Southwest England. He and his son (no mention of a wife) were interested in emigrating from England because it had become too crowded and had an "overstrained social system." But he did not trust guidebooks, which were exaggerating the fertility of Virginia's soil and the similarity of its climate with that of England. "I have never seen a pamphlet on Virginia that I consider worth a farthing," he wrote. Nor did he trust local agents, whose main purpose, he thought, was selling land and promoting the interests of shipowners. Yet, he felt that Virginia "... presents the most inducements for emigrants" because it was "... an old settled colony ... and settled by old families of England." The vicar's recommendation was to publish truthful and descriptive sketches, to have one representative in one room in London, where descriptive books, sketches, photographs, local papers,

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<sup>45</sup>Somers to Richardson, October 29, 1872, VLO item 137-3.

railway books and fares, and similar information would be available. "You would do more by this in six months than by your present plan in six years," he concluded.<sup>46</sup> Richardson's reply of May 22, 1872 has unfortunately not been preserved.

On March 29, 1873, the legislature finally approved a new act for the encouragement of immigration. For the first time, a five thousand dollar fund was created for the preparation of a "Geographical and Political Summary of Virginia," which was to be printed. The board of immigration was reconstituted to consist of the governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of the Commonwealth, adjutant general, and treasurer.<sup>47</sup> There was no reference to a commissioner, and Richardson must have complained about the act to Senator John L. Marye, Jr. who replied on September 25, 1873, along the following lines: The purpose of the new act was not to abrogate the functions of the immigration board under the 1866 act. The legislature had acted with "lamentable derelicture" on the subject of immigration. Their delays and inaction had discouraged supporters of immigration, and the press and "selfish land jobbers" were

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<sup>46</sup>King Eagles to Richardson, April 26, 1872, VLO item 137-2.

<sup>47</sup>Acts of the General Assembly, 1872-73 (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1873), p. 272.

preventing effective state action. In conclusion Marye stated that he had no advice or suggestions for Richardson.<sup>48</sup> The latter's name still appears on a report to the Senate in January 1874, but the commissioner's job appears to have been abolished.

That report was requested by the senators on January 16, 1874. They wanted to know what steps had been taken to publish the geographical and political summary specified under the March 29, 1873, law.<sup>49</sup> Four days later they received an answer from James McDonald, secretary of the board of immigration. Major Jed Hotchkiss of Staunton had been hired in April to prepare the summary because he "... was believed to possess greater experience and aptitude for the work than any person known to the board."<sup>50</sup> Jedediah Hotchkiss was indeed well-known as a teacher and engineer. He had been born in Windsor, New York in 1828, and settled in the Shenandoah Valley in 1847. He had become an ardent Confederate and gave up school teaching during the Civil War to serve Generals Jackson and Lee. Details of the life of

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<sup>48</sup> John L. Marye, Jr. to Richardson, September 25, 1873, VLO item 137-4.

<sup>49</sup> Journal of the Senate, 1874 (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1874), p. 84.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

this "Rebel Mapmaker and Virginia Businessman" were described in the biography written by Peter W. Roper.<sup>51</sup>

McDonald's report continued that Hotchkiss had worked "zealously ... and reported his progress from time to time," but the job turned out to be bigger than expected.<sup>52</sup>

Hotchkiss explained his difficulties to the board in a December 31, 1873, letter, which became a part of the report to the Senate. When he took on the job in April, he thought he would finish it in two or three months, he wrote, but his desire for accuracy and well-substantiated facts, and the inaccuracies in the 1870 census, had caused delays so that it took him and two assistants until December to complete the book. He thought that "... it is the active and observing [people] that emigrate ..." and that "... the work commends itself to the thinking, writing, speaking, acting educated classes that in all countries, ..., in the end, control and direct the movements of capital and labor."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Peter W. Roper, Jedediah Hotchkiss Rebel Mapmaker and Virginia Businessman (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing Company, Inc., 1992)

<sup>52</sup>Journal of the Senate, 1874, document no. 5.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

It was 1876 before the book was finally published.<sup>54</sup> The work was indeed full of facts, statistics, and information on agriculture, manufacturing, mining, commerce, transportation, government, and education in Virginia. The "summary" contained 320 pages of text, charts, and maps, and certainly must have satisfied the educated people for whom it was intended. It also contained statistics for the years 1871-74 on the ages, occupations, and nationalities of men and women arriving through the port of Norfolk, based on United States immigration records. These statistics will be discussed later.

Matthew Fontaine Maury had also become involved in the immigration efforts. On September 10, 1868, he wrote "To the Public" that he had "been appointed to the chair of physics in the Virginia Military Institute, for the purpose of conducting a physical survey of the state. The main object of this survey is to make known the natural resources of Virginia; to invite enterprise; to stimulate industry; encourage commerce; promote immigration and advance the material prosperity of the people." He devised a form containing thirty-eight questions pertaining to fishing, agriculture, mining, and transportation, and requested that

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<sup>54</sup>Jed Hotchkiss, Virginia: A Geographical and Political Summary prepared and published under the supervision of the board of immigration (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1876).

answers be sent to the Office of Physical Survey, Virginia Military Institute, Richmond [sic]. A copy of the questionnaire showed up in the board of immigration files on November 22, 1872.<sup>55</sup> Nothing is known about the response and results. The board or the general assembly must have decided to start over again with Major Hotchkiss, as shown by the following correspondence, from which a somewhat different picture emerged.

On December 9, 1874, Francis H. Smith, superintendent of VMI, wrote to Governor Kemper. According to this letter, the board of visitors of VMI recalled Commodore Maury "from exile in Europe," appointed him professor of physics, and placed him in charge of the physical survey, not in 1868, as Maury wrote, but in 1869. Smith wrote that Maury's first report was published at VMI expense. A second report covering Virginia's climate, soil, and resources had been completed when Maury died. The "... information it supplies was believed to be just such as was needed by the immigrant seeking a home in this country." It was communicated to the state as a donation, had been a labor of love for Maury, and the state should now either publish it or return it to VMI. In response to this letter, which reached the governor as head of the immigration board through the VMI board of

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<sup>55</sup>VLO item 140.

visitors, James McDonald, secretary of the immigration board wrote to the president of the Senate. His December 11, 1874, letter stated that the board had no authority either to publish or return Maury's work and was referring the matter to the legislature. McDonald wrote that the report had not been published because an important part had been lost while it was "in the hands of the legislature" during the "last session." This must have been the 1873-74 session, i.e., the session during which the Hotchkiss report was finished. McDonald added that efforts to have the lost portion rewritten were unsuccessful because Maury was absent in Europe -- yet Smith wrote that Maury had returned from Europe and then died.<sup>56</sup>

It is clear that the state's efforts to attract immigrants were not only ineffective and unsuccessful, but were marked by confusion and "buck passing" between various political figures and groups. Still they kept trying for about three more years.

During the 1874-75 legislative session Senator Edgar Allen from Amelia, Cumberland, and Prince Edward counties on February 11, 1875, introduced a bill "to promote the formation of immigration societies throughout the

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<sup>56</sup> Journal of the Senate, 1874-75 (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1874), p. 54 and document no. 10.

commonwealth."<sup>57</sup> It passed both Houses on March 27, 1875,<sup>58</sup> became law on March 29, and stated that it was the "... business of each society to bring together buyers and sellers of land, and to furnish correct information to both classes."<sup>59</sup>

The same senator on March 2 presented a "memorial" of the British Association of Virginia.<sup>60</sup> This interesting document contained a resolution passed at a March 1 meeting of the Association, an organization consisting mainly of British settlers in Virginia. Signed by its Chairman Fred. R. Scott and Secretary Thos. P. Jackson, the resolution was that their suggestions be given to Senator Allen "for presentation to the Senate and for using his influence to ..." achieve the objectives. These were to interest capitalists abroad in the advantages of investment in Virginia and to attract "... that class of immigrants which we desire." The suggestions were that a commissioner be sent to Europe who would be respected by the British public and had no personal or financial interest in attracting

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 208.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., pp. 337, 350, 410.

<sup>59</sup>Acts of the General Assembly, 1874-75 (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1875), p. 375.

<sup>60</sup>Journal of the Senate, 1874-75, p. 280.



settlers. Governor James L. Kemper should be selected for this project because of his "deep interest ... in the work of building up the interests of the state." Legislation should be passed if necessary, and, most importantly, the Association was willing to pay for sending the governor to Europe.<sup>61</sup>

The senator did what he was asked to do. On March 15, 1875, he introduced a joint resolution authorizing and requesting the state board of immigration to appoint the governor as honorary commissioner to visit Europe "... for the purpose of properly representing the varied resources of the state."<sup>62</sup> The resolution was debated, amended, referred to different committees, but on motion of Senator Auburn L. Pridemore of Lee, Wise, and Buchanan counties was "indefinitely" postponed on March 17 by a vote of seventeen to fifteen.<sup>63</sup>

On February 10, 1875, the House of Delegates passed legislation which changed the emphasis from immigration to the purchase of land by immigrants. The full title of the bill was "an act for the encouragement of land purchasers and actual settlers in Virginia, and to repeal an act for

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., document no. 18.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., pp. 330-31.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., pp. 337, 338, 342, 344.

the encouragement of immigration (approved March 29, 1873)."<sup>64</sup> Senator Pridemore lost his fight for an amendment to lower the authorized expenditure from ten thousand to five thousand dollars. But his proposal that "the board shall report to the general assembly, annually, the number of immigrants settled in the state, from what country they emigrated, and where settled, and the salaries paid to its officers" passed the Senate and was approved by the House.<sup>65</sup> The bill became law on March 2, 1875. How did it differ from the 1873 act?

On the five member state board the speaker of the house was substituted for the lieutenant governor, and the auditor of public accounts took the place of the adjutant general. The "Register of the Land Office" became secretary to the board. The appropriation under the act was increased from five thousand to ten thousand dollars, and the board received authority to appoint agents, enter contracts for the sale of land, and various other activities "... for facilitating [settlers] to their respective destination." A long section of the act dealt with printing of the publication authorized by the earlier law. Hotchkiss was not mentioned by name, but the reports of Maury and a "Geological Survey

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 207.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 258, 275.

of Virginia by Professor William B. Rogers" were to be delivered to the secretary of the board, who was to furnish copies to interested persons at the cost of publication. The new law also contained a provision making it illegal for any officer or employee connected with the board to receive any direct or indirect compensation through land speculation.<sup>66</sup> While this act appeared to increase the state's commitment to immigration, one is struck by the onerous financial controls and reporting requirements, and the change in title made it clear that Virginia wanted land purchasers, and not immigrants.

The first report under the new legislation -- for the year ending on September 30, 1875, -- was made to the Senate and House by Governor Kemper on December 13, 1875. It was signed by him, Marshall Hanger (speaker of the House), James McDonald (secretary of the commonwealth), Wm. F. Taylor (auditor), and R. M. T. Hunter (treasurer).<sup>67</sup> They reported that they held an organizational meeting on March 10, arranged for publication of the Hotchkiss work, and returned the second volume of Maury's book to General Smith of VMI

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<sup>66</sup> Acts of the General Assembly, 1874-75, pp. 116-18.

<sup>67</sup> Journal of the Senate, 1875-76 (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1875), p. 66 and document no. 4. A draft of this report was found in VLO item 139.

for updating. A circular and form to be used by people who wanted to sell land had been distributed to the counties.<sup>68</sup>

Each county was to appoint a local agent to "attend to the general interests of the immigrant." The form was a masterpiece of bureaucratic creativity. It requested answers to questions such as "Healthfulness of locality: What manure used: The earliest day the different vegetables are ready for market:" and so on. The owner had to certify that the answers were "true and faithful" and give a power of attorney to the board of immigration to sell his land. All papers were to be sent to Major Samuel H. Boykin, secretary of the board, and the fees were fixed at five dollars plus five percent commission on land sales. Regarding finances, the board reported that the salary of the secretary had been set at three hundred dollars -- presumably per year -- and that as of September 30, 1875, \$2,308.08 had been spent.<sup>69</sup>

During the 1875-76 session Virginia's lawmakers debated a resolution to permit the whole Senate immigration committee to travel to Washington, but not at state expense. They were to confer with the Virginia congressional delegation "... as to the best means of promoting the general interests

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., document no. 4.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-7.

of immigration." The resolution was defeated.<sup>70</sup> The legislators also considered a request from the immigration board that the law be amended to provide for the appointment of a salaried superintendent of immigration.<sup>71</sup> According to the Journal of the Senate such an amendment, after considerable controversy, passed both Houses on March 27, 1876, but the text of the amended act could not be found.<sup>72</sup>

Regardless of whether a superintendent was appointed or not, at least there was some activity. As mentioned earlier, the Hotchkiss summary was finally published in 1876. In October Secretary Boykin sent copies to seven different European organizations and asked that the books be distributed to prospective immigrants. No attempt was made to "sell" Virginia to the recipients. Boykin must have felt that the work spoke for itself. Furthermore, he assumed that everybody knew English and that government statistical bureaus would be the right avenues for distribution. It seems safe to assume that the books rested unread in the

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 212 and document no. 16.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., pp. 266, 283, 287, 298, 319, 394.

bureaucratic files of France, Denmark, Germany, Austria, and Belgium.<sup>73</sup>

According to the board's report for the period of October 1, 1875, to December 1, 1876, five thousand copies of the Hotchkiss summary had been printed and were to be sold for one dollar per copy. Boykin reported that only ninety had been sold, but that 170 copies had been distributed to the press and to "distinguished men." Total expenditures, mostly for printing and Hotchkiss' expenses, but also including a \$350 salary for the secretary, amounted to \$4,601.54. Since the board had been unable to sell the book, they requested authority from the legislature to distribute it free.<sup>74</sup> This request was referred to the

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<sup>73</sup>VLO item 138. Letters were sent to the following:  
 M. Michael Chevalier, Member of the Institute [sic], Paris.  
 C. H. David, Chief Statistical Bureau, Copenhagen.  
 Dr. F. Hardick, Chief [sic] Statistical Bureau, Grand Duchy of Baden, Carlsruhe [sic].  
 Dr. Charles Holdhans, Secretary Chamber of Commerce, Vienna.  
 Herr Kohl, Chief [sic] Statistical Bureau, Bremen.  
 I. Sauveur, Secretary Central Statistical Commission, Brussels, Belgium.  
 Dr. Augustus Voeleker, Chemist of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, London.  
 All but Dr. Voeleker appeared on a list filed with a draft of the 1875 annual report (see note 67). In addition, that list contained the names of Dr. E. Engel, Chief, Bureau of Statistics, Berlin; Sir John Coles, South Kensington Museum, London; Herr Foltz, Secretary, Agricultural Society of Upper Austria, Vienna; Dr. Mayr, Chief, Bureau of Statistics, Munich.

<sup>74</sup>Journal of the Senate, 1876-77 (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1876), p. 62 and document no. 5.

committee on immigration, and on March 27, 1877, the Senate passed a joint resolution authorizing the board to distribute ten copies to each member of the general assembly and the remainder as they saw fit in their judgment.<sup>75</sup> The House passed the same resolution on April 3, 1877.<sup>76</sup>

The governor, who was nominally in charge of the board, continued to refer inquiries to the secretary with the suggestion that the Hotchkiss book be sent.<sup>77</sup> Boykin's next annual report, transmitted to the Senate and House by Governor Kemper on December 31, 1877, showed that forty-three additional copies of Virginia had been sold, that 1,760 had been distributed to the general assembly, and 303 given to librarians and others. The report referred to "voluminous correspondence"; it also stated that five thousand copies of Maury's second volume had been published at a cost of one thousand dollars and would be ready for distribution at a cost of twenty cents per copy in January 1878.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid., pp. 117, 362-63.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 435.

<sup>77</sup>Thomas Connolly to James L. Kemper, January 2, 1877; Wilson, Hinkle & Co. to Kemper, January 2, 1877, VLO item 137.

<sup>78</sup>Journal of the Senate, 1877-78 (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1877), p. 81 and document no. 12.

But the legislature finally either lost interest, or realized that the state's involvement in immigration matters was ineffective, or both. On March 14, 1878, a new act was approved. The formidable title of this law was "an act to repeal an act entitled an act for the encouragement of land purchasers and actual settlers in Virginia, and to repeal an act approved March 29, 1873, entitled an act for the encouragement of immigration and to dispose of the books and pamphlets in the possession of the board of immigration."<sup>79</sup> Of the original ten thousand dollar appropriation, the sum of \$5,597.63 was left and was to be returned to the treasury. The board was abolished and all copies of the Hotchkiss book as well as all other pamphlets, books, maps, and so forth were to be turned over to the secretary of the commonwealth. The latter was authorized to sell them at cost, retain a five percent commission, and deposit the remaining proceeds in the state treasury.

During subsequent years the commissioner of agriculture was given responsibility for immigration matters. His annual reports became a repetition of the themes cited in earlier board of immigration reports: the need for immigrants; the desirability of Virginia as a place to settle;

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<sup>79</sup>Acts of the General Assembly, 1877-78 (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1878), pp. 242-43.



the inability of the commissioner to get anything done because of lack of money; the need for a salaried immigration agent.<sup>80</sup> But these years are beyond the time of this study.

The period from 1865 to 1878 was marked by legislative efforts which resulted in much talk, very little expenditure, and not much accomplishment. Yet there was some immigration, and this development will be presented in the following chapters.

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<sup>80</sup>Virginia, Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1879-, Virginia State Library.

## Chapter II

### The Role of Gaspar Tochman

General Gaspar Tochman, an immigrant himself, became involved in Virginia's efforts to attract European immigrants shortly after the end of the Civil War.<sup>1</sup> As mentioned in the previous chapter, Commissioner Richardson referred to him in a September 14, 1866, letter to the president of the American Emigrant Aid Company in New York. At that time Tochman had apparently already arranged for some immigrants to settle in Amelia county, and he tried to see Richardson, presumably to discuss additional immigration.<sup>2</sup>

Tochman must have been well-known to Virginia politicians because references to him appeared as early as 1843. He seemed to be a man adept at self-promotion and propagan-da. Born in Poland in 1797, he arrived in the United States in 1837.<sup>3</sup> He referred to himself as a former major in the

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<sup>1</sup>Tochman was referred to as "general" in several documents although he apparently never attained that position.

<sup>2</sup>W. H. Richardson to P. C. Wright, September 14, 1866, records of the secretary of the board of immigration, Virginia Land Office inventory, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, item 138-1.

<sup>3</sup>Gaspar Tochman, Emigration to the United States,  
(Footnote Continued)

Polish army, and from 1839 on gave lectures to get American support for Polish independence from Russia. Most of these speeches were made in the North and the Northwest, but in March 1843 he came to Richmond.<sup>4</sup> Tochman's invitation, which the speaker of the House conveyed to the delegates, was indicative of the man and his subject. He wrote from Richmond on March 8:

Sir,- Allow me to tender my acknowledgments to yourself and to hon. members of the house of delegates for the favor of granting me the use of the hall, for the purpose of addressing them on the subject of the affairs of my native land, Poland. The strong interest in the fate of the land of a Kosciusko and a Pulaski, manifested unanimously by ten state legislatures of the western and northern parts of this union, and numerous bodies of citizens, before whom I had the honor to appear, gives me encouragement to hope that a like interest cannot fail to be awakened in the birthstate of the great and immortal Washington, -- and that yourself and hon. members of the house will please honor me with full attendance to-morrow evening at half past seven o'clock. I am, sir, with the highest consideration, your most obedient servant,<sup>5</sup>  
G. Tochman, A Polish Exile.

Tochman became a lawyer and settled in New York, where on March 26, 1846, he founded a Polish Literary

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(Footnote Continued)

Organization of the State Board of Immigration in the State of Virginia, 2d ed. (New York: D. Batchelar & Co., 1869), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Gaspar Tochman, "Poland and Russia": an address delivered before the Virginia legislature in 1843, n.p. 1863, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup>Virginia, Journal of the House of Delegates, 1842-43, A I b, reel 22, unit 1, p. 196, microfilm, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

Association.<sup>6</sup> Around 1853 he moved from New York to Washington, and in 1861 he left Washington for Montgomery.<sup>7</sup> He "... abandoned [his] U. S. legal profession" and separated from his wife.<sup>8</sup> This "Polish lady by birth" was arrested on September 3, 1861. She remained at the Old Capitol prison in Washington until at least 1864 as a person suspected of disloyalty to the United States.<sup>9</sup>

Writing during the Civil War, the Major explained that in 1843 he had tried

... to prepare the public for a favorable reception of the then expected renewal of the struggle to accomplish [Polish] independence. Prudence, however, required of my countrymen to postpone that movement, and I became your naturalized citizen and devoted myself to practicing law and farming. When the deplorable encroachments of the Northern politicians inaugurated your war (though all my friendly associations were formed at [sic] the North) true to the dictates of the

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<sup>6</sup>G. Tochman to H. S. Foote, December 5, 1863, Confederate States of America, Congress, House of Representatives, "The Case of General Tochman" n.p. 1863.

<sup>7</sup>Tochman, Emigration, p. 3. Writing in 1869, Tochman stated that he had been a Virginia resident for sixteen years.

<sup>8</sup>Confederate States of America, Congress, House of Representatives, Report of the committee on claims on memorial and accompanying papers of Major Gaspar Tochman, n.p. 1864, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. and The War of the Rebellion, a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, John S. Moodey, Indexer, series II, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), serial no. 115.

constitutional principles of self-government and State sovereignties, I took side with the South,...<sup>10</sup>

He threw himself into aiding the Confederacy with the same energy he showed in his earlier efforts on behalf of Poland. On June 3, 1861, the New Orleans True Delta printed a proclamation by Tochman addressed "To the Refugees in America from Foreign Lands." Dated May 24, 1861, it was signed by him as "your affectionate and liberty-loving fellow exile" and invited foreigners to join him in fighting for the South. He claimed that he was authorized to do so by L. P. Walker, secretary of war, and that he raised seventeen hundred men, 1415 of whom were foreign-born.<sup>11</sup> But this so-called Polish brigade was dissolved on August 24, 1861, and was incorporated into the 13th regiment of Louisiana volunteers. The dissolution ended Tochman's dreams of glory and his expectation that he would become a brigadier general. He resigned his commission and began a three-year effort to be compensated by the Confederate government.

