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United in Difference: The German Community in Nativist Baltimore and the Presidential Elections of 1860

Contempt was what the editor of the Baltimore German-language newspaper *Der Deutsche Correspondent* had for the Know-Nothing party. "Every cruelty, every imaginable bestiality characterizes American Know-Nothingism," the paper editorialized in 1858.¹ The newspaper was speaking for the majority of Germans in Baltimore, a city securely in Know-Nothing hands for most of the pre-Civil War decade. When possible, Baltimore Germans cast their vote for the Democrats, as they did in the 1860 presidential elections and did not vote for Lincoln. Current research concurs that—contrary to an earlier filiopietistic legend—German-Americans did not cast the decisive vote to elect Lincoln to office. It was only the intellectual elite of the German immigrants who were truly concerned with the slavery question; for the average German voter such issues as nativism and temperance had much more salience. And studies of the ethnocultural school have made clear that religious beliefs also strongly influenced the Germans' voting behavior.²

Typically, these analyses of state-level politics in regard to the Germans' voting behavior in the 1850s have focused on states and cities in the Midwest. Little is known about the political behavior of the Germans in the border slave states of Kentucky and Maryland. Baltimore offers an especially intriguing case to explore the Germans' opinions and responses to the interaction between a nascent Republican party, a weakening nativist movement, and two Democratic factions. A number of Germans in the city published the *Baltimore Wecker*, the only newspaper in Maryland which, beginning in 1854, strongly advocated the Republican party in this slave state. The paper had been founded by the prominent forty-eighter and turner Carl Heinrich Schnauffer. It was continued by Schnauffer's widow Elise and his brother William after Carl Heinrich's sudden death from typhoid fever in 1853.³ They were assisted by the well-known forty-eighters August Becker and Wilhelm Rapp. The latter joined the paper in 1856 after he had lost his position as editor of the national *Turnzeitung*. Members of the *Socialistischer Turnerbund* had begun to complain about Rapp's journalistic style of providing mainly "a political panorama in which the political events of the day, nativism and slavery, were strongly attacked" without paying much attention to the proceedings of the society.⁴ Their paper had to compete against a

long-established Democratic newspaper in the city—*Der Deutsche Correspondent* published by Friedrich Raine since 1841.⁵ After working as an assistant editor for the *Westfälische Zeitung* in Germany, Raine had decided to follow his father to Baltimore in 1840. First entertaining friendly ties with the Whig party, the paper became staunchly Democratic when the Whigs dissolved at the beginning of the 1850s. Later, Raine was rewarded with a number of important partisan posts for his firm support of the Democrats throughout the decades—among others President Grover Cleveland made him ambassador to Berlin in 1884.⁶ While the *Wecker* was in all likelihood mainly read by the large membership of the local *Turnverein*, the *Correspondent* appealed to the less political well-settled Germans in the city.

Of the German communities in the United States before the Civil War, Baltimore's was one of the largest. In both 1850 and 1860 it trailed only New York's "Little Germany" and the large German concentrations of Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and St. Louis.⁷ In 1860, 15 percent of all Baltimore residents were born in Germany. Their share of the city's population was over twice as large as the Irish who formed the second largest foreign ethnic group in town.⁸ And because by 1860 free blacks accounted for 92 percent of Baltimore blacks—which meant that the city had more free blacks within its limits than any other city in the nation—Baltimore was one of the very few cities in which a sizable German immigrant population was juxtaposed with a proportionally large black population.⁹

Only a few historians have cursorily examined the political opinions of the Baltimore Germans with varied conclusions. Andreas Dorpalen, for example, adopts a legend so effectively laid out by the *Baltimore Wecker* when he writes that "the majority of the 1,083 votes that Lincoln polled in Baltimore in 1860 were German votes."¹⁰ Dieter Cunz is much more careful but not very enlightening either, when he maintains that "it is not possible to associate the Germans with one political party."¹¹ In later accounts, the behavior of the German voters in the city did not receive much clarification. William J. Evitts states in his study about Maryland in the 1850s that "the Germans in Maryland were sharply divided between the old stock, who arrived in the eighteenth century, and the new wave of political immigrants, who came in the late 1840s and early 1850s. The latter were abolitionist to a man."¹² While Evitts thus identifies all the participants of the immigration wave of the middle of the nineteenth century as potential Republican voters, one of the foremost scholars of Maryland's mid-nineteenth century political history, Jean H. Baker states correctly that "Lincoln did not carry the Baltimore wards with heavy German population." Unfortunately, this observation receives little further elaboration.¹³ All this leaves us with an unclear picture of how Germans in the city viewed the political questions of the day. As it appears, these studies produce more questions than they do answers. Why, in fact, did the Germans not cast their vote for the Republicans, even though one paper strongly advocated that party? What, instead, were the issues which drew the attention of the Germans in the city, and why was it only the Democrats who successfully spoke to the concerns of German voters in Baltimore?

Baltimore in the 1850s

From the outside, the German community in Baltimore might have appeared to be tightly-knit. In fact, however, it was a harshly divided local society. Once a minor ethnic group, partly consisting of second-generation Germans, the community had grown heavily after 1830 as a rejuvenated immigration brought unforeseen numbers of Germans into this important harbor city. Since then, various lines of divisions emerged, creating increasing diversification among the Germans in Baltimore. Different religious outlooks separated the large membership of the Catholic church from their Lutheran brethren.¹⁴ Church members were set apart from those of their countrymen who preferred to socialize in their own special clubs and whose membership was divided by different occupational status. Singing societies, German chapters of English lodges, and educational and theater societies had sprung up to provide for the different needs. The variety of the diverse clubs ranged from the small ranks of the Germania Club, which catered to the German elite merchants, to the labor oriented *Arbeiter Gesangsverein*.¹⁵

The arrival of the forty-eighters added yet another dimension to this rich variety of the Germans' social life. In 1849, forty-eighters founded the *Sozial-Demokratischer Turn-Verein* of Baltimore, a liberal institution which soon rose to prominence among the Baltimore Germans.¹⁶ Already counting 278 members one year later, the *Turnverein*, together with the *Bund freier Menschen* (founded in 1853 and led by Carl Heinrich Schnauffer), united the liberal and rationalistic-minded Germans in the city.¹⁷ As elsewhere the Turners' rank and file were mainly composed of members of the skilled trades, complemented by the occasional professional, small merchant, or white collar worker.¹⁸

The different lines of status that ran through the Germans' social life in Baltimore mirrored their place in the city's economy. As their vocational patterns reveal, the occupational status of the Germans was marked by a distinct threefold division. The top level was reserved for the rich German merchants dealing mainly in tobacco who made use of their strong and well-established trade connections with Bremen and in general profited from the growth of Baltimore's overseas trade.¹⁹ Below this German elite stood the great number of skilled German workers, with a very small number of unskilled or unemployed Germans at the bottom.²⁰ Skilled workers in particular could take advantage of the city's industrial expansion which set in during the nation's economic boom of the pre-Civil War decades. As new steam-powered manufacturing establishments appeared, which relied on the employment of cheap immigrant labor and mass, assembly-line production, the city became the most Southern of the Northern industrial towns in the 1850s.²¹ In these years, German immigrants dominated in some of the city's manufacturing jobs, particularly the textile and shoe industry. Due to their strong standing in the skilled businesses, the majority of Germans held a position in the city's economy which set them apart from two other important ethnic groups in town—the Irish and the blacks. While the occupational position of the small Irish population in the city ranked below the Germans, the Irish were still one step ahead of the city's free blacks. As in many other towns, the blacks' great

Table 1
Male Occupation in Baltimore by Birthplace and Race

Occupational Categories	Census Year	White			Birthplace			Black	Total n
		North America	Germany	Ireland	Great Britain				
Agriculture	1850	0%	1%	9%	8%	14%	14		
	1860	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1		
Professional and Personal Services	1850	9%	13%	19%	0%	49%	73		
	1860	11%	23%	28%	31%	71%	74		
Trade and Transportation	1850	42%	13%	39%	33%	12%	157		
	1860	48%	10%	39%	46%	10%	93		
Manufacturing, Mechanical, and Mining Industries	1850	47%	74%	25%	42%	25%	237		
	1860	40%	67%	33%	23%	17%	121		
Non-occupational Responses	1850	2%	0%	9%	17%	0%	13		
	1860	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	1		
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	784		

Data based on a regular sized extract from <http://www.ipums.umn.edu>.
 Steven Ruggles and Matthew Sobek et. al., Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 2.0
 (Minneapolis: Historical Census Projects, University of Minnesota, 1997).

numbers supplied the labor force for the lowest ranking and worst paid jobs in Baltimore.²²

Yet, these changes which affected Baltimore's economy were only part of those confounding transformations which rendered the 1850s so dramatic to Americans. Like their countrymen, Baltimoreans felt that their community, together with state and nation, was undergoing extraordinary times of uncertainty.

