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A Republikaner Becomes a Republican: Friedrich Hecker and the Emergence of the Republican Party

"I've never thought it a tragedy to be thrown on to these shores," Hecker wrote to Carl Schurz two years before his death.¹ Indeed, he had always considered his American life to be directly connected with his former German one. After what had happened in 1848—his failure to establish a republican government in the Grand Duchy of Baden—emigration to the United States seemed to him to be the most logical way of making his most ardent wish come true: to live in a republic. Recent discussions about the forty-eighters in America have always assumed that their fight for *Freiheit und Einheit* in the old Fatherland was directly transformed into a fight for the abolition of slavery (*Freiheit*) and the preservation of the American Union (*Einheit*).² Following the life of Friedrich Hecker, this essay concentrates on his transformation from a German *Republikaner* into an American republican. In doing so it demonstrates that in fact there were far more and even deeper similarities between the ideas of German radicalism in 1848 and the ideology of the early Republican Party in the 1850s. In order to emphasize these similarities and continuities the discussion is divided into two parts: part one presents some influences on Hecker's political development in Germany; part two pursues his initial steps in American politics during the Republican Party's first presidential campaign in 1856.

The German Republikaner

What kind of *Republikaner* was Hecker in Germany? He was certainly not born one, but gradually became one as a result of reading and personal experience. His father Josef Hecker played a crucial role in shaping his political convictions. Working as a tax collector in the service of an aristocratic landlord he authored a petition to the grand duke of Baden in 1815 complaining about

unjust taxation and the unreasonable expenses of the ducal court. In discussions at home young Hecker learned—as he confessed later in America—about the weaknesses of the monarchical system, how incredibly inefficient its bureaucracy was, and how expensive it was to run. After the Napoleonic wars people in Baden suffered because of high taxation, and the Baden peasants in particular, who still lived in a state of semi-feudal dependency, had to pay taxes twice: first to the grand duke and secondly to their landlords. To reduce the monarchical bureaucracy by creating an institutional system both free of corruption and able to work efficiently at moderate to low cost became one of Hecker's main goals during his later work as a member of the Baden second chamber in Karlsruhe from 1842 to the revolution in 1848.³ There is a direct link between these efforts and his cooperation with Carl Schurz in the 1870s, when they tried to reform the American civil service in the United States.

It seems to me significant that Josef Hecker's petition to the grand duke in 1815 already mentioned emigration: if there was no way to improve the actual situation in the country, with its worthless government, then it should be possible to leave it. This proposal was influenced by the idea that people must have the right to choose the form of government under which they want to live. And it emphasized the simple concept that a government must be there for the people, and not the people there for the government. At a very early stage, therefore, the notion of popular sovereignty became the key element in Hecker's "wishful thinking." His decision to become a lawyer was also influenced by these considerations. Hecker was convinced that a state should be established by the consent of its citizens and must be ruled by law, not by the unpredictable will of one person. His interest in creating "good laws" which would secure and protect people's rights was influenced by the writings of Carl von Rotteck, his declared favorite "teacher."⁴ Like Rotteck, Hecker was an ardent believer in Rousseau's theory of social contract and therefore interpreted the young Baden constitution of 1818 as a starting point for growing democratization.⁵ It was a logical step for Hecker, along with his job as a lawyer, to become a member of the Baden parliament in order to help introduce "good laws." Hecker was not a genuine theoretical thinker, but as a trained and educated lawyer he was always concerned about the "practicability" of laws. He felt that every new law he supported in the chamber should be one step forward towards democratization. And this attitude was the basis of his popularity long before April 1848 when he decided to march from Constance to Karlsruhe to force the grand duke to abdicate and establish the first German republic.