This effort is described in correspondence and communications from Tochman to the House of Representatives of the Confederacy. He wrote to President Jefferson Davis,

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<sup>10</sup>Tochman, "Poland and Russia" p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>Report of the committee on claims, p. 1.

Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of War James A. Seddon, and to H. S. Foote, chairman of the House foreign affairs committee.<sup>12</sup> He made the case that his command had been taken away from him and that he was entitled to \$7,525 for compensation and expenses. He claimed that, had he not been cheated by the Confederate authorities, he could have induced the German immigrants fighting for the Union to join the Confederate forces. He felt insulted because certain documents implied that he was just a recruiting agent rather than an important officer. He wanted to leave America and rejoin the struggle for Polish independence, but "... poor Poland must wait ... " because he could not leave without having his character and integrity reestablished.<sup>13</sup>

Davis and Benjamin refused to interfere. Seddon turned down the claim for compensation, but Congress did restore Tochman's "honor." The committee on claims report contained a "joint resolution of thanks to, and for the relief of, Major Gaspar Tochman" and found that the treasury indeed

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<sup>12</sup>Confederate States of America, Congress, House of Representatives, "Communication of G. Tochman touching his memorial now before Congress" n.p. March 9, 1863; "The Case of General Tochman" n.p. December 5, 1863; "General Tochman's Case" n.p. January 15, 1864.

<sup>13</sup>Tochman to James Farrow, May 19, 1864, Report of the committee on claims.

owed Tochman \$7,525 less \$1,105.03 already paid.<sup>14</sup> The House adopted the resolution on June 14, 1864,<sup>15</sup> and the Senate finally passed it on March 15, 1865.<sup>16</sup> It seems safe to assume that there was no money available by that time, that the Major never got paid, and therefore could not afford to go back to Poland. He apparently had friends in Columbia, South Carolina,<sup>17</sup> but reappeared in the Virginia picture in 1866, and Richardson appointed him to proceed to Europe on August 9, 1867.<sup>18</sup>

At age seventy Tochman had become European agent of immigration for Virginia. Writing on December 30, 1867, he claimed to have been a citizen for thirty years (although he could not have become a citizen immediately upon arrival in 1837) and was as enthusiastic about Virginia's attractions

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<sup>14</sup>Report of the committee on claims.

<sup>15</sup>Proceedings of the Second Confederate Congress, ed. Frank E. Vandiver (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1958), LI, p. 259.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., LII, p. 489.

<sup>17</sup>Tochman to Judah P. Benjamin, November 6, 1863, "The Case of General Tochman." Tochman wrote that he was leaving for Columbia and could be reached "care of Mrs. Sosnowski" until December 1, 1863.

<sup>18</sup>Gaspar Tochman, Virginia: a brief memoir for the information of Europeans desirous of emigrating to the new world (Richmond: Wm. A. R. Nye, 1868), p. 15.

as he had been about Polish independence and the cause of the South.<sup>19</sup> Samples of his writing follow:

Virginia can with confidence repose upon her generous soil and salubrious climate. Her present political troubles are but temporary, and need in no way affect the immigrant. They are being rapidly dispersed by the sunshine of a brightly dawning future. We have already welcomed people from the Northern and Southern sections of our Union, who have made here permanent homes, and have received the Northerner in the same spirit of kindness with which we provided a home for the exiled Poles in Spotsylvania county last year. ...

... in regard to the mineral wealth of the State; very little is known abroad how inexhaustible, how scarcely touched it is. The list of mineral treasures includes gold, copper, iron, lead, plumbago, coal, salt, gypsum (in vast beds), porcelain clay, fine granite, slate, marble,<sup>20</sup> soapstone, lime, water-lime, umber and fire-clay.

In the same "memoir" he quoted a communication from a Polish settlement in Virginia to Poles in Europe as follows:

The congeniality of [Virginia's] climate with our constitution; the ascertained productiveness of its lands, and its adaptation to a greater variety of crops than is the land of the North-Western States and Territories; the hospitality of its people, and the consideration that its local laws extend the same political rights and equal protection to the native and naturalized citizens and to all religious creeds, in connection with the man's natural disposition to go there in search of the means of living and competency for his family, where their acquisition is easier and more probable, were our only guides in selecting Virginia as our adopted State. We assert now upon the evidence of our own personal experience, acquired since we settled here, that the denial of the existence of these advantages, and better chances of success in Virginia, which can make an agriculturist independent and contented, must be attributed either to gross

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 10.



ignorance of the letter writers or to some ill and malicious design.<sup>21</sup>

Citing 1860 census statistics, Tochman pointed out that Virginia's inhabitants were 2 percent foreign-born, but that Richmond and Norfolk had foreign populations of 17 and 13 percent, respectively. He wrote: "Emigrants coming to Virginia will, therefore, not be as isolated as in other Southern States south of Virginia, and representatives from nearly every nationality on the globe may be found here."<sup>22</sup> Continuing his propaganda, he wrote an apologia for Virginia's secession from the Union, and asserted that "the thought to perpetuate African slavery was foreign to Virginians and had no influence in their determination to combat northern encroachments. ... On the contrary, the wise men of Virginia saw what was inevitable and ardently desired the peaceful and gradual abolition of African slavery."<sup>23</sup> But since due to northern agitation, the Negro was disappearing, was "threatened with total destruction," and no longer available for farming and development of resources, Virginia needed "future white citizens."<sup>24</sup> The general stated that

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

therefore foreigners would be "received as friends and equals" and described how they would be greeted and helped by the domestic agents General J. D. Imboden and Colonel Roger I. Page.

This pamphlet was published in German in the Virginia Staatszeitung and ten thousand copies were sent to Germany. In addition to Tochman, B. Johnson Barbour, Esq. was appointed to proceed to Europe in 1867, but it is not certain whether either of them ever left Virginia or how long they stayed away. A document published in 1869 made no mention of Barbour and implied that Tochman had an office in Richmond.<sup>25</sup> It referred to a Hamburg office for the European continent, staffed by Colonel Frank Schaller of Saxony, and a Liverpool office headed by Colonel J. S. Hutton, general agent for Great Britain, who was a native of Scotland. Both of them worked for Tochman, as did Adolph Meyendorff, a native of today's Latvia, who had an office in New York and received immigrants at Castle Garden, the processing station prior to Ellis Island. Also mentioned was Henry Miller as "president of a German association in Richmond," who assisted Tochman in this city.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Tochman, Emigration, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 4. The "German association" was the Gesang-Verein Virginia.

How all these people were compensated is a mystery because the letter appointing Tochman and all the others stated that it was "... not intended to authorize, and does not authorize the creation of any pecuniary liability, expense or obligation on the part of the State or the Board."<sup>27</sup> Tochman's 1869 publication, which was to be distributed free in Europe and sold for twenty cents in the United States, contained other hints of trouble. After a repetition of the 1867 material about Virginia and a discussion of farm prices, immigrants were cautioned to have land titles investigated by professionals. Tochman wrote that "... the title, especially of lands not settled yet, or of wild lands, is in many cases very doubtful -- owing to the conflicting rights arising from the irregularities of original transfers." He cited an example of a London real estate agent selling land to an immigrant who lost "about or over 1,000 pounds" because the title had turned out to be defective. He also advised immigrants to deal only through the state agency if they wanted land on advantageous terms and prices.<sup>28</sup>

Tochman's pamphlet was subtitled "For the Use, Information [sic] and Protection of Emigrants seeking homes

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<sup>27</sup>Tochman, Virginia, p. 15.

<sup>28</sup>Tochman, Emigration, p. 23.

in the United States, and the Capitalists seeking profitable investments in lands and public works of the States."<sup>29</sup>

While he undoubtedly exaggerated Virginia's attractions, he presented much practical information on transportation costs from New York to the South, on the cost of living in Virginia, and on the manufacturing industry in Richmond.<sup>30</sup>

Coupled with the fact that he was an immigrant himself, and as a former Pole probably spoke or at least understood Polish, German, and Russian, he should have been successful in attracting immigrants. But, as pointed out in the previous chapter, the legislature found his recommendations "inexpedient" and "impracticable."<sup>31</sup>

An earlier German immigrant, J. Gottfried Lange, commented on Tochman's efforts (he called him "Dooockman") in his diary. He wrote in 1867 that the Poles in Spotsylvania County, i.e. the settlement to which Tochman referred in his publication cited earlier, became sick and left. He also observed that a colony of Swedes fourteen miles outside of Richmond was unsuccessful, and that a settlement of

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 24-29.

<sup>31</sup>Virginia, Journal of the Senate, 1869-70 (Richmond: James E. Goode's Steam Presses, 1870), document no. 3, pp. 4-8.

Tyroleans near the Chickahominy river did not last either.<sup>32</sup> He summed up by writing that Tochman attracted people from the wrong regions in Europe to the wrong places in Virginia, but that could have been the sarcastic comment of a German who thought that more of his own compatriots should be induced to come to Virginia.<sup>33</sup>

The general assembly abolished Commissioner Richardson's job in 1873, and with that step probably also dismissed Tochman, who was over seventy-five years old by that time.<sup>34</sup> Schuricht wrote that "after the failure as agent of immigration he [Tochman] left the state in disgust."<sup>35</sup> The legislature then wasted a lot of money on Major Hotchkiss' book in the mistaken belief that it was lack of accurate information that prevented immigrants from settling in Virginia. But in fact immigration did increase during the years prior to the 1873 reorganization of the immigration board. Hotchkiss attributed this increase to the

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<sup>32</sup>J. Gottfried Lange, "The New Name or the Shoemaker in the Old and the New World: Thirty Years in Europe and Thirty Years in America," trans. Ida S. Windmueller, vol. 2, p. 39, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>34</sup>Virginia, Acts of the General Assembly, 1872-73 (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1873), p. 272.

<sup>35</sup>Herrmann Schuricht, History of the German Element in Virginia (Baltimore: Theo Kroh & Sons, Printers, 1900), vol. 2, p. 127.

inauguration of direct ship service from Europe to Norfolk and presented statistics based on United States immigration records.<sup>36</sup>

In 1871, there were 71 arrivals in Norfolk, 49 men and 22 women; in 1872, 438 male and 226 female immigrants arrived, and by 1873 the number had increased to 730 men and 460 women for a total of 1190. In 1874 the total dropped to 507. About 10 percent of these people had cabin accommodations, and the remainder occupied "other parts of ship," i.e. steerage. More than 90 percent came from England, 4 percent from Germany, 1 percent from France, and the remaining few from Sweden, Ireland, Scotland, and Canada. Among occupations, 442 were listed as farmers, 152 as laborers, and 61 as carpenters. There were lesser numbers of mechanics, joiners, masons, tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, iron workers, miners, machinists, and other skilled workers. "White collar" jobs were represented by 81 merchants, 24 clerks, 11 clergymen, 5 grocers, and 1 architect.<sup>37</sup>

Of course these numbers were insignificant compared with total immigration to the United States. In 1868, for instance, 213,000 settlers arrived on these shores; 65,000

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<sup>36</sup>Jed Hotchkiss, Virginia: A Geographical and Political Summary prepared and published under the supervision of the board of immigration (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1876), p. 145.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 145-47.

stayed in New York, and 34,000 traveled to Illinois, but only 713 came to Virginia. Yet that was the highest number for any southern state, Louisiana being next with 564 immigrants.<sup>38</sup> Tochman stated that in 1860, Richmond was home to 6,358 foreigners or 17 percent of the total population,<sup>39</sup> while the census figures show only 4,956 or 13 percent. According to the 1870 census, the percentage of foreign-born in Richmond had declined to 7.4 because of an influx of blacks and an exodus of Irish, but this still represented a significant number.<sup>40</sup> Subtracting the black population from the total, the foreign-born in 1870 constituted an even more significant 13 percent of Richmond's white population, and the remainder of this thesis will focus on immigration to and immigrant life in the Richmond area.

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<sup>38</sup>E. Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction: 1865-1877 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), p. 104.

<sup>39</sup>Tochman, Virginia, p. 13.

<sup>40</sup>Michael B. Chesson, Richmond After the War: 1865-1890 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981), pp. 117-20.

## Chapter III

### Immigration to Richmond

As pointed out in the last chapter, the percentage of foreign-born in Richmond declined between 1860 and 1870. According to census figures not only the percentage but also the actual numbers decreased from 4956 in 1860 to 3778 in 1870 and to 3340 in 1880.<sup>1</sup> Thus, at first glance, the answer to one of the questions posed at the beginning of the thesis, i.e., whether immigration resumed after the Civil War, would appear to be "no." However, further study showed that some foreigners did arrive in the Richmond area, particularly between 1870 and 1880. The total number of foreign-born decreased only because those who died or moved away exceeded the number of newcomers.

The records of the City of Richmond Hustings Court, the Henrico County Court, the Chesterfield Circuit Court, and the Chesterfield County Court were searched to determine how many non-citizens either declared their intention of becoming citizens or were naturalized between 1865 and 1880. The results of this search are shown in appendix 1.

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864, 1872, 1883), Eighth Census, p. xxxi; Ninth Census, p. 280; Tenth Census, p. 456.



In order to understand how these data can be used to estimate whether the immigrant arrived between 1865 and 1880, the naturalization procedure must be explained. A foreigner had to declare his intention (in those days apparently only men qualified) of becoming a United States citizen and could do so at any time after arrival. This court appearance involved an oath of a bona fide intention to become a citizen and to renounce all allegiance "to any foreign Prince, Potentate, State or Sovereignty whatever and particularly to ...", followed by specific mention of the ruler of the country of origin, e.g., "Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland"<sup>2</sup>, or "Alexander, Czar of all the Russias"<sup>3</sup>, or the "Republic of Switzerland"<sup>4</sup>, etc. To become a naturalized citizen, the immigrant had to show evidence of a "declaration of intention" or state that he had arrived in the United States before he was eighteen years old. He also had to satisfy the court that he had been a resident of Virginia and of the United States for at least one and five years, respectively, that his character and reputation were good, and that he was "well disposed to

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<sup>2</sup>City of Richmond Hustings Court, orderbook no. 1, p. 59 and all other "declarations of intentions," Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., orderbook no. 3, p. 230.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., orderbook no. 3, p. 86.

the good order and happiness of the United States."<sup>5</sup>

Finally, he had to swear again that he would support the constitution and renounce all allegiance to foreign powers.<sup>6</sup>

Excluding duplicate entries for "intentions" and naturalizations, the data base shown in appendix 1 contains about 385 names of men who appeared before Richmond area courts in connection with citizenship applications between 1865 and 1880. These names were then cross-checked against 1860, 1870, and 1880 census records. People naturalized up to 1870, those listed in the 1860 census, and others whose ages showed that they could not have immigrated after the Civil War, were eliminated, leaving about 250 names. It should be emphasized that census records and other handwritten documents contained many errors, that some incorrect ages may have been recorded, and therefore the findings must be considered estimates. There were not only what appeared to be misspellings, particularly of first names, but an amusing occurrence where an Italian named Frank Galli was

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<sup>5</sup>Henrico County minutebook, January 4, 1864, to June 6, 1867 (Genealogical Society of Utah, microfilm no. 1675), p. 331, Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

<sup>6</sup>City of Richmond Hustings Court, orderbook no. 1, p. 6 and all other "naturalizations," Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

recorded under the name "Gallianalien" when he declared his intention to become a citizen.<sup>7</sup>

Further, it is not certain that all 250 immigrated after 1865 because it is very possible that pre-Civil War newcomers only became interested in citizenship and voting after Reconstruction. For instance, John Blenner, listed as a minister of the gospel from Germany, declared his intention to become a citizen in 1872 and was naturalized in 1874. But the 1870 census showed that he and his German-born wife had children aged nine, seven, and five born in Connecticut, and three- and one-year-old children born in Virginia. Therefore, he must have immigrated to the United States prior to the Civil War, and although he arrived in Richmond between 1865 and 1867, he can not be considered as a new immigrant. On the contrary, he appeared to be well established, with real property valued at twelve hundred dollars, personal property worth three hundred dollars, and a black servant with her two children living in the household.<sup>8</sup> He was employed to supervise the Sunday school and

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<sup>7</sup>Henrico County common law orderbook no. 1, p. 439, Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

<sup>8</sup>National Archives and Records Service, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the U.S., 1870, vol. 13, reel 1653 (160a) (Washington, D.C.: General Services Administration, 1965, microcopy no. 593), p. 354, Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

to conduct German services for the German mission started by the Virginia Baptists in September 1870.<sup>9</sup>

Fifty-four of the people shown in appendix 1 were also found in the 1870 census index. Examination of the actual census sheets eliminated the majority of them as post-1865 immigrants because they had children born in Virginia prior to 1865. The 1880 census index, even though it listed only households with children aged ten or under, is so voluminous (eighty-two microfilm rolls) that it was not feasible to look for all the names in appendix 1 in alphabetical order. Instead, a cursory examination of the census sheets for Henrico county, including Richmond, was made.

After inspecting the 1870 and 1880 census pages, the author concluded that the number of men immigrating to the Richmond area between 1865 and 1880 was probably between one hundred and two hundred. A list of their names is shown in appendix 2. At least fifty of them came from various parts of Germany. The strenuous efforts to attract immigrants from the British Isles were more successful in Scotland than in England, and resulted in perhaps twenty-five newcomers. Immigration from Ireland seemed to have slowed to a trickle, and natives of Italy and France (particularly of Corsica)

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<sup>9</sup>Blanche Sydnor White, comp., Richmond Baptists Working Together: 1780-1960 (Richmond: Richmond Baptist Association, 1961), p. 38.

appeared to be at least as numerous as English-speaking immigrants among Richmond's new residents. The above-mentioned countries accounted for the vast majority of immigrants. There were only a few others from Canada, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Russia and other European countries; and no evidence was found of any immigration from other continents. Further evidence that many Germans settled in and around Richmond after the Civil War comes from Gottfried Lange who wrote in 1877 that due to new settlers the German St. Johannes Evangelical Church became overcrowded and that a larger church had to be built.<sup>10</sup>

Naturalizations for some reason peaked in 1870 (sixty-nine), 1873 (sixty-three), and 1876 (fifty). Declarations of intention ranged from thirteen to twenty-two per year between 1870 and 1876, and then slowed to an average of less than five per year. According to census data, the occupations of new immigrants varied from ministers and teachers to laborers. In general, most of the Germans were merchants or skilled workers, the Scots were stonecutters, and the French and Italians were listed as "confectioners" or "hucksters." But generalizations are dangerous, and

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<sup>10</sup>J. Gottfried Lange, "The New Name or the Shoemaker in the Old and the New World: Thirty Years in Europe and Thirty Years in America," trans. Ida S. Windmueller, vol. 2, p. 396, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

further research was undertaken on individuals who either were typical of a group or appeared to have potential for making important contributions to life in Richmond. It must be remembered that the ancestors of most of today's well-known German and Irish names, such as Thalhimer, Binswanger, Bodeker, Hutzler, Allen, Dooley, Sullivan, etc., arrived in Richmond prior to the Civil War, and were therefore not subjects of this research. For the same reason immigrants such as John M. Higgins, William N. Kelley, William Lovenstein, and others who were important politicians during and after Reconstruction, were not researched.<sup>11</sup> But there were several others that can be mentioned.

For instance, Carl Christian Thon, a saloonkeeper at 1561 East Main Street, was born in Stolberg am Harz on October 29, 1844. He probably arrived in Richmond shortly after the Civil War, married the Prussian-born Matthilde Kaufelt, and raised six children who were baptized in St. John's Church. Thon apparently was a "pillar" of his church and was listed as financial secretary in 1893. He died of

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<sup>11</sup> Joseph P. O'Grady, "Immigrants and the Politics of Reconstruction in Richmond, Virginia," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia 83 (1972): pp. 87-101.

diabetes on May 3, 1896.<sup>12</sup> The boarders in his home included stonemason George Sloan, an immigrant from Scotland.<sup>13</sup> He was twenty-nine years old in 1880, while another Scot stonecutter named John Sloan was thirty-four at the time. There is no proof that they were brothers, but it is certain that John immigrated between 1872 and 1877 because his eight-year-old son John Jr. was born in Scotland, while a three-year-old boy was born in Virginia.<sup>14</sup>

The Sloans appeared typical of several stonecutters who came from Scotland, England, Italy, Ireland, and Germany. They seemed to be concentrated in Richmond's Jefferson and Marshall wards and by 1880 could afford comfortable homes. John Sloan lived at 2520 Franklin Street with his English-born wife, three children, three boarders, and a black servant.<sup>15</sup> John Marshall, who immigrated from Scotland between 1867 and 1869, resided at 2910 Main Street with his

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<sup>12</sup>65. Jubilaeum der Deutschen Evangelische St. Johannes-Gemeinde zu Richmond, Va. (Richmond: The Dietz Printing Co., 1908) and St. John's Evangelical and Reformed Church register, pp. 47, 268, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, acc. no. 29635a.

<sup>13</sup>National Archives and Records Service, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the U.S., 1880, reel 199, enumerator 88, p. 58, Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., enumerator 92, p. 23.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

wife and nine children.<sup>16</sup> Richard Prout at 707 Twenty-seventh Street came from England between 1873 and 1877 with his wife and three children, and by 1880 they had added two more infants.<sup>17</sup>

Among Italians the census showed a stonemason named Joseph Carevali at 1722 East Broad Street. He emigrated with his wife and three children from Italy between 1870 and 1872 and came to Richmond via Rhode Island, where another child was born.<sup>18</sup> His correct name was Guiseppe Caravati. He and his wife Julia, who was listed in the census as Julietta, a confectioner, came from Varese in Lombardy. Their only son Henry was born in Italy in 1870 and was the father of the recently deceased Dr. Charles M. Caravati, prominent Richmond physician and author of Medicine in Richmond 1900-1975.<sup>19</sup>

Other Italians who on the basis of census and church records definitely arrived in Richmond between 1865 and 1880 and had typical occupations were Andrew Antoni and Michaele Pacini. The former was born in Corsica and resided at 1105

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., enumerator 92, p. 26.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., enumerator 93, p. 40.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., enumerator 96, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup>St. Peter's Church parish records, Richmond, 1878 and interview with Dr. Charles M. Caravati, Jr., March 23, 1994.