In the preceding two decades, the second American party system had brought stability to Marylanders. While the state had always voted for the Whigs' presidential candidate, Baltimore had remained firmly in the hands of the Democrats.²³ The Germans in the city were no exception to this voting behavior of their American countrymen as only their upper class felt attracted to the ranks of the Whig party.²⁴

With the beginning of the 1850s, however, the old political order broke down rapidly. On the state level, the Whigs split into sectional factions when their leaders could not decide how to vote about a new constitution for the state. On the national level, the party created further embarrassment for its local followers as platform and candidate for the 1852 presidential elections drifted in different directions over the endorsement of the Compromise of 1850. The Whigs' fickle stand was a sensitive issue in this border state and Marylanders decided to cast their vote for a Democratic candidate for the first time in five elections.²⁵

This sudden turn, however, was only one expression of the changing atmosphere that came over Baltimore in that decade. Increasingly, the great number of newcomers in the city were perceived as a serious threat by Baltimoreans. Willing to work for very low pay, immigrants were accused of undercutting the wages of native workers. Germans and Irish allegedly banded together and were identified as one main source of the rising crime rate in the city. The high share of Catholics among them was seen as a sign that a papal plot was endangering the traditional Protestant values of American society. And finally, immigrants were singled out as the ones who supposedly caused parties to no longer fulfill their intended functions but to be marred instead by increasing corruption.²⁶

A short lived temperance movement—which the Germans strongly opposed—cast itself as a solution to these urban vices, but the real winner in this world of alleged threats to society was the Know-Nothing party.²⁷ At the core of their political program lay the demand to give only "true Americans" political power. By this, the Know-Nothings' ideology promised to confine the immigrants to a place from which they supposedly could not endanger American values. For the native voter, Know Nothings were attractive because they held up Protestant values of individualism against conspicuous Catholicism and expressed dislike of the traditional political parties and professional politicians. Thus, they seemed to offer the return to a simpler, rejuvenated government of the people.²⁸

Emerging from secrecy in the fall of 1854, they took the polls by surprise with the winning of the mayoralty and the majority of the city council. Their success continued. By 1855, they had gained control of the state and in the 1856 presidential elections Marylanders were the only ones to vote for Know-Nothing candidate Millard Fillmore.²⁹ Especially Baltimore, formerly a democratic stronghold, shifted its allegiance

to the Know-Nothing party and remained its political bastion up to 1860.

Yet, soon after they took power, violence marred the polls in the city. The presidential contest of 1856 left seventeen dead and 250 wounded and despite attempts by the mayor and the governor of Maryland to calm down the electorate, election violence continued more or less throughout the rest of the 1850s.³⁰ American party clubs like the Plug Uglies, Rip Raps, and Screw Boats stood ready to defend the polls against the Democratic party's Double Pumps, Gumballs, and Butt Enders with a deadly array of weapons ranging from guns to cannons.³¹ Voters who did not show their brightly-colored or "striped" ballots on the right polls were jostled and scared away.

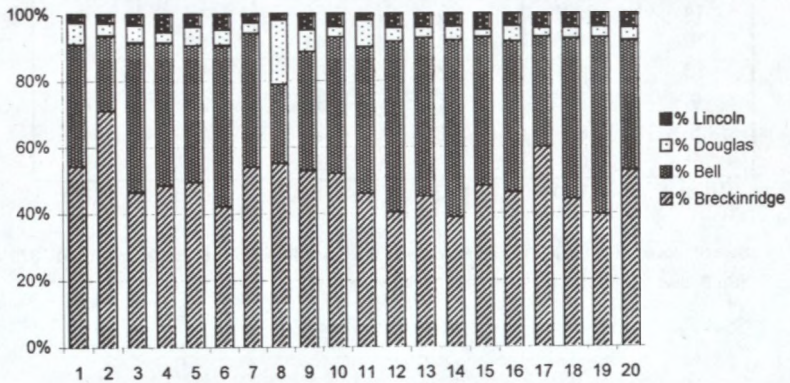
In this situation, German voters who had previously cast their tickets overwhelmingly for the Democrats decided it was better to abstain from voting than to risk their health. After 1856, the Know-Nothings' control of the polls made the densest German wards in the city an American party stronghold. Only in 1860 could German voters return to their former allegiance as violence was calmed by new police legislation the Democrats enforced after they had regained power in the state.³²

The comeback of the Democrats was made possible by the Know-Nothings' own failure. The American party did not succeed in enacting its nativist program in the short sessions of the legislature in Annapolis. In 1858, Know-Nothings furthermore had to learn that their last hope to speed up and to change the legislative process—a proposal for a new constitutional convention—was rejected by the voters. And although the Know Nothings in Maryland retreated from their nativist appeals in the second half of the decade and tried to place themselves as the defender of the Union, they could not get rid of the Democrats' accusation that they were the party of Northern Puritan-minded abolitionists. After the raid at Harper's Ferry brought home the dangers of a real conflict that Know-Nothings had tried to ignore, they quickly lost their firm hold on the state. In 1860, Baltimoreans returned to their former allegiance by electing a Democratic mayor. Three weeks later, in the presidential elections, Marylanders chose the candidate of the Southern Democrats, John C. Breckinridge with only a 522 vote majority over John Bell, the candidate of the Constitutional Union party. Former Know-Nothing voters felt especially attracted by the Unionist appeals of the Bell party. In Baltimore as in Maryland as a whole, the other two parties in the presidential contest of 1860—the Republicans (Lincoln) and the Northern Democrats with Stephen A. Douglas as their candidate—ranked only as a far distant third.³³

Among the wards in Baltimore which showed the most solid majority for the Breckinridge Democrats were those with the heaviest concentrations of Germans in the city. Republican votes, on the other hand, were evenly spread out in Baltimore. The Germans' unanimity on election day is a sure sign that Republicans had virtually no appeal among German voters. In order to find out why that was the case we now must turn to the two newspapers to explore the issues at stake.

Table 2
 Baltimore's Election Returns for the 1860 Presidential Elections

Ward	% Breckinridge	% Bell	% Douglas	% Lincoln
1	54.4	36.8	6.6	2.3
2	71.3	22.4	3.9	2.5
3	46.6	45.0	5.4	3.1
4	48.5	43.0	3.3	5.2
5	49.6	41.3	5.5	3.6
6	42.3	48.3	4.9	4.5
7	54.1	40.4	3.1	2.4
8	55.2	24.0	19.3	1.6
9	53.0	36.0	6.5	4.6
10	52.1	41.1	3.0	3.8
11	46.1	44.1	8.1	1.7
12	40.5	51.3	4.1	4.1
13	45.3	47.6	3.1	4.0
14	39.0	53.1	4.1	3.8
15	48.3	44.8	2.2	4.8
16	46.3	45.4	4.7	3.6
17	60.0	33.1	2.6	4.2
18	44.4	48.1	3.4	4.2
19	39.7	53.2	3.1	4.0
20	52.8	39.0	3.9	4.4
Total n	14950	12599	1502	1084



Source: Baltimore Sun, November 7, 1860

Table 3
**Baltimore Heads of Household by Ethnic and National
 Origins sorted by German Heads of Household, 1860**

Ward	German	German %	Native %	Irish %	British %
1	1653	68	17	13	2
2	1254	55	31	11	3
17	1145	38	51	8	2
3	914	32	53	12	3
18	722	23	54	19	5
8	717	49	38	11	2
19	713	31	54	12	3
7	661	23	59	15	3
16	471	33	56	9	3
15	468	34	47	16	3
20	448	40	26	31	3
6	443	32	55	11	2
12	416	34	48	15	3
4	400	37	50	10	3
14	282	30	53	12	4
10	270	46	41	10	3
13	233	22	62	13	3
9	197	28	39	29	4
5	163	41	45	10	4
11	160	12	60	24	3
Total n	11730	11730	15610	4633	968

Source: Joseph Garonzik, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1870"
 (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1974), 56, table II-7.

The Tale of Two Newspapers

Der Deutsche Correspondent

An analysis of this newspaper shows why it was the southern Democrats—with the help of their German partisan paper *Der Deutsche Correspondent*—who better addressed the needs and anxieties of the majority of the German voters in the city. For *Der Deutsche Correspondent* American society in the late 1850s was dominated by extremisms. A diverse array of radical movements manifested themselves, ranging from abolitionism to Republicanism and temperance to Know-Nothingism. The latter two were especially abhorred by the *Correspondent*. When the leader of the Baltimore Know-Nothing delegation, William Alexander, brought forth one of the cornerstones of the Know-Nothing party program by presenting a bill in the Maryland legislature which would have limited the naturalization power of state courts, the *Correspondent* commented that Alexander “is totally insane and as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.” In short, he was “a candidate for the madhouse,” as the article was titled.³⁴ The debates that followed concentrated on the constitutional legality of this bill. The *Correspondent* quoted at length the Democrat delegate Belt when he claimed that “the immigrant devotes his diligence, powers, and all his might to the land of adoption and it would be cowardly of the ‘American party’ to accuse him that his naturalization would destroy the republic.”³⁵ It was bad luck for the Know-Nothings—and good fortune for the immigrants—that they could not accomplish what they would have liked to in the legislature. Soon this bill, as well as their other nativist counterparts, was buried in committees which led the *Correspondent* to note cheerfully that the Know-Nothings were now “quiet as a mouse” about this proposal.³⁶

When the short legislative session in Annapolis came to an end in March 1858, the *Correspondent* was acerbic about the success of the Know-Nothings in the legislature. The paper commented that although “the Know-Nothing party underscored on every occasion that ‘Americans’—meaning the people who belong to the gloomy lodge of the Know-Nothings—must be the ones to rule the republic,” the outcome of the session was a “miserable one.”³⁷ Despite the fact that the Know-Nothings had the “excellent opportunity to prove before the world that they understand how to rule,” the session demonstrated “the total incompetence of this party to govern at all.”³⁸ Thus, the paper hoped that the Know-Nothings, after having “governed us to the point that nearly nothing was left to be bungled,” would not have “any more opportunities to show us additional examples of their administrative skills.”³⁹