The liberal movement Hecker joined at the end of the 1830s had been established one generation before as a movement opposing the repressive methods and laws of the "Metternich System." This dominated the political

situation in every single German state because of the influence of Austria and Prussia over the German Confederation. Most liberals, being educated and prosperous, considered themselves to represent the real "national power," especially in an economic sense. In order to gain more influence and power their first goal was to broaden the basis of political participation. But while they were progressive in political terms, most liberals were still thinking along "pre-modern" or "pre-industrial" lines as far as society was concerned.⁶ Their social ideal was a middle-class society of economically independent citizens, who were neither very rich nor poor but prosperous enough to guarantee a selfless interest in political affairs. The law should enable the economic rise of the individual as far as capabilities, skills and talents allowed. Yet this social model was profoundly patriarchal. Only the male members of the family, fathers or husbands, were recognized as its political representatives. This, incidentally, is why in the early 1870s Hecker argued against women's suffrage.⁷ With the liberals he shared a pre-modern concept of society. Industrialization in Baden had hardly begun and the liberals could not foresee that it would promote the sort of social change that would ultimately threaten their model of a "middling society." It was not until the late 1840s that liberals became increasingly aware of the growing social divisions. But they still believed that the cure for this disease lay in the implementation of their economic doctrines. They demanded economic policy free of state intervention in the hope that this would provide the solution to the "social question." As all his speeches in the second chamber demonstrate Hecker favored this economic model influenced by the ideas of Kant, Thomas Paine and Adam Smith because he considered it necessary for greater democratization.⁸ The exchange of trade goods would lead to an exchange of opinions, which would support enlightenment.

But what can be said about Hecker's republicanism? Once again it was a combination of practical experience and theoretical influences that determined his conception of a working republic. As a young lawyer, Hecker went to Paris to broaden his professional horizons.⁹ Like Rotteck, Hecker had always admired the French constitution and Napoleon's *Code Civil* which introduced civic legal equality. Baden had kept the *Code Civil* even after Napoleon's defeat and the demise of the Confederation of the Rhine. Those liberals—and Hecker was one of them—who were influenced by the tradition of rational enlightenment remained ardent admirers of France's constitutional system and the declaration of human rights and defended this political concept against the still mainly autocratic tendencies of every monarchical system. But the practical influence of neighboring Switzerland on Hecker's political thinking was possibly even greater than that of France. German liberals praised Switzerland as a "born federative state."¹⁰ After the *Schweizer Sonderbundskrieg*, the Swiss Civil War in

1847, a constitution was created which was modelled on the American one, but turned out to be more democratic: executive power was distributed between seven *Bundesräte*, elected by parliament for a fixed period of time. No single president was elected as head of the government. The two-chamber system—consisting of the *Nationalrat* and the *Ständerat*—was orientated towards the American concept of representative democracy and retained the federalist structure of the country. Hecker maintained a lifelong interest in the Swiss constitutional system. When he visited Germany in 1873 he spent some time in Switzerland in order to study its political working and to gather information on its administrative system to provide Carl Schurz with relevant material for his civil service campaign.¹¹

While he was looking at the theoretical side of republican influence during his studies at the University of Heidelberg, Hecker came into contact with ideas of the American republic. Karl Josef Anton Mittermaier and Justus Thibaut, both law professors whose lectures Hecker attended, had personal connections with Americans. Charles Sumner and the well-known German émigré Franz Lieber visited Mittermaier in Heidelberg in the 1830s and maintained a lifelong correspondence with him afterwards. More than once Charles Sumner sent young educated Americans to Mittermaier to provide him with more detailed information on the American system. The American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow went to Heidelberg in order to meet famous people such as Justus Thibaut.¹² Thus, Hecker was educated by men who were familiar with the American system, not only through books but by personal contacts as well.

