

Hans L. Trefousse

Carl Schurz and the Politics of Identity

For immigrants in the nineteenth century, as for their successors today, the politics of identity was always a problem. Were they true Americans? Did they owe allegiance merely to the United States or did their country of origin still have some claims upon them? Were they to identify completely with the new country or continue to depend, at least in part, on the old? Was there perhaps some middle way between these alternatives?

Questions of this type have always loomed large, and of all the German-American generals during the Civil War, the one who addressed them most effectively and resolutely was Carl Schurz. To be sure, he expressed his solutions most succinctly in later years, but his example and his attitude toward the fundamental problems facing immigrants were always highly influential.

Schurz's career was truly astounding. Born in Liblar near Cologne in 1829, the son of a local teacher and storekeeper, he attended the Marcellen-Gymnasium in Cologne and enrolled at the University of Bonn, where he fell under the influence of Gottfried Kinkel, a high-spirited professor of art history, who became a leader of the most extreme republican and democratic faction during the revolution of 1848. Enthusiastically taking part in this upheaval, Schurz assisted his professor, joined the revolutionary army in Baden and the Palatinate, and was almost taken prisoner at Rastatt, besieged by the Prussians who might have dealt severely with him had he not managed to escape through a sewer before the surrender of the fortress and reach the French side of the Rhine.

The professor was less fortunate. Captured by the Prussians, he was condemned to life imprisonment, and Schurz determined to free him. He returned to Germany incognito, bribed a guard at the prison in Spandau near Berlin, where he had Kinkel lowered from the roof by means of a rope, and then took him by relays to the Baltic coast of Mecklenburg. From there, the two made their escape to Scotland, so that Schurz became famous at the age of twenty-one, the liberals recognizing him as one of the heroes of the failed revolution.

After some time in Great Britain and France, Schurz, anxious to reenter politics, emigrated to America. His decision was made easier because in 1851 he married Margarethe Meyer, the daughter of a wealthy Hamburg merchant, so that he did not have any immediate financial worries. Eventually settling in Watertown, Wisconsin, he engaged in journalism, real estate speculation, politics and the law. Even before his naturalization process had been completed, he obtained the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor but was defeated in spite of a general victory of his party. Remaining loyal to the Republicans even after failing to win the gubernatorial nomination in 1859, he was rewarded with the chairmanship of the party's state delegation to the National Convention in Chicago in 1860. After campaigning strenuously for Abraham Lincoln and the Republican ticket, he was appointed American minister to Spain, but returned early in 1862 to enter the army as a brigadier general.

Schurz's military career was not distinguished. Although he performed well at the Second Bull Run and was promoted to major general, at Chancellorsville as well as at Gettysburg his division was overrun, and after he was transferred to the vicinity of Chattanooga, Joseph Hooker accused him of delay at Wauhatchie. A court of inquiry acquitted him, but his active military career was practically at an end. He campaigned for Lincoln in 1864 and ended the war as chief of staff in Henry Slocum's Twentieth Corps.

After Appomattox, he resumed his journalistic career, writing first for the New York *Tribune*, then for the *Detroit Post*, and finally for the St. Louis *Westliche Post*, of which he became editor and part owner. At the same time, he broke completely with Andrew Johnson, who had sent him on a trip to the South, where Schurz found the president's policies were not working. Johnson rejected his report, but Congress printed it, and it was used as a radical campaign document.