The erring Know-Nothing party was an easy target to explain the troublesome conditions which prevailed in the state of Maryland and in Baltimore in particular. In the eyes of Wilhelm Raine, they stood for the evil forces which reigned over local politics and had destroyed the once existing tranquility. “Know-Nothingism,” Wilhelm Raine announced in February of 1858, “leads to bloodshed and revolution.”⁴⁰ Yet, in Raine’s perception of the conditions of society at large, Know-Nothings were only one expression of American radicalism. There were also the other extremist

movements, like "Black Republicans," the "fanatic abolitionists," and the "temperance humbug." Again and again he lashed out against these other extremes in American society. In the editorials and articles of the *Correspondent*, all four of these extremes were fused together as having originated from the same mindset. Every one of these "humbugs" had come from the Northern "fanatics in Massachusetts who are the creators of abolitionism in its most disgusting form, of Know-Nothingism, and of Black-Republicanism."⁴¹ The Bay State was also the source of the "temperance-humbug who had made so much fuss in recent years about the Maine-Liquor-Law."⁴²

Clearly, it was precisely in Massachusetts that extremism was at its height. The Maine Law, the "notoriously ill-famed law which even in Maine was totally impossible to carry out," Raine wrote, "is still fully enforced in Massachusetts, although the number of bars and alcoholics increases daily since the ban on the sale of intoxicating liquors."⁴³ The removal of a local judge from the bench by the Massachusetts state legislature after he had upheld the fugitive slave law gave occasion for the *Correspondent* to say that "again, the Yankees of Massachusetts have proved that they are not worthy of being citizens of the United States."⁴⁴ The paper asserted that the judge had only "dared, in accordance with his oath, to show obedience to the laws of the United States."⁴⁵

It was hence consistent when the *Correspondent* made the connection between the Republican party and the American party as being attracted to each other by their common roots. In March 1858 the paper announced that the Know-Nothings were "flirting with the Black-Republicans in the North and West," and in April it notified its readers that in Cincinnati the Republican convention had chosen well known Know-Nothings for municipal offices.⁴⁶ Obviously, the *Correspondent* even perceived the Republicans as being a Know-Nothing party under a different name. This party which had first raved against foreigners tried now to attract those immigrant voters it had formerly lashed out against. This becomes evident when the *Correspondent* elatedly revealed that the editor of a local (obviously Republican) newspaper had made "a very naïve disclosure by saying that the Republican leaders 'would like to train the Germans for the servile job of kissing the rod which had beaten us.'"⁴⁷

Abolitionism also had its origin in Massachusetts, and according to Raine this was another example of American extremism intermingled with the opposed Black Republicanism. Often, the paper described how badly blacks were treated in "the so-called free states."⁴⁸ This was compared with the positive situation in the slave states where every slave trader who behaved unjustly "would be despised by every man he encountered."⁴⁹

Remarkably, these beliefs were obviously consistent through the decades. After the Civil War the *Correspondent* still found that "the black robed puritans had caused the most fuss in this republic in a half century, had caused the troubling Civil War, and are to blame for our debt, on which we will have to pay for many years."⁵⁰

Against all these supposed extremisms and threats pouring down on the South by the Northern Yankees, the *Correspondent* took a position stressing the importance of adhering to the Union. On the occasion of the dismissal of Judge Loring in Massachusetts, the *Correspondent* wrote that "this fanaticism in Massachusetts increases

the animosity between North and South. At a time, when those fanatics changed tactics from only empty threats to physical assault, the calm observer will interpret the resistance against the valid laws of the United States as being felonious and as endangering the inner peace of the Union.⁵¹ To rescue "the inner peace of the Union" was also the main mission for the newspaper as it informed its readers about the Kansas debates in Congress in the spring of 1858. At issue was the acceptance of Kansas as a new state under the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution after the territorial elections of 21 December 1857.⁵² Not only was Kansas the dominant topic in the congressional debates in this year but it "also caused the sectional tensions between North and South to break out with more and more bitterness."⁵³ In this situation "our readers will certainly hope for the settlement of the unfinished Kansas election dispute. That this is close, we hope with our whole heart."⁵⁴ In these debates the *Correspondent* felt that President Buchanan was fighting a patriotic battle to rescue the shattered Union which had to be preserved. "President Buchanan is not fighting for slavery; he is not defending the Lecompton Constitution because it makes concessions to the South: He appeals to patriotism in this country, in order to turn away once again the threatening danger with the help of a new compromise."⁵⁵ But even Raine doubted that "in our republic, which suffers from so many deficiencies, there is enough capability for patriotic sacrifice, to protect the country from anarchy. May God help us."⁵⁶ As the debates about Kansas drew to a close at the beginning of May 1858—which left Congress one month to decide about all other daily business—the outlook for the *Correspondent* had darkened considerably. "It is highly regrettable that in Congress, party interests and political ambitions are superior to patriotic motives. Through this, the people are more and more alienated from national interests every day."⁵⁷

Altogether, the ideology which the *Correspondent* laid out for its readers mirrored very strongly the viewpoint advanced by the Democratic party in the 1850s. Democrats cast themselves as the party which would not interfere with the rights of the individual. They were, in the words of Horatio Seymour, the "let alone party," while the Republicans "were a meddling party."⁵⁸ Prewar Democrats were generally suspicious of legislation, and their antistatism opposed the numerous threats originating from New England Puritan values. In general, Democrats were, as Jean Baker writes "for state rather than national government, for white rather than black, and for freedom rather than control."⁵⁹ Democrats contrasted their ideals of a pluralistic society against the attacks of Puritan reformers, thereby posing themselves as the defenders of immigrant rights. On the state level, their ideology led them to oppose local politics which attempted to change the private habits of the people, be it drinking, church-going, or schooling.⁶⁰

It was the Democrats' conservative ideology—advanced in the pages of the *Correspondent*—which attracted the German voters in the city. Compared to a party which had made its anti-foreigner policy a cornerstone of its program, the Democratic party appeared to be the only feasible choice. For the Germans in Baltimore who endured the Know-Nothing rule of the city, the Democrats presented themselves as the proven alternative. In comparison to the Know-Nothings but also to the small Republican party

in Maryland, Democrats appeared not to be part of the Puritan threat to change the private habits of the individual. They offered to leave the Germans in the city alone, thereby preserving the traditional way society had worked. Thus, Democrats were attractive for German voters in Baltimore because in contrast to the Republican or to the Know-Nothing party, they offered the safety and stability needed in these times of change.

On the national level, the ideology of the Democrats also seemed to promise security in times of disruption. Allegiance to Union and constitution, emphasized by the Democrats in the form of vague appeals to patriotism and peace was very common in the border state of Maryland. Appeals to assemble under the Union flag appeared to be a prescription against the disruptive conditions which seemed to prevail nationwide. In general, such appeals served two purposes. On the one hand, they voiced concern over the growing division between North and South. On the other hand, they increased political unity in times of disruption.⁶¹ Although both leading parties in Maryland—the Know-Nothings and Democrats—expressed those appeals, the American party clearly had no attention among the Germans. It was the Democrats who seemed to quell those apprehensions the *Correspondent* had laid out. Adherence to the Union under the guidance of the Democrats would not only limit the possibility that Puritan lawmakers would dominate the Union but would also prevent the state and nation from being torn apart between North and South.

Racist undercurrents were also part of the Democrats' appeal among their German followers. The *Correspondent's* opposition to Puritan-guided abolitionism was not only another example of the paper's fears of disorder which would prevail when Yankee lawmakers would have their way. Its anti-abolitionism also reveals that racism obviously struck a deeper chord of anxieties among its readers. Like their American countrymen, Germans were not free from racial prejudices. In nineteenth century German literature, for example, blacks were depicted as being stupid and foolish and when one of Germany's foremost philosophers of this time, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, wrote about the "Negro" as being "nothing more than a savage," he seemed to express the Democrats' familiar appeal of the supremacy of the white man.⁶² The Democrats' ideology promised to keep blacks under firm control and not to rewrite the racial legislation which confined the freedom of blacks in Maryland. This might have appealed to the Germans in Baltimore who had carved out an occupational niche for themselves that guaranteed them a position above the blacks' occupational stratum. In order to fight economic insecurities which might have resulted if blacks would roam uncontrolled, it seemed the best to keep government in white Democratic hands.

Therefore, it is understandable that the *Correspondent* faithfully supported the pro-Southern and pro-slavery candidate Breckinridge in the presidential campaign in 1860 and urged its readers to vote for the Southern Democrats.⁶³ Obviously, German voters felt attracted by the rallies of the Breckinridge Democrats who called for their "German friends [to] give a united, a patriotic shout, for *the Union and the Constitution*, against all fanatics, factionists and disunionists."⁶⁴ On 6 November, the vote in the three wards with the highest German concentration in the city, numbers one, two, and seventeen was overwhelmingly in favor of Breckinridge.⁶⁵ Clearly, the Southern Democrats'

ideology, which presented the party as the solution against the evils and disruptive forces of the extremist American society, appealed to the anxieties of the German voters in Baltimore. The choice was made easier by the fact that the Constitutional Union party of John Bell had strong connections to the former Whig and Know-Nothing parties although his party platform made no mention of nativism.⁶⁶ Against this dominant Democratic orientation of the Baltimore German community, the only Republican newspaper in the state of Maryland, published in German by a number of idealistic-minded forty-eighters in the city, had a difficult stand.