East Main Street. According to the 1880 census his fifteen-year old son Andrew was born in England while the other children born to him and his wife Catherine were baptized in St. Peter's Church, starting in 1866. The family seemed to be in the food and candy business.<sup>20</sup>

Pacini, living at 1345 East Franklin Street with his wife Alicia, was also a confectioner. His nine- and ten-year-old sons were born in Italy, therefore the family emigrated in the 1870s.<sup>21</sup> The number of new Italian-born immigrants classified as confectioners was probably connected with the presence of the Pizzini brothers and their well-known ice cream store.<sup>22</sup> Census information on Andrew Pizzini conflicts with St. Peter's Church records, and no further research was done on the Pizzini family because it appeared that they immigrated prior to the Civil War.

Coming back to Germans whose likely post-Civil War immigration could be verified by reference to the St. John's Church records, there were Metzger and Heinson. Bernhard Carl Metzger was born in Gambach, Hessen-Darmstadt, around 1852 and his wife Caroline Wilhelmine was born in Virginia

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<sup>20</sup>Tenth Census, reel 199, enumerator 86, p. 24 and St. Peter's Church baptism register, Richmond.

<sup>21</sup>Tenth Census, reel 199, enumerator 87, p. 35.

<sup>22</sup>Richmond Standard, September 13, 1879, p. 1, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

around 1855. Their children were born in 1877, 1880, 1882, and 1884, and were all baptized on October 9, 1887. Metzger was a grocer living at 107 Baker Street. He could have come as a child, but probably arrived as a young man in the 1870s.<sup>23</sup> Johann Dietrich Theodor Heinson, a machinist from Cappeln, Silesia, and his wife Marie Henriette Friedericke Wolf from Eckenfoerde, Silesia, resided at 803 Fifth Street. In the 1880 census they were listed simply as Theodore and Mary Heinson, thirty-three and thirty-two years old, respectively, and their children were two and one at the time.<sup>24</sup>

Among the post-1865 immigrants from Austria was a Franz Mosmueller, probably the founder of the florist who today still advertises "daily delivery in the area since 1893."<sup>25</sup> Born in 1847 in Innsbruck, Tirol, the 1880 census listed him as Frank Mossmiller, residing in Fairfield district. He married his Westphalia-born wife Friederike Albers on February 26, 1874, and they had four Virginia-born

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<sup>23</sup>St. John's Church register, p. 102 and Tenth Census, reel 199, enumerator 94, p. 69.

<sup>24</sup>St. John's Church register, p. 112 and Tenth Census, reel 199, enumerator 95, p. 59.

<sup>25</sup>C&P Telephone Company, Greater Richmond Yellow Pages, December 1993 (Greenbelt, Md.: The Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Company of Virginia, 1993), p. 431.

children.<sup>26</sup> Son Walter married a woman of German descent -- Fanny Kastelberg -- on April 8, 1902, at which time his occupation was listed as florist.<sup>27</sup>

From the records of Bethlehem Lutheran Church it could be determined that a German baker immigrated to Richmond after the Civil War. Johann Quistorff and Catherine Stapelfeld had a daughter Helene, born on September 25, 1865, in Braunstedt, Holstein. She was confirmed in Richmond on April 6, 1879.<sup>28</sup> The 1880 census taker listed the baker as Quistof, forty-seven years old, at 316 Broad Street. In addition to the daughter, there was an eleven-year-old son Rudolph who was also born in Germany; therefore the emigration must have occurred between 1869 and 1879. The mother was not listed.<sup>29</sup>

Another interesting newcomer in Richmond was Peter Dietz, the fifteenth of seventeen children of the mayor of Windecken in the German state of Hesse. He served his apprenticeship as a soap and candle maker and practiced his trade successfully in Windecken until 1870, when he decided

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<sup>26</sup>Tenth Census, reel 197, enumerator 74, p. 38 and St. John's Church register, pp. 49, 138.

<sup>27</sup>St. John's Church register, p. 182.

<sup>28</sup>Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Kirchenbuch no. 2, 1868-1889, Richmond.

<sup>29</sup>Tenth Census, reel 198, enumerator 78, p. 26.

that the future would be better in the United States. Originally planning to join three of his brothers in Madison, Wisconsin, he ended up working for a brother-in-law in Louisville, Kentucky. Thus established, he could ask his wife and son to join him, and they arrived in Louisville via New York in the spring of 1871. After short stays in Louisville and Baltimore, the family came to Richmond in 1872. Peter Dietz worked as a soap and candle maker for Joseph Schoch and P. J. Crew & Co. until his death in 1901.<sup>30</sup>

The son who came to this country as an infant in 1871 was August Andreas Dietz, Sr., who later founded the Dietz Printing Company. August Sr. was born in Windecken on October 19, 1869, grew up in Richmond, and learned the art of engraving and lithography. After working for several printing companies, he established his own business in 1900 and played an important role in printing and book publishing in Richmond. This immigrant is also remembered for his studies and publications on the history of Confederate stamps, his general interest in philately and the Richmond Stamp Club, and his editorship of the Southern Philatelist. After his death on September 26, 1963, his Richmond-born son

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<sup>30</sup>This summary of Peter Dietz's life is based on unpublished information in the possession of his great-grandson August Dietz III.

August Jr., his grandson August III, and his great-grandson Robert continued to operate the family printing business until it was sold to Owens Printing Co. of Petersburg, Virginia, in 1991.<sup>31</sup>

Several immigrants seemed to be in the ministry. Among Protestants, the pastor of the German St. Johannes Kirche (St. John's Evangelical and Reformed Church) from 1873 until 1883 was Edward Huber.<sup>32</sup> The 1880 census listed him as Swedish-born, probably erroneously, and it seems likely that the census taker confused Sweden and Switzerland. On the basis of his 1845 birthdate, one cannot be certain whether he arrived in Missouri (where his oldest child was born in 1872) before or after 1865, but there can be no doubt that he was an immigrant.<sup>33</sup>

Among Catholics, numerous foreign-born priests could be identified, and they played an important role in the history not only of Richmond, but in the Catholic church in the United States. In 1868 Richmond's Bishop John McGill visited Rome and on his way back appealed to fledgling priests at the American college in Louvain, Belgium, to come

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<sup>31</sup>Weekly Philatelic Gossip, February 3, 1951, pp. 704, 717. Unpublished information in the possession of and interview with August Dietz III, November 20, 1993.

<sup>32</sup>St. John's Church register, p. 6.

<sup>33</sup>Tenth Census, reel 198, enumerator 78, p. 17.

and minister to Catholics in Virginia.<sup>34</sup> The first of these was Gerard van der Plas. Born in Holland in 1843 and ordained in Belgium in 1867, he came to Richmond shortly thereafter and served at St. Peter's Church. Unfortunately his career was cut short by his death of typhoid fever in 1870.<sup>35</sup> Around the same time Francis Janssens immigrated from Louvain. He was born in Tilburg, Holland, in 1843, ordained in Ghent, Belgium, in 1867, and served as rector of St. Peter's Church in Richmond from October 1868 on.<sup>36</sup> He had a successful career, was president of the Catholic Temperance Society, and became vicar-general of the Richmond diocese in 1873. After leaving Richmond in 1881, he was appointed Bishop of Natchez, Mississippi, and in 1888 became an Archbishop in New Orleans, where he died in 1897.<sup>37</sup>

In 1870, Augustine van de Vyver arrived in Richmond from Louvain. He was born in Haasdonk, Belgium, in 1844, and spent five years in Virginia's capital before being called to Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. In 1881, he came back to

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<sup>34</sup>Gerald P. Fogarty, Catholic Virginian 66, no. 13 (June 22, 1992): p. 5.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid. and letter of Gerald P. Fogarty to author, March 15, 1994.

<sup>36</sup>James Henry Bailey II, History of St. Peter's Church (Richmond: Lewis Printing Company, 1959), p. 30.

<sup>37</sup>Fogarty, Catholic Virginian 66, no. 13 (June 22, 1992): p. 5.

succeed Janssens as vicar-general, and in 1889 this immigrant was installed as Bishop of Richmond. According to a Catholic historian, "... much of the progress of the Richmond diocese in the latter half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries was due to the services of Belgian and Dutch priests,..."<sup>38</sup>

There were also Irish-born priests in Richmond, but the two most outstanding ones immigrated before 1865. Denis J. O'Connell was born in County Cork in 1849 and was brought to the United States by his father as a small boy. Ordained as a priest in Rome in 1877, he came to St. Peter's Church.<sup>39</sup> John J. Keane, listed in the 1880 census as "Kane", was born in 1840, became a naturalized citizen in 1870, and was Bishop of Richmond from 1877 to 1888.<sup>40</sup> Among German Catholics was the Bavarian immigrant Willibald (Caspar) Baumgartner. Born in Wolfrathshausen in 1853, he was encouraged to emigrate and enter the Benedictine order at St. Vincent's Abbey in Latrobe, Pennsylvania, in 1871, where he studied philosophy and theology. He was ordained as a

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., no. 16 (August 3, 1992): p. 5.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., no. 15 (July 20, 1992): p. 5.

active in St. Peter's all lived together on Twelfth Street.<sup>44</sup>

Among Jewish rabbis, there were at least three who immigrated after the Civil War. Marcus Brill was listed in the 1880 census as a minister born in Poland in 1844, with a Polish-born wife and a fifteen-year-old son born in the old country, thus establishing that they immigrated after 1865, probably to South Carolina where five other children were born. The family came to Richmond in the late 1870s and Brill served as minister to the orthodox Jewish congregation Knesseth Israel.<sup>45</sup> The 1870 census showed a thirty-one-year-old Prussian clergyman named Louis Jacoby. He lived in Richmond's Jefferson ward with his Prussian-born wife, four children, and a mulatto servant. The two oldest children, five and four, were born in Prussia, while one-year-old and one-month-old boys were natives of Virginia. These facts established an immigration date between 1866 and 1869, which was further corroborated by his declaration of intention to become a citizen on May 14, 1870.<sup>46</sup> No additional information was found, and while there cannot be certainty, the

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<sup>44</sup>Tenth Census, reel 199, enumerator 85, p. 25.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., enumerator 82, p. 39; Richmond Dispatch, January 1, 1877.

<sup>46</sup>Ninth Census, reel 1653 (160a), p. 527; City of Richmond Hustings Court, orderbook no. 1, p. 34.



names and circumstances make it likely that he served one of the Jewish congregations.

On the other hand, many facts were available on the better known Aaron Siegfried Bettelheimer, who changed his name to Albert S. Bettelheim. He came to Richmond as rabbi of Beth Ahabah congregation in February 1869, having emigrated from Austria-Hungary in 1866 or 1867. In view of the impact he apparently had on life in Richmond, particularly in the field of education, some of the facts on his life follow.<sup>47</sup> Born in 1834 in Freistadt, Hungary, he graduated at age eighteen from "Ketab Sofer", a Jewish school in what was then Hungary and is now Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia. After further schooling at other yeshivas, he

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<sup>47</sup>The information about Dr. Bettelheim is based on the following sources:  
 Myron Berman, Richmond's Jewry: Shabbat in Shockoe, 1769-1976 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979), pp. 212-13.  
 Edward N. Calish, The Light Burns On: 1841-1941, Centennial Anniversary Congregation Beth Ahabah (Richmond: n.p., 1941), pp. 25, 27.  
 Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, The History of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917 (Richmond: Herbert T. Ezekiel, 1917), pp. 95, 226.  
 Hugo Gold, ed., Die Juden und die Judengemeinde Bratislava in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Bruenn: Juedischer Buchverlag, 1932), p. 37.  
 Rebekah Kohut, My Portion (New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1925), p. 17.  
A History of Congregation Beth Ahabah, Richmond, Va. from its organization to its 60th anniversary, 1841-1901 (Richmond: Herbert T. Ezekiel, 1901), p. 55.  
 Conflicting information on certain dates and facts was resolved in the author's best judgment.

earned a Ph.D. from the University of Prague, and in 1858 married Henrietta Weintraub, a young widow with a two-year-old son. She was allegedly the first female Jewish public school teacher in Hungary. In 1859 he was appointed director of a school in Timisoara, then Hungary, now Romania. A year later he became rabbi and school inspector in Komorn, a small town on the Slovak-Hungarian border, but the Jewish community asked him to leave because of his nonreligious lifestyle and liberal views. He then edited and wrote for newspapers, and according to some accounts tutored a Count Forgacs, governor of Bohemia. Whether it is true or not, as one writer observed, that he was "... threatened with ex-communication on account of his progressive ideas ...", it is understandable that the Austro-Hungarian empire of the 1860s was not the right place for such a man and that he decided to emigrate to the United States.<sup>48</sup> The fact that Benjamin Szold, one of his classmates in Bratislava, was a rabbi in Baltimore, undoubtedly also influenced his decision.

Dr. Bettelheim spent his first two American years in Philadelphia and was thirty-five years old when he came to Richmond with his wife and six children. According to the 1870 census he lived in Monroe ward and had \$500 worth of

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<sup>48</sup>Calish, The Light Burns On, p. 25.

personal property; two Negro female servants also resided in the house.<sup>49</sup> On November 6, 1871, he renounced his allegiance to Emperor Francis Joseph and became a United States citizen.<sup>50</sup> In the meantime, he not only served as rabbi, but studied medicine at the Medical College of Virginia and was active in various educational activities. In July 1869, he wrote an article advocating the teaching of German in Richmond's new public schools,<sup>51</sup> and later that year an announcement in the Richmond Dispatch read:

Richmond German, Hebrew and English Institute --  
The next session of this institute will commence on Wednesday September 15, 1869, at the rooms of the synagogue Beth Ahabah on Eleventh Street between Marshall and Clay, which have been recently remodeled ... and are now considered among the finest ... in the city. The German, English, and Hebrew languages will be taught ... by competent teachers, together with French and Latin if desired. The institute will be under the control of a select committee appointed for the purpose and under the immediate supervision of Rev. Dr. A. S. Bettelheim as Principal and Teacher of Hebrew

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<sup>49</sup>Ninth Census, reel 1654 (160b), p. 230.

<sup>50</sup>City of Richmond Hustings Court, orderbook no. 2, p. 278.

<sup>51</sup>Dr. A.S.B., "Die oeffentlichen Schulen und die Deutschen," Richmond Patriot, July 23, 1869, cited by Schuricht, German Element, vol. 2, p. 140. The teaching of German in Richmond public schools seemed to be receiving a great deal of attention. Separate statistics were kept on the number of pupils studying German. In 1872, there were 605 out of 2690 white children and none out of 1820 blacks. In 1873, there were 236 out of 2689 and 1703, respectively. By 1874, the number of German students had decreased further to 214 out of 2926 whites and 1712 blacks. (Richmond Dispatch, January 1, 1873; 1874; 1875, p. 1.)

and German, assisted by .... Terms of tuition will be very moderate,...

The school had ninety pupils in 1870. In 1871 it became one of the locations of Richmond's new public school system.<sup>53</sup>

The rabbi also found time to advise and attend the meetings of the "Richmond Juvenile Literary Association." Founded on August 18, 1872, its purpose was to give teen-age boys an opportunity to meet weekly for the "pursuit of social and literary purposes." Its name was subsequently changed to "Mendelssohn Literary Association," and in 1878 the organization was merged into the "Jefferson Literary and Social Circle" about which more will be written later.<sup>54</sup>

During these busy years the first Mrs. Bettelheim died, and some time later the rabbi married Winnie Iseman, with whom he had one more child. She was the Virginia-born daughter of a Spotsylvania county landowner and storekeeper

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<sup>52</sup>Richmond Dispatch, September 2, 1869. Ezekiel and Lichtenstein (History of the Jews, p. 226) quote this same announcement with a different date and somewhat different wording. The final sentences read: "The terms of the school will be very moderate, it being the object of the founders of the institution only to realize a sufficient amount to defray expenses. As only a limited number of scholars will be taken, we advise all to make early application." This Ezekiel text appears verbatim in Kohut (My Portion, p. 24.) Rebekah Kohut was one of Dr. Bettelheim's daughters.

<sup>53</sup>Margaret Meagher, History of Education in Richmond (Richmond: City School Board, 1939), p. 128.

<sup>54</sup>Mendelssohn Literary Association minute book, Beth Ahabah Archives, Richmond.

who was also the postmaster at Spotsylvania Courthouse. He must have been the descendant of very early Jewish immigrants, and the Isemans were thoroughly Southern and Confederate in outlook and customs.<sup>55</sup> In 1875, the family left Richmond for San Francisco, then returned to Baltimore, and Bettelheim died at sea during his return trip from a European visit on August 21, 1890.

His successor as rabbi of Beth Ahabah in Richmond was Abraham Hoffman, an immigrant from Bavaria. Based on the ages of his daughters during the 1880 census, he emigrated from Germany some time after 1863. He came to Richmond from Baltimore in 1876, but his ministry was brief since he died in July 1878.<sup>56</sup>

It is not certain whether another rabbi and teacher, Dr. Mayer, immigrated before or after 1865. On November 5, 1867, Abraham Levy Mayer from Hesse Darmstadt appeared in Richmond City Circuit Court and declared his intention of becoming a United States citizen. It is likely that he was the rabbi and head of the religious school of Beth Israel, a reformed Jewish congregation organized by some Beth Ahabah

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<sup>55</sup>Kohut, My Portion, pp. 28-33.

<sup>56</sup>Berman, Richmond's Jewry, p. 218; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, History of the Jews, pp. 264, 269.

members in 1866.<sup>57</sup> But there was another man, born in 1842 in Hesse Darmstadt, named Adolph Mayer. He was a music teacher who declared his intention of becoming a citizen in Richmond Hustings Court on December 18, 1867 and was naturalized on May 10, 1870.<sup>58</sup> Adolph Mayer is shown as secretary of the Ladies' Benevolent Society of Beth Israel in the 1869 Richmond city directory. Also in 1869, a Dr. A. L. Mayer appeared as principal of Southern College for males and females at Tenth and Broad Streets. The institution emphasized preparation for business and taught English, French, German and Hebrew, as well as history, geography, mathematics, music, penmanship, bookkeeping, and business correspondence.<sup>59</sup> Were the two Mayers related -- were they working together -- or are some of the records incorrect, and was there only one Mayer in Richmond? No information was found to answer these questions, but one or both Mayers were certainly immigrants and educators.

Other immigrants in the field of education included English, French, Germans, and Italians. For instance, in 1880, an English woman named Sarah Caulfield lived at 909

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 216; pp. 125, 227.

<sup>58</sup>Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, History of the Jews, p. 95; City of Richmond Hustings Court, orderbook no. 1, p. 12.

<sup>59</sup>Meagher, History of Education, p. 82.

Twenty-fifth Street without husband but with no less than ten children, all born in England and ranging from three to twenty-six years old. Therefore, they must have immigrated between 1877 and 1880. The oldest son Edward was listed in the census as a professor of music, while the next two children, Caroline age twenty-three, and Herbert age twenty-one, were described as teachers of music.<sup>60</sup>

Among French names were a C. Guillaume listed as a fifty-eight-year-old teacher. He lived in a boarding house at 900 Capitol Street with his thirty-year-old daughter Claire.<sup>61</sup> The name LaPaice or LaPlace was clearly French and all records showed that he was a teacher, but all other facts were inconclusive. Listed as a boarder in the Capitol Hotel was a thirty-two-year-old "teacher in French" named LaPaice.<sup>62</sup> But a twenty-three-year-old French immigrant called Ed LaPlace was also described as a teacher at 600 Grace Street.<sup>63</sup> The seventy-two-year-old Italian Vincent Crespi was recorded as a professor of languages, living at

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<sup>60</sup>Tenth Census, reel 199, enumerator 93, p. 20.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., enumerator 85, p. 31.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

522 North Seventh Street with his Swiss-born wife and two daughters born in England.<sup>64</sup>

Several Germans can be mentioned as educators. A. Blenner, who may or may not have been related to the John Blenner discussed earlier, organized the Sunday school of St. Johannes Church, taught there, and served as interim pastor of the Church from November 1866 until February 1868.<sup>65</sup> However, he may have immigrated before 1865, nor could the date of arrival of another teacher, John Backhaus, be verified. The latter was born in Prussia, was twenty in 1870, and lived in Madison ward.<sup>66</sup> He was employed in 1868 as Christian day school teacher of Bethlehem Lutheran Church, a German congregation organized in 1852. According to church records he received thirty dollars on September 5, 1868, but it is not clear whether this was his salary for a week, a month or for a longer period.<sup>67</sup> Among many older and newer immigrants in Monroe ward were two Bavarian-born school teachers. Living at 314 Leigh Street with their

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., enumerator 83, p. 30.

<sup>65</sup>65. Jubilaeum der Deutschen Evangelische St. Johannes-Gemeinde zu Richmond, Va., p. 2.

<sup>66</sup>Ninth Census, reel 1654 (160b), p. 25.

<sup>67</sup>Bethlehem Lutheran Church Centennial, 1852-1952 (Richmond: n.p., 1952); original ledger of Sunday school, Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Richmond.



widowed mother were Clara Hoffman and her sister Bertha. They were born in 1860 and 1863, respectively, and were classified as teachers in the 1880 census although Bertha was only seventeen.<sup>68</sup>

Probably the best-known name today among all the post-1865 immigrants is that of Gottwald. August Gottwald came from Streigau in Prussia. He declared his intention of becoming a United States citizen on April 8, 1874, when he was thirty-three years old and worked as a stonecutter.<sup>69</sup> A member of St. Johannes Church, he had on July 3, 1873, married Louise Freyvogel, the eighteen-year-old daughter of one of the founders of the Church.<sup>70</sup> Their first son Wilhelm Heinrich was born on April 20, 1874 and baptized on September 13, 1874. Three other children were born in 1876, 1877, and 1879, and baptized on October 20 and November 15, 1880.<sup>71</sup> Gottwald arrived in Richmond in 1872, one of many stonecutters recruited from Europe by the firm Andrews, Ordway, and Green to supply blocks of granite for buildings

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<sup>68</sup>Tenth Census, reel 199, enumerator 82, p. 30.

<sup>69</sup>City of Richmond Hustings Court, orderbook no. 4, p. 370.