In 1869 Schurz, who had been temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention which nominated U. S. Grant, was elected United States senator from Missouri, but he soon fell out with the administration. Critical of its attempt to annex the Dominican Republic, its failure to enact effective civil service reform, and its refusal to abandon congressional Reconstruction policies, he was one of the founders and leaders of the liberal Republican movement. He had returned to the Republican party by 1876, was appointed secretary of the interior by President Rutherford B. Hayes, and served until 1881, when he retired to New York City to engage in journalism, business, and civil service reform. A prominent Mugwump, he supported Grover Cleveland in 1884, again sustained the Republicans in 1896, but as a determined opponent of imperialism, after the Spanish-American War, broke again with the party. He died in New York in 1906.¹

Schurz decided to emigrate to America after the failure of the revolutions in Europe, seemingly confirmed by the coup of Louis Napoleon in France, rendered any possible return to the fatherland most problematical. In England, he wrote while in London, citizenship for the alien was merely formal. What

he was looking for in America was the chance to gain full legal citizenship. "If I cannot be a citizen of a free Germany," he added, "then I would at least be a citizen of free America." Of course he was also aware of the political opportunities which awaited him in the United States. Thinking of lecturing there, he believed his political connections would help him succeed.²

Schurz's Americanization proceeded very rapidly. When in 1851 he arrived in the United States, he was captivated by the new country. His wife might chide him for finding every shanty charming, but he was truly impressed with the spirit of freedom, individual enterprise, and absence of governmental interference. Although at first he was still in touch with German revolutionaries who wanted to renew the upheaval of 1848, as time went on, his concern with such plans lessened, and he became ever more firmly rooted in America.³

In order to participate fully in American life, it was necessary for Schurz to perfect his English. In England, his initial reaction to the new language had not been favorable. He thought that because of what he called its "impure vowels, many sibilants, and hissing consonants" he would never learn it. Moreover, he found its sound and cadence unmusical. But once in America, he overcame these prejudices, energetically applied himself to the study of English, and eventually became one of the foremost orators in the country.⁴

The Americanization of Carl Schurz was helped considerably by his entry into politics after his removal to Watertown. He had settled there deliberately because of its large German population which provided a base for an eventual rise in public life. The only trouble was that the German-Americans tended to support the Democratic party, and Schurz, with his devotion to freedom, was repelled by the Democrats' espousal of slavery in the South. Consequently, when after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act the antislavery Republican party was founded, it was natural that he agreed to campaign among his countrymen and seek to wean them away from their former allegiance.⁵

The success of his efforts, at least in the minds of his Republican sponsors, caused him to be nominated for lieutenant governor in 1857, obviously a boost to Americanization. Nativist influence among Republicans led to his defeat, but he was not discouraged, and his prominence at the 1860 Republican convention, followed by his apparently successful campaign for Abraham Lincoln, could only strengthen his devotion to his new country.⁶

His wartime service was not only bound to buttress further his American patriotism but also to set an example for his fellow countrymen. Having already, at least in his own mind, won over many German-Americans to the Republican ticket in the 1860 campaign, he asked for permission to raise German troops before he even left for Spain and was instrumental in so doing in New York.⁷ As a proud American diplomat in Madrid, he sent some postage stamps to his little daughter and used the opportunity to explain that those from Spain carried the picture of the queen who was neither very pretty nor as good as George Washington, who appeared on American stamps. "Although Washington was not a king, he was much better than any king that ever lived,"

he added.⁸ Neither could he forget his cordial welcome at the White House, where he played the piano for Lincoln.⁹ In fact, he thought his influence with the president so great that he ventured to give unasked political and military advice, suggesting to Lincoln in November 1862 that recent electoral setbacks were the administration's own fault. It had appointed enemies to military command and had wanted energy. Let these faults be corrected, and all would be all right. The president rejected this admonition, but Schurz continued his hectoring, only to receive a sharp reply from the now exasperated chief executive. The German-American hastened to Washington, where Lincoln received him most amicably and put him at ease with his friendliness. This renewed mark of the president's confidence most likely strengthened the general's identification with America.¹⁰

Yet his Americanism was to be severely tested during the war. When his Third Division, part of the XI Corps, was overrun at Chancellorsville, the Germans in general and Schurz in particular were widely blamed for the defeat because of their prominence in these units. "I fights mit Sigel and I runs mit Schurz," was the refrain, and the general was deeply offended. To be sure, his standing among his compatriots was not affected; they vigorously defended him and their good name, but the carping against the XI Corps continued, especially after the battle of Gettysburg, where on the first day, the unit was chased through the town. Although it did well on Cemetery Hill, it could never live down its bad reputation. Schurz's relations with Hooker remained strained, and though the court of inquiry after Wauhatchie cleared the German-American general, he was deeply disappointed. Nevertheless, he again sought to rally his fellow countrymen to the cause in the presidential struggle that followed.¹¹

