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Party Politics and the Germans of New York City, 1834-40

In 1834 German-born New Yorkers emerged as a voting bloc that could no longer be ignored, a consequence of increased immigration and the changing structure of American politics. But it was not until 1838-40 that the Whigs became a united, efficiently-run party; and only then was the city's German population fully integrated into the second American party system.¹ This account of these eventful years is divided into four sections, the first being an introduction to city politics in 1834. The second section opens with a profile of the German community and goes on to describe the meeting of German Democrats held on 27 October 1834, at which an enduring organization was created—the Deutsche Demokratisch-Republikanische Association—and the groundwork laid for a German Democratic newspaper, the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*. A counter demonstration of Germans sponsored by the Whigs took place on 31 October. The programs of both meetings are discussed and, as far as possible, the named supporters, elected officers, and public speakers identified. These men were the first cohort of New York Germans to come forth as actual or potential political leaders. The third section traces the fortunes of the German community in the context of national and local politics from 1835 to 1840. This study concludes with an occupational analysis of the political leadership, both old (1834) and new (1835-40), a comparison of Whig and Democratic tactics vis-à-vis the Germans, and a final note on German voting behavior.

I

The New York City elections of 1834 were of more than local importance, for the overriding issue was the struggle between Andrew Jackson and Nicholas Biddle, president of the Second Bank of the United States. One of the first key events of the Bank War had been Biddle's ill-advised request to Congress in 1832 for a new charter, four years before the old charter was to expire. Although the bill for recharter passed the Senate and House, on 11

June and 3 July 1832, respectively, Jackson's Veto Message of 10 July stunned the nation. On 25 September 1833 an executive order announced a shift from national banking to deposit banking; beginning on 1 October all future government deposits would be placed in selected state banks, "and that for operating expenses the government would draw on its remaining funds from the Second Bank of the United States until they were exhausted."² Biddle struck back in October by persuading the Second Bank's board of directors to permit "a general curtailment of loans throughout the entire banking system," inducing a financial panic and general economic distress in hopes of forcing Jackson to retract his new measures and recharter the Second Bank.³ The curtailment eased slightly by the following spring and by July 1834 Biddle was compelled by his own supporters to end all arbitrary measures inimical to the economic health of the country.⁴

City politics were profoundly affected by the Bank War as Jacksonians and anti-Jacksonians blamed each other for the economic crisis. In New York County, the executive body of the Jackson party—called Democratic Republicans (later Democrats)—was the Democratic Republican General Committee, usually referred to as "Tammany Hall." The Hall itself (or "Wigwam"), built in 1812, was actually the property and home of the Tammany Society, a fraternal order dating from the eighteenth century. Because the Democratic Republican General Committee met in Tammany Hall, "people gradually came to use the terms 'General Committee' and 'Tammany Hall' synonymously."⁵

Anti-Jackson forces in New York, before 1834, consisted of National Republicans (an appellation adopted by supporters of Henry Clay in 1828) and Anti-Masons, a third party that originated in western New York State during 1827. The conflict between Jackson and the Second Bank gave new life to National Republicans in New York, who in the elections of fall 1833 ran as "Independent Democrats," and who by 1834, to further broaden their appeal, began calling themselves Whigs. The New York Whigs of 1834 were a coalition of National Republicans, Anti-Masons, conservative "Bank Democrats," and disgruntled workingmen, as well as some of the city's Irish population, traditionally loyal Tammany men.⁶ Political invective on both sides was confrontational. Democrats, especially radical Democratic papers, such as the *Man* and the *Evening Post*, attacked the "monied aristocracy" and "Bank Vermin," characterized all banks as "Hydra-headed monsters" and framed the contest as a war between the poor and the rich.⁷ Whigs inveighed against "King Andrew" and the "Tories." "The question was not one of rich versus poor, said the Whigs, but whether we shall 'continue to live under a government of laws, or shall we live at the mercy of a despot?'"⁸

Both Whigs and Democrats took great pains to attract the city's workingmen, who in 1829 had emerged as an independent political movement with remarkable success.⁹ Though the Working Men's party split into factions and lost any effective power after 1830, the "workies," as they were labeled,

remained an important bloc of voters. Early in 1834 the workingmen "reentered politics in the Democratic cause."¹⁰ They were led by George Henry Evans, editor of the *Working Man's Advocate* and also of the *Man* (1834-35), which spoke for the recently organized General Trades' Union of the City of New York. Many "workies," however, blamed their economic miseries on Jackson and went over to the Whigs prior to the April election.¹¹ The two parties also sought the support of adopted citizens, who in 1834 were mainly naturalized Irishmen.