<sup>70</sup>St. John's Church register, p. 138.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., pp. 44, 64.

such as the Old Executive Office in Washington.<sup>72</sup> The 1876 city directory listed him as August Gootwald [sic] living at 708 West Broad Street.<sup>73</sup> His son Wilhelm was the father of Floyd Dewey Gottwald whose life, achievements, and importance to Richmond were described by Joseph C. Robert in his history of the Ethyl Corporation.<sup>74</sup>

During the same time period there arrived in Richmond a German immigrant whose descendants also made major contributions to the city's commercial and industrial development. This one was Jewish and his name was Harry Schwarzschild.<sup>75</sup> He was born on February 11, 1850, in Rickingen near Frankfurt and married Bella Nelson, a Virginia-born descendant of

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<sup>72</sup>Joseph C. Robert, Ethyl: A History of the Corporation and the People Who Made It (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), p. 359.

<sup>73</sup>Benj. R. Sheriff, comp., Richmond City Directory 1876-7 (Richmond: West, Johnston & Co., 1877), p. 88.

<sup>74</sup>Robert, Ethyl, pp. 356-78. See also pp. 424-25 for further information on the Gottwald family history.

<sup>75</sup>The information about the Schwarzschild family is based on the following sources:  
 Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, History of the Jews, p. 311.  
 John Lee, Richmond News Leader, May 5, 1958, p. 27.  
 W. Harry Schwarzschild, Jr., Central National Bank of Richmond 1911-1961, address delivered to American Newcomen Society, September 21, 1961, Beth Ahabah Archives, Richmond.  
 Interviews with Richard Schwarzschild (brother of WHS, Jr.), December 2, 1993, and May 16, 1994.  
 Melvin I. Urofsky, A Family Tapestry: The Hutzlers and Richmond (Richmond: Beth Ahabah Museum and Archives Trust, 1984), p. 11.

earlier immigrants. The only other facts known about him are that he was a clothier at 1409 East Main Street and that he died on August 31, 1888. He and Bella had four sons, born between 1879 and 1888, as well as two daughters. The oldest son, William Harry, was born on May 17, 1879, and married Rosalie Held on March 12, 1902. Like her mother-in-law, Rosalie descended from a pre-Civil War immigrant.

It was William who started Old Dominion Watch Company in 1895, and then took in his brother Gustavus Morris as partner. And it was William's business acumen and reputation that induced another earlier immigrant, Charles Hutzler, to hire him as second vice president and chief lending officer of Central National Bank, when Hutzler founded the bank in 1911. After Hutzler's death, Schwarzschild became president on January 1, 1920, and his son William Harry Jr. succeeded him in 1949. Father, son, and another son Richard built the bank into an important institution by financing Richmond entrepreneurs and helping people whom older and more traditional banks considered to be too risky. All three were also active in Richmond civic and religious affairs. William and Harry both headed the Chamber of Commerce and were instrumental in starting what has become the United Way Services; William and Richard both held leading positions in congregation Beth Ahabah, to mention just a few of their activities. Other family

members continued to operate Old Dominion Watch Company, which became what is known today as Schwarzschild Jewelers.

Meyer Greentree was born in Hettenhausen, Bavaria, on May 21, 1856, arrived in New York in 1874, and in Richmond later in the same year. He started working as a stock boy for Cohen Brothers, a dry goods store at 401 East Broad Street, and lived at 125 North Seventeenth Street.<sup>76</sup> He learned about business, and in 1895 opened his own men's clothing store at 611 East Broad Street. His wife was Clara (Kitty) Ullman, born in Richmond in 1860 to natives of Germany. Their three sons Leo (1885 to 1963), Gilbert (1887 to 1964), and Irving (1888 to 1955) ran the business until 1953, after which a third generation of Greentrees (Irving Jr. and Louis) continued the family tradition into the 1970s.<sup>77</sup> The Meyer Greentree story is typical. He came alone, worked, learned, saved money, and made good. Like Harry Schwarzschild, he married a native daughter of earlier immigrants, and he probably knew when he left the old country that he could count on help from people of similar backgrounds if it were needed.

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<sup>76</sup>J. H. Chataigne, comp., Richmond City Directory for the Years 1879-80 (Richmond: J. W. Randolph & English, 1880), pp. 103, 129.

<sup>77</sup>Greentree family tree and clipping from the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Greentree family box, Beth Ahabah Archives, Richmond.

Likewise, when Heinrich (Henry) Rosenheim from Bavaria embarked on the steamer Liverpool in the late 1860s, he had in his possession a little geography book issued in Stuttgart for elementary school students, in which he had noted the address of Henry Wallerstein at 525 Broad Street. The Wallersteins were merchants who had immigrated from Wuerttemberg earlier. Rosenheim was born in 1846; he was listed in the 1870 census as a clothing merchant living in Madison ward, and was naturalized on October 23, 1871. By 1870 he had accumulated \$1000 of personal property, and on January 12, 1876, he married Babette Stern, who had come to America in 1860 at the age of seven. In October 1879 Rosenheim announced that he was a dealer in ready-made clothing and hats, and gentlemen's furnishing goods, etc. at 422 Broad Street.<sup>78</sup>

The mass emigration of Polish and Russian Jews did not start until after 1880, and the few natives of Poland and Russia listed in appendix 1 probably immigrated prior to 1865. But one Polish newcomer shown in appendix 2 must have arrived during the 1870s. His name was Jacob Bellstein, and the 1880 census showed him as working in or owning a grocery

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<sup>78</sup>Rosenheim family box, Beth Ahabah Archives, Richmond; Congregation Beth Ahabah records, p. 125, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, acc. no. 25986; Ninth Census, reel 1654 (160b), p. 1; Henrico County common law orderbook no. 1, p. 295, Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

store and residing at 718 Cary Street. His wife Sarah was also born in Poland, but the three oldest children were listed as born in England and the three youngest were Virginia-born. The children's ages indicate that the family was in England from 1872 or earlier on and arrived in Virginia around 1877.<sup>79</sup>

Earlier in this chapter the efforts of Catholic Bishop McGill to bring priests from Belgium to Richmond were mentioned. There were other non-government organizations which brought immigrants to Richmond. Tredegar Iron Works employed "many foreigners such as Welshmen and Irishmen."<sup>80</sup> In August 1867 their vice president John F. Tanner wrote to Thomas Thomas in Philadelphia:

We are in want of eight or ten good puddlers or helpers to start some new furnaces. Can you send us that labor? We would prefer good men who have just arrived from the Old Country. We pay \$7.-<sup>81</sup>per ton and our men are well satisfied with the price.

A few days later he wrote again, offered to advance their steerage fare against future wages to be earned, and

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<sup>79</sup>Tenth Census, reel 199, enumerator 86, p. 16.

<sup>80</sup>Dennis Maher Hallerman, "The Tredegar Iron Works: 1865-1876" (M.A. thesis, University of Richmond, 1978), p. 80.

<sup>81</sup>John F. Tanner to Thomas Thomas, August 26, 1867, Tredegar Iron Works outgoing letterbooks, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, acc. no. 23881, box 30.

demanded "reply at once."<sup>82</sup> The reply could not be found, but Thomas must have been at least partially successful because on September 16th Tanner wrote to him: "You can send on the two puddlers referred to in your last letter. By leaving Philadelphia on Saturday they can be here and start work on Monday."<sup>83</sup> The correspondence shows that almost certainly they were European immigrants.

The immigrants were ministers, teachers, merchants, clerks, grocers, candy makers, ironworkers, printers, hucksters, stonecutters, farmers, saloonkeepers, carpenters, bakers, machinists, and laborers. Some came as families and some came as single young men. As far as could be determined, the vast majority came not because of Virginia's efforts to attract immigrants, but either because they were recruited by private parties or because they had friends and relatives here. Some were ancestors of people who became outstanding Richmond citizens and some moved on to other parts of the United States. There were so few newcomers during the period studied that some of the crime and other problems associated with the mass immigration to northern cities did not arise. In fact, the 1870 census for the state penitentiary in Monroe ward showed a total prison

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., August 31, 1867; September 5, 1867.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., September 16, 1867.

population of about 750, of which only eleven were foreign-born, five in Ireland, three in Prussia, two in England, and one in Spain.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, in 1880, among a total of ninety prisoners in the city jail at Seventeenth and Broad Street, there was just one Irishman and one Italian.<sup>85</sup> The post-Civil War newcomers blended in with the large community of earlier immigrants, and their general life in Richmond will be described in the next chapter.

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<sup>84</sup>Ninth Census, reel 1654 (160b), p. 390.

<sup>85</sup>Tenth Census, reel 199, enumerator 85, p. 96.



## Chapter IV

### Immigrant Life in Richmond

It has been pointed out that the majority of post-Civil War immigrants came from Germany; they joined what was already the largest non-native community in Richmond. In 1870, the Richmond area (Henrico County) foreign-born population numbered 4,359 which represented about 7 percent of the total population or 12 percent of the white population; of these 1,925 or 44 percent had come from Germany. The next largest group were the Irish, who accounted for 1,335 or 31 percent. Between 1870 and 1880 the total foreign-born population of the area decreased from 4,359 to 3,980. By the end of the decade Germans accounted for 39 percent, Irish for 29 percent, English and Welsh for 11 percent, and Scots for 6 percent of these non-natives. The 1880 census listed 176 Italians or almost 5 percent of the immigrants. Thus, Italians had become the next largest single group, and the only one which had increased numerically since 1860.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864; 1872; 1883), Eighth Census, p. 521; Ninth Census, p. 280; Tenth Census, p. 532.

The few immigrants from England, Wales, and Scotland were of course not very different from the native population which, at least among the whites, was overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon Protestant. No information was found pertaining to special organizations, churches, or clubs catering to the English or Welsh. The Scots formed a Caledonia Club, which sponsored Scottish festivals, bagpipe music, and picnics at the Richmond fairgrounds.<sup>2</sup> In 1874 they had 150 members and met in Harmony Hall.<sup>3</sup> The secretary of the organization was Peter Copeland, an immigrant stonecutter who declared his intention of becoming an American citizen on February 22, 1873.<sup>4</sup> No records of the club were found.

While the immigrants from Great Britain blended with the natives, those from other countries were "different": the Germans in language and partly in religion, the Irish in religion, and the Italians in both language and religion. Therefore this chapter will focus on those three nationalities.

The Germans were particularly well organized, with their own newspapers, churches, and clubs. They were

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<sup>2</sup>Virginia Staats-Gazette, July 15, 1875, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Richmond Dispatch, January 1, 1875, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., October 6, 1873, p. 2; City of Richmond Hustings Court, orderbook no. 3, p. 304, Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

politically active in both parties and not ashamed to make their views known. For instance, on July 12, 1867, the Richmond Dispatch reported that the Germans of Richmond organized a German National Republican Club and elected J. L. C. Danner as temporary president. Only thirteen people attended, but on the same day Danner also appeared at a mass meeting of the Republican party, where about 250 whites and blacks showed up. He was introduced as "a man who had fought against the unconquered and unconquerable Stars and Stripes, but who had now repented of his sins, and had come to ask forgiveness from God and his audience." In a forty-five minute speech Danner called on blacks and whites to educate themselves, to register, and to vote Republican.<sup>5</sup> According to Klaus Wust, the German Republicans were led by Hermann Wiegand, a pre-1865 immigrant.<sup>6</sup> According to Leslie Winston Smith, Wiegand came to Richmond via New York and operated a millinery store.<sup>7</sup> He was probably the same man who in the 1880 census was listed as the sixty-five-year-old retired merchant H. L. Wigand residing at 519 East Broad

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<sup>5</sup>Richmond Dispatch, July 12, 1867, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>Klaus Wust, The Virginia Germans (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1969), p. 225.

<sup>7</sup>Leslie Winston Smith, "Richmond during Presidential Reconstruction" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, August 1974), p. 128.

Street in a building housing nine boarders, three of whom were German-born.<sup>8</sup>

On the other side, a German Conservative Club was started in 1867.<sup>9</sup> They organized well, and in 1870 there appeared a call (in German) to "German adoptive citizens" from "co-citizens and friends." It dealt with the coming elections to the legislature and administration of Virginia and their importance to Germans as good citizens who took their duties and responsibilities seriously. The writer stated: "We immigrant citizens are less permeated by partisanship than natives." He continued by professing great sympathy for all who suffered during the Civil War; he claimed that the bitterness engendered among the opposing sides was not shared by the Germans, who judged candidates not by their political party, but by their qualifications and merits. "For us" he wrote, "every party is the right one as long as it is based on truth and justice." And then came the pitch: German immigrants had sympathy for the emancipation of the slaves and therefore had Republican leanings, but the majority was against immediate equality between two races who were by nature as diametrically

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<sup>8</sup>National Archives and Records Service, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the U.S., 1880, reel 199, enumerator 83, p. 7, Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

<sup>9</sup>Richmond Dispatch, November 19, 1867, p. 1.

different as the Caucasians and Africans. The diatribe cited the evils of Republican party rule and Negro influence in Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, and Mississippi, and claimed that beautiful New Orleans had lost its trade, industry, and property because Negro citizens were making the laws of Louisiana. The writer supported the Negro's right to earn a living and advocated sacrifices to educate him, but blamed blacks and their white leaders for voting against appropriations to foster immigration and found Negroes generally unsuitable to govern. Therefore, he called for a big turnout to vote for conservative candidates and particularly for the reelection of the "German" delegate William Lovenstein, who had done so much for free schools and immigration appropriations, and helped defeat Sunday laws.<sup>10</sup> Actually, Lovenstein was not German but was the Virginia-born son of German immigrants.<sup>11</sup>

August Bodeker, on the other hand, really was born in Germany. A pharmacist, he was elected alderman from Jefferson ward in 1866 and went on to become a state legislator. Not only was this immigrant politically active, but his New Jersey-born wife Ann Whitehead Bodeker went to the polls and

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<sup>10</sup>"Aufruf an die deutschen Adoptiv-Buerger der Stadt Richmond" printed by the Taeglicher Anzeiger [1870], Valentine Museum Archives, Richmond.

<sup>11</sup>Wust, Virginia Germans, p. 233.

voted in 1871, when women did not have voting rights. On January 31, 1872, she chaired a meeting advocating women's suffrage, but her efforts were unsuccessful.<sup>12</sup>

Another example of German immigrant pride and activity was the celebration on September 14, 1869, of the hundredth birthday of the German scientist Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt. Patrick Henry Aylett addressed the German societies of Richmond for one hour at the Richmond Theatre. He concluded that Humboldt would always be honored

... when I behold the surging tides of immigration from Germany to America, pouring hundreds of thousands of the representatives of an educated, frugal, industrious, public-spirited, moral and energetic race into every section of the United States, where they at once unite with our own people in the work of developing the vast physical resources of the continent,....<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>This information is summarized from the following sources: Smith, "Presidential Reconstruction", p. 235; A Century of Service. Bodeker Drug Co. 1846-1946 (Richmond: Dietz Printing Co., 1946), p. 13; J. Gottfried Lange, "The New Name or the Shoemaker in the Old and the New World: Thirty Years in Europe and Thirty Years in America," trans. Ida S. Windmueller, vol. 2, p. 167, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; Tenth Census, reel 199, enumerator 92, p. 21.

<sup>13</sup>Patrick Henry Aylett, "Address before the German Societies at the Centennial Anniversary of Frederick von Humboldt" (Richmond: "Enquirer" Steam Presses, 1869).

The German speaker on this occasion was G. A. Peple who, according to Herrmann Schuricht, was the political leader of the majority of Germans who were moderate Democrats.<sup>14</sup>

Most of the German societies addressed by Messrs. Aylett and Peple were established before the Civil War, and they obviously continued to thrive during Reconstruction and the following decade. The "Gesang-Verein" (singing society or men's glee club) was founded on July 1, 1852.<sup>15</sup> Its purpose was to "preserve and promote singing, particularly German singing, as well as all that which enobles and enhances culture." Men over eighteen years old were eligible for membership.<sup>16</sup> The minutes of the "Gesang-Verein" meetings in the 1870s were still kept in German and showed that the members were active in arranging banquets, singing festivals, singing lessons, picnics, and dances.

On October 2, 1871, they decided to form a mixed choir for the purpose of performing German operas and music. The rules stated that gentlemen must be members of the

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<sup>14</sup>Herrmann Schuricht, History of the German Element in Virginia (Baltimore: Theo. Kroh & Sons, Printers, 1900), vol. 2, pp. 136, 155.

<sup>15</sup>Records of the Gesang-Verein Virginia, Virginia Historical Society Mss 3G 3302 a2, trans. Laura Vietor 1969, August 2, 1880.

<sup>16</sup>"Gesetze des Gesang-Verein Virginia," n.p., personal files of August Dietz, III, Richmond. Trans. by author.

"Gesang-Verein" and that ladies, after introduction by a member, became "honorary guests" of the club as long as they belonged to the choir, but in any case could participate in all festivities and social gatherings.<sup>17</sup> The opera Der Freischuetz was duly performed several times in 1872, 1873, and 1875. A reviewer in the Evening News commented that the "perfect manner" of the performance by local talent had "never been approximated in Richmond by any professional troupe."<sup>18</sup> In 1875 the organization started a singing school whose bylaws stated that "all good children of respectable parents who have passed their eighth year and study German may be admitted."<sup>19</sup> The "Gesang-Verein" also had its own library with over thousand books and a librarian. At the beginning of 1876 the president reported that the society had 31 active, 102 passive, and 9 honorary members. The membership then decided to purchase Germania Hall on Seventh Street, which became the Virginia Saenger-Halle and continued to be a focal point for German community activities for many years.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Gesang-Verein records, October 2, 1871.

<sup>18</sup>Evening News, May 2, 1872. Clipping in scrapbook of Gesang-Verein Virginia, Virginia Historical Society Mss 5:7 Un 3:13.

<sup>19</sup>Gesang-Verein records, November 3, 1875.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., January 2, 1876.



Other cultural and social organizations were the Mozart Academy, the Richmond Philharmonic Association, the Germania Club, the Teutonia Club, the Schiller Lodge, and the "Turn-Verein." The latter was a branch of the North American Turnbund and the name implied that its purpose was to promote gymnastics, but -- just as in Germany -- that was not the only activity. According to Schuricht, the Confederate police misinterpreted the local club's German records during the Civil War and persecuted the Turners as a subversive organization. This is not surprising when one reads the platform adopted by the national organization in St. Louis in April 1866: Under the motto "Strong body and free spirit" they pledged to work for radical reform in social, political and religious matters, for good schools and education regarding human rights, and against political corruption and all abridgments of freedom of conscience, such as slavery and nativism.<sup>21</sup> As of October 1, 1865, the organization was composed of eighteen clubs in ten districts with 5095 members, of which 2655 were active Turners, 475 were singers, and 144 were marksmen.<sup>22</sup> Schuricht wrote that

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<sup>21</sup>Richmonder Anzeiger, April 14, 1866, p. 2, private collection of August Dietz, III.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., March 17, 1866, p. 2.

"Turnen has not prospered in Richmond since the War."<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, the "Turn-Verein" was active again by late 1865 and sponsored performances of German dramas and comedies in which members acted, together with professionals imported from New York.<sup>24</sup> They also arranged speeches, balls, and parades.<sup>25</sup> The club met in the Monticello Hotel, owned by Conrad Sauer, another member of the German community.<sup>26</sup>

The Germans loved festivals and parades. In 1869 the "Gesang-Verein" returned from the "Saengerfest" (song festival) in Baltimore together with their New York counterpart, the "Social Maennerchor." They were joined by the "Turn-Verein" in a parade from the Monticello Hotel on Broad Street to Main Street and back. The description of the parade reads like a directory of German businessmen of the time -- Zimmer, Haas, Euker, Schott, Zimmerman, Sauer, Montz.<sup>27</sup> Henry C. Montz, for instance, owned Schad's Hotel on 618 Broad Street and advertised to "the German public"

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<sup>23</sup>Schuricht, German Element, vol. 2, p. 184.

<sup>24</sup>Anzeiger, October 28, 1865, p. 3; November 5, 1865, p. 3; November 18, 1865, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup>Anzeiger, May 5, 1866, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup>Schuricht, German Element, vol. 2, p. 54.

<sup>27</sup>Richmond Whig, July 17, 1869, microfilm, Virginia State Library.

that he had the best Lager beer and food and that his cigars were famous throughout the city.<sup>28</sup>

Bismarck's progress with unifying Germany under Prussia's leadership increased German nationalistic feelings in Richmond. In August 1870, a German Patriotic Aid Society was founded to help German war victims.<sup>29</sup> And on March 13, 1871, the German-born population of Richmond through their various clubs staged a torch light parade with music to celebrate Prussia's victory over France.<sup>30</sup>

By 1876 citizens born in Germany or of German descent seemed to be even more established. D. G. Juengling, Jr. advertised his "Schuetzen-Park" below Rocketts as a good place for picnics, with the best Lager beer and other drinks and refreshments. The "Schuetzen-Park" was also the site for meetings of the "Schuetzengesellschaft" or shooting society which arranged target shooting competitions, with valuable prizes for members and non-members.<sup>31</sup> August Blenner who in 1866 had announced his takeover of the New Market Hotel at Sixth and Marshall invited the public to his

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<sup>28</sup>Richmond Patriot, August 13, 1869.

<sup>29</sup>Wust, Virginia Germans, p. 231.

<sup>30</sup>Lange, "The New Name", vol. 2, p. 155. Additional details of the event were described by Schuricht, German Element, vol. 2, p. 158.

<sup>31</sup>Virginia Staats-Gazette, May 11, 1876, p. 4.