In addition to these influences on Hecker's republicanism, his studies of ancient republics furnished him with a more philosophical, "idealized" framework. Men such as Friedrich Hecker and Julius Fröbel confessed how deeply they were influenced by the ancient republics of Athens and Rome. And Hecker, shortly before his mission to Constance, stated in the *Landtag* how much his republican enthusiasm had been inspired by his classical studies.¹³ It is quite obvious that this idealized interpretation of ancient models was far removed from historical reality. None the less they functioned as a guideline. Hecker was convinced that it was possible to learn directly from history, and that history could serve as a *magistra vitae*. There was no need to interpret history, but only to study it carefully to see the direction in which a republic would develop if, for example, its administration became corrupt or it introduced wrong laws that threatened republican freedom.

"Classical" republicanism could be brought into line with liberal, and especially democratic convictions. In this idealized concept civil society and political government were thought of as identical: the perfect example of popular sovereignty. Ancient society could be interpreted as a realization of

Rousseau's social contract: a political community freely created by the consent of its members, whose primary goal was to guarantee the self realization (*Selbstverwirklichung*) of the people. On the other hand, the active participation of its citizens in political affairs and their selfless commitment to the common good were absolutely necessary to achieve this goal. The republican system relies upon the virtue of its citizens effectively to combat the most dangerous threat to the republic, namely corruption, because it lacks a strong governmental structure in an authoritarian sense. Moreover, Aristotle's emphasis on the importance of a strong, independent and frugal middling group for the internal stability of republican society fitted perfectly into the middle-class ideology of the early German liberals. Even in the United States, therefore, Hecker kept comparing social reality with his idealized concept of a republic. In America, too, he was mainly concerned with maintaining a strong middle class for the benefit of the already existing republic.

In 1847 liberals and radicals separated over the question of political action and the form of government they wanted. Hecker was convinced that only the total abolition of the old monarchical regime and the establishment of a completely new political system, a republican government, would allow popular sovereignty to become a reality. But even for the more moderate liberals "popular sovereignty," the representation of the people, was the only political principle which guaranteed political participation in the way they desired. For different and obvious reasons they became distanced from these ideas and looked for practical co-operation with the monarchical state governments, for national unity and political liberalization to be accomplished gradually without any violent break. As far as the political system was concerned the radicals were very different from the liberals, but as regards economic and social ideas they still shared the same convictions. In a political sense Hecker was clearly a republican, hoping and fighting for a republican government in 1848. But as far as his social and economic expectations of that republic were concerned he was—and would remain—a liberal.

Hecker and the emergence of the Republican Party, 1856

When Friedrich Hecker emigrated to the United States he had already decided to become a farmer. Gustav Körner, a well-known "Dreißiger," one of the refugees of the 1830 upheaval, mentions in his *Memoirs*, that immediately after his arrival in Belleville, the famous German community in southern Illinois, Hecker asked him to look for a farm he could buy in the vicinity.¹⁴ He brought his family to Summerfield on his return from a short trip back to Europe in 1849 when he had to stop at the French border in Strassburg because Prussian troops

had defeated the last uprising in Baden and the Palatine. Hecker's first years as a farmer in the Midwest were marked by total political apathy. It seems he was too depressed by the failure of the revolution and by his own situation. He concentrated on his new main goal, to secure a living for his family. He gave only one speech in late 1851, when he spoke in Belleville in favor of Gustav Kinkel's *Nationalanleihe* (national loan) to serve as a fund for a further revolution in Germany.¹⁵ This project, initiated by refugee revolutionaries in London, came to nothing and it seems that Hecker, who was not really convinced by the plan, participated in the meeting just as a favor to an old political friend.