The *Baltimore Wecker*

The focus of all argumentation for the *Wecker's* editors was the burning question of slavery. In denouncing slavery, however, the paper maintained a distinctively German standpoint. Rapp made clear at the beginning of the presidential election year of 1856 that the liberation of the slaves was not the focal point of controversy between the Democratic and the Republican party. "Once and for all. The whole so-called 'Race-question' is a waste of time," as he put it.⁶⁷ Rather, the question of the expansion of slavery stood at the center of the controversy. "The efforts of the *Republican* party are not directed towards *abolition*, but only against the *expansion* of slavery."⁶⁸ And this is in fact "not only a '*black* question' but a very '*white*' one."⁶⁹ Basically, it was the quest to secure the western territories for free—no slave—labor. "It is of greatest concern whether a land as big as a couple of European kingdoms should be left to the sole basic and medieval production of raw material or whether craft and trade should flourish there by the work of free whites."⁷⁰ The core of the debates was then that "the *dark* race should not have any latitude at the expense of the *white* race."⁷¹ Thus, the paper argued so strongly against slavery because it endangered the interest of the whites, in particular the interests of the Germans. The *Wecker* often underscored the fact that large numbers of immigrants were expected to arrive from Germany. "We know as sure as two times two is four that twelve million Germans will come over the ocean in the next twenty years" and that "immigration from Germany will not stop because Germany is really overpopulated."⁷² For these German immigrants the *Wecker* strongly supported the passage of the Homestead Bill which would offer settlers title to public land after a certain period of cultivation, for only a nominal fee. It was in the West where the ideal of individuals working hard as free men on free soil living from the fruits of their free labor could be realized.⁷³ Hence, settling down in states where slavery existed held no appeal for immigrants. The *Wecker* pointed out the devastating conditions slavery caused there for non-slave-holding whites. "In the South, the whites who do not own or oversee slaves are, at best, limited to low-wage work in the fields or—partly deterred from working together at this kind of work in the humiliating association with slaves—to dwell on the frontier of civilization in a state of half savagery where they sink deeper into the cesspool of barbarism with every generation."⁷⁴ In short, slavery had a devastating effect on a society based on free, (immigrant) labor, and it was because of these infringements on the ideals of a free society that the *Wecker* despised slavery.

Consequently, the paper detested the people who joined together with the slave aristocracy in the Southern states. The *Wecker*, however, distinguished carefully between Americans and immigrants. In an article obviously written by Rapp, he argued that the adherence of Americans who grew up in the Southern slave states to their "peculiar institution" was excusable: "One should not hate those who fall victim to an evil which their fathers inherited from older generations."⁷⁵ There was, however, no excuse for Germans showing any positive attitude towards the institution of slavery in the South. In a remarkable sentence, which shows Rapp's strong writing style, he exclaims: "Let us apply all our hate and all our disdain to a certain dirty, servile type of German subservient soul who, nurtured with the milk of mild thoughts and raised under the pressure of social and political mischiefs, only swam over the ocean to this new world with the intention of helping to consolidate and to perpetuate an evil which, when luxuriating, will turn the land of freedom into a damned miserable valley of bandits."⁷⁶ It was particularly difficult for the editors of the *Wecker* to understand how German immigrants, coming from a land where they had fought for more personal freedom and democracy, could support the principles of slavery. They suspected the Germans here and there were following their inherent blind faith in higher authority ("Unterthanentreue"), instead of thinking for themselves about the present political developments from a distinct "German-American standpoint."⁷⁷

In sum, the editors' line of argumentation was very similar to the beliefs maintained by the majority of the Republican party, albeit with a twist to appeal to German immigrants. The chances and opportunities free labor had to offer to German immigrants stood against the interests of the slave owners' aristocracy which attempted to spread the peculiar institution to every corner of the nation.⁷⁸ The white slaveholders were presented as a growing threat to white liberties doing everything to secure and expand their peculiar institution by exercising political power in the nation.⁷⁹ In this situation it was in the Germans' own interest to fight the slave aristocracy of the South thereby continuing the revolutionary tradition of standing up against aristocratic oppressors.

In arguing against the slave power the *Wecker* made sure not to hurt the racial predispositions of its German readers. Quite frequently the paper tried to soften the abolitionist appeals of the Republican party. It underscored the fact that nobody had to fear that the Republicans would attempt to mix the black and white races. In addressing the apprehensions of a German female reader, the *Wecker* pointed out that "the party of Mr. Lincoln expressly wishes that your sons marry white girls and your girls marry white lads, and that you keep your white husbands."⁸⁰

It was the belief that slavery would have dangerous consequences for democracy in general and the immigrants in particular which made the *Wecker* an ardent follower of the Republican party. In Maryland, this party affiliation, under the unique party system of the state in the 1850s, presented the paper with a problem. On the one hand, it could not follow the Democrats, the party of the "Southern cotton knights." On the other hand, to endorse the nativist stance of the American party was no alternative either. Yet, it was to deny the obvious, that some elements of a nativist ideology were infiltrating the ranks of the Republican party. Thus, while the squires' Democratic slave owners'

party always remained the greater evil, the *Wecker* played down the threats posed by the Know-Nothing party.

Maintaining such a standpoint was certainly aided by the fate of the national organization of the American party, which broke up in February 1856 after its Northern and Southern wings could not decide how to reach a mutual standpoint on the slavery question, let alone on a common presidential candidate.⁸¹ Over the following years the Know-Nothing party continued to be “gagged by itself over the slavery question,” as the *Wecker* ascertained in 1858, hence admitting “that it no longer takes any interest in the development process taking place in the life of the American parties.”⁸² Thus, the *Wecker* never again perceived the Know-Nothings as a serious threat again for German Republicans—as long as party platforms stayed clean of nativist elements. “Know-Nothingism,” the *Wecker* pointed out in 1858, “was an acute but not chronic disease and ceased to be dangerous after the national convention of the Know-Nothings broke up over the slavery question.”⁸³ Attempts by the remaining elements of the Know-Nothing party in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and elsewhere to get nativist-oriented elements into the party platform were deemed by the paper to be dumb and shabby tricks.⁸⁴ The *Wecker* hoped that after the defeat of those measures, the misguided state party organizations would return “to the honorable standpoint which they took with such splendid success in the great battle of 1856.”⁸⁵

The early death of the American national party organization and the diminishing influence of the remaining nativist elements inside the Republican party explains why the *Wecker* no longer perceived the Know-Nothings in Maryland as a serious threat after 1856. The *Wecker* was certainly a violent opponent of the nativist measures of the Know-Nothing party in the state as its German language counterpart was. When the leader of the Baltimore Know-Nothing delegation William Alexander proposed his naturalization bill, he was also a “candidate for the madhouse” and the *Wecker* generally referred to him likewise as the “foreigner gobbler” (“Fremdenfresser”).⁸⁶ The *Wecker* joked about Alexander strongly supporting the allocation of funds for the building of a lunatic hospital because Alexander “instinctively anticipated his future ‘residence.’”⁸⁷ In general, for the *Wecker*, the American party in the legislature and the political clubs which defended the polls so eagerly, were only composed of the radical elements of the party. After the fall election of 1858, it found that “a lot [of the Know-Nothings] confess in private talks openly and freely that they are ashamed of their party’s being dominated by the scum of society, and the Roughians, Plugs, and Blood Tubs.”⁸⁸ And, at the same time, the *Wecker* reminded its readers that it was the Democratic party which first “exercised the brutal violence against the Whigs,” and that it was the Democrats who “are responsible for all crimes connected with election fraud.”⁸⁹ It was clear that the Know-Nothing party, after its failure on the national level, was also on the decline locally. Hence, the real enemy was still the “servile Democratic party,” which the paper lashed out against. In fighting against the slave power and its followers, the threat of the Know-Nothing party was becoming only an interlude.

United with the paper’s opposition to the Democrats was the *Wecker*’s anti-religious stand. The latter is not surprising considering the fact that the *Wecker*

was published by rationalistic-minded forty-eighters. Those whom they called Jesuits were their preferred target and when they spoke of them as "the poisonous and insatiable cross spider which habitually spins its threads everywhere where souls and goods are to be grabbed" these words were not altogether different from those used by the Know-Nothings.⁹⁰ In Baltimore, however, the "system and activities" of the Redemptorists and their missionary activities among German Catholics were a more visible target for the *Wecker*.⁹¹ In the same article in which the *Wecker* assured its female reader that Lincoln did not intend to mix black and whites, it pointed out that the Redemptorist fathers were the ones who "recruit black, black-brown, yellow-brown, yellow, and yellow-white 'niggers' as nuns to stick into convents."⁹² Jesuits and Redemptorists were closely associated with the Democratic party. As the election of 1860 approached, the *Wecker* stated that it was now time to end "the domination of the 'democratic' party in the Union, which is allied with the Jesuits and Redemptorists."⁹³

Yet, suspicion of religious clerics was only an undercurrent in the reports of the *Wecker*. The slavery question and its implications for the interests of the Germans stood at the forefront of its argumentation. Accordingly, the *Wecker* started to support the candidacy of William Henry Seward already in 1858 by describing him "as an upright opponent of slavery."⁹⁴ To be sure, nativist concerns were still important. When the *Wecker* was describing possible presidential candidates before the 1860 Republican national convention in Chicago, it was praising Seward not only as the "sole true statesman of the *American* present" but also as a defender of immigrants' rights under all circumstances in the past and present.⁹⁵

Hence, the paper considered it very unfortunate that the Blair family set out in the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri to support Judge Edward Bates of Missouri as their nominee for presidential candidate. While the Blairs hoped to show through the nomination of a mild anti-slavery man that the Republicans were not a purely sectional party, the *Wecker* pointed out in the same review where it spoke so favorably of Seward, that Bates "has only mediocre talents, has been removed from politics for thirty years and was favoring the Know-Nothings until not long ago."⁹⁶