While Schurz had become a symbol for German-American loyalty during the Civil War, it was during his postwar career that he most fully developed his ideas about political identity. That he never lost his American identification he showed clearly when in 1868 he visited Germany and met Otto von Bismarck. Somehow or other, the chancellor was much taken with the rebel of 1848, and he asked his guest whether he was still as firmly convinced a republican as he had been before he went to America and studied republicanism from the inside. The general answered in the affirmative. While in personal experience he had found the republic not as lovely as he had imagined it in his youthful enthusiasm, it was much more practical in its general beneficence to the great mass of the people. With considerable pride, he added that the American people would hardly have become the self-reliant, energetic, and progressive nation that they were had there been a privy councillor or a police captain standing at every mud puddle to keep them from stepping into it. In a democracy with little government, things might go badly in detail but well on the whole, while in a monarchy with an omnipresent government, things might go very pleasingly in detail but poorly on the whole. In addition, he praised the self-reliance of the American soldier, who, without the formal training of his European counterpart, he contended, would still be a match for any European force sent against him. With this

positive attitude toward his adopted country, it was not surprising that he chose to disregard hints to come back to the fatherland.¹²

After his return to the United States, Schurz became ever more active in the Missouri Republican party. After his election as temporary chairman of the 1868 National Convention that nominated General Grant for president and his strenuous campaign for the ticket, in January 1869 he used the opportunity afforded by his contest for the United States Senate to make clear his identity as a German-American. Responding to an attack on the Germans by Senator Charles D. Drake, he stated categorically that he was in the field as an American. "I am not the candidate of the Germans . . .," he continued. "I was brought out by my American fellow citizens, and I am proud of it, and if the Germans are proud of the fact, I have no reason to be ashamed of it." Expressing satisfaction in having been born in Germany, he recalled the services of his fellow countrymen in defense of the Union in 1861. Then, when his quest was successful, he was widely regarded not merely as the senator from Missouri, but as the "German Senator" and spokesman for his compatriots in the Upper House.¹³

This reputation caused him to receive letters from German-American soldiers in trouble and asking him for help, from German office seekers imploring his assistance, and from German-Americans expressing their pride in his achievements. The *Missouri Democrat* called him a "private ambassador to superintend the enlightenment of the German mind upon the opportunities and resources for settlement . . . of the West," and he became by far the most prominent German-American.¹⁴

It was during his Senate years that his attachment to the new country was almost, at least for a moment, overshadowed by his interest in the old. The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and the series of German victories which followed had a pronounced effect upon the German-American population. Schurz, too, was not immune to this enthusiasm. As he said at a mass meeting in Baltimore on 21 July, though loyal to the United States and abiding by its laws, he was German-born, and every German heart beat evenly for the old and new fatherland. Did not hundreds of Germans fight for the Union?¹⁵

In private, he was more outspoken. Writing to his wife in August that because of all the enthusiasm about the victories he could hardly collect his thoughts, he added, "Today Germany is the world's greatest military power. Long live the old fatherland! Amen." He raised the black, white, and red flag of the new Germany at the *Westliche Post's* editorial room. He wrote that the whole building was in bunting, and exulted, "I can only say one thing: Hurrah." Shortly afterward, when Napoleon III surrendered at Sedan, the senator was even more enthusiastic. "The Germans are now the greatest and mightiest nation of the Old World," he bragged, "and nobody can deny them that rank. This fact marks so huge a contrast with the past that the German himself can hardly

realize it, and yet, no matter how coldbloodedly we observe the facts, it is true. May it remain thus, Hallelujah!"¹⁶