Nevertheless, his decision to become a farmer and not a lawyer reflects the idea of securing his republican virtue. Joining the community of German peasants near Belleville, the well-known settlement of "Latin Farmers," was far more than just having a place to stay and making a living. These educated men, able to read the classics in Greek and Latin, had emigrated to the United States in the 1830s because of their dissatisfaction with the political situation in the German states. They had all been inspired by their classical studies, and they all shared the same ideas of a republican life.¹⁶

"I have come to the conclusion that in the long run democratic freedom is only possible within agrarian structures" wrote Hecker to Adam von Itzstein, his political mentor whom he urged to join him and his family in free America.¹⁷ To Hecker the agrarian structure of the Midwest before the Civil War seemed to demonstrate that an equal distribution of property supported the development of a stable and strong middle class, the nucleus of every democratic society, and prevented what was emerging more and more clearly in Germany: a two-class society with a small group of very rich industrialists and a large mass of poor people without property. Moreover, to be a farmer and belong to this stable middle class also put into practice Jefferson's idea of economic independence which guaranteed the chance to become politically involved without depending on any material compensation from party or government. Maybe Hecker had the ancient ideal of a Roman citizen in mind who acted for the common good not in return for remuneration but in order to gain public recognition. He already mentioned notions of this sort in the early 1840s in articles written for the well known and influential *Staatslexikon*, a political encyclopedia edited by Carl von Rotteck and Theodor Welcker.¹⁸ Throughout his American years Hecker always stressed that he never received anything from the Republican Party for his political commitment. Unlike many other German forty-eighters in America his living as a farmer gave him financial independence. The only exception was in 1856 during the Republican election campaign in

nearby Belleville when part of Hecker's house burned down. Abraham Lincoln apparently offered him some financial assistance for the rebuilding work.¹⁹

In 1856 Hecker was roused from his political apathy by the discussions about the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The question was whether slavery should be allowed or prohibited in the new territories. Hecker's decision to become involved in politics once again was influenced by his experience of American election campaigns in which Germans were treated as "voting cattle" (*Stimmvieh*) by most American politicians who did not consider the special interests of this immigrant group. In two letters published in different German-American newspapers Hecker explained his decision.²⁰ In both of these he stressed that the German population in America must become aware of its own political power and must fight for its political rights. On the other hand American politicians should realize the significance of the German vote for their election or reelection, especially in the Midwest. Hecker recommended that the Germans vote only for that party which protected and supported German interests. And what was more, in all the speeches he made on the stump in 1856 he tried to convince his fellow countrymen that only the newly established Republican Party would do so. The crucial point in his argument was that to allow slavery in the new territories, as the Democratic Party proposed, would destroy any hope of the further expansion of a white middle class into the West. If we analyze Hecker's speeches it seems to me that he was much more concerned about the social and economic implications of slavery for the white immigrants than about slavery as a moral evil in itself. His *Ansprache an die deutsch-amerikanische Bevölkerung der Vereinigten Staaten*, a pamphlet which was much too long to be given as a lecture or speech, and was therefore printed in several German-American news papers in serial form,²¹ brings together all the arguments he repeated in subsequent months on his tour from the Midwest to the East Coast. Hecker never lost sight of the fact that he was speaking to a German-American audience. First of all he was totally aware of what conflicting and contradictory elements the newly established Republican Party had integrated: ex-democrats, free-soilers, ardent abolitionists, but also nativists and Know-Nothings, members of the former American Party, and Midwest puritans who supported temperance laws. Hecker knew that most Germans, especially German Catholics, might be more fearful of "Know-Nothings in Illinois than of negroes in faraway Nebraska" as Marlin Tucker put it.²²

For this reason Hecker never began his speeches with a direct discussion of the slavery question. Rather, he dealt first with the accusation that he belonged to a party crucially influenced by Know-Nothings and puritans, who demanded an exaggerated "Anglo conformity" from the immigrants. Interestingly enough he never denied the fact that there were indeed Know-Nothing elements in the

Republican Party, or that some puritan members sought to introduce temperance and "Sunday laws." However, he was convinced that both attempts were so totally against the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution that they would not prevail.²³ And he was right. After 1860 the secret clubs of Know-Nothings—established in particular as a reaction to the mass immigration of Irish and German Catholics in the 1840s and 1850s—disappeared. But the debate on the introduction of puritan temperance laws returned to the party's political agenda after the Civil War. Hecker once again became one of the most ardent opponents of this movement. He wrote several articles and held a number of lectures on the topic, arguing that these laws not only represented a threat to individual liberty, but were also economically disastrous for the wine and beer industry established mainly by German immigrants.²⁴ In addition he emphasized the big difference between drinking and enjoying a glass of wine or "healthy" German beer in proper company, and standing at a bar downing American whisky in one gulp.²⁵