The Blairs did not succeed in nominating their favorite candidate, and thus the outcome of three days of party conventioning in Chicago was the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as presidential candidate. This was the same man whom the *Wecker* at the beginning of the convention had only known to describe as "the greatest dialectician in America. Brilliant and peculiar."⁹⁷ This lack of information, however, soon changed after Lincoln was chosen as the presidential nominee. Now the paper could not stop praising this candidate whose "nomination was received with such enthusiasm that it came close to madness."⁹⁸ It was he who had written in "an *open* letter to the German Doctor Cassius in Springfield" that he was "firmly against every restriction of the rights of the white men, no matter which country they were born in and which language they speak."⁹⁹ And finally, the *Wecker* emphasized that Lincoln was "against the mixture of the black and white race."¹⁰⁰ Thus, after the Republican party moved to court (especially German) immigrant voters by adopting an expressively anti-nativist platform and

candidate, the *Wecker* could point with relief to the stand of its favorite party. Not only were Republicans against the expansion of slavery and for a Homestead Bill, two elements which would closely worked together to secure the territories in the West for slave-free (German) settlements; but also, Republicans had now clearly demonstrated that they were against nativism.¹⁰¹

As the crucial months of October and November approached, the propaganda efforts of the *Wecker* towards its German readers intensified. The paper started to point to other elements in the Republican program besides those above mentioned core planks, thus mirroring the Republicans' attempt to broaden their appeal among their voters. By this time, Republicans were also the party which argued for high tariffs to protect the domestic industry, planned to build a transcontinental railroad, favored internal improvements, and attempted to bring Kansas into the Union as a free state.¹⁰²

In October, the paper happily announced that now "Wide Awakes will be set up in the city stimulated by the prospects for the victory of the Republican Party."¹⁰³ This coincided with the establishment of the Baltimore office of the Republican party, in which five days later the first Republican meeting was held. Led by Montgomery Blair and Baltimore Judge William Marshall, the German Republicans were represented by Dr. Georg Edward Wiß, editor of the national *Turnzeitung*, and William Rapp, the editor of the *Wecker*.¹⁰⁴ Wiß stated "in front of the assembled Americans that the Germans who still support the Democrats do so because of their misguided understanding of the name 'Democracy,' which is considered a hallowed name in Europe" and pointed out that it was one of the urgent demands of the Germans that the remaining parts of the Know-Nothing should not be accepted within the ranks of the Republican organization.¹⁰⁵ As the critical November date approached, German Republicans called a meeting at the *Turnhalle*—obviously to rally their fellow Turners for the last mass assembly of Republicans before election day to be held in the Front Street Theater. Again, the familiar line-up of speakers—Marshall, Rapp, Wiß, Adolph Wiesner (coeditor of the *Turnzeitung*) among others—asserted that the Republicans in Baltimore were not the party of the Know-Nothings but that those elements were to be found in both wings of the Democratic party and in the Constitutional Union party. The next day, the Turners paraded alongside the Wide Awakes to the Front Street Theater, a location which obviously was considered to be safer than the open-air site at Monument Square, since the first outdoor Republican rally had been shouted down by opponents and ended in a hail of stones and eggs.¹⁰⁶

Conclusion

Despite all these propaganda efforts, the Germans in the city stayed faithfully with the Democratic party on election day. The election returns by ward did not show a greater affinity for the Republicans in the strongly German first, second and seventeenth wards than anywhere else in the city. Lincoln voters were evenly spread out around the city and every ward had its share of Republican votes,

ranging from twenty-two in the eighth ward to eighty-three in the fifteenth ward.¹⁰⁷ Although the *Wecker* tried to make the best out of this defeat—"it is a fact that the 1,084 votes for Lincoln *were almost only German votes*"—the Republicans could not and did not appeal to the Germans in Baltimore.¹⁰⁸ Instead they voted, as we have already seen, with a clear and overwhelmingly strong majority for the candidate of the Southern Democrats, John C. Breckinridge.

For the majority of voters, the appeals of the *Wecker's* forty-eighter publishers must have been unfamiliar. In a time when "the state level of politics was beyond doubt the most important," as Michael Holt has pointed out, their reference to the dangers of the Democratic slave power and of slavery expansion into a distant territory was not what their fellow countrymen in Baltimore were concerned with.¹⁰⁹ The forty-eighters' nationalized appeals and their attempts to play down the threats of the Know-Nothing party did not meet the anxieties and fears of the Germans in a city which was so long dominated by the American party. In this light, the last minute attempts of the German Republicans to build up the Lincoln party in Baltimore as an anti-nativist force appeared to be half-hearted efforts. Obviously, the Democratic party appeared to be the much more convincing anti-nativist, anti-"meddling" alternative. And although the *Wecker* tried to appeal to the German voters "to further increase the total popular vote for Lincoln so that a strong Lincoln vote in the slave states will prove that the Republican party is a truly national one which did not grow in the South only because of the pressure of the ruling aristocracy and its slave, the federal government," the paper obviously did not succeed in overcoming the impression that the Republicans were only a sectional party whose election would result in the breakup of the Union.¹¹⁰ In addition, the Republicans' belated attempts to position their party as the guardian of the German worker by the means of protective tariffs and nation-wide economic progress were apparently not enough to overcome the racial fears of those German voters who were concerned with their economic well-being. Democrats seemed much more likely than Republicans to secure economic success by limiting blacks to occupations in which they would not compete with German workers. Altogether, nativism, fears about the delicate situation of Maryland between the North and the South, the inappropriate appeals for anti-slavery, and subliminal racial anxieties were far too strong to be overcome by the propaganda efforts of the German Republicans. Thus, the forty-eighters and their followers stayed largely among themselves when it came to voting for the Republican candidate.

Other factors also played a role. Nearly half of all the Germans in the city were Catholics and voting for a party whose only supporting paper was strongly anti-clerical, was out of the question. Besides, the Republicans in Maryland never had a chance to overcome the strong party machine, on which the Breckinridge Democrats could rely in the state. In this situation, it was safer, easier, and perhaps also much more promising for the German voters in the city to remain within the ranks of the Democrats, the party which had been in power in Baltimore before the rise of the Know Nothings and which now once again had returned to dominate the politics of the city.

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Notes

¹ "Jede Roheit, jede Entsittlichung, jede nur denkbare Bestialität charakterisiert das amerikanische Knotenthum," *Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 5 May 1858. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Social Science History Association Conference in New Orleans in 1996.

² Two early articles seemed to confirm that German immigrants were strongly in favor of the Republicans: William E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest, 1860," *American Historical Review* 16 (1911): 774-88, and Donnal V. Smith, "The Influence of the Foreign-Born of the Northwest in the Election of 1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 19 (1932): 192-204. Most of the essays examining the voting behavior of the German immigrants in the Midwest have been conveniently assembled in Frederick C. Luebke, ed., *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971); in addition see Thomas W. Kremm, "Cleveland and the First Lincoln Election: The Ethnic Response to Nativism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8 (1977): 69-86; Richard L. McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 34-36; also the recent discussion of the issue by Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German Americans and Civil War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis," *Civil War History* 37 (1991): 232-246 and Lesley Ann Kawaguchi, "Diverging Political Affiliations and Ethnic Perspectives: Philadelphia Germans and Antebellum Politics," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13 (1994): 3-29.

³ The paper had been a democratic supporter until the spring of 1854, when Schnauffer decided to leave the party's rank because he opposed the concept of popular sovereignty introduced by the Kansas-Nebraska act, see *Baltimore Wecker*, 17 May 1860: "it was exactly because of this principle [popular sovereignty], which is vicious and brutal in its innermost character, that the *Wecker* left the Democratic party forever in the spring of 1854" ("Eben dieses Prinzips halber, das in seinem innersten Wesen unsittlich und gewaltsam ist, hat ja der 'Wecker' noch unter seinem Gründer im Frühjahr 1854 die demokratische Partei für immer verlassen"). See also *Baltimore Wecker* from 8 January 1857 in which 1854 is described as "the year of shame"; for Schnauffer see Adolf E. Zucker, "Carl Heinrich Schnauffer," *Twenty-Fourth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1939): 17-23.

⁴ See Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des Turner-Bundes* (Indianapolis: Zukunft, 1874), 25, 32-39, 46, the quote is from page 25.

⁵ Circulation figures for both papers are difficult to obtain. In 1850, the *Correspondent* was the fourth largest paper in the city (after the *Baltimore Sun* [30,000], the *Baltimore American* [5,500], and the *Republican and Argus* [5,000]) with 4,000 copies daily, see R. S. Fisher, *Gazetteer of the State of Maryland, Compiled from the Returns of the Seventh Census of the United States and Other Official Documents. To which is Added a General Account of the District of Columbia* (Baltimore: James S. Waters, 1852), 39-40; Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, vol. 1, *History and Bibliography 1732-1968: United States of America* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976), 197-98. Unfortunately, we do not have circulation figures for the *Wecker* for the 1850s and 1860s. Both are the longest lasting German-language papers in the state. The *Correspondent* was published until 1955, the *Wecker* until 1911.

⁶ Deutsches Literarisches Bureau, *Baltimore, seine Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Elements* (Baltimore: C. C. Bartgis & Brothers, 1887), 281-83; "In Memoriam Friedrich Raine," *Seventh Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1892-1893): 73. Both papers are partly preserved for the pre-Civil War decade. The *Correspondent's* files are intact for the period from January to June 1858 and from 1866 onwards, while records of the *Wecker* exist for the first half of both 1856 and 1859, and in full for the year 1858 and the years after 1859.

⁷ For Baltimore's absolute numbers in 1850 see Fisher, 52. For a convenient comparison of census figures with regard to the Germans' urban concentration see Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Germans," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Stephan Thernstrom, ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1980), 413, table 4.