This passionate absorption in the affairs of the Old World even made him think of returning to Germany. As he confessed to Mrs. Schurz, "When I read about all these great events, from time to time the desire to be there overcomes me, and I thought I might leave politics here this fall and then ask permission to ride into France with the General Staff and take all of you to Europe."¹⁷

But his idea of moving did not last long. Within four days of writing this letter he was repelled by the fact that the king of Prussia was still treating Napoleon as emperor. The monarchical ways of Europe reminded him of the advantages of the United States, and he reaffirmed his devotion to the Great Republic. "No matter how great was the heroic performance, the political situation does look better from the outside than the inside after all, and in the end, I find it a beautiful thing, to be an American sovereign," he commented.¹⁸

His realization of the difference between German and American ways and his preference for the latter was highlighted once more by the criticism of his brother-in-law, Adolph Meyer, of his break with Grant and one of his speeches attacking the president. Explaining that he found Meyer's exposition of the differences in the speaking styles of the two countries interesting, he nevertheless insisted that he realized it would be difficult to transplant him into public life in Germany "because free exchange of opinion cannot easily be unlearned." As time went on, he was ever more estranged from the illiberal developments in the German Empire.¹⁹

The Franco-Prussian War provided him with the best opportunity to set forth in the Senate his ideas on German-American identity. Because of irregularities in arms sales to France, Charles Sumner introduced a resolution of inquiry, and when the supporters of the administration resisted, it fell to Schurz to bear the brunt of the affirmative argument. After first answering Roscoe Conkling, who charged that the Missouri senator merely wished to detach the Germans from the Republican party in order to deliver them to the Democrats—"no man owns the German-Americans of this country," he replied—he entered into a stringent debate with Senator Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, who accused him of being more loyal to Germany than to America. "Let me tell the Senator from New Jersey," he retorted,

that although I am certainly not ashamed of having sprung from that great nation whose monuments stand so proudly upon all the battlefields of thought; that great nation which . . . seems at this moment to hold in her hands the destinies of the Old World; that great nation which for centuries has sent thousands of her children to foreign shores, with their intelligence, their industry, and their spirit of good citizenship, while I am by no means ashamed of being a son of that great nation, yet I may say I am proud to be an American citizen. This is my country. Here my children were born. Here I

have spent the best years of my youth and manhood. All the honors I have gained, all the aims of my endeavors, and whatever of hope and promise the future has for me, it is all encompassed in this my new fatherland. My devotion to this great Republic will not yield . . . to that of any man born in this country.

To underline his philosophy, he insisted that "those who meanly and coldly forget their old mother cannot be expected to be faithful to their young bride."²⁰

Schurz's break with the Grant administration, as was to be expected, again brought forth charges of primary loyalty to Germany rather than to the United States. One of his complaints against the president's policies, his indictment of their high tariff predilections, led Senator Drake to maintain that his colleague favored low tariffs, not to benefit America, but to help his old country, an accusation Schurz indignantly denied.²¹ The Liberal Republican campaign of 1872 exposed him to additional accusations, and though his Americanism received a new boost with his appointment as Rutherford B. Hayes's secretary of the interior, some of his policies of protecting forest lands were again criticized as originating in monarchical Prussia rather than in republican America.²² By that time, however, he was no longer troubled by any desire to return to Europe. As he wrote to his friend Friedrich Althaus in October 1879: "At any rate things are better here than with you over there. . . . All in all, the Old World looks very disturbing to me, economic regression and economic reaction. . . . Although many things over here are not the way they ought to be, nevertheless the comparison may be consoling." And to his brother-in-law he confessed in January 1881: "Your conditions over there make me feel quite uncomfortable, in fact so uncomfortable that I don't like to think about them. What the papers here printed about your Jew-baiting we Germans could not read without being ashamed." He was also troubled by Germany's economic conditions, reactionary currents, and unsettled international relations. How much better were things in the United States! Continued illiberal and nationalistic developments in the German Reich reinforced his opinions, and when in 1884 Bismarck refused to accept American condolences on the death of Eduard Lasker, his political opponent who had died in New York, Schurz suggested that the administration recall its envoy from Berlin.²³