But the main theme of his speeches in the 1850s remained the slavery issue. The term "slave aristocracy" (*Sklavenaristokratie*) which Hecker and other forty-eighters often used in their speeches demonstrates how easy it was for this politically sensitive group to compare the European aristocracy with the Southern aristocracy of slave owners. Both social groups were seen as enemies of the people. They were considered to have special interests and no concern for the common good. The dominant characteristic of both groups was that they protected their own social, economic and political advantages. Hecker's old fight against aristocracy and its privileges in Germany was transformed into a fight against the slave owners who were creating the same unfair social and economic circumstances in the United States. Both of these groups perpetuated a two-class society (*Zweiklassengesellschaft*): on one side just a few very rich people, on the other a mass of poor people without any rights or possessions. From the arguments Hecker put forward against slavery it is clear that freedom and political equality for blacks were not his primary goals. Of course, he considered slavery basically evil, but it was first and foremost a danger to his vision of a "middle-class society," which he considered essential for the internal stability of a republic. Hecker described slavery as a contradiction to the Hegelian term of a "moral principle of reasonable freedom" (*sittliches Prinzip der vernunftrechtlichen Freiheit*);²⁶ he condemned it as the "black spot" of the American Constitution. But he did not think this argument strong enough to convince his German-American audience. He was aware of speaking to a German audience which was pretty unfamiliar with the "peculiar institution," the problem of slavery as it existed in the Southern states. Therefore he stressed more practical, even pragmatic arguments. For Hecker it was fairly easy to pursue the free soil

and free labor ideology of the Republican Party since it coincided with his own social and economic beliefs. With regard to the free soil question, and the extension of slavery, he argued that every additional slave deprived a free man of room to live. Secondly, slavery was economically inefficient since whole families had to be nourished even if just one or two members could be used as laborers. The output did not bear any relation to the costs. Thirdly, slavery caused the accumulation of huge capital in just one hand, thereby reinforcing the unequal distribution of land and property. The only political argument Hecker used was his contention that in the event of war slaves would never fight loyally and patriotically for a state which did not guarantee their human rights. And since they had no political rights they would never identify with the state's affairs. They were not treated as citizens and could therefore be abused for dangerous purposes by those interested in recruiting cheap soldiers. Other arguments Hecker put forward against slavery combined economic and moral issues. Following Montesquieu²⁷ he voiced the moral objection that slavery posed a threat to the cultural development of the people because slave owners would adopt bad habits from their slaves; and later the children would copy the bad habits of their parents. He argued that the disappearance of moral and civilized behavior would also put an end to the work ethic, since no one would want to work anymore if there were slaves to do it for them. Hecker saw diligence as the basis of all freedom in terms of the classical republican model of a Roman citizen. Once again he combined moral and economic arguments: no free white settler would compete with black slave labor in the territories. Hecker's conclusion was that immigration to the United States would fall off if slavery were allowed in the new territories. He thought that there would not be enough rich immigrants in a position to buy expensive and scarce land in the free northern states. And even if there were, there would be not enough space for the next generation. Hecker reproduced exactly the Republican Party's rhetoric on the "dignity and nobility of labor"²⁸ when he emphasized: "Nur wo die Arbeit frei und geehrt ist, ist ein Emporarbeiten möglich, versprechend und lohnend. Nur wo die freie Arbeit geachtet, wo Arbeiten eine Ehre ist, bleibt der arbeitende Mann in dem Hochgefühl seines ganzen sittlichen und bürgerlichen Werthes."²⁹