⁸ See Joseph Garonzik "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1870" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1974), 48, table II-1.

⁹ D. Randall Beirne, "The Impact of Black Labor on European Immigration into Baltimore's Oldtown, 1790-1910," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 83 (1988): 336.

¹⁰ Luebke, *Ethnic Voters*, 72; compare to *Baltimore Wecker*, 11 November 1860: "It is a clear fact that the

1,084 votes for Lincoln in Baltimore were nearly only German votes" ("Es ist eine feststehende Tatsache, daß die 1084 Stimmen für Lincoln in Baltimore fast allein deutsche Stimmen waren").

¹¹ Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 267.

¹² William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 142.

¹³ Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 38. In the latest account of Baltimore politics in the 1850s the immigrant population—after all 24% of the city's population in 1860—does not receive much attention at all, see Frank Towers, "Violence as a Tool of Party Dominance; Election Riots and the Baltimore Know-Nothings, 1854-1860," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 93 (1998): 5-37.

¹⁴ After 1840 catholic mission-aid societies in the different states of Germany began an active attempt to convince prospective Catholic immigrants to settle in the first and premier diocese established in North America. As a result the number of German Catholics rose rapidly, from 4,000 in 1840 to 16,000 in 1857. This meant that in the 1850s nearly half of all Baltimore Germans were Catholic. German Catholics were especially active in founding a variety of Catholic societies ranging from libraries to mutual aid organizations. Only the Irish dominated temperance society was never popular among the Germans. Threatened by the anti-Catholic atmosphere of the 1850s, these institutions served to encourage the sense of community among church members. (Emmet H. Rothan, "The German Catholic Immigrant in the United States, 1830-1860" [O.F.M. diss., Catholic University of America, 1946], 26 and Thomas W. Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1989* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989], 21, 135-36, 143-45). German Lutherans and Reformed Protestants had founded fourteen churches in Baltimore by 1860. The best known Lutheran church was the Zion Church under the pastor Heinrich Scheib who led a freethinking and rationalist congregation not connected to any synod, see Jörg Echterkamp, "Emerging Ethnicity: The German Experience in Antebellum Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 86 (1991): 5; C.F. Huch, "Die freireligiöse Bewegung unter den Deutschamerikanern," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia* 11 (1909): 4; also Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States: With Special Reference to its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence*, rev. and enlarged (New York: Steuben Society, 1927), 2: 410-16.

¹⁵ See Dieter Cunz, *A History of the Germania Club* (Baltimore: Society for the History of Germans in Maryland, 1940), and his *Maryland Germans*, 240-48.

¹⁶ The importance of the local *Turnverein* was further emphasized by the fact that in 1852 and 1859 the *Verein* was the host of the national *Turnfest*. Also, the national *Turnzeitung* was edited in Baltimore between 1859 and 1861 and printed in the same offices as the *Wecker*. The editorial office of the *Turnzeitung* was removed from Baltimore after the April anti-union riots in 1861, see Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, 305-6, and Metzner, 14, 65, and 70.

¹⁷ For membership numbers Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 149; Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner Unterm Sternbanner: Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit, 1848 bis 1918* (München: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1978), 58-60; Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, 248-51. Cunz mentions the *Bund freier Menschen* in *ibid.*, 275. This Society of Free Men had about sixty members in 1860. Meetings were held on Sunday mornings, a time which stood in clear conflict to church services.

¹⁸ Hugo Gollmer, *Namensliste der Pioniere des Nord-Amerikanischen Turnerbundes der Jahre 1848-1863* (St. Louis: Henry Rauth, 1885), no page numbers, and Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 92-93.

¹⁹ Franz Josef Pitsch, *Die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen Bremens zu den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, vol. 42 (Bremen: Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, 1974), 150-54.

²⁰ In addition to the great numbers of skilled jobs such as carpenter or mason the Germans held, Baltimore Germans were also successful in serving their own countrymen as butchers, bakers, or innkeepers.

²¹ For the industrial development of Baltimore in the pre-Civil War years see Gary Lawson Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 162-76.

²² For occupational patterns see table 1 and Garonzik "Urbanization," 76, table III-2 and 123-25, table III-29 to III-31. The blacks' strong representation in the Professional and Personal Services category reflects their predominant employment as domestic servants or unspecified laborers. Between 1850 and 1860 the available skilled jobs for blacks declined considerably, due to immigrant competition, see

Patrick Joseph May, "The Residential Change of the Free Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1860," (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 1999), 95-100.

²³ William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 19-23.

²⁴ Wilhelm Raine, father of Friedrich Raine, published a campaign paper *Der Demokratische Whig* for the 1840 and 1844 presidential elections. During the 1844 elections, Wilhelm Raine was a leading member of the German Whig Club which received its main financial support from one of the wealthiest German merchant in the city Gustav W. Lührmann, see Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, 254, 267.

²⁵ Evitts, 31-42, 48-53; Jean H. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 12; see also William E. Gienapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 16-19.

²⁶ Douglas Bowers, "Ideology and Political Parties in Maryland, 1851-1856," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 64 (1969): 211; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 16-21; Evitts, 42-48, 54-57.

²⁷ In the second ward—the strongest German ward in the city (61% of heads of households were German in 1850) with the lowest number of native heads of households (25%)—only 27% of the voters favored the temperance candidate in 1853. By contrast, citywide the temperance candidate received between 45% and 62% of the vote (average 52%). For the returns see Evitts, table 4, p. 63, although his numbers do not add up. For a short description of the temperance movement Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 19, and Evitts, 59-62.

²⁸ For the most recent study of the Know Nothings' ideology see Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 103-7, 118.

²⁹ Evitts, *Matter of Allegiances*, 62-66, 80-88, 99.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 98; for a description of these riots see also Towers, 11-18; Michael Feldberg, *The Turbulent Era: Riot and Disorder in Jacksonian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 59-61.

³¹ Laurence Frederick Schmeckebier, *History of the Know Nothing Party in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 18 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899), 43-44.

³² In 1857 party allegiances in the second ward changed abruptly and markedly. In the years 1852 to 1856, the second ward had always polled a clear majority for the Democratic candidate, but through 1859 elected Know-Nothing candidates by wide margins if American party nominees were opposed at all during this time. The situation in the first ward was similar. There is some debate among historians how much election outcomes in Baltimore during this time reflect the free choice of the voters. Evitts designates the elections as "mockery" (117), while Baker maintains that election day riots only had a minimal statistical influence (*Ambivalent Americans*, 134). Recently, Towers has argued that the riots in key wards "transformed a narrow Know-Nothing majority into a broad one" thus securing the Know-Nothings' hold on the city (quote p. 18).

³³ Evitts, 118-153; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 97-107. For a short analysis of the returns see Baker, *The Politics of Continuity*, 43-44.

³⁴ "Ein Candidat für's Tollhaus." Bill ist rein toll und zieht umher, wie ein brüllender Löwe und sucht wen er verschlinge" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 11 February 1858); this is a biblical quote from 1 Peter 5:8 AV (I am thankful to one of the anonymous reviewers for this reference).

³⁵ "Der Einwanderer widme seinen Fleiß, seine Kräfte und seine ganze Thätigkeit dem Lande der Adoption und es sei eine Feigheit der "amerikanischen Partei", ihm vorzuwerfen, daß seine Zulassung den Bau der Republik stürzen würde" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 20 February 1858).

³⁶ "Über Bill Alexander's famose Bill zur Erschwerung der Naturalisation der Einwanderer ist's unter den Know-Nothings mäuschenstill" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 1 March 1858).

³⁷ "Die zur Herrschaft gelangte Weißnichtspartei hat wieder einmal dargethan, daß sie das Regieren nicht versteht, obgleich sie als Hauptgrundsatz das Lösungswort bei jeder Gelegenheit im Munde führt, daß 'Amerikaner,' d.h. zu dem finsternen Orden gehörende Weißnichte, unsere Republik regieren müssen . . . das Resultat [war] ein höchst erbärmliches" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 16 March 1858).

³⁸ "Wir wurden mit einer Legislatur heimgesucht [wo] die Weißnichte eine glänzende Gelegenheit [hatten], es der Welt zu beweisen, daß die das Regieren aus dem FF verständen. Wie haben sie diese Gelegenheit benutzt? Wir glauben, so gut sie konnten; das Resultat liegt nur an der totalen Unfähigkeit jener Partei überhaupt zu regieren" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 16 March 1858).

³⁹ "Sie haben uns dergestalt regiert, daß kaum etwas zu verpfuschen übrig geblieben ist und sie werden hoffentlich keine Gelegenheit mehr bekommen, uns weitere Proben ihrer Regierungskunst abzulegen" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 16 March 1858).

⁴⁰ *Deutscher Correspondent*, 19 February 1858.

⁴¹ "Die Fanatiker in Massachusetts sind die Urheber des Abolitionismus in seiner ekelhaftesten Gestalt, des Know-Nothingismus und des Schwarzerepublikanismus" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858.)

⁴² "... wie z. B. den Temperenz-Humbog, der als Maine-Liquor-Gesetz vor einigen Jahren so vieles Aufsehens machte" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 19 Mai 1858).

⁴³ "Dieses berüchtigte Gesetz [Maine Law], welches sich selbst in Maine als praktisch unausführbar erwiesen hat und deshalb annulliert wurde, ist zur Zeit in Massachusetts noch in vollster Kraft, obgleich auch dort seit dem Bestehen des Verbotes gegen den Verkauf berausender Getränke sich mit jedem Tag die Zahl der Säufer und Trinklokale vermehrt" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 19 Mai 1858).