Schurz felt so secure in his Americanism that he consented to deliver a memorial address in 1888 on the occasion of the death of William I, the same prince whom he had fought in 1849 and who might have had him executed had he captured him at that time. No longer worried about possible charges of divided loyalty, he handsomely paid his respect to the monarch, who, though no democrat, had become the unifier of Germany. The speech was well received in his old home, and when he visited there later in the year, he was cordially welcomed by Bismarck and the crown prince. Telling all who would listen about the greatness of America, he showed once more that he was a proud citizen of the Republic.²⁴

During the entire course of his political rise, Schurz had never failed to make use of his ethnic identity. He obtained the diplomatic post in Madrid after making it clear to leading Republicans that his countrymen, whom he held responsible for Lincoln's victory in 1860, expected him to be honored; he finagled his promotion to major general in the same way; he appealed to Missouri party faithful again by stressing his influence in German-American quarters, and his appointment as secretary of the interior also owed much to his supposed standing among his fellow citizens. That his assessment of his countrymen's role in the election of 1860 did not correspond to the facts made no difference; it was widely believed and certainly taken for granted by himself.²⁵

The question of how to reconcile his Americanism with his loyalty to his origins remained to be resolved. He always considered himself, and was considered by others, a role model for German-Americans; after all, he reached the two highest positions attainable by naturalized citizens in the United States.²⁶ Consequently, he had to give his compatriots some idea of how to master the difficulties of assimilation, cultural identity, and language. He sought to solve the problem by advocating a fusion of loyalties, a most politic answer to the problem confronting all immigrants.

His solution was anchored in his multicultural concept of American nationality, an idea forcefully expressed as early as 1859 in his speech, "True Americanism," which he delivered at Faneuil Hall in Boston. He had been invited at a time when the Know-Nothing-controlled Massachusetts legislature had passed an amendment barring naturalized citizens from voting for two years after obtaining their final papers in order to counteract the tide of nativism. Defining Americanism as the love of liberty and tolerance, he pointedly set forth his views of the contributions of immigrants to the American character, thus defining his own well-developed sense of identity. He reviewed the course of European immigration to this country and concluded, "Every people, every creed, every class of society has contributed its share to that wonderful mixture out of which is to grow the great nation of the New World. It is true, the Anglo-Saxon establishes and maintains his ascendancy, but without absolutely absorbing the other national elements. They modify each other, and their peculiar characteristics are to be blended together by the all-assimilating power of freedom. This is the origin of the American nationality, which did not spring from one family, one tribe, one country, but incorporated the vigorous elements of all civilized nations of the earth."²⁷ This view of American nationalism was his answer to the question of dual loyalty.

As time went on, Schurz worked out fully his concept of Americanization. Stressing integration, he also furthered ethnic pride. In spite of his excellent mastery of the English language, he insisted on speaking and writing German with Germans; a sign in his house proclaimed, "Hier wird deutsch gesprochen," and he strongly defended the retention of the old tongue.²⁸ As he explained in a speech at the Deutscher Liederkrantz in New York in 1897,

it is sometimes expected of our compatriots in America that they should entirely cast aside the old mother tongue. This is unwise advice. Nobody will dispute that the German-American must learn English. He owes it to his new country, and he owes it to himself. But it is more than folly to say that he ought, therefore, to give up the German language. As American citizens we must become Americanized; that is absolutely necessary. I have always been in favor of sensible Americanization; but this need not mean an abandonment of all that is German. It means that we should accept the best traits of American character and join them to the best traits of German character. By doing so we shall make the most valuable contribution to the American nation, to American civilization.²⁹