Spring-Park, featuring a dance pavilion, bowling alley, and all kinds of refreshments at reasonable prices.<sup>32</sup> No clues could be found on whether this August Blenner was the same person who taught Sunday school at and served as interim pastor of St. Johannes Church. He was thirty-six years old in 1870, lived in Madison ward, was born in Prussia, and his children were born in Pennsylvania.<sup>33</sup>

They were all proud of their German background, but they were also good Americans. On July 4, 1876, there were no less than three celebrations of the independence centennial, one by the "Gesang-Verein" in the "Saenger-Halle," a concert and dance by German musicians in the "Schuetzen-Park," and a celebration at Blenner's Spring-Park by the Catholic societies to benefit St. Mary's Female Institute.<sup>34</sup> And according to Klaus Wust, "many a Richmonder who had no German ancestry ... developed a liking for German picnics ... " an opinion also supported by comment in the English-language press. For instance, the Richmond Dispatch reported on the great time enjoyed by

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<sup>32</sup>Anzeiger, March 17, 1866, p. 2; July 4, 1876, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup>National Archives and Records Service, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the U.S., 1870, vol. 14, reel 1654 (160b), (Washington, D.C.: General Services Administration, 1965, microcopy no. 593), p. 35, Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

<sup>34</sup>Anzeiger, July 4, 1876, p. 2.

everyone at a "Turn-Verein" mask ball and mentioned that Richmond would not know such events if it were not for its "German and Jewish citizens."<sup>35</sup>

The German community continued to thrive after 1880. In 1900, Schuricht wrote about the annual "German days" started in 1890 and presented some details on the lives of German immigrants and the important roles they played in Richmond, particularly in the brewing industry and in commerce.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, Wust detailed the contributions of Germans in the tobacco trade.<sup>37</sup> But except for the names mentioned earlier, most of these people came to Richmond either before 1865 or after 1880, and therefore fall outside the scope of this paper. However, the descriptions showed how members of the German community helped each other through the employment of relatives and friends.

Just like the German social organizations, German newspapers in Richmond were founded before the Civil War, but thrived during the period under review. The Richmonder Anzeiger (Advertiser) was started by Burghard Hassel as a weekly in June 1854. He not only published the newspaper,

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<sup>35</sup>Wust, Virginia Germans, p. 232; Richmond Dispatch, March 18, 1868, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup>Schuricht, German Element, vol. 2, pp. 160-180.

<sup>37</sup>Wust, Virginia Germans, pp. 239-40.

but printed many German announcements and publications until 1867, when his son, Clothar, took over. The son carried on in the face of decreasing advertising and readership until 1926.<sup>38</sup> Initially published every Saturday, some Wednesday issues were added gradually, and by the time the Civil War started, the Anzeiger had become a daily. On Sunday, June 9, 1861, the first issue of Virginische Zeitung came out; this was described as the Sunday edition of the "Richmonder Anzeiger for Virginia and the Confederate States."<sup>39</sup> But prosperity did not last, and the newspaper reverted to a Saturday weekly until some time in the 1870s, when it again became a daily with the name Taeglicher Anzeiger (Daily Advertiser). After 1915 the name was changed to Virginische Zeitung.

In the meantime, it chronicled not only foreign and domestic news, but carried many announcements and advertisements of interest to immigrants. For instance, the schedules and price lists for different accommodations on the Hamburg and Bremen to New York steamship services of the Hamburg-America line and the Norddeutscher Lloyd were

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<sup>38</sup>Virginische Zeitung, May 22, 1926.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., June 9, 1861. Private collection of August Dietz, III.

printed.<sup>40</sup> An editorial pointed out that there were also direct connections between Liverpool and Baltimore, and urged service from Europe directly to Norfolk.<sup>41</sup> Other editorials promoted the organization of a German "Schutz-Verband" to help immigrants and to protect them from unscrupulous agents in the North. The editor called on Germans to support this effort as a matter of patriotic duty and later complained about insufficient interest.<sup>42</sup> The newspaper was generally conservative and pro-Southern in line with the majority of the German community.

More liberal was the weekly Richmond Patriot, founded in May 1869 by William Lovenstein and edited by Isaac Hutzler.<sup>43</sup> This publication was merged into the newly founded daily Virginia Staats-Gazette in 1870.<sup>44</sup> From then on until 1904 the Gazette and the Anzeiger competed for the German market, at various times as dailies and as

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<sup>40</sup>Anzeiger, October 21, 1865, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., March 24, 1866, p. 2; March 31, 1866, p. 2; April 7, 1866, p. 2.

<sup>43</sup>Schuricht, German Element, vol. 2, p. 145; Wust, Virginia Germans, p. 226.

<sup>44</sup>Schuricht, German Element, vol. 2, p. 146.

weeklies.<sup>45</sup> The Anzeiger continued to use the name Virginische Zeitung for the Sunday edition it resumed in 1878.<sup>46</sup> These names are not to be confused with that of the Virginia Staats-Zeitung, a German weekly which according to Lester Cappon was started in 1853. According to Klaus Wust it existed only from 1867 until 1870, and no copies are known to have been preserved.<sup>47</sup>

All these newspapers served all German-speaking elements, whether Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish. But when it came to religion, German immigrants had five congregations to choose from. In chronological order they were: Jewish Beth Ahabah and Beth Israel, founded in 1840 and 1866, respectively; Protestant St. Johannes and Bethlehem Lutheran, established in 1844 and 1852, respectively; and Catholic St. Mary's, started in 1849. In addition, the Baptists started a German mission under John Blenner and A. Pappenhausen in 1870, and maintained this separate organization until 1885.<sup>48</sup> And the Methodists employed two German-

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<sup>45</sup>Lester J. Cappon, Virginia Newspapers 1821-1935 (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company Inc., 1936), p. 190.

<sup>46</sup>Wust, Virginia Germans, p. 226.

<sup>47</sup>Cappon, p. 190; Wust, Virginia Germans, p. 226.

<sup>48</sup>Blanche Sydnor White, comp., Richmond Baptists Working Together: 1780-1960 (Richmond: Richmond Baptist Association, 1961), pp. 37-38.



speaking preachers, G. Meyer and George Zimmerman, at a Leigh Street mission established in 1875 and merged into the English-speaking churches in 1885.<sup>49</sup> Some of these congregations sponsored various auxiliary organizations ranging from mutual aid to literary societies.

Beth Israel only existed for five years, and in 1871 the congregation rejoined Beth Ahabah.<sup>50</sup> The latter spawned several organizations. The oldest was the Hebrew Benevolent Association Shebeth Achim, founded in 1851. In accordance with its motto "fraternity, friendship, and love," it maintained a fund for widows and orphans and functioned as a sickness insurance society providing benefits of three dollars per week for needy ill people.<sup>51</sup>

On June 12, 1867, nine German Jews founded the Jefferson Literary Association, whose name was later changed to Jefferson Literary and Social Circle. Membership was open to all men over seventeen, who were of good moral character, and were approved by the association. They engaged in literary exercises such as recitations, debates, and the

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<sup>49</sup>Wust, Virginia Germans, p. 236; Virginia Staats-Gazette, January 1, 1876.

<sup>50</sup>Myron Berman, Richmond's Jewry: Shabbat in Shockoe, 1769-1976 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979), pp. 216-17.

<sup>51</sup>Wust, Virginia Germans, p. 207; Beth Ahabah Archives.

writing of essays, operated a library, and also sponsored annual balls and social entertainment. They appeared to be a Jewish equivalent of the "Gesang-Verein." According to a September 24, 1878, article, their ninety to hundred members "embraced the cream of Jewish society." The writer observed that "... any young man wanting to affiliate with first-class Jewish society will find this the best entree."<sup>52</sup> No information was found to indicate whether any new immigrants were approved for membership. As mentioned in chapter III, the Mendelssohn Literary Association was absorbed into the Jefferson Literary and Social Circle in 1878, at which time they also started publication of The Jeffersonian magazine.<sup>53</sup>

In 1868, the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent and Mutual Relief Association was established. Its German constitution and bylaws, printed in the office of the Virginia Staats-Zeitung, stated that the purpose was for the Jewish women of Richmond to extend a helping hand when necessary, and to aid other needy Jewish women in sickness and misfortune. Members had to be in good health, of good moral

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<sup>52</sup>Jefferson Literary Association box, Beth Ahabah Archives, Richmond.

<sup>53</sup>Marilyn S. Greenberg, The Richmond Story, 1870-1924 (Richmond: Richmond Jewish Community Center, 1924), Beth Ahabah Archives.

character, between eighteen and sixty years old, and elected with no more than three blackballs.<sup>54</sup> The ladies organized entertainment to raise funds for these purposes. The association was eventually renamed Jewish Family Services, and today they continue carrying out a part of their original mission by helping Jewish immigrants from Russia.

German Jews also joined together in various masonic-type organizations, such as the Rimmon Lodge, B'nai Brith, and Loge Francaise. As Melvin Urofsky observed,

... cultural activities in Richmond reflected a unique mixture of German and American patterns. Inveterate joiners, Jews founded chapters of fraternal organizations such as B'nai Brith (1865), Keshet Shel Barzel, and the order of the Free Sons of Israel,...

German Protestants and Catholics also had their church-related organizations, but the records are not as complete as those in the Jewish archives, either because they have not been preserved or because they could not be made available.

St. Johannes Church organized a "Frauens-Verein" (women's auxiliary) in 1871. They met monthly and were

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<sup>54</sup>Beth Ahabah Archives, Richmond. The German text reads: "Wir, die israelitischen Damen der Stadt Richmond, Virginia, wenn nothwendig, eine helfende Hand zu bieten, oder andern huelfsbeduerftigen israelitischen Frauen dieser Stadt in Krankheit und Unglueck beizustehen..."

<sup>55</sup>Melvin I. Urofsky, A Family Tapestry: The Hutzlers and Richmond (Richmond: Beth Ahabah Museum and Archives Trust, 1984), p. 9.

active in arranging concerts, picnics, and other social functions, as well as in fund-raising; they contributed almost \$10,000 for the new church dedicated in 1881. The minutes of this women's organization show that every meeting was opened with prayer by a man.<sup>56</sup> No records were found of Bethlehem Lutheran church auxiliary organizations, except for the Christian day school mentioned in chapter III. This school continues to operate today under the name Luther Memorial School.

St. Mary's Church was said to have had a "... Benevolent Society ... in a flourishing condition" in 1867.<sup>57</sup> No details on this organization's activities were available. In 1876, St. Mary's pastor Benno Hegele organized its Social and Beneficial Union. They arranged picnics, bazaars, family outings to Buckroe beach, and other social functions.<sup>58</sup> St. Mary's also had a Society for the Poor and a Sodality for Young Men and Ladies, as well as two schools:

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<sup>56</sup>Protokollbuch des St. Johannes Frauens-Verein, microfilm reel 624, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, acc. no. 30078; 65. Jubilaeum der Deutschen Evangelische St. Johannes-Gemeinde zu Richmond, Va. (Richmond: The Dietz Printing Co., 1908).

<sup>57</sup>Joseph F. Magri, The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1906), p. 99.

<sup>58</sup>Robert J. Brennan, O.S.B., A History of St. Mary's Church (n.p., March 1962), pp. 15, 17.

The original one in the Richmond church, and later one in Chesterfield county, where some Germans had settled near Granite station in 1872.<sup>59</sup> Three other German Catholic organizations met at St. Mary's: St. Bonifacius Society under its president William Feldhaus, St. Benedictus Society whose president was F. Laube, and St. Joseph's Beneficial Society, led by H. Avers.<sup>60</sup> At the end of 1872 they had a combined membership of 160.<sup>61</sup> The first Catholic parochial school opened in 1866. St. Johannes had a German and English school from 1869 to 1888, and each of the Jewish synagogues maintained religious schools.<sup>62</sup>

In addition to these church-related organizations, the German-Americans in 1841 founded the "Deutsche Krankenunterstuetzungsgesellschaft", a mutual assistance society to help their sick citizens,<sup>63</sup> and established the "Deutscher Unterstuetzungsverein" (German assistance association). The forerunner of the assistance association was

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<sup>59</sup>Schuricht, German Element, vol. 2, pp. 128, 143.

<sup>60</sup>Benj. R. Sheriff, comp., Sheriff & Co.'s Richmond City Directory 1875-6 (Richmond: West, Johnston & Co.), p. 287.

<sup>61</sup>Richmond Dispatch, January 2, 1873, p. 1.

<sup>62</sup>Margaret Meagher, History of Education in Richmond (Richmond: City School Board, 1939), pp. 82, 126, 129.

<sup>63</sup>Wust, Virginia Germans, p. 205.

the previously-mentioned "Schutz-Verband", started in April 1866. The appeal for its formation was signed by sixty-nine members of the German community, including both Christians and Jews, and a man with the Hungarian name A. G. d'Andahazy who headed the "Suedliches Arbeits- und Nachweisungs-Bureau" (Southern employment agency) and announced that he could get jobs and documents for German immigrants.<sup>64</sup>

About one month later, Germans attempted to found an immigration society, and after some procedural arguments over the use of German or English, they adopted a constitution on June 30, 1866. The stated purpose of the organization was to promote German immigration and to protect and assist immigrants. Active members with voting rights had to be proficient in German because all transactions were to be carried on in that language. Non-German speakers could be passive members. In addition to the usual finance and audit committees, there was an information committee, and a welfare committee, including the second vice president, a doctor, and a chaplain. That committee's duties were to check on the welfare of immigrants, to find lodging, care

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<sup>64</sup>Anzeiger, March 31, 1866.

for the sick, pass on requests for help, and make rules for financial assistance.<sup>65</sup>

Ten years later, a notice in the Virginia Staats-Gazette called on all those who needed German workers or knew of jobs available for German immigrants to inform the "Unterstuetzungsverein". The committee formed for this purpose consisted of H. Schmidt, Charles Siegel, J. F. Koehler, H. G. Miller, and J. H. Pein, all of whom were also either officers or directors of the "Gesang-Verein", except for John H. Pein who was the editor and publisher of the Staats-Gazette.<sup>66</sup> The "Unterstuetzungsverein" continued to maintain a fund for helping poor immigrants and to provide advice and other assistance.<sup>67</sup>

Among general business organizations catering to Germans there was a "Deutsche Sparkasse" (savings bank), the Virginia Building and Loan Association,<sup>68</sup> and a German bookstore. Some of the social organizations later formed the United German Societies which, among other activities,

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid., May 5, 1866, p. 3; May 12, 1866, p. 2; June 9, 1866, p. 2; June 30, 1866, p. 4.

<sup>66</sup>Virginia Staats-Gazette, January 4, 1876, p. 4; January 5, 1876, p. 4.

<sup>67</sup>Schuricht, German Element, vol. 2, p. 183; Wust, Virginia Germans, p. 207.

<sup>68</sup>Anzeiger, October 21, 1865, p. 3; Wust, Virginia Germans, p. 241.

saw to it that poor members could be buried in a special section of Hollywood cemetery.<sup>69</sup> Thus, the whole German community was organized in a variety of ways to help immigrants and each other.

What about the Irish? They either did not play as prominent a role in post-Civil War Richmond as the Germans, or they were not as serious about keeping records and organizing themselves as an ethnic community, probably the latter. As mentioned in chapters II and III, there had been an exodus and virtually no new Irish immigration after the War. Those who remained were no longer "foreign," and Anthony Michael Keily, the New Jersey-born son of an Irish immigrant, was mayor of Richmond during the 1870s. Their social life revolved around their St. Patrick's Church, which was founded in 1859 and located on Twenty-fifth Street between Broad and Grace. The Irish-born pastor Thomas J. Kelly served a population of around one thousand, about the same order of magnitude as St. Mary's. But while St. Patrick's census was static, ranging from 1013 in 1873 to a high of 1100 in the mid-seventies, and a low of 950 in 1880,

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<sup>69</sup>Constitution and Regulations for the Cemetery Section of the United German Societies, October 28, 1885, Mss 3G 3302a4, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.



St. Mary's increased from 870 in 1873 to 1020 in 1880.<sup>70</sup>

Similarly, St. Patrick's Sunday school enrollment ranged from 216 in 1873 to 200 in 1880, while St. Mary's increased from 150 to 192.<sup>71</sup>

St. Patrick's had an auxiliary organization named Society of St. Vincent de Paul whose vice president, D. Horgan, was also the state secretary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.<sup>72</sup> The Hibernians were an organization for Irish Catholic men between the ages of twenty and forty-five, who had to attend communion at least once a year as a membership requirement.<sup>73</sup> Their motto was "Friendship, Unity and True Christian Charity." Starting in 1878, the Richmond division of the Hibernian order published a monthly journal which

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<sup>70</sup>Religious Statistics of the Diocese of Richmond, Diocese of Richmond Archives.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Richmond City Directory 1875-6, p. 288. The 1880 census showed Daniel Horgan, an Irish-born fifty-six-year-old schoolteacher living at 223 Twenty-fifth Street (see appendix 2). Horgan seemed to be a common name since the naturalization records showed two other Irish Daniel Horgans, a stonecutter who was twenty-four in 1873, and a teacher who was twenty-eight when he declared his intention to become a citizen in 1872 (see appendix 1). The latter would have been thirty-six rather than fifty-six in 1880 and was probably the man listed in the census with an incorrect age. This conjecture is supported by the fact that his wife was thirty-four and that their three children's ages ranged from eight to two.

<sup>73</sup>A. O. H. Journal 1, no. 1, May 1878, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

covered items of special interest to the Irish community, such as the 1880 visit of the Irish nationalist John Parnell.<sup>74</sup> The second issue of the publication commented that the Richmond press had given favorable reviews to the new journal, and another early issue carried an editorial praising Virginia's and Richmond's record of tolerance for the Irish in particular and Catholics in general.<sup>75</sup> But during most of the 1865 to 1880 period the Irish, unlike the Germans, did not have their own news media. They had to rely on the general daily newspapers such as the Richmond Dispatch, the Whig, and the Enquirer to announce their meetings and St. Patrick's Day parades.<sup>76</sup>

Like the Germans, they held both radical and conservative political meetings. The Dispatch reported on both, but there was no doubt about which side the newspaper was on. On July 1, 1868, they wrote two lines: "The Irish Radical Meeting at Metropolitan Hall Monday night was a failure."<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, they publicized "a mass meeting of our Irish fellow-citizens ..." whose purpose was to defeat "the

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid. 2, no. 11, March 1880.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid. 1, no. 2, June 1878; no. 5, September 1878.

<sup>76</sup>The Richmond Dispatch claimed in July 1873 that their circulation was greater than the combined circulation of all other Richmond daily newspapers.

<sup>77</sup>Richmond Dispatch, July 1, 1868, p. 1.

monstrosity called Constitution."<sup>78</sup> And they reported at length on the "large and enthusiastic meeting of Irish and other foreign citizens." At this meeting James H. Dooley made an eloquent speech in which he referred to the proposed constitution as "a miserable production of twenty-four negroes, scarcely able to read their own printed work, fourteen renegade Virginians, ..., and twenty-seven scallawags, carpet-baggers, and miserable political adventurers from the North."<sup>79</sup>

St. Patrick's Day festivities received extensive coverage. In 1873, the Dispatch called on "Irish citizens, those of Irish descent and all others who wish to unite in celebration of this day ..." and gave all the details on who was to assemble when and where.<sup>80</sup> In addition to the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the marchers included a Hibernian Society, the Catholic Beneficial Societies, the three German organizations from St. Mary's, and the Catholic Total Abstinence Society, which had been organized in November 1872 by the Reverend Janssens mentioned in chapter

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<sup>78</sup>Ibid., June 11, 12, 1868, p. 1. The reference was to the new constitution providing for black suffrage.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., June 13, 1868, p. 2.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., March 15, 1873, p. 2.

III.<sup>81</sup> Other members of the parade were "The Boys" under D. Columbus who according to census and naturalization records was a confectioner from Corsica, i.e. France.<sup>82</sup> The day after the big event, the Dispatch reported at length about the parade and the mass at St. Peter's Cathedral, including the text of Bishop Gibbons' sermon and mayor Keily's speech to the participants.<sup>83</sup>

Whoever "The Boys" were, the fact that a Corsican was in charge showed that there was cooperation between Catholics of different nationalities. While Corsica belonged to France, all the Corsican names were ethnically Italian, and for the purpose of this study it seemed appropriate to consider them as a part of the Italian group. Those who had immigrated before the Civil War appeared to be well-respected, and when Antonio Pizzini died, he was called a "highly esteemed citizen," and one of three brothers who "have all reared large and highly respectable families in our

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., January 2, 1873, p. 1.

<sup>82</sup> Ninth Census, reel 1654 (160b), p. 13.

<sup>83</sup> Richmond Dispatch, March 18, 1873, p. 1.

midst."<sup>84</sup> Everyone seemed to like the Pizzini ice cream shop as well as Zetelle's restaurant.<sup>85</sup>

On the other hand, an item headed "One Italian Killed by Another" left a different impression.<sup>86</sup> The reporter described in detail how the shoemaker Vincenzo Castronovo quarreled with his customer Guiseppe Simione over the price of half-soling Simione's shoes, how the latter struck the former on the head with a piece of wood, and how he died the next day at Medical College from a fractured skull, leaving a wife and two children. But strangely, there was not one word about whether Simione was arrested or what happened to him afterwards. The report left the impression that this murder of one foreigner by another was of no concern to the community.

There was much publicity surrounding the arrival of the Italian opera company Ghioni & Sussini, which performed Lucia di Lammermoor, Norma, Barber of Seville, and other well-known operas, presumably in the Italian language, in the Richmond Theatre at Seventh and Broad Street.<sup>87</sup> Many

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<sup>84</sup>Richmond Daily Whig, November 27, 1869, p. 1.

<sup>85</sup>Herbert T. Ezekiel, The Recollections of a Virginia Newspaper Man (Richmond: Herbert T. Ezekiel, 1920), p. 111.

<sup>86</sup>Richmond Dispatch, March 24, 1873, p. 1.

<sup>87</sup>Anzeiger, March 17, 1866, p. 2.

Germans apparently attended, but how many Italians could afford the price of admission, ranging from fifty cents to twelve dollars, was not reported.<sup>88</sup>

While news about Italians was scarce, one item was found about the French. On September 7, 1873, a meeting was held in a saloon on Main Street to celebrate the withdrawal of German occupation troops from France. Toasts to France and Virginia were drunk by twenty-five people who, according to the reporter, represented almost all "French citizens" of Richmond.<sup>89</sup> Since the Corsican Pizzini family alone numbered more than twenty-five, the report supports the above-mentioned conclusion that Corsicans were considered to be Italian rather than French.