⁴⁴ Judge Edward G. Loring was forced by the Massachusetts legislature to leave the Suffolk County bench after he had decided to return a fugitive slave to the South in accordance with the federal fugitive slave law, see Allan Nevins, *Prologue to Civil War*, vol. 4 of *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 30. "Vor einigen Tagen haben die Yankees in Massachusetts wieder einmal den Beweis geliefert, daß sie es nicht verdienen, Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten zu sein" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858).

⁴⁵ "Das neuste Pröbchen von Yankeefanatismus ist die Amtsentsetzung des Hrn. Loring, eines Richters in Boston, und zwar deshalb, weil derselbe es wagte, seinem Amtseide gemäß, den Gesetzen der Ver. Staaten den schuldigen Gehorsam zu zollen" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858).

⁴⁶ *Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 1 and 10 March 1858; see also 31 May 1858 about fusionists' attempts to unite Know Nothings and Republicans in a joint opposition.

⁴⁷ "Die republikanische Convention hat nämlich meistens wohlbekannte Know-Nothings als Canidaten für die städtischen Ämter ernannt. Stephan Molitor macht in seinem Blatte ein sehr naives Geständnis, indem er sagt, die republikanischen Führer 'wollen die Deutschen zu der hündischen Aufgabe dressieren, die Ruthe zu küssen, die uns schlug.'" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 4 April 1858).

⁴⁸ *Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858.

⁴⁹ "In einem Sklavenstaat würde ein regelmäßiger Negerhändler, welcher sich eines solchen Verfahrens schuldig machen würde [refers to a negative incident in the slave trade], durch jeden Mann, dem er begegne, verachtet werden" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858).

⁵⁰ "Die puritanischen Schwarzröcke machten seit einem halben Jahrhundert den meisten Lärm in der Republik, veranlaßten den leidigen Bürgerkrieg und sind schuld an unsere Schulden, an denen wir noch viele Jahre hindurch zu tragen haben werden" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 1 January 1866).

⁵¹ "Vielmehr ist es gewiß, daß der Fanatismus von Massachusetts die Erbitterung zwischen dem Norden und Süden steigern wird. Jetzt, wo jene Fanatiker von bloßen, leeren Drohungen zu Thätlichkeiten übergegangen sind [wird] der ruhige Beobachter [den] Widerstand gegen das in Kraft bestehende Ver. St. Gesetz für verbrecherisch und in seinen Folgen gefahrbringend für die innere Ruhe der Republik halten" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858).

⁵² For a thorough description of the elections and the subsequent debates in Congress see Allan Nevins, *Douglas, Buchanan, and Party Chaos, 1857-1859*, vol. 3 of *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 229-301.

⁵³ "Die Kansasfrage gibt zur längeren Debatten im Congreß Veranlassung und die sectionellen Reibungen zwischem dem Norden und dem Süden treten mit immer größerer Erbitterung hervor" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 30 January 1858).

⁵⁴ "Gewiß werden unsere Leser einstimmig die Erledigung des abgebrochenen Kansas-Wahlstreites wünschen und daß dieser nahe ist, wollen wir von ganzem Herzen hoffen" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 28 January 1858).

⁵⁵ "Hr. Buchanan kämpft nicht für das Prinzip der Sklaverei; er vertheidigt die Lecompton Constitution nicht, weil sie dem Süden Conzessionen macht: Er wendet sich an den Patriotismus des Landes, um die drohende Gefahr durch ein abermaliges Compromiß abzuwenden" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 4 February 1858).

⁵⁶ "Die Stunde der Entscheidung naht. Gibt es in unserer, an so vielen Gebrechen leidenden Republik genügende patriotische Aufopferungsfähigkeit, das Land vor Anarchie zu bewahren? Gott gebe es" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 4 February 1858).

⁵⁷ "Es ist zu bedauern, daß im Congresse Partei-Interessen und politischer Ehrgeiz der Kundgebung patriotischer Motive vorausgestellt werden. Es bringt uns diese jeden Tag näher der Entfremdung des Volkes für nationale Interessen" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 3 May 1858).

⁵⁸ Quoted in Jean H. Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 143; see also Phillip Shaw Paludan, *"A People's Contest": The Union and Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 91-96.

⁵⁹ Baker, *Affairs of Party*, 145-46.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁶¹ Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 36, 40-42; Baker, *The Politics of Continuity*, 24.

⁶² Hegel, one of the key figures of German thinking in the nineteenth century wrote that "Africa proper has no historical interest of its own, for we find its inhabitants living in barbarism and savagery in a land which has not furnished them with any integral ingredient of culture. Slavery is the basic legal relationship in Africa. The Negroes are enslaved by the Europeans and sold to America. Nevertheless, their lot in their country is almost worse than this," Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History: "Introduction: Reason in History,"* trans. H. B. Nisbet, Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 174-83. In Heinrich von Kleist's *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* the white men are brave and innocent Swiss; the wrongs of slave-owners are excused and the black men are mainly bloodthirsty, treacherous and cruel. This story was later dramatized by Theodor Körner, a well known forty-eigher, under the name of the black girl in that story, as *Toni*. Africa itself was seen as an exotic, savage world, as depicted in missionary narratives which "became the most important source for the formation of the German middle-class image of Africa" (Hans Werner Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe, A History of Africans in Europe before 1918* [Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 1979], 294).

⁶³ As described by its competitor *Baltimore Wecker*, 10 October and 3 November 1860. As said, none of the issues of the *Correspondent* from this time are preserved, although Baker in *Politics of Continuity*, 35, names 15 April and 15 and 22 December 1860 as proof for the Breckinridge support of the paper. Those issues may have been lost since 1973, when her book was published.

⁶⁴ *Baltimore Sun*, 27 October 1860.

⁶⁵ See table 3.

⁶⁶ Evitts, 146-49.

⁶⁷ "Ein für allemal. Die ganze sogenannte 'Racenfrage' ist für die Katz!" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 19 January 1856).

⁶⁸ "Die Bestrebungen der republikanischen Partei [sind] nicht auf die Abschaffung (Abolition), sondern nur gegen die Weiterverbreitung der Sklaverei gerichtet" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 29 February 1856).

⁶⁹ "Das, was man der Kürze die Sklavenfrage nennt, ist nicht nur eine schwarze Frage, sondern eine sehr weiße" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 19 January 1856).

⁷⁰ "Das ist durchaus nicht gleichgültig, ob ein Land, so groß wie ein Paar europäischer Kaiserreiche, der allereinfachsten Arbeit, der (mittelalterlichen) Erzeugung bloßer Rohstoffe überantwortet werde, oder ob von [illegible] die freie Arbeit freier Weißer Gef[erbe?] und Handel erblühen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 19 January 1856).

⁷¹ "Gerade, daß der schwarze Race kein weiterer Spielraum auf Kosten des Interesses der weißen Race gewährt wird, ist der Kernpunkt der ganzen Streitfrage" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 19 January 1856).

⁷² "Wir wissen es so gewiß, als zweimal zwei 4 ist, daß in den nächsten 20 Jahren 12 Millionen Deutsche über den Ocean kommen werden" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 17 June 1856); see also 21 January 1856; "Die Einwanderung aus Deutschland wird dagegen nicht aufhören, denn Deutschland ist wirklich überbevölkert, es leben 14 Millionen zu viel darin" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 29 January 1856).

⁷³ See also the commentary on 23 April 1858: "In Missouri, a great part of the slaveowners seemed to have realized what they win instead of loosing by abolishing slavery because then a striving, active, and industrious immigration increases the value of the land" ("In Missouri scheint ein großer Theil der Sklavenhalter begriffen zu haben, daß sie durch die Aufhebung der Sklaverei gewinnen müssen, anstatt zu verlieren, weil dann eine strebsame, thätige, gewerbefleißige Einwanderung den Werth des Grund-Eigenthums steigert").

⁷⁴ "Die Weißen im Süden, die nicht an dem Besitze oder Leitung von Slaven theilhaftig, sind im günstigsten Falle auf die niedrigen Löhne beschränkt, welche die Feldarbeit gewährt und zum Theil sogar von diesen durch die erniedrigende Gemeinschaft mit Slaven zurückgeschreckt, ziehen

sich nach der äußeren Grenze der Civilisation zurück, wo sie ein halbwildes Leben führen und mit jeder Generation tiefer und tiefer in den untergründlichen Pfuhl der Babarei versinken" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 15 February 1856); see also 14 March 1856 about the conditions in New Orleans: "Very often white workers can only find work when there are no Negroes anymore. And we have to make the sad experience that workers, Irish and German, in times where there is enough work cannot earn the dry bread for their families. That's it! In New Orleans the white workers are jailed as trouble-makers when they make only a remote attempt to work together against the oppression of free labor by the barons and their cattle" ("Sehr häufig [finden] die weißen Arbeiter nur dann Arbeit, wenn keine Neger mehr vorhanden sind. Und wir müssen leider die traurige Erfahrung machen, daß Arbeiter, irische und deutsche zu Zeiten, wo es genug zu thun gibt, nicht das trockene Brod für ihre Familie erwerben können. So also! In New Orleans werden die weißen Arbeiter als Anführer eingesteckt, wenn sie nur den entfernten Versuch machen, sich gegen die Unterdrückung der freien Arbeit durch die Herren Barone und ihr Viehvolk zu coalieren").

⁷⁵ "Aber man sollte Diejenigen nicht hassen, welche darunter leiden; sie sind einem Übel zum Opfer gefallen, das ihre Väter von Anderen übernommen, und welches sie selbst abzuschaffen nicht den Mut hatten" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 17 May 1856). At the beginning of the article Rapp referred to Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, obviously because he had recently translated parts of Jefferson's works into German, see Witke, 274.