He repeated these sentiments in a speech in reply to tributes paid to him on his seventieth birthday, when he again insisted that the German immigrant must learn that the United States was his country, but that this process of Americanization did not imply "that he should at once discard in the new fatherland the good and desirable ways of thinking, qualities and customs brought from the old."³⁰ Keeping faith with this philosophy, he wrote the first volume of his *Reminiscences*, the part dealing with German affairs, in German, and the second and third in English. Moreover, he not only taught his children German, but also sought to enlighten his lady friend, Fanny Chapman, about the mysteries of the language.³¹

Schurz's emphatic Americanism, combined as it was with loyalty to his German origins, was no great problem as long as the relations between the two countries were friendly. When, however, diplomatic disputes arose between them, the German-American leader was in trouble.

This difficulty manifested itself especially during the Spanish-American War. A convinced anti-imperialist who strongly disapproved of American colonial expansion, he nevertheless felt called upon to defend the United States against attacks in Germany. Accordingly, he wrote an article for the *Berlin Nation*, which was widely republished and criticized in the German press. Defending himself, he pointed out that while Germans called him a jingo, Americans accused him of the opposite. But his annoyance was real.³² "No matter how we may think about our war with Spain," he wrote to Henry Villard, "the criticism directed at America over there is partially at least outrageous."³³ And the worsening of relations between Germany and America continued to trouble him. Not only the Spanish-American War, but German interference in Venezuela in 1902 caused difficulties, so that Schurz used every opportunity to attempt to smooth the waters. At the German Day in St. Louis in 1904, for example, he said: "We German-Americans constitute the hyphen between Germany and America. We are the living proof that a great population can be transplanted from one country to another to be totally loyal to the new country until death while preserving respectful love for the old country." Then

he came to the point he thought necessary to make. Declaring that no international friendship could be more natural than that between the two countries, he asserted that nothing could disturb it.³⁴ And in the last printed letter in his *Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers*, he wrote that it was a matter of course that every proper effort should be made to guard against the disturbance of the friendly relations between Germany and the United States as there was no possible reason to disturb them. The letter to an unknown correspondent was dated 8 April 1906; he died little more than a month later.³⁵

During his lifetime, Carl Schurz, one of the most prominent of the German-American generals during the Civil War, had thus managed to fuse the identities of his heritage and his new environment. He had become a good American while yet retaining his affection for his German roots, a solution which served as an example to his countrymen, whose loyalty to the Union he was able to strengthen. His answer to the age-old question facing immigrants was a viable one, and it is as valid today as it was in the 1860s. It deserves to be widely publicized.

Brooklyn College and Graduate Center
City University of New York
New York, New York

Notes

¹ Hans L. Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (New York, 1982), passim.

² Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, 3 vols. (New York, 1907), 1:399-401; Schurz to Adolph Meyer, 19 April 1852, in Joseph Schafer, ed., *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz 1841-1869* (Madison, WI, 1929), 107-11.

³ Schurz to Charlotte Voss, 20 October 1852; Schurz to Malwida von Meysenburg, n. d., in Frederick Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, 6 vols. (New York, 1913), 1:1-8; Schurz to Gottfried Kinkel, 10 April 1853, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 116-21.

⁴ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 1:337; 2:9-12; George William Curtis to his sister Effie, 21 February 1872, Schurz Papers, LC; Horace White to Carl Schurz Memorial Committee, 31 January 1910, George McAneny Papers, Seely G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

⁵ Eberhard Kessel, ed. "Die Briefe von Carl Schurz an Gottfried Kinkel," *Beihfte zum Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, 12 (Heidelberg, 1965), 122-24; La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston, 1976), 53; Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:66ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 81-81, 176-83, 198-207.

⁷ Schurz to Mrs. Schurz, 15, 16 August 1860, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 217-19; Schurz to Lincoln, 27 April 1861, Lincoln Papers, LC; Lincoln to Simon Cameron, 13 May 1861; Lincoln to Schurz, 13 May 1861, in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1953), 4:367-68; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 99.

⁸ Schurz to Agathe Schurz, 27 November 1861, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection, LC.