No exclusively Italian organizations could be identified, but many Italian names appeared in the records of St. Peter's Church, and, as mentioned in chapter III, the Pizzini family belonged to that church. Juan A. Pizzini was secretary of the Catholic Beneficial Society which met at St. Peter's.<sup>90</sup> He was also president of St. Peter's Christian Doctrine Confraternity, serving together with some Irish Catholics and with D. Columbus as treasurer and F. M.

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<sup>88</sup>Ibid., March 31, 1866, p. 2.

<sup>89</sup>Richmond Dispatch, September 9, 1873, p. 1.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., October 2, 1871, p. 2.

Catogni as librarian.<sup>91</sup> Two other members of the Pizzini family, John A. and Joseph, organized a picnic of combined Catholic organizations held at the Hermitage fairgrounds to raise funds for a new school building on Marshall Street.<sup>92</sup>

Thus, it seems very likely that the Italian immigrants mixed with the Irish and other Catholics of St. Peter's, the largest and oldest of Richmond's Catholic churches. Between 1873 and 1880, St. Peter's census increased from 2700 to about 3000, and their Sunday school enrollment went from 450 to 567.<sup>93</sup> According to the Catholic historian Fogarty, the Irish-born Denis O'Connell saw to it that Italian immigrants in Richmond had a "Roman-educated priest of Italian ancestry," but this development probably took place after 1880.<sup>94</sup> The mixing of citizens of Irish and Italian origin at St. Peter's included some intermarriages. Examples are the marriage of the Henry Caravati mentioned in chapter III to

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid., January 1, 1874, p. 3.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., July 19, 1873, p. 1.

<sup>93</sup>Religious Statistics of the Diocese of Richmond, Diocese of Richmond Archives.

<sup>94</sup>Gerald P. Fogarty, Catholic Virginian 66, no. 23 (November 9, 1992): p. 5.

an Irish-born Mahoney<sup>95</sup> and that of a member of the Pizzini family to a Mary Fergus.<sup>96</sup>

The relationship between the Irish and the large German community was more complex because of the separate German churches. Some Germans evidently looked down on the Irish, and one of the German newspapers commented sarcastically that Germans excelled in musical entertainment while the English and Irish were better when it came to horse racing, dog, and cock fights.<sup>97</sup> Lange mused that many Germans participated in a St. Patrick's Day parade, but thought they were stupid to do so and that they should have stayed home and prayed.<sup>98</sup> The friction had the attention of Catholic authorities who in 1873 arranged a "good will meeting" in the basement of St. Mary's Church.<sup>99</sup> Bishop James Gibbons corresponded with Archabbot Wimmer of St. Vincent's Abbey on that subject, presumably because the German-speaking

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<sup>95</sup>Interview with Dr. Charles M. Caravati, Jr., March 23, 1994.

<sup>96</sup>St. Peter's Church matrimonial register, p. 79, July 20, 1878.

<sup>97</sup>Virginia Staats-Gazette, June 5, 1875, p. 4.

<sup>98</sup>Lange, "The New Name," vol. 2, p. 180.

<sup>99</sup>Ignatius Remke, Historical Sketch of St. Mary's Church, Richmond, Virginia 1843-1935 (Richmond: n.p., 1935), p. 14.



Benedictine monks of St. Mary's came from that abbey.<sup>100</sup> Bishop Gibbons also worked towards understanding between Catholics and Jews. He and Rabbi Bettelheim became good friends, and Bettelheim's daughter wrote movingly of the Bishop's condolence visit after her mother's death.<sup>101</sup>

As early as 1866, there were references to cooperation between Germans of different religions. When the Jewish community purchased new land at Eighth and Clay Streets, German Catholics bought their old site for the purpose of constructing a big new church so that the existing building could be converted into a school. Wrote the Anzeiger, "[these] examples show Germans of other denominations and views that through sincere cooperation great and beautiful works can easily be achieved."<sup>102</sup> According to Lange, not only Lutherans, but Catholics, Jews, and all American religious groups supported the 1877 fund drive for the new St. Johannes Church, when their "Frauens-Verein" collected

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<sup>100</sup>Brennan, History of St. Mary's, p. 6.

<sup>101</sup>Rebeka Kohut, My Portion (New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1925), p. 19.

<sup>102</sup>Anzeiger, February 24, 1866, p. 2. The German text reads: "Obige Beispiele zeigen den Deutschen anderer Confessionen und Ansichten, dass durch einmuethiges Zusammenwirken leicht Grosses und Schoenes erreicht werden kann."

one thousand dollars in just a few weeks.<sup>103</sup> Intermarriages between religions were unusual, but some took place. If they involved Catholics, the non-Catholic spouse had to sign a statement promising "... to leave him (her) free in the exercise of his (her) religion, and if our marriage be blessed with offspring to allow such children to be baptized and instructed in the Catholic faith."<sup>104</sup>

Berman wrote that anti-Semitism decreased after the Civil War and did not become strong again until the influx of Eastern Jews started after 1880.<sup>105</sup> When the "Deutscher Patriotischer Unterstuetzungs-Verein" was organized on August 15, 1870, and \$1100 were collected very quickly, at least one of the four German founders, Millhiser, was Jewish.<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, there were mysterious entries in the minutes of the "Gesang-Verein" which would indicate that Jews were not always welcome. On August 6, 1877, A. Gunst and Chas. Millhiser were nominated to be passive members, but not accepted. On September 3, 1877, the above election was declared illegal and therefore invalid. A new election was called for, then postponed to the next meeting,

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<sup>103</sup>Lange, "The New Name", vol. 2., p. 396.

<sup>104</sup>St. Peter's Church matrimonial register.

<sup>105</sup>Berman, Richmond's Jewry, pp. 203, 229.

<sup>106</sup>Schuricht, German Element, vol. 2, p. 157.

but the nominations of the candidates were withdrawn before the election was held.<sup>107</sup>

With some exceptions, immigrants were generally welcomed in Richmond after 1865.<sup>108</sup> Chesson pointed out that since they were white and cooperated with the white natives and ante-bellum immigrants, they became a part of the white majority pulling together against the black minority.<sup>109</sup> In his words:

The experiences of war and reconstruction seemed to unite the diverse groups of whites. Ecumenism and tolerance of religious and ethnic differences were more prevalent in the decades after the War than at any time before or since.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup>"Gesang-Verein" records, August 6, 1877; September 3, 1877.

<sup>108</sup>W. Harrison Daniel, Virginia Baptists, 1860-1902 (Bedford, Va.: The Print Shop, 1987), p. 43. According to Dr. Daniel, Baptist spokesmen favored the revival of nativism and made hostile references to immigrants.

<sup>109</sup>Michael B. Chesson, Richmond After the War: 1865-1890 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981), p. 121.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

## Chapter V

### Summary and Conclusions

The questions originally posed for this thesis were first whether immigration to Richmond resumed after the Civil War and during the decade after Reconstruction, and if so, where the immigrants came from. Secondly, why they left their homelands and whether they made significant contributions to rebuilding the city or to life in the community.

Immigration did indeed resume, but on a very small scale compared with earlier levels and particularly when contrasted with the influx of foreigners to the American North and West. During the 1865 to 1880 period in question, immigrants were generally welcomed and considered to be assets, both as a source of labor and as a means of settling the country. Virginia looked with envy at the northern and western states which received the majority of newcomers and attempted to attract her share. These efforts by Virginia government authorities were unsuccessful for several reasons: they were directed to northern European countries whose inhabitants felt more at home in the North and West, particularly where free land was available; they were motivated by a desire to replace lost slave labor, to sell land, and to bring capital into the state; and they were led by people who knew very little about Europe.

The only European in an important position to induce immigration to Virginia was Gaspar Tochman, a Polish émigré with a colorful past, who had good connections with many Virginia politicians. He served as European agent of immigration from 1867 until 1873, but was hampered by lack of legislative support.

An estimated one hundred to two hundred European men arrived in Richmond between 1865 and 1880. They came primarily from German-speaking countries, and secondarily from Scotland and Italy, as well as from Ireland, England, and France. They settled here not so much because of the government efforts, but usually because they either already had friends or relatives here, or because they had specific skills for which there was a demand.

When the author started research for this thesis, he thought that the number of foreign-born stonecutters could signify that they played a key role in the rebuilding of Richmond. But the evidence showed that they worked on contracts for cities further North and were no more important than other skilled newcomers. Instead, all immigrants blended with those of their nationality who had arrived earlier, and became a part of the general effort to restore the city. Most of them became good citizens, and crime was rare. They had a variety of skills and occupations; if any could be singled out as being significant and influential, it would be ministers and teachers. Immigrants from

Ireland, Germany, Holland, and Belgium served as Catholic priests, monks, and nuns. Newcomers from Germany, Hungary, and Poland came to Richmond as Jewish rabbis. And the German Protestant congregations were led by ministers who were earlier immigrants from Germany and Switzerland. Many of the religious leaders doubled as educators, and other teachers came from England, France, and Italy.

Some of the men who came to Richmond between 1865 and 1880 were ancestors of families well-known here today, such as Gottwald, Schwarzschild, and Caravati. Others moved on to successful careers in other parts of the United States, such as Archbishop Janssens and Rabbi Bettelheim. But all the men, women, and children who came added something to the community.

The Germans joined their earlier immigrants in supporting their political, social, and other organizations, their newspapers, and their churches and synagogues. They enriched life in Richmond through the promotion of cultural and entertainment events, such as theater, opera, concerts, and dances. The Irish were leaders in the Catholic church and in politics. And the Italians mixed with the Irish in St. Peter's Church. Immigrants were accepted because they were white and because they gradually assimilated and became good citizens.

There was a great deal of religious tolerance and cooperation among Germans of the three different religions.

Churches seemed to be the focus of immigrant social life, just as they were for the population as a whole. The Dispatch reported in 1874 that the percentage of Richmonders who were church members or under religious influence was higher than that of any other city in the country.<sup>1</sup>

Although German newspapers and organizations continued to function after 1880 and into the twentieth century, the use of the language diminished due to gradual assimilation and a lack of newcomers. Already in 1880 other cities had far surpassed Richmond as communities with a high number of immigrants. Among the fifty most populous cities, Richmond ranked twenty-fifth in total population, but forty-eighth and forty-ninth, respectively, in the number and percentage of foreign-born. Nashville and Atlanta, both much smaller than Richmond at that time, were the only cities among the top fifty which housed even fewer newcomers, and only Atlanta had a lower percentage.<sup>2</sup> Other cities also grew much faster. Thus, Richmond gradually became the low-growth

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<sup>1</sup>Richmond Dispatch, January 1, 1874, p. 2. On January 1, 1875, the same newspaper (p. 3) reported the following church membership statistics: Catholic 4,813, Jewish 236, Lutheran 300, all other Protestant (mostly white and black natives) 19,479. The total of 24,828 was about 40 percent of an estimated population of 60,000.

<sup>2</sup>U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States, Tenth Census (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), vol. 1, p. 471.

conservative Southern community which until the 1960s was known mainly as the capital of the Confederacy rather than for the rich ethnic life, industry, and growth of the 1870s.



## APPENDIX 1

NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE	PREVIOUS COURT	*	SOURCE
Abbiati, Joseph	Italy	10/02/76	Stonecutter	22	Before 18	N	RH 7, 269
Adams, Richard John	England	05/17/72			Rich Circuit	N	RH 3, 21
Alexander, William	England	10/21/71	Gardener	35		I	RH 2, 273
Alston, Henry	England	05/09/70				I	HC 1, 225
Anselmi, Andrea	Italy	10/02/76	Stonecutter	23	Before 18	N	RH 7, 290
Anselmi, Andrew	Italy	11/30/75	Stonecutter	25		I	RH 6, 317
Antoni, John	France	03/21/77	Confectioner	31		I	RH 8, 172
Antoni, Roch	France	04/11/77	Storekeeper	29		I	RH 8, 224
Armstrong, J. G.	Ireland	10/14/80			St. Louis Co, MO	N	RH 11, 425
Baccagalupo, Antonio	Italy	05/03/71	Shoemaker	36	Before 18	N	RH 2, 85
Bagley, John	Ireland	05/10/70	Storekeeper	34		I	RH 1, 14
Bagley, John	Ireland	05/14/72			Rich Circuit	N	RH 3, 16
Barkowski, John Andrew	Ireland	02/27/78	Physician	35		I	RH 9, 237
Baroni, Victor	Italy	12/01/75	Stonecutter	25		I	RH 6, 317
Bear, Emanuel	Bavaria	05/09/70			Rich Hustings	N	RH 1, 8
Beninghoff, George	Germany	04/26/76	Laborer	24	Before 18	N	RH 7, 96
Berg, Bernard	Prussia	05/14/70	Clerk	22	Before 18	N	RH 1, 35
Bergquist, John	Sweden	05/17/70	Shoemaker	50		I	RH 1, 45
Berne, Michael	Ireland	04/15/71			Middlesex, NJ	N	RH 2, 46
Bernichi, Antoni	Italy	05/13/70			Rich Circuit	N	RH 1, 32
Bernichi, Rafaelo	Italy	10/11/72			Rich Circuit	N	RH 3, 154
Bernstein, Jacob	Poland	05/08/80	Storekeeper	28		I	RH 11, 244
Bettelheimer, Aaron Siegfried	Hungary	11/06/71			Rich Hustings	N	RH 2, 278
Blenner, John	Germany	04/25/72	Minister of the Gospe	42		I	RH 2, 484
Blenner, John	Germany	04/25/74			Rich Hustings	N	RH 4, 406
Boesig, Paul	Germany	10/14/72	Bookbinder	27		I	RH 3, 159
Boesig, Paul	Germany	04/27/76			Rich Hustings	N	RH 7, 97
Bolfing, John Joseph	Switzld	09/02/72	Printer	41		I	RH 3, 86
Bossi, Louis	Italy	03/28/74	Stonecutter	24	Before 18	N	RH 4, 355
Bowen, George	Wales	05/12/71	Clerk	25	Before 18	N	RH 2, 101
Bowen, John	England	10/28/73				N	HC 1, 452
Boyle, William	Scotld	07/04/73	Stonecutter	48		I	RH 4, 5
Brady, James	Ireland	06/05/73			Merrimack Co, NH	N	RH 3, 438

APPENDIX 1

NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE PREVIOUS COURT	COURT *	SOURCE
Brandt, Harold J. P.	Denmark	10/21/80		City&Co of NY	N	RH 11, 442
Brannan, Robert	NovaSco	05/06/80	Locomotive Engineer	40 Before 18	N	RH 11, 240
Brennan, Michael	Ireland	12/13/76	Stonecutter	23	I	RH 7, 442
Briel, Matthias	Prussia	05/13/70		29 Before 18	N	RH 1, 31
Broderick, Christopher	Ireland	05/11/80	Laborer	25 Before 18	N	RH 11, 249
Brown, Samuel	England	09/22/73	Bricklayer	33	I	RH 4, 107
Bruning, Henry	Prussia	10/11/72		Oneida Co, NY	N	RH 3, 154
Bucker, Henry	Germany	10/05/83	Liquordealer	31 Arrived 18	N	HC 3, 388
Buckley, William	Ireland	01/11/66		21	I	RHM 29, 520
Bullock, William T.	England	05/12/70		Rich Circuit	N	RH 1, 26
Burgess, George	GrBrt	05/12/70		Henrico	N	RH 1, 26
Burkhard, James Carles	Prussia	10/28/73		28	N	HC 1, 452
Burley, Thomas	Scotld	07/04/73	Stonecutter		I	RH 4, 5
Bushell, John Alfred	England	05/07/70		Before 21	N	HC 1, 224
Busnitz, Simon	Russia	11/04/78	Tobacco Manufacturer	26 Before 18	N	RH 10, 93
Callaghan, Edward	Ireland	10/29/73		23 Arrived 17	N	HC 1, 458
Callahan, Timothy J.	Ireland	06/02/73		Before 18	N	RH 3, 429
Cameron, John	Scotld	02/22/77	Laborer	33 Before 18	N	RH 8, 136
Carberry, John	Ireland	09/28/71	Merchant	30	I	RH 2, 242
Carberry, John	Ireland	10/28/73			N	HC 1, 452
Cardenali, Angela	Italy	10/27/73		23 Before 18	N	HC 1, 450
Caron, Isaac	Germany	10/09/76	Clerk	21 Before 18	N	RH 7, 308
Carreras, Baldomero	Spain	05/20/80	Cigarmaker	32 Before 18	N	RH 11, 270
Casey, Michael	Ireland	09/30/76		Merrimack Co, NH	N	RH 7, 263
Catogni, Francis M.	France	05/16/76	Merchant	30 Before 18	N	RH 7, 135
Cavanaugh, Thomas	Ireland	05/10/70		Rich Circuit	N	RH 1, 12
Caveneigh, William	Ireland	10/27/73			N	HC 1, 449
Caveneigh, Charles	England	08/17/74	Stonecutter	33	I	RH 5, 44
Chapple, Charles	England	09/20/76		Rich Hustings	N	RH 7, 206
Chapple, George Crese	England	09/20/76	Stonecutter	25 Before 18	N	RH 7, 206
Chapple, John	England	09/22/75	Stonecutter	25	I	RH 6, 218
Chapple, Robert Eden	England	10/20/73			I	HC 1, 425
Chapple, Thomas Robert	England	09/20/76	Stonecutter	28 Before 18	N	RH 7, 206

APPENDIX 1

NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE PREVIOUS COURT	*	SOURCE
Clarke, Richard	England	12/15/75	Stonecutter	25	I	RH 6,352
Clemett, Thomas	England	12/16/75	Stonecutter	27	I	RH 6,356
Columbus, Darius	Corsica	10/16/73	Confectioner	23	I	RH 4,155
Columbus, D.	France	10/28/73		23	N	HC 1,453
Connors, John	Ireland	05/09/70		25	N	RH 1,8
Conway, Michael F.	Ireland	10/14/73	Stonecutter	25	N	RH 4,144
Cook, James	ScotId	05/14/74		33	I	HC 2,38
Cooper, John B.	Ireland	05/24/70	Clerk	33	I	RH 1,59
Copeland, Peter	ScotId	02/22/73	Stonecutter	28	I	RH 3,304
Costantina, Caleagni	Italy	10/23/75	Stonecutter	34	I	RH 6,269
Craig, John	ScotId	11/06/72	Stonecutter	24	I	RH 3,170
Cranz, Oscar Jr.	Germany	12/16/76	Clerk	23	I	RH 7,449
Creer, Evan	IsleMan	05/16/70	Carpenter	45	I	RH 1,40
Crespi, Vincent	Italy	10/16/73	Prof. of Languages	65	I	RH 4,158
Daffron, William	Ireland	05/11/70	Merchant	37	I	RH 1,19
Daffron, William	Ireland	05/14/72			N	RH 3,16
Daley, John	Ireland	05/13/70			N	RH 1,32
Daley, Michael Joseph	Ireland	10/23/79	Driver	23	I	RH 11,31
Daly, James	Ireland	04/24/76	Stonecutter	23	N	RH 7,94
Dappa, Otto	Germany	10/27/73			I	HC 1,451
Davis, William H.	Wales	05/14/74		23	N	HC 2,39
De La Landelle, Gabriel	Spain	09/17/74	Painter	28	I	RH 5,99
Debold, George A.	Germany	09/05/72		23	N	RH 3,110
DeRache, Joseph P. L.	France	11/04/72	Bricklayer	29	I	RH 3,164
Disney, Wm.	Ireland	05/13/70			N	RH 1,32
Doherty, John	Ireland	05/10/80	Laborer	23	I	RH 11,248
Dominici, Caesar J.	France	12/02/74	Merchant	27	I	RH 5,232
Dominici, Caesar J.	France	12/05/76		28	N	RH 7,413
Dominici, Roland	France	09/07/74	Merchant	28	N	RH 5,49
Donald, Peter	ScotId	01/24/73	Stonecutter	28	I	RH 3,277
Donati, Charles V.	Italy	02/02/80	Merchant	21	N	RH 11,138
Doolittle, Joseph	Canada	05/08/77			N	RH 8,258
Dowd, Andrew J.	England	05/14/70	Tobacco Manufacturer	22	N	RH 1,35

## APPENDIX 1

NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE PREVIOUS COURT	* SOURCE
Duwell, Joseph	Germany	12/21/75		Allghny. Co,PA	N RH 6,361
Dwyer, John	Ireland	10/20/73			N HC 1,425
Dwyer, Peter	Ireland	05/13/70		Rich Circuit	N RH 1,32
Eck, Adam	Germany	04/30/78	Cabinetmaker	31	I RH 9,321
Eckert, Peter	Germany	04/26/76	Shoemaker	22 Before 18	N RH 7,96
Edelblut, Andrew	Germany	08/12/73	Moulder	23	I RH 3,458
Edelblut, Andrew	Germany	04/18/76		Rich Hustings	N RH 7,91
Edelblut, Louis	Germany	08/12/73	Moulder	28	I RH 3,458
Edelblut, Louis	Germany	04/18/76		Rich Hustings	N RH 7,91
Edelblut, Michael	France	09/08/73		Rich Hustings	N RH 4,79
Ellison, William	Ireland	10/16/73	Merchant	33 Before 18	N RH 4,156
Ellwanger, Chris	Wuert	05/17/70	Barkeeper	21 Before 18	N RH 1,46
Euker, Dietrick	Germany	05/02/71		Rich Circuit	N RH 2,81
Fee, Hugh	Ireland	05/16/70		Rich Circuit	N RH 1,39
Feldhouse, Bernard	Hanover	10/28/72			N HC 1,357
Fildous, George	Ireland	05/10/70		Rich Circuit	N RH 1,17
Finagan, James	Ireland	05/16/70		Henrico	N RH 1,40
Finnecane, Martin	GrBrt	05/10/70		Before 18	N RH 1,12
Fischer, H. Emile	Prussia	06/28/72	Druggist	31	I RH 3,57
Fischer, H. Emile	Prussia	10/09/76		Rich Hustings	N RH 7,307
Fitzpatrick, Farrel	Ireland	07/06/71	Stonecutter	40	I RH 2,169
Flaherty, John	Ireland	11/01/75		Circuit, Mass	N RH 6,273
Fleming, James	Ireland	10/24/71			N HC 1,298
Florsheim, Benjamin	Hesse	03/08/76		Baltimore, MD	N RH 7,18
Flurschheim, Michael	Germany	11/15/71	Lumber Merchant	28	I RH 2,289
Focke, Gustavus C.	Prussia	10/21/73			N HC 1,429
Forbes, Andrew	Scotld	07/10/74	Stonecutter	30	I RH 5,31
Ford, George	England	07/22/74	Stonecutter	25	I RH 5,42
Ford, George	England	04/15/80		Rich Hustings	N RH 11,215
Ford, James Arthur	England	10/28/73			N HC 1,452
Foristol, Louis	Austria	05/17/70	Tinner	28	I RH 1,45
Foriston, Louis	Austria	07/12/70	Peddlar [sic]	24 Before 18	N RH 1,150
Frediani, Frederick	Italy	12/01/75	Stonecutter	25	I RH 6,317