⁷⁶ This sentence is not only long but also strong prose by expanding over sixteen lines: "Nicht diese [means Americans] also laßt uns verdammen, sondern laßt uns unseren ganzen Haß und unsere ganze Verachtung wälzen auf eine gewisse schmutzige, servile Sorte deutscher Hundeseelen, die aufgefüttert mit der Milch einer milden Denkungsart und aufgewachsen unter dem Druck sozialer und politischer Mißverhältnisse, nur über das Meer geschwommen kamen, in diese neue Welt, darin, um des schnöden Mammons willen und mit Bewußtsein, ein Übel befestigen und weiter verbreiten zu helfen, welches, wenn fortwuchernd, das Land der Freiheit in ein verfluchtes Räuber-Jammerthal—dem Menschengeschlecht zur ewigen Schande—nothwendig verkehren muß" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 17 May 1856).

⁷⁷ "Die leider so vielen Deutschen angeborene Unterthanentreue" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 23 February 1858); "Unsere Deutschen geben sich zu wenig Mühe, einen Blick über die amerikanischen Verhältnisse im Ganzen zu gewinnen, geschweige denn, dieselben von einem deutsch-amerikanischen Gesichtspunkt in 's Auge zu fassen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 29 January 1856).

⁷⁸ "A gang of 373,000 privileged people and their blinded followers" ("Ein Häuflein von 373,000 Privilegierten und deren mit Blindheit geschlagenen Anhänger" [*Baltimore Wecker*, 18 Juni 1856]); see also 25 June 1856; 21 January 1856; 13 October 1860.

⁷⁹ For the ideology of the Republican party see Gienapp, 357-58; for a discussion of the slave power see also Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1978), 151-54, 184-85; and Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 73-102.

⁸⁰ "Die Partei des Herrn Lincoln will ausdrücklich, daß Eure Söhne weiße Mädchen und Eure Mädchen weiße Burschen heirathen und daß Ihr Eure weißen Männer behaltet" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 22 September 1860); the article was entitled: "Is it true that we have to marry Negroes?" ("Ist 's wahr, daß wir Negerinnen heiraten müssen?")

⁸¹ Anbinder, 202-12.

⁸² "Indem sich die Know-Nothing-Partei in der Sklavenfrage selbst für mundtot erklärt, gibt sie zu, daß sie an dem Entwicklungsprozesse, der im amerikanischen Parteileben vor sich geht, keinen Antheil mehr hat" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 15 January 1858).

⁸³ "Der Know-Nothingismus war eine acute, aber keine chronische Krankheit und er hörte auf, gefährlich zu sein, nachdem die bekannte National-Convention der Know-Nothings in Philadelphia an der Slavenfrage scheiterte" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 2 February 1858).

⁸⁴ "Der dumme und schlechte Streich, den die Republikaner New York 's begingen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 9 September 1958).

⁸⁵ "Hoffen wir daher, daß sie [New York's Republicans] diesen Herbst eine ganz exemplarische Niederlage erleiden wird. Dann wird ihr die Luft vergehen und sie wird auf den ehrenhaften Standpunkt zurückkehren, den sie in dem großen Kampfe des Jahres 1856 mit so glänzendem Erfolge eingenommen hat" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 9 September 1858); see also 19 June 1858.

⁸⁶ See *Baltimore Wecker*, 10 February 1858; 28 February 1858; 3 March 1858.

⁸⁷ "Die Gesetzgebung machte eine Bewilligung für die Errichtung eines Irrenhospitals (besonders Hr. Alexander verwandte sich, in instinkartiger Vorahnung seiner künftigen Residenz sehr für diese Bill)" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 13 May 1858).

⁸⁸ "Viele bekennen in Privatgesprächen frei und offen, daß sie sich ihrer von dem Auswurfe der Menschheit, von den Roughins, Plugs, Blood Tubs, beherrschten Partei schämen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 18 October 1858).

⁸⁹ "Diese brutale Gewalt [wurde] zuerst von der demokratischen Partei gegen die Whigs ausgeübt; die demokratische Partei [macht] sich für alle Verbrechen, welche mit dem Wahlbetruge verknüpft sind, verantwortlich" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 18 October 1858).

⁹⁰ "Eine giftige und nimmersatte Kreuzspinne, welche ihre Fäden überallhin, wo es Seelen und Güter zu erschnappen gibt, zu spinnen pflegt" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 11 March 1858).

⁹¹ Part of the Catholic revivalism movement of this period, the congregation of The Most Holy Redeemer was particularly well represented in Baltimore. Beginning in 1840 they had taken over all German Catholic churches in the city, erected new churches to accommodate the rising number of German Catholic immigrants, and founded parochial schools. See Randall M. Miller, "A Church in Cultural Captivity: Some Speculations on Catholic Identity in the Old South," in *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture*, eds., Randall M. Miller and Jon L. Wakelyn (Macon: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 43; Michael J. Curley, *The Provincial Story: A History of the Baltimore Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer* (New York: Redemptorist Fathers, 1963), 53-54; Spalding, 137-38, 141-42.

⁹² "... daß der Mister Lincoln und seine Partei keine schwarzen, schwarzbraunen, gelbraunen, gelben und gelbweißen Niggerinnen als Nonnen anwerben und in Klöster stecken, wie es die Redemptoristen-Patres in Baltimore machen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 22 September 1860).

⁹³ "Es handelt sich jetzt vor allem darum der Herrschaft der mit den Jesuiten und Redemptoristen verbündeten demokratischen Partei in der Union ein Ende zu machen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 30 September 1860).

⁹⁴ *Baltimore Wecker*, 30 Juni, 1858.

⁹⁵ "Wm. H. Seward von New York. Er ist unbedingt der einzig wahrhaft große Staatsmann der amerikanischen Gegenwart was die Einwanderung betrifft, so hat kein amerikanischer Staatsman der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart ihre Gleichberechtigung mit derselben unter allen Umständen sich gleichbleibender Treue und Liebe vertheidigt wie Seward" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 16 May 1860).

⁹⁶ "Edward Bates besitzt jedoch nur mittelmäßige Talente, steht seit 30 Jahren dem Staatsleben fast ganz fern und hat sich bis vor Kurzem zu den Know-Nothings gehalten" (*ibid.*).

⁹⁷ "Abraham Lincoln von Illinois. Der größte Dialektiker America's. Genial und orginell" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 16 May 1860).

⁹⁸ "Der Leser wird den an Tollheit grenzenden Enthusiasmus begreifen können, mit dem diese Nomination allenthalben aufgenommen wird." (*Baltimore Wecker*, 21 May 1860).

⁹⁹ "Schon am 17. May 1859 erklärte Lincoln in einem offenen Brief an den deutschen Doktor Cassius in Springfield, daß er auf's entschiedenste gegen jede Beschränkung der Rechte weißer Männer sei, gleichviel in welchem Lande sie geboren wurden oder welche Sprache sie sprechen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 11 November 1860).

¹⁰⁰ "Ueber das Verhältniß zwischen Weißen und Negern äußerte Lincoln in seiner am 10. Juni 1858 in Chicago gegen Douglas gehaltenen Rede: daß er gegen die Vermischung der beiden Racen sei" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 11 November 1860).

¹⁰¹ The committee which composed the party's platform included six Germans. For a German translation of the platform, see *Baltimore Wecker*, 19 May 1860. The anti-nativist plank, which was soon labeled by nativist Republicans as the "Dutch Plank," appeared in bold letters. See also Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 267-68; Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson, comp., *National Party Platforms, 1840-1968*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970) 31-33.

¹⁰² See *Baltimore Wecker*, 31 October 1860.

¹⁰³ "Wide Awakes. Ermuntert durch die Siegesaussichten der republikanischen Partei, werden sich nun auch hier Wide Awakes bilden" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 12 October 1860).

¹⁰⁴ See n. 16.

¹⁰⁵ "Dr. Wiß machte den versammelten Amerikanern bemerklich, daß diejenigen Deutschen, welche noch zur demokratischen Partei halten, dies aus falschen Verständniß des in Europa geheiligten Namens 'Demokratie' thun. Die Herren Dr. Wiß und Wm. Rapp, welche von den eingeborenen

Führern der republikanischen Partei nach dem Hauptquartier eingeladen worden waren, um sich durch den Augenschein zu überzeugen, daß der dringende Wunsch der Deutschen nach Erdrückung des Rowdy-Elements in der republ. Organisation bereits möglichst erfüllt sei, wurden stürmisch herausgerufen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 10 October 1860).

¹⁰⁶ *Baltimore Wecker*, 10 October and 2 November 1860; as it seems, the Turners had not much other chance than to march within the parade because the *Turnverein* expected them to appear. If not, they "would be treated according to the statutes of the society" ("Gegen das Nicht-Erscheinen wird nach der Constitution verfahren") (*Baltimore Wecker*, 1 November 1860).

¹⁰⁷ See table 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Baltimore Wecker*, 11 November 1860; for the text see n. 10.

¹⁰⁹ Holt, *Political Crisis*, xi.

¹¹⁰ "... auch wir in den Sklavenstaaten müssen uns tummeln, um das Gesamtvolksvotum der Ver. Staaten für Lincoln noch mehr anzuschwellen. Durch ein möglichst starkes Lincoln-Votum in den Sklavenstaaten muß bewiesen werden, daß die republikanische Partei eine wahrhaft nationale ist, die im Süden bis jetzt nur wegen des von der herrschenden Aristokratie und ihrer Sklavin, der Bundesgewalt, auf sie geübten Druckes nicht empor kommen konnte" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 13 October 1860).