⁹ Tyler Dennett, ed., *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diary and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1988), 23.

¹⁰ Schurz to Lincoln, 8, 20 November 1862; Lincoln to Schurz, 10, 24 November 1862, in Schurz, *Speeches*, 1:209-21; Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:393-96.

¹¹ *New York Times*, 5 May, 3 June 1863; Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington, KY, 1957), 151-52; James S. Pula, *For Liberty and Justice: The Life and Times of Wladimir Krzyzanowski* (Chicago, 1978), 92 (quotation); Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 3:51-53, 85-91.

¹² *Ibid.*, 265ff., 276ff.

¹³ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 13, 14 January, 3 March 1869; Peter Parrish, *Missouri Under Radical Rule* (Columbia, MO, 1965), 244ff., 259ff.

¹⁴ Frederick Meyer to Schurz, 22 March 1870; Adolph Becker to Schurz, 17 December 1870; Frederick Brunner to Schurz, 4 July 1871; F. Ternow to Schurz, 9 March 1872, Schurz Papers; *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 22 April 1870.

¹⁵ *St. Louis Missouri Democrat*, 24 July 1870.

¹⁶ Schurz to Mrs. Schurz, 9, 15 August, 3 September 1870, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection.

¹⁷ Schurz to Mrs. Schurz, 6 September 1870, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection.

¹⁸ Schurz to Mrs. Schurz, 10 September 1870, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection.

¹⁹ Schurz to Adolph Meyer, 23 April 1871, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection.

²⁰ *Cong. Globe*, 42d Cong., 2d Sess., 1008-11, 1041-48, App. 58-67, 67-74, 110, 111; *New York Belletristisches Journal*, 23 February, 4 March 1871.

²¹ *Cong. Globe*, 41st Cong., 3d Sess., 53, 118-28.

²² *Cong. Record*, 45th Cong., 2d Sess., 1721.

²³ Schurz to Friedrich Althaus, 10 October 1879; Schurz to George Edmunds, 9 March 1884, Schurz Papers; Schurz to Adolph Meyer, 2 January 1881, 2 January 1883, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection.

²⁴ "Emperor William I," in Schurz, *Speeches*, 4:495-505; *New York Times*, 1, 7 May 1888; Schurz *Diary*, I, 7, 11 May 1888, Schurz Papers.

²⁵ Hans L. Trefousse, "Carl Schurz and Ethnicity in America," in Michael Palumbo and William O. Shanahan, eds., *Nationalism: Essays in Honor of Louis L. Snyder* (Westport, CT, 1981), 141-55. For the role of the Germans in the election of 1860, cf. Frederick Luebke, ed., *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (Lincoln, NE, 1973); the German vote was apparently not decisive, except perhaps in Illinois, cf. James M. Bergquist, "People and Politics in Transition: The Illinois Germans, 1850-1860," 196-226.

²⁶ A. H. Luttwitz to Schurz, 10 May 1879; R. C. Knoepfel to Schurz, 10 March 1877, Schurz Papers.

²⁷ Schurz, *Speeches*, 1:48-72, esp. 54 for quote.

²⁸ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 31 May 1906; Trefousse, *Schurz*, 293.

²⁹ *New York Staats-Zeitung*, 10 January 1897.

³⁰ *New York Times*, 9 March 1899.

³¹ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 1:4-5; Walter Vulpus, "Carl Schurz, The Man and Friend: Personal Reminiscences," *German-American Review* 7 (December 1940): 11; Schurz to Fanny Chapman, 20 November 1883, Schurz-Chapman Correspondence, University of Münster, Germany.

³² *Berlin Nation*, 9 June 1898; *Kieler Zeitung*, 26 June 1898, in Schurz Papers.

³³ Schurz to Henry Villard, 6 August 1898, Villard Papers, Harvard University.

³⁴ *Westliche Post*, 7 October 1904.

³⁵ Schurz, *Speeches*, 6:444-45, Schurz to unknown, 8 April 1906.