In fact, Hecker had no difficulty at all in accepting this ideology since it was so entirely compatible with his own socio-economic convictions. It reflected the "pre-March" liberal belief that even the poor wage laborers in the industrial centers of the East Coast and the Northwestern states should have the opportunity to rise, to earn enough money to become free and independent farmers in the near future. For Hecker, the fight to keep the new territories free of slavery meant keeping this opportunity alive. He considered this fight so vital politically because in the long run, it would bring an expansion of the important

middling group of independent farmers, shopkeepers, and merchants. He believed that this approach would solve the "social question," the problem of mass poverty amongst unskilled laborers in the cities, in a natural, healthy way. This belief reflects the old liberal ideal that everybody should have the opportunity to rise socially and economically in accordance with capabilities and talents. And the opportunity to do so must be protected by the state. For Hecker, therefore, it was consistent to speak up for the Republican Party which seemed to take this task seriously. Hecker was far less concerned about slavery as a "peculiar institution" and about fighting for the black man's rights than about securing "free white labor" in all territories and states. Thus the white European emigrants would have an opportunity to make their fortune in the West. Because of their European roots the forty-eighters found slavery a difficult phenomenon to understand. What did seem clear, however, was that it was an unfair system in which a few rich men controlled a mass of poor people.

Believing that a strong stable middle class was absolutely necessary for the political benefit of a republic—a heritage of Hecker's classical studies, which also became crucial in his liberal convictions—Hecker, in his propaganda speeches during the famous Douglas-Lincoln Debates in 1858, insisted on promoting and defending the interests of the white middle class on economic questions despite Lincoln's shift to a more moral argument.³⁰ The only issue on which he took a different position from that put forward in his speeches of 1856 was that he now considered Douglas to be in conspiracy with the southern slaveholders. This was—by the way—historically incorrect. But Hecker thought this idea sufficiently effective to continue putting it in his speeches.

If we bear in mind these two sides to Hecker's republicanism, the political obligation towards the state and the moral obligation towards oneself as a citizen, it is hardly surprising that he was much more concerned with the condition of the state as a whole than with minority rights. His secular "virtue" as a citizen of a political community was defined by being committed to the common good. He saw the state as the primary basis of the human community itself, and even his participation in the Civil War was the result of this pattern of political belief. When Hecker passed through the Southern states in late 1863 as a soldier in the Civil War he wrote to Gustav Struve: "I would never have believed that America has such wonderful scenery as I have seen in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama and Georgia When you think what this beautiful land could have been if it had been cultivated by free white labor, then you really see the curse of slavery."³¹ Here, once again, he was fighting against a system which threatened the welfare of the state as a whole. The existence of the state itself was at stake because a minority was trying to break the "eternal contract,"³² as he put it later on.

Even when Hecker became involved in the Liberal Republican Movement in the early 1870s he saw his own struggle against President Grant's corrupt administration which was influenced by rich industrialists as a fight for the benefit of the whole nation. In trying to effect a civil service reform which would guarantee equal access for talented men like himself, Hecker once again believed that he was fighting for the benefit of the nation. He felt that maintaining a strong middle class by giving it every political and economic opportunity was much more important than just securing rights for a small minority. Therefore it seems consistent that he and Carl Schurz were ready to abandon the black man's cause, which was still on the agenda of the "old" Republican Party under Grant, in favor of supporting a policy primarily designed to secure access to political power and to the civil service for men like themselves. For them, the black man's rights were only part of a much wider problem.³³

Hecker was never religious. He was famous and feared for his anticlerical rhetoric. But on the other hand Hecker has always been described as a romantic figure. And indeed, he was a sort of "secularized romanticist." He transformed religious beliefs into political ones. His moral code was that of republican virtue the belief in an uncorrupted republic was his creed. Thus, he confessed to Carl Schurz in 1871: "After all, I am a devout, incorrigible Republican, and I won't despair."³⁴

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Notes

¹ "Ich habe es nie als ein Unglück betrachtet, an diese Küsten geworfen worden zu seyn," Friedrich Hecker to Carl Schurz, 25 June 1879, "Carl Schurz Papers," Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

² For example, Charlotte Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York, 1989).