## APPENDIX 1

NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE PREVIOUS COURT	* COURTS	SOURCE
Friedman, Benjamin	Saxony	05/14/70	Clerk	26 Before 18	N	RH 1,35
Fry, John	Portuga	05/08/71	Huckster	33 Before 18	N	RH 2,96
Fuge, William	England	10/22/75	Stonecutter	42	I	RH 6,269
Fuge, William Henry	England	09/26/76	Stonecutter	21 Before 18	N	RH 7,233
Galli, Frank	Italy	10/17/76		Henrico Circuit	N	RH 7,335
Gallianalien, Frank	Italy	10/24/73			I	HC 1,439
Gargan, Patrick	Ireland	10/16/71	Farmer	46	I	RH 2,271
Gat, Eusebio	Italy	03/28/74	Stonecutter	25 Before 18	N	RH 4,355
Gat, Filibert	Italy	10/18/73	Stonecutter	21	I	RH 4,160
Glynn, Patrick J.	Ireland	11/04/72	Stonecutter	28	I	RH 3,164
Goepfert, William	Germany	10/25/76	Shoemaker	52	I	RH 7,355
Goodman, Adolph	Hungary	05/14/70	Cigar Manufacturer	25 Before 18	N	RH 1,35
Goodman, Edward Leopold	Russia	10/09/76	Restaurant Keeper	24 Before 18	N	RH 7,308
Gorman, Michael	Ireland	05/11/70		Rich Circuit	N	RH 1,21
Gottwald, August	Germany	04/08/74	Stonecutter	33	I	RH 4,370
Gottwald, August	Germany	05/01/76		Rich Hustings	N	RH 7,106
Gotze, Ernest	Prussia	05/21/70		Rich Circuit	N	RH 1,55
Graham, Walter	NovaSoo	09/22/75	Stonecutter	43	I	RH 6,218
Grant, James	Ireland	10/25/71		Before 21	N	HC 1,296
Graser, William	Germany	05/16/79	Merchant	52	I	RH 10,372
Greentree, Meyer	Germany	05/13/78	Clerk	21	I	RH 9,347
Grolock, Hermann	Germany	10/16/76		Henrico Circuit	N	RH 7,332
Guerpillon, Andrew Jacques	France	05/11/80	Barkeeper	26 Before 18	N	RH 11,249
Gurrera, Alfredo	Spain	10/28/73		23 Arrived 16	N	HC 1,455
Haake, Hammond	Prussia	05/11/70	Storekeeper	37	I	RH 1,19
Haake, Hammond	Prussia	05/11/77		Rich Hustings	N	RH 8,275
Halloran, Patrick	Ireland	09/08/73	Stonecutter	36 Before 18	N	RH 4,78
Hanke, Joseph	France	05/16/70	Shoemaker	78 Before 18	N	RH 1,38
Harrington, Timothy	Ireland	05/13/73		25 Before 18	N	RH 3,408
Harris, Abraham M.	Poland	10/19/70	Merchant	30 Before 18	N	RH 1,376
Hartken, Henry	Prussia	06/05/66			I	HC 4-7,483
Hartly, Thomas	ScotId	10/23/71			I	HC 1,297
Hartmann, F. A.	Germany	10/24/73			N	HC 1,440

APPENDIX 1

NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE	PREVIOUS COURT	*	SOURCE
Hartung, Adolph	Prussia	05/08/71			Common Pleas, NY	N	RH 2, 95
Hayes, John F.	Ireland	11/01/80		24	Arrived 16	N	HC 3, 175
Hechler, Jacob	Germany	10/10/72	Barber	30		I	RH 3, 151
Hechler, Jacob	Germany	10/13/74			Rich Hustings	N	RH 5, 161
Heindl, Joseph J.	Bavaria	05/16/70			US Distr. of Va.	N	RH 1, 39
Heinefelter, William	Baden	05/10/70	Farmer	27		I	RH 1, 14
Heinson, J. D. Theodore	Prussia	10/04/75			City & Co of NY	N	RH 6, 229
Herembourg, Augustus Florent	France	05/04/71			Rich Hustings	N	RH 2, 88
Herzog, Frederick E.	Germany	10/07/80			Cumberld. Co, VA	N	RH 11, 408
Heuser, Henry	Prussia	05/06/71	Barber	21	Before 18	N	RH 2, 93
Heyman, Moritz	Holland	08/13/73	Merchant	19		I	RH 3, 458
Hickey, John	Ireland	05/11/70	Laborer	22	Rich Hustings	N	RH 1, 21
Higgins, Timothy	Ireland	10/29/73			Baltimore, MD	I	HC 1, 458
Hofmann, Abraham	Germany	10/19/77				N	RH 9, 24
Holzgreffe, Gerhard	Germany	10/28/73				I	HC 1, 453
Holzgreffe, John Joseph	Germany	07/13/80	Merchant	25	Before 18	N	RH 11, 326
Holzgreve, H.	Prussia	10/28/72				I	HC 1, 359
Holzgreve, H.	Germany	05/01/76			Henrico Circuit	N	RH 7, 106
Horgan, Daniel	Ireland	10/14/72	Teacher	28		I	RH 3, 159
Horgan, Daniel	Ireland	10/14/73	Stonecutter	24	Before 18	N	RH 4, 144
Hottes, Michael	Germany	10/09/77	Painter	25	Before 18	N	RH 9, 1
Howard, Thomas	Ireland	11/04/72	Stonecutter	23		I	RH 3, 164
Howard, Thomas	Ireland	04/18/76			Rich Hustings	N	RH 7, 92
Hoyer, L.	Bremen	10/25/65			Rich Circuit	N	HC 1, 3
Hughes, Patrick	Ireland	10/14/73	Stonecutter	24	Before 18	N	RH 4, 144
Hundertmark, George	Prussia	10/28/72				I	HC 1, 359
Hutton, George	Scotld	11/06/72	Stonecutter	28		I	RH 3, 170
Hyman, Max	Holland	05/16/70	Bookkeeper	22	Before 18	N	RH 1, 38
Jacobs, Hyman	Germany	05/11/74	Merchant	42		I	RH 4, 431
Jacobs, Hyman	Germany	05/11/76			Rich Hustings	N	RH 7, 125
Jacobson, Simon	Prussia	05/17/70	Tinner	23	Before 18	N	RH 1, 46
Jacoby, Louis	Prussia	05/14/70	Minister of the Gospe	30		I	RH 1, 34
Johnston, Joseph W.	Ireland	03/31/79	Merchant	52	Before 18	N	RH 10, 285

## APPENDIX 1

NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE PREVIOUS COURT	*	SOURCE
Joseph, Jesse	Portuga	01/26/78	Laborer	73	I	RH 9,201
Joss, John	Scotld	11/06/72	Stonecutter	32	I	RH 3,170
Jurgins, August	Germany	05/01/76	Teamster	24	N	RH 7,105
Justis, William	Scotld	05/11/70			N	RH 1,21
Kalahar, John	Ireland	05/02/76	Stonecutter	26	I	RH 7,108
Kalahar, John	Ireland	05/18/80			N	RH 11,265
Kane, John	Ireland	05/05/70			N	RH 1,6
Keefe, James	Ireland	10/23/71			N	HC 1,295
Keil, Robert	Prussia	05/09/70			N	RH 1,8
Kelly, Edward	Ireland	05/10/73			N	RH 3,404
Kelley, Charles	Ireland	11/04/72	Stonecutter	29	I	RH 3,164
Kelley, Charles	Ireland	03/04/75			N	RH 5,428
Kelley, Michael	Ireland	04/25/72	Merchant	23	N	RH 2,484
Kelly, William	Scotld	05/11/74			N	RH 4,431
Kemphaus, Gerhard	Prussia	05/12/70			N	RH 1,26
Kenelly, Patrick	Ireland	10/25/73			N	HC 1,443
Keough, Patrick F.	Ireland	10/15/73	Stonecutter	28	N	RH 4,153
Kirchoff, Hermann	Saxony	05/13/70			N	RH 1,32
Kirkpatrick, James	Scotld	07/04/73	Stonecutter	33	I	RH 4,5
Kirkpatrick, John	Scotld	07/04/73	Stonecutter	23	I	RH 4,4
Klingelhoffer, Conrad	Germany	05/10/80	Storekeeper	32	I	RH 11,237
Klosman, J.	Hessen	05/13/70			N	RH 1,31
Koenig, Ferdinand	Prussia	05/15/70	Music Teacher	46	N	RH 1,38
Krenz, Philip	Germany	05/10/80	Shoemaker	34	I	RH 11,248
Krolock, Herman	Germany	10/25/73			I	HC 1,444
Landau, Isadore	Poland	12/19/72	Cigarmaker	24	N	RH 3,230
Lawrence, Mitchell	Scotld	05/14/74			I	HC 2,37
Lazarus, Abraham	Russia	05/17/70	Merchant	36	N	RH 1,46
Leary, Daniel	Ireland	10/24/71			I	HC 1,299
Leary, John P.	Ireland	10/11/73	Stonecutter	27	N	RH 4,136
Leckenby, Alfred B.	England	05/13/71	Florist	25	I	RH 2,102
Leonard, Bernard	Ireland	05/13/70			N	RH 1,32
Leonard, Thomas	England	12/17/73	Druggist	51	I	RH 4,218

## APPENDIX 1

NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE	PREVIOUS COURT	*	SOURCE
Leonard, Thomas	England	12/20/75			Rich Hustings	N	RH 6, 358
Levy, Michael	Ireland	05/13/70	Storekeeper	50		I	RH 1, 30
Lewis, John	Greece	06/03/78	Confectioner	23		I	RH 9, 378
Lewis, John	England	10/02/76			Rich Hustings	N	RH 7, 289
Lewis, John C.	England	12/27/73	Gardener	28		I	RH 4, 222
Lewit, Jacob	Austria	10/15/73			Madison Co, VA	N	RH 4, 154
Lichtenstein, Michael	Prussia	01/22/76	Merchant Tailor	33		I	RH 6, 423
Lindner, Carl Ferdinand	Saxony	04/05/75	Cabinetmaker	43		I	RH 5, 461
Lindner, Carl Ferdinand	Saxony	04/16/77			Rich Hustings	N	RH 8, 230
Lisle, Richard	England	06/21/70	Tobacco Manufacturer	27		I	RH 1, 113
Lisle, Richard	England	06/21/72			Rich Hustings	N	RH 3, 46
Long, George	Bavaria	05/03/71	Tailor	47		I	RH 2, 86
Louis, John	France	05/17/70			Rich Circuit	N	RH 1, 45
Love, Bernard	Ireland	05/04/71	Merchant	21		I	RH 2, 88
Lulande, Albert Frederic	France	04/10/74	Clerk	30		I	RH 4, 375
Lynds, Archibald	England	05/10/77	Salesman	40		I	RH 8, 273
L'Ecyer, Anthony Philip	Canada	11/11/73	Clerk	43		I	RH 4, 178
L'Ecyer, Anthony Philip	Canada	05/01/76			Rich Hustings	N	RH 7, 106
Macdougall, James	ScotId	10/23/71			Before 21	N	HC 1, 296
MaInati, Anton	Italy	06/10/74	Stonecutter	29		I	RH 4, 453
Manning, John	Ireland	05/14/73	Stonecutter	29	Before 18	N	RH 3, 411
Marcella, Joseph Morilla	Italy	05/10/76	Cigarmaker	23		I	RH 7, 123
Marcella, Joseph Morilla	Italy	10/23/80			Rich Hustings	N	RH 11, 443
Mariani, Frank	Italy	11/30/75	Stonecutter	33		I	RH 6, 317
Marini, Francesco	Italy	10/02/76	Stonecutter	25	Before 18	N	RH 7, 290
Marshall, John	ScotId	11/04/72	Stonecutter	36		I	RH 3, 164
Maxwell, John	ScotId	05/14/70			Berkley Co, WVa	N	RH 1, 36
Mayer, Adolph	Hesse	05/10/70			Rich Hustings	N	RH 1, 12
McCarrick, Onarles	Ireland	04/07/74	Laborer	45		I	RH 4, 369
McCarthy, John	Ireland	05/16/70			Rich Circuit	N	RH 1, 39
McCarthy, Thomas	Ireland	04/24/71	Laborer	70		I	RH 2, 60
McColl, Robert	ScotId	10/18/73	Stonecutter	28		I	RH 4, 160
McDonald, Thomas	ScotId	05/17/70	Printer	30	Disch. soldier	N	RH 1, 46



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NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE	PREVIOUS COURT	*	SOURCE
McDonnell, Timothy	Ireland	04/27/76			Circuit, EastVA	N	RH 7, 97
McDonough, John	Ireland	10/27/73				N	HC 1, 447
McDonough, Michael	Ireland	04/21/76				I	RH 7, 93
McDonough, Michael	Ireland	09/20/79			Rich Hustings	N	RH 10, 442
McGovern, John	Ireland	05/04/74			Rich Hustings	N	RH 4, 419
McHugh, Edward	Ireland	12/06/75	Stonecutter	23	Before 18	N	RH 6, 320
McKay, John	Scotld	11/04/72	Stonecutter	36		I	RH 3, 164
McKenna, John T.	Ireland	05/17/70	Merchant	29	Before 18	N	RH 1, 46
McMan, Patrick	Ireland	05/21/70			Rich Circuit	N	RH 1, 55
McNamara, Daniel	Ireland	05/10/70			Rich Hustings	N	RH 1, 12
McNey, Edward	Ireland	05/14/70			Rich Circuit	N	RH 1, 36
McNulty, Edward	Ireland	11/02/69			Before 21	N	CC 4, 534
McQuade, Patrick Henry	Ireland	05/10/73	Stonecutter	23	Before 18	N	RH 3, 404
McTiernan, John	Ireland	10/28/73				I	HC 1, 453
Meech, Richard	England	05/01/76			Cook Co, Ill.	N	RH 7, 106
Merello, John	Italy	05/03/71	Storekeeper		Rich Circuit	N	RH 2, 86
Messinger, Joseph	Germany	04/28/76	Clerk	24	Before 18	N	RH 7, 98
Metzger, B. C.	Germany	10/28/73			Arrived 16	N	HC 1, 456
Meyer, Felix	Austria	10/29/71			Rich Hustings	N	HC 1, 361
Meyer, Gottlieb	Switzld	12/08/75			Madison Co, VA	N	RH 6, 333
Miller, Abraham	Poland	05/16/72	Storekeeper	28		I	RH 3, 19
Miller, John P.	Prussia	05/09/73	Puddler	22		I	RH 3, 399
Miller, John P.	Prussia	10/10/76			Rich Hustings	N	RH 7, 312
Moesta, Henry William	Prussia	05/20/70	Baker	28		I	RH 1, 49
Moesta, Henry William	Germany	10/24/73				N	HC 1, 440
Moorman, Bernard	Prussia	01/10/76	Carpenter	31		I	RH 6, 410
Morger, Henry	Germany	11/01/80	Merchant	33	Before 18	N	RH 11, 450
Moses, Hirsh	Prussia	05/14/70	Cigar Manufacturer	30		I	RH 1, 34
Mountain, John	Ireland	05/11/70			Before 18	N	RH 1, 21
Munson, Charles	Norway	04/27/76	Tailor	34		I	RH 7, 97
Murphy, John	NovaSco	10/16/76	Stonecutter	28	Before 18	N	RH 7, 332
Murphy, Thomas	Ireland	10/09/71			Henrico County	N	RH 2, 266
Murphy, William	Ireland	05/05/70			Rich Hustings	N	RH 1, 6

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NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE	PREVIOUS COURT	*	SOURCE
Murray, Patrick	Ireland	05/12/70			Rich Hustings	N	RH 1, 26
Murton, Richard J.	England	10/23/71				N	HC 1, 295
Myers, William	Ireland	06/13/73	Stonecutter	24		I	RH 3, 454
Nauman, Hermann	Germany	10/25/73				N	HC 1, 442
Newman, Frederick	Prussia	10/24/71				N	HC 1, 298
Nightingale, Alfred	England	09/03/74	Stonecutter	27	Before 18	I	RH 5, 44
Nolti, Hermann	Hanover	05/12/70	Cooper	27	Rich Hustings	N	RH 1, 25
Oberbacht, Hermann	Germany	10/18/80				N	RH 11, 434
Oberbracht, Hermann	Germany	05/02/76				I	RH 7, 108
Chlemotz, John	Germany	04/28/76	Cabinetmaker	21	Before 18	N	RH 7, 98
Osterloh, Adolph	Germany	09/11/75	Tobacconist	28		I	RH 6, 188
Osterloh, Adolph	Germany	10/05/77				N	RH 8, 494
Owers, William	Wales	09/20/76				N	RH 7, 206
O'Brien, John	Ireland	05/16/70				N	RH 1, 39
O'Day, Dennis	Ireland	05/24/70				N	RH 1, 60
O'Farrell, Thomas	Ireland	10/24/71				N	HC 1, 298
O'Toole, Edward	Ireland	10/15/73	Stonecutter	27		I	RH 4, 152
Paynter, Richard M. J.	England	05/08/71	Telegraph Operator	31	Before 18	N	RH 2, 95
Pearse, James	England	10/18/73	Stonecutter	41		I	RH 4, 160
Peretz, Nathan B.	Germany	05/08/76	Merchant	23	Before 18	N	RH 7, 118
Perrot, Louis Albert	Hesse	10/16/73				N	RH 4, 155
Pettersson, Leopolt	Denmark	10/26/76				N	RH 7, 356
Phillips, Gilbert	Scotld	01/24/73	Stonecutter	31		I	RH 3, 277
Pirazzo, Dominick	Italy	05/10/70	Farmer	49	Before 21	I	RH 1, 12
Place, Roland	Ireland	10/23/73				N	HC 1, 436
Pryer, John	England	10/20/73				I	HC 1, 425
Pye, Henry	England	10/23/71				N	HC 1, 295
Quigley, Bernard	Ireland	05/11/70	Tailor	50		I	RH 1, 19
Quigley, Bernard	Ireland	05/14/72				N	RH 3, 16
Quinn, James	Ireland	05/16/70				N	RH 1, 39
Rankin, Patrick	Ireland	05/12/80	Storekeeper	24	Before 18	N	RH 11, 254
Raser, William	Germany	05/01/76	Shoemaker	33		I	RH 7, 105
Renauld, Jean Baptiste	Canada	05/16/70	Printer	26	Before 18	N	RH 1, 39

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NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE PREVIOUS COURT	*	SOURCE
Rnio, Frank A.	Italy	05/05/71	Merchant	22 Before 18	N	RH 2,91
Richter, Edgar J.	Germany	09/04/73	Merchant	33 Before 18	N	RH 4,66
Richter, Moritz Frederick	Germany	09/20/76	Printer	21 Before 18	N	RH 7,206
Richter, William	Germany	10/23/76	Druggist	27	I	RH 7,353
Rick, Charles	Baden	08/29/70	Carpenter	22	I	RH 1,216
Rick, Charles	Baden	10/01/78		Rich Hustings	N	RH 10,39
Rieger, Caspar	Germany	05/01/76	Cabinetmaker	35	I	RH 7,105
Rieger, Caspar	Germany	05/05/80		Rich Hustings	N	RH 11,235
Robarts, William W.	Wales	05/14/74		25 Arrived 17	N	HC 2,38
Robertson, Alexander	Scotland	07/04/73	Stonecutter	31	I	RH 4,4
Roger, Comatta	Switzerland	11/30/75	Stonecutter	28	I	RH 6,317
Rosazza, John	Italy	03/28/74	Stonecutter	31 Before 18	N	RH 4,355
Rose, Hermann	Baden	05/13/70	Butcher	24 Before 18	N	RH 1,31
Rose, Maurice	Baden	10/26/70	Junkdealer	35	I	RH 1,383
Rosenheim, Henry	Bavaria	10/23/71			N	HC 1,295
Rossett, John	Italy	10/18/73	Stonecutter	33	I	RH 4,160
Rossett, John	Italy	05/15/76		Rich Hustings	N	RH 7,131
Rotani, Lodorico	Italy	05/03/71	Shoemaker	26 Before 18	N	RH 2,85
Rothschild, Aaron	Germany	03/02/80	Clerk	21 Before 18	N	RH 11,167
Russell, William	Scotland	02/22/73	Stonecutter	37	I	RH 3,304
Ryan, Patrick	Ireland	04/14/76		Rich Hustings	N	RH 7,90
Ryan, Patrick P.	Ireland	06/12/73	Stonecutter	43	I	RH 3,452
Ryder, William Henry	England	11/25/75	Stonecutter	31	I	RH 6,316
Ryder, William Henry	England	10/23/79		Rich Hustings	N	RH 11,29
Samuels, Bernard	Hesse	05/16/70	Shoemaker	30 Before 18	N	RH 1,38
Samuels, Levi	Poland	05/10/70		Before 18	N	RH 1,12
Sangueneti, Augustus	Italy	10/11/72		Rich Circuit	N	RH 3,154
Schaefer, Christian	Hesse	05/12/70		Rich Hustings	N	RH 1,26
Schmidt, Earnest Edward	Germany	01/24/81	Butcher	30 Arrived 18	N	HC 3,199
Schneider, Antonie	Austria	05/12/74		More than 5 yrs	N	HC 2,35
Schneider, Christian	Germany	10/15/73	Carpenter	30	I	RH 4,152
Schraut, Adam	Bavaria	01/10/76	Shoemaker	33	I	RH 6,410
Schrikel, Charles	Germany	10/24/73			N	HC 1,439