³ Sabine Freitag, *Friedrich Hecker: Biographie eines Republikaners* (Stuttgart, 1998).

⁴ Friedrich Hecker, "Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben," *Die Gartenlaube* (Leipzig, 1869), 552-54.

⁵ *Verhandlungen der Ständeversammlung des Großherzogtums Baden: Von 1842 bis 1848, Protokolle und Beilagen der zweiten Kammer* (Karlsruhe, 1842ff.), 17 August 1842, 330.

⁶ See Lothar Gall, "Liberalismus und 'Bürgerliche Gesellschaft': Zu Charakter und Entwicklung der liberalen Bewegung in Deutschland," *Historische Zeitschrift* 220 (1975): 324-56; Paul Nolte, *Gemeindebürgertum und Liberalismus in Baden 1800-1850* (Göttingen, 1994).

⁷ See his article on "Weiblichkeit und Weiberrechtelei" in Friedrich Hecker, *Reden und Vorlesungen* (St. Louis, MO; Neustadt a. H., 1872).

⁸ For example, *Verhandlungen der Ständeversammlung*, 14 January 1848, 191.

⁹ See the documents in "Hecker Papers," Western Historical Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, box 1, folder 2.

¹⁰ See the article on "Eidgenossenschaft, Schweizerische," Carl von Rotteck and Karl Th. Welcker, eds., *Staats-Lexikon oder Encyclopädie der Staatswissenschaften* (Altona, 1837), 4:611-28, 617.

¹¹ Freitag, *Hecker*, 309-21

¹² See for example the letters of Franz Lieber and Charles Sumner to Karl Josef Anton Mittermaier, "Mittermaier Nachlaß," Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg; on Lieber see Peter Schäfer and Karl Schmidt, eds., *Franz Lieber und die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Weimar, 1993); on Sumner, see Edward L. Pierce, *Memoirs and letters of Charles Sumner*, 2 vols. (London, 1878); on Longfellow's, Sumner's, and Lieber's visits to Heidelberg, see Hermann Wellenreuther, "'Germans Make Cows and Women Work': American Perception of Germany as Reported in American Travel Books, 1800-1840" in David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt, eds., *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776* (Washington; Cambridge, 1997), 41-69, 49.

¹³ *Verhandlungen der Ständeversammlung*, 16 March 1848, 220.

¹⁴ Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustav Koerner, 1808-1896: Life Sketched at the Suggestion of His Children*, 2 vols. (Cedar Rapids, IA, 1909), 1:529.

¹⁵ Freitag, *Hecker*, 167-77; Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany: German Refugees in Victorian Britain* (Oxford; New York, 1989), 159-60.

¹⁶ On Hecker's life as a farmer, see Carl Köhler, *Briefe aus Amerika: Ein lehrreicher Wegweiser für deutsche Auswanderer und unterhaltendes Lesebuch für Gebildete jeden Standes* (Darmstadt, 1852). Köhler joined Hecker at his farm for eight weeks; the translation is Frederic Trautmann, "Eight Weeks on a St. Clair County Farm in 1851—Letters by a Young German," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 75, 3 (1982): 162-78.

¹⁷ "Die Überzeugung habe ich gewonnen, daß nur in agricalen Staaten demokratische Freiheit auf die Dauer möglich ist." Friedrich Hecker to Adam von Itzstein, 29 August 1851, "Itzstein Nachlaß," Bundesarchiv Abteilungen Potsdam, Zug.-Nr. 168/58.

¹⁸ For example, Friedrich Hecker, "Advocat: Der deutsche Advocatenstand," *Staatslexikon*, 2d ed. (Altona, 1845), 1:355-69.

¹⁹ Abraham Lincoln to Friedrich Hecker, 14 September 1856, Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 5 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1953), 2:376.