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NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE	PREVIOUS COURT	*	SOURCE
Schultz, Gotlieb	Poland	05/05/75	Butcher	37		I	RH 6, 19
Schumacher, Daniel	Germany	10/24/71				N	HC 1,299
Seibert, Charles	Prussia	05/17/70			Rich Circuit	N	RH 1,45
Shahy, Richard	Ireland	05/13/70			Rich Hustings	N	RH 1,32
Shea, Denis	Ireland	04/28/71			Rich Circuit	N	RH 2,75
Shea, Philip	Ireland	04/29/76	Tobacconist	33	Before 18	N	RH 7,99
Sheard, James	England	09/20/75				I	RH 6,203
Sheard, James	England	05/15/76	Stonecutter	40	Before 18	N	RH 7,131
Shumaker, Edward	Germany	11/06/76	Butcher	25	Before 18	N	RH 7,359
Sloan, George	Scot.l.d	05/14/74				I	HC 2,37
Sloan, George	Scot.l.d	09/29/76			Henrico Circuit	N	RH 7,258
Sloan, John	Scot.l.d	07/04/73	Stonecutter	29		I	RH 4,5
Smith, John	Ireland	05/17/70	Lumber Merchant	38	Before 18	N	RH 1,46
Solomon, Jacob	Prussia	04/24/73				N	HC 1,394
Spies, Leopold	Germany	07/31/75	Painter	31	Rich Hustings	I	RH 6,155
Spies, Leopold	Germany	05/06/78				N	RH 9,325
Stark, William	Germany	04/25/78	Clerk	22		I	RH 9,310
Starke, John Peter	Germany	05/01/76	Laborer	23	Before 18	N	RH 7,105
Starkey, Cornelius	Ireland	05/10/70				N	RH 1,12
Stecker, Philip	Hanover	05/16/70			Rich Hustings	N	RH 1,39
Stephen, Robert J.	Prussia	11/16/72				I	CC 4,626
Stern, Leopold	Germany	05/15/75	Clerk	21		I	RH 6,41
Stern, Louis	Prussia	06/22/71	Editor	29		I	RH 2,149
Stern, Louis	Germany	10/28/73				N	HC 1,452
Stettiner, Adolph	Prussia	05/14/70	Cigar Manufacturer	21	Before 18	N	RH 1,35
Surber, John	Germany	07/06/74	Stonecutter	29	Before 18	N	RH 5,1
Sutton, John Charles	England	05/05/71	Merchant	30	Before 18	N	RH 2,91
Swaine, Edward	Ireland	04/24/76			Eastern Dis.VA	N	RH 7,94
Taylor, H. W.	England	10/25/71				I	HC 1,297
Tholl, Florian	Prussia	05/14/70	Turner	30	Disch. soldier	N	RH 1,34
Tooky, John	Ireland	10/15/73	Stonecutter	24		I	RH 4,152
Triaca, Zebedo	Italy	03/09/76			Before 18	N	RH 7,27
Vayssaire, Charles	France	05/05/80	Shirtmaker	35		I	RH 11,237

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NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE	PREVIOUS COURT	*	SOURCE
Zoan, Adam	Prussia	05/05/70	Gardener	25	Rich Hustings	I	RH 1,5
Zoan, Adam	Prussia	09/02/72				N	RH 3,88

## EXPLANATIONS

DATE is the date of naturalization or "declaration of intention."  
 AGE is shown as of the date of the court appearance.

PREVIOUS COURT refers to the place of the "declaration of intention." If no declaration was filed, the record generally shows that the applicant arrived in the United States "before [the age of] 18."

\* I means "declaration of intention."  
 N means naturalization.

## SOURCE abbreviations:

CC Chesterfield Circuit Court common law orderbooks (number and page)  
 HC Henrico County common law orderbooks (number and page)  
 HCM Henrico County minute books (1864-67, page number)  
 RH Richmond Hustings Court orderbooks (number and page)  
 RHM Richmond Hustings Court minute books (number and page)

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NAME	COUNTRY	DATE	OCCUPATION	AGE PREVIOUS COURT	*	SOURCE
Viani, Frank	France	05/16/74		24 Arrived 15	N	CC 5,59
Vinderlehr, Joseph	Germany	10/23/73			N	HC 1,435
Vogel, Frederick	Germany	10/28/73		24 Before 18	N	HC 1,453
Vogt, Jacob	Switzld	09/02/72	Laborer	28	I	RH 3,86
Vogt, Jacob	Switzld	05/01/76		Rich Hustings	N	RH 7,106
Von Levern, Theodore	Germany	07/20/80	Butcher	21 Before 18	N	RH 11,339
Waggoner, Frank	Germany	10/24/71			N	HC 1,299
Walker, George	Scotld	10/26/74	Stonecutter	24	I	RH 5,177
Walker, Joseph	Scotld	10/19/74	Stonecutter	21 Before 18	N	RH 5,170
Walsh, Michael J.	Ireland	10/18/73	Puddler	28	I	RH 4,161
Walsh, Peter	Ireland	10/15/73	Stonecutter	27	I	RH 4,152
Walters, Samuel	England	09/22/73	Bricklayer	45	I	RH 4,107
Welsh, John	Ireland	09/08/73		Dis of Columbia	N	RH 4,78
Werne, Robert	Denmark	05/14/70	Merchant	32 Before 18	N	RH 1,35
Westerhoff, H.	Germany	10/23/73			I	HC 1,435
Wetzel, John	Germany	10/25/73			N	HC 1,444
Whelton, Florence	Ireland	11/03/73		Circuit, Mass	N	RH 4,161
Whittaker, Joseph	Ireland	05/13/70		Rich Circuit	N	RH 1,32
Williams, Edward	England	10/28/72			I	HC 1,360
Williams, John	England	11/08/75	Stonecutter	37	I	RH 6,294
Wilson, James	Scotld	05/14/74		More than 5 yrs	N	HC 2,38
Wilson, John	Scotld	09/30/76	Stonecutter	25	I	RH 7,264
Withrich, Samuel	Switzld	03/23/76	Baker	39	I	RH 7,48
Withrich, Samuel	Switzld	04/15/78		Rich Hustings	N	RH 9,287
Wood, George Otto	Sweden	04/29/76	Mechanic	26 Before 18	N	RH 7,99
Wood, Peter	Scotld	10/25/73		More than 5 yrs	N	HC 1,442
Wood, Peter	Scotld	10/25/75		More than 5 yrs	N	HC 2,193
Wood, Timothy Ward	England	01/17/76	Dairyman	36	I	RH 6,421
Wood, Timothy Ward	England	07/17/80		Rich Hustings	N	RH 11,333
Woods, William	England	05/16/70		City Court, NYC	N	RH 1,40
Woolby, William	England	11/22/76	Farmer	28	I	RH 7,393
Zank, Herman	Germany	05/03/80	Cabinet Maker	35	I	RH 11,230
Zimmermann, William H.	Hessen	12/14/65	Fur Manufacturer	21	I	RHM 29,506

APPENDIX 2

NAME	COUNTRY	CENSUS	OCCUPATION	AGE	ADDRESS	SOURCE *
Alto, Louis	Italy	1880	Blacksmith	40	Tuckahoe district	69,12
Alusi, Julian	Italy	1880		48	1914 E. Main	88,42
Ancsell, William	Prussia	1880	Trucker	30	Tuckahoe district	69,30
Anderson, Oliff	Norway	1880	Tailor	27	12th St.	85,25
Answorth, Clem	England	1880		35	Midlothian	75,12
Antoni, Jo ?	Corsica	1880	Candy factory worker	25	108 W. Broad	81,50
Antoni, R.	France	1880	Grocery store agent	32	322 N. 6th St.	83,15
Antonio, Andrew	Corsica	1880		50	1105 E. Main	86,24
Ashburner, Charles	Austral	1880	Farmer	47	Tuckahoe district	68,38
Augustini, Santus	Italy	1880	Confectioner	43	1713 E. Main	88,53
Baccalupo, Antoni	Italy	1880	Clerk	25	421 31st St.	92,42
Baccalupo, John	Italy	1880	Laborer	55	421 31st St.	92,42
Baccigaluppo, Mary	Italy	1880	Confectioner	31	220 8th St.	86,10
Backhaus, John	Prussia	1870	Teacher	20	Madison ward	1654,050,025
Bagley, John	Ireland	1870	Grocer	36	Jefferson ward	1653,243,518
Bellstein, Jacob	Poland	1880	Grocer	38	718 Cary	86,16
Bettelheimer, Aaron	Austria	1870	Rabbi	36	Monroe ward	1654,023,230
Bianchi, Paul	Italy	1880		22	1423 E. Franklin	87,33
Bingel, Ferdinand	Hessen	1880	Cabinetmaker	44	1800 Broad	90,15
Bockleman, Elizabeth	Germany	1880	Seamstress	50	407 Broad	78,26
Boesig, Paul	Saxony	1870	Clerk in restaurant	24	Jefferson ward	1653,132,462
Bolligheimer, Henrietta	Baden	1870	Clerk in store	12	Rapidan township	1662,002,045
Boltz, Conrad	Germany	1880	Rollingmill worker	30	Tuckahoe district	69,19
Bosget, Michael	France	1880	Huckster	31	108 W. Broad	81,50
Brill, Marcus	Poland	1880	Minister	36	414 Marshall	82,39
Brink, Victor	Prussia	1870	Boarding	15	Madison ward	1654,255,128
Bushnell, Annie	England	1880		33	717 Grace	85,20
Capioni, Peter	Italy	1870	Retail grocer	34	Jefferson ward	1653,196,494
Carevali, Joseph	Italy	1880	Stonemason	42	1722 E. Broad	96,08
Caris, Herbert	Ireland	1880	Priest	27	212 25th St.	92,30
Carrol, Mary	Ireland	1880	Servant	40	12th St.	85,26
Caulfield, Sarah	England	1880	Homemaker	45	909 25th St.	93,20
Chappia, Charles	Italy	1880	Stonemason	31	Tuckahoe district	68,04
Clarke, George	Scotld	1880	Blacksmith	36	Tuckahoe district	68,04

## APPENDIX 2

NAME	COUNTRY	CENSUS	OCCUPATION	AGE	ADDRESS	SOURCE *
Clarke, Philip	Ireland	1880	Stonecutter	60	Tuckahoe district	68,04
Columbus, Darius	France	1870	Confectioner	21	Madison ward	1654,025,013
Coutt, George	Scotld	1880	Stonecutter	32	417 30th St.	92,41
Crantz, Oscar	Prussia	1870	Wine merchant	31	Jefferson ward	1653,323,559
Crespi, Vincent	Italy	1880	Professor of languages	72	522 N. 7th St.	83,30
Oummings, Mary	Ireland	1880		36	717 Grace	85,20
Darno, Paul	Italy	1880	Confectioner	35	11 21st St.	89,07
Dante, Peter	Italy	1880	Saloon keeper	35	1423 E. Franklin	87,33
Dante, William	Italy	1880	Bar keeper	27	1423 E. Franklin	87,33
Diacunt, Philip	Prussia	1870	Carriage maker	35	Monroe ward	1654,208,322
Donald, Peter	Scotld	1880	Stonecutter	35	Tuckahoe district	69,25
Duncan, George	Scotld	1880	Shoemaker	34	1559 E. Main	88,59
Eck, Adam	Prussia	1880	Grocer	32	16 Baker St.	94,69
Eckert, Peter	Alsace	1880	Confectioner	25	432 N. 17th St.	96,51
Edelbluth, M.	Germany	1880	Moulder	42	416 E. Broad	82,34
Felthaas, B.	Hanover	1880	Tailor	52	503 E. Marshall	83,37
Florsheim, Benjamin	Hessen	1880	Clothing merchant	36	328 Broad	82,21
Foziel, Chillo	Italy	1880	Huckster	50		89,28
Gerhardt, G. B.	Germany	1880	Farmer	30	Varina District	71,23
Gibson, C. M.	Ireland	1880	Clerk	50	211 28th St.	92,37
Giovanni, John	Italy	1870	Clerk in store	30	Jefferson ward	1653,196,494
Goldenberg, Charles	Hessen	1870	Clerk	26	Monroe ward	1654,004,220
Guillaume, C.	France	1880	Teacher	58	900 Capitol St.	85,31
Habbets, A. A.	Holland	1880	Cathedral priest	28	12th St.	85,26
Halloway, Isabella	Scotld	1880	Homemaker	43	Clay ward 1st prect	76,58
Hanley, William B.	Ireland	1880	Cathedral priest	40	12th St.	85,26
Hechler, Jacob	Germany	1870	Barber	28	Jefferson ward	1653,177,485
Heilsler, Dinah	Baden	1870	Cook	18	Monroe ward	1654,004,220
Heinson, Theodore	Germany	1880	Machinist	33	803 Fith [sic] St.	95,59
Hirsch, Moses	Prussia	1870	?	30	Jefferson ward	1653,280,536
Hoeller, Otto	Germany	1880	Butcher	28	Brookland district	72,11
Hoffman, Lipp ?	Bavaria	1880		54	314 Leigh	82,30
Hogan, William	Ireland	1870	Iron foundry	52	Jefferson ward	1653,073,433
Holtzgrief, Henry	Prussia	1880	Grocer	31	100 Broad	78,31



## APPENDIX 2

NAME	COUNTRY	CENSUS	OCCUPATION	AGE	ADDRESS	SOURCE *
Horgan, Daniel	Ireland	1880	Schoolteacher	56	223 25th St.	92,31
Huber, Edward	Sweden	1880	Preacher	35	213 Marshall	78,17
Illegible name	Hessen	1880	Puddler	44	Clay ward 2nd prect	77,12
Jacobs, Hyman	Prussia	1880	Dry goods dealer	53	1713 E. Main	88,57
Jacoby, Louis	Prussia	1870	Clergyman	31	Jefferson ward	1653,262,527
Janssens, Francis	Holland	1880	Vicar general	28	12th St.	85,26
Johnson, Charles	Norway	1880	Machinist	23	713 Pickett St.	90,31
Johnson, Mary	Scotld	1880		29	717 Grace	85,20
Kare, John J.	Ireland	1880	Bishop of Richmond	40	12th St.	85,26
Keith, James	Scotld	1880	Stonecutter	32	2202 W. Main	89,23
Keller, Leo	Switzld	1880	Grocer	43	Brookland district	72,41
Kelly, Thomas J.	Ireland	1880	Catholic priest	32	212 25th St.	92,30
King, James	England	1880	Pattern maker	40	612 Canal St.	86,04
Klaunig, William	Prussia	1880	Machinist	40	749 N. 17th St.	96,23
Kraus, Joseph	France	1870	Carpenter	40	Clay ward	1653,029,333
LaPaice, ?	France	1880	French teacher	32	12th St.	85,26
LaPlace, Ed.	France	1880	Teacher	23	600 Grace	85,36
Latana, Nancy	France	1880	Teacher	35	403 E. Main	79,13
Laterback, J.	Germany	1880	Huckster	26	2710 Vinerable [sic] St.	93,43
Lewit, Jacob	Bohemia	1870	Drygoods merchant	25	Rapidan township	1662,002,045
Lewitt, Jacob	Austria	1880	Fancy goods dealer	36	1729 E. Main	88,58
Lindner, C. F.	Germany	1880	Pattern maker	48	Clay ward 3rd prect	78,27
Livingston, Julius	Prussia	1870	Tailor	30	Monroe ward	1654,001,219
Louisi, ?	Italy	1880	Confectioner	30	614 Broad	83,09
Lumsden, George	Scotld	1880	Stonemason	30	1802 E. Main	88,53
Lumsden, W.	Scotld	1880	Stonecutter	35	2815 Clay	92,03
Lyon, Sydney	England	1880	Stonecutter	22	Tuckahoe district	68,04
L'Ecuyer, Anthony Philip	Canada	1880	Agent	55	519 E. Broad	83,07
Marcello, Joseph	Italy	1880	Huckster	30	2217 W. Main	89,27
Marcello, Tom	Italy	1880	Huckster	30	13 21st St.	89,07
Marchetti, Domenico & Raphael	Italy	1880		32	1305 E. Franklin	87,37
Marcus, Max	Prussia	1880	Clothing storeclerk	20	1555 E. Main	88,59
Marshall, John	Scotld	1870	Blacksmith	37	Clay ward	1653,132,384
Marshall, John	Scotld	1880	Stonecutter	43	2910 Main	92,26

## APPENDIX 2

NAME	COUNTRY	CENSUS	OCCUPATION	AGE	ADDRESS	SOURCE *
McCarthy, B.	Ireland	1880		28	717 Grace	85,20
McDonough, T.	Ireland	1880	Blacksmith	55	213 25th St.	92,31
Metzger, John	Hessen	1880	Breadbaker	30	1800 Broad	90,15
Metzger, B. C.	Prussia	1880	Grocer	28	107 Baker St.	94,69
Mitchell, James	Scotld	1880	Stonemason	36	Tuckahoe district	68,04
Mossmiller, Frank	Austria	1880	Farmer	33	Fairfield district	74,38
Myer, Gotlieb	Switzld	1870	Clerk in store	21	Rapidan township	1662,002,045
Omari ?, G.	Italy	1880	Shoemaker	55	2 W. Main	89,18
Osterloh, Adolph	Germany	1880	Tobacconist	33	3 E. Franklin	80,03
O'Connell, D.	Ireland	1880	Cathedral priest	28	12th St.	85,26
O'Keefe, Bridget	Ireland	1880	Servant	18	904 E. Marshall	84,32
O'Rourke, Charles	Ireland	1880	Painter	27	1802 E. Main	88,53
Pacini, Michaelo	Italy	1880	Confectioner	45	1345 E. Franklin	87,35
Pelletti, Charles	Italy	1880	Confectioner	40	1802 E. Main	88,53
Phillips, Gilbert	Scotld	1880	Stonemason	39	Tuckahoe district	68,04
Pizzini, Andrew	Corsica	1880	Confectioner	36	717 Grace	85,20
Prout, Richard	England	1880	Stonemason	34	707 27th St.	93,40
Quistof (?), John	Germany	1880	Baker	47	316 Broad	78,26
Rosenheim, Henry	Bavaria	1870	Clothing merchant	24	Madison ward	1654,001,001
Ross, Andrew	Greece	1880	?	50	2016 W. Main	89,24
Rothschild, Aaron	Prussia	1880		21	328 Broad	82,21
Russell, Wm.	Scotld	1880	Stonemason	42	412 28th St.	92,36
Ryder, William	England	1880	Stonemason	35	27th St.	93,40
Schmait, Charles	Baden	1870	Restaurant keeper	42	Jefferson ward	1653,132,462
Schmidt, Edward	Prussia	1880	Butcher	29	Brookland district	72,07
Schraut, Adam	Bavaria	1870	Shoemaker	29	Madison ward	1654,253,127
Schraut, Adam	Bavaria	1880	Shoemaker	38	1711 E. Main	88,56
Schukle, John	Prussia	1880	Farmer	40	Fairfield district	74,38
Schwartz, Herman	Prussia	1870	Junk dealer	23	Madison ward	1654,252,126
Scott, Thomas	Ireland	1880	Farmer	45	Tuckahoe district	68,04
Sitterding, Fred	Germany	1880	Carpenter	26	2 E. Leigh	81,20
Sloan, George	Scotld	1880	Stonemason	29	1561 E. Main	88,58
Sloan, John	Scotld	1880	Stonemason	34	2520 Franklin	92,23
Southern, H. F. W.	England	1880	Stonemason	40	317 27th St.	92,33

## APPENDIX 2

NAME	COUNTRY	CENSUS	OCCUPATION	AGE	ADDRESS	SOURCE *
Stern, Louis	Prussia	1870	Reporter, daily paper	28	Madison ward	1654, 036, 018
Sullivan, P.	Ireland	1880	Merchant	55	2222 W. Main	89, 19
Taylor, Henry W.	England	1870	Gardener	43	Clay ward	1653, 095, 366
Thomas, Peter	France	1870	Grocer	22	Jefferson ward	1653, 133, 463
Thon, Christian	Prussia	1880	Saloon keeper	35	1561 E. Main	88, 58
Tomci, A.	Italy	1880	Confectioner	40	614 Broad	83, 09
Vayssaire, Charles	France	1880	Shirtmaker	35	905 Broad	85, 29
Viani, Frank	France	1870	Grocer	19	Jefferson ward	1653, 133, 463
Vianni, Frank	Corsica	1880	Confectioner	31	108 W. Broad	81, 50
Vogel, Editha	Bavaria	1880	Priores	35	4th St. 4th prect Mon.	82, 25
Weithrich, Sam	Switzld	1880	Baker	42	222 Broad	78, 29
Westerhoff, Henry	Brunswc	1880	Billiard keeper	38	1411 Ross St.	87, 25
Wigand, H. L.	Germany	1880	Retired merchant	65	519 E. Broad	83, 07
Williams, Edward	England	1870	Roller	28	Clay ward	1653, 141, 389
Wilson, James	Scotld	1880	Stonecutter	37	303 28th St.	92, 37
Wood, Timothy Ward	England	1880	Confectioner	41	Alley back of 419 6th St	83, 23
Wood, William	England	1870	Laborer	40	Monroe ward	1654, 325, 381
Woppner, William	Tyrol	1870	Painter	19	Madison ward	1654, 036, 018

\* For the 1870 census, the numbers refer to reel, the ward, and the volume page.

\* For the 1880 census, the numbers refer to the enumerator district and the page.

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## VITA

Rudolph H. Bunzl was born in Vienna in 1922 and educated in Austria and England. He came to the United States in 1940 and received his Bachelor of Science degree in chemical engineering from the Georgia Institute of Technology in 1943. He served in the U.S. Army from 1944 to 1946 and was employed by Shell Chemical Corporation in California from 1943 until 1954.

He then moved to Richmond, Virginia and was one of the founders of the company now known as American Filtrona Corporation, which is based in the Richmond area and manufactures various fiber and plastic products. He retired from active service as chief executive officer of the company in 1987. Currently he serves as chairman of the board of American Filtrona, and also works on the boards of several nonprofit Richmond community organizations.

History has been one of his hobbies for a long time, and he looks forward to pursuing this and other interests for many more years.