²⁰ Friedrich Hecker to Christian Esselen, 7 July 1856; Friedrich Hecker to Th. Dietsch, 15 July 1856, "Hecker Papers," box 4, folder 42.

²¹ *Belleviller Volksblatt* (weekly), no. 26 (16 August 1856); no. 27 (23 August 1856); no. 28 (30 August 1856); no. 29 (6 September 1856); no. 30 (13 September 1856).

²² Marlin Th. Tucker, *Political Leadership in the Illinois-Missouri German Community, 1836-1872* (Urbana, IL, 1968), 184.

²³ "Ansprache," *Belleviller Volksblatt*, no. 26 (16 August 1856); *ibid.*, no. 31 (20 September 1856).

²⁴ "Deutschenhasserei: Friedrich Hecker an die Deutschen Amerikas!" *Belleviller Zeitung* (weekly), 18 January 1872; "Friedrich Hecker über das Temperenzgesetz," *Illinois Staatszeitung* (daily), 20 January 1872; Friedrich Hecker, "Des Temperenzgesetz und die *Chicago Tribune*," *Illinois Staatszeitung* (daily), 15 March 1872.

²⁵ "Als ich vor 24 Jahren an diesen Küsten landete, [sah] ich in der einen Stadt New York, ja sogar in Städten, die unter der Liquorlaw standen, mehr wüste Trunkenheit [] als in meiner übrigen Lebenszeit in ganz Europa, und zwar lediglich wegen des grasserenden Branntweingenussses, und der hiesigen Art und Weise, an den Schenktsch zu treten und rasch hinunterzuschütten, während man in Europa sich setzt, plaudert, unterhält. Ich habe überhaupt hier wahrgenommen, daß dieses Geschlecht nur in Extremen sich bewegt, entweder sinnlos zu saufen oder sich, wenigstens öffentlich, zur völligen Abstinenz zu bekennen. Ein anständiges gemüthliches Trinken kennt dies Geschlecht kaum und das Horazische est medium in rebus scheint für die amerikanischen Trinker verloren." Friedrich Hecker, "Das Temperenzgesetz und die *Chicago Tribune*," *ibid.*

²⁶ *Belleviller Volksblatt*, no. 28 (30 August 1856).

²⁷ Montesquieu, *L'esprit des lois*, book 15, chapter 1.

²⁸ Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Man: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (Oxford, 1970), 11.

²⁹ *Belleviller Volksblatt*, no. 33 (4 October 1856).

³⁰ See, for example, Lincoln's speech in Springfield, IL, 16 June 1858, Robert W. Johanssen, ed., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Oxford; New York, 1965), 17-18; and Hecker's Chicago speech, *Illinois Staatszeitung* (daily), 27 October 1858.

³¹ "Ich hätte nie geglaubt, daß Amerika so wundervolle Scenerien aufzuweisen habe, wie ich in Maryland, Virginien, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama und Georgia sah Wenn man sich fragt, was aus diesem schönen Lande hätte werden können, falls die freie weiße Arbeit es befruchtet hätte, erkennt man erst den ganzen Fluch der Sklaverei." Friedrich Hecker to Gustav Struve, Lookout-Valley, Tennessee, 21 December 1863, *Die Gartenlaube* (Leipzig, 1865), 58.

³² "Der Süden aber durfte nicht secediren, weil die Union ein ewiger Vertrag war, der nicht beliebig, einseitig von einer Minorität [aufgelöst] und damit das Rückgrat der Union gebrochen werden durfte." *Belleviller Zeitung* (weekly), 19 October 1871.

³³ See Freitag, *Hecker*, 348-55.

³⁴ "Ich bin nun mal ein gläubiger, unverbesserlicher Republikaner, und kann nicht verzweifeln." Friedrich Hecker to Carl Schurz, 1 October 1871, "Schurz Papers," *ibid.*