Ballots were cast on 8, 9, and 10 April for mayor and Common Council (aldermen and assistant aldermen). By an act of the legislature, New Yorkers in 1834 were going to the polls for the first time to elect a mayor by direct vote. This alone added to the excitement of the day. Congressman Cornelius W. Lawrence was the Democratic candidate, while the Whigs put forward Gulian C. Verplanck, a gentleman with literary inclinations who had served eight years in Congress before losing his seat for opposing Jackson's bank policy.¹² The campaign was heated, though the Democrats were apparently too complacent. Lawrence did win the mayoralty by 181 votes, but the Whigs took control of the Common Council.¹³ On 10 April, the last day of balloting, a riot began in the Irish Sixth Ward, and looting, arson, and crime spread through the city. Only the arrival of the state militia restored order. Though the election was in truth a victory for the fledgling Whigs, the narrow loss of the mayoralty provoked accusations of election fraud. Whig editors were outraged and printed wild charges that the workingmen and the Irish had stolen the election, which only alienated many who had crossed party lines to vote for Verplanck.¹⁴

Anti-Catholic sentiments had already been inflamed during January and February by a series of twelve letters from the pen of "Brutus" printed in the *New York Observer*. These letters by Samuel F. B. Morse became a basic text for the awakening nativist movement.¹⁵ Nativism in New York was nothing new, although not always publicly proclaimed. The more pragmatic Tammany Hall Democrats were far more successful than their opponents in restraining such feelings. "Ever since 1817, Tammanyites had sought to transcend their latent bigotry and reconcile it with their primordial Americanism and desire for office."¹⁶

Mob violence, the unfortunate display of Whig anti-Irish (anti-Catholic) rhetoric, only increased the fear and anxiety of the population during the months before the crucial fall elections. On 3, 4, and 5 November New Yorkers were going to vote for state and national offices. After the Democrats' weak showing in April, the fall elections were all the more important as a mandate for Andrew Jackson and his heir apparent, Martin Van Buren. A major goal for Tammany was to bring back the disaffected workingmen. The Democrats accomplished this by supporting—at least temporarily—the workingmen's special grievances, which were explicated at length in the *Working Man's Advocate* and the *Man*. Labor found a new ally

in the Democratic *Evening Post*, edited from June 1834 to October 1835 by the eloquent radical, William Leggett. Tammany and governor William Marcy, who was up for reelection, finally conciliated the workingmen by having all Democratic candidates sign a pledge against "the extension of monopolies and other exclusive privileges."¹⁷

As November third drew closer, Tammany, searching out every potential voter, for the first time orchestrated meetings of adopted citizens other than the Irish. The *Evening Post* of 1 November, a Saturday, announced that "natives of France and Italy, and their descendants" were to meet that evening at eight o'clock.¹⁸ Citizens of Spanish and Portuguese origin were also invited to the gathering where officers were appointed and a Vigilance Committee formed.¹⁹ It was Tammany's custom to organize vigilance committees for each ward to monitor the polling (a practice imitated by the Whigs). Committee rosters published in party newspapers were often padded by duplicate entries and by the inclusion of citizens without their knowledge or consent. If the account in the *Evening Post* implied an enthusiastic turnout, the Whig *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer* ridiculed "this Tory concern" as consisting "of sixteen all told." The appointees to the Vigilance Committee, continued the *Courier*, were not even consulted "by the self styled 'Large meeting,' and at least half of them have denounced the whole affair."²⁰

II

In 1834—except for English-speaking immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland—Germans almost certainly comprised the largest foreign-born group in New York City.²¹ Unfortunately, no official statistics were recorded until 1845. Howard F. Barker's study based on the United States census of 1790, estimates that 25,800 persons of German descent then resided in New York State. From these data, Ira Rosenwaike extrapolated a figure of 2,000-2,500 for New York City.²² The first state census to include country of origin was that of 1845, and it listed 24,416 residents of New York City as "born in Germany."²³ More to the point is an unsubstantiated reference in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* that New York City's German population in 1834 was around ten thousand.²⁴ This number may not be too unreliable, since in 1833 there were reportedly some three thousand German Catholics living in the city.²⁵

To properly interpret what the "German population," the "German vote," and what may be termed the "German presence" meant to contemporaries, an important distinction should be kept in mind: that between the German-born (naturalized citizens or not), and the American-born descendants of Germans. Some very wealthy and socially prominent New Yorkers fell into the latter category.²⁶ Among the city's elite were German families that had come to America in the eighteenth century. The Wolfe, Schieffelin, Bergh, Arcularius, and Bininger families, and their descendants living in New York during the

1830s, are discussed in detail by Edward Pessen; and the list can surely be extended.²⁷ American-born Philip Hone, of German and French ancestry, rose from relative poverty to wealth, political influence, and high social status. During his term as mayor in 1825, he served on the board of directors of the German Society of the City of New York; from 1828 to 1834 he was president of the society. As a leading Whig, Philip Hone was much in demand at political rallies throughout 1834.²⁸

Wealthy and influential New Yorkers of German descent, or even of German birth—such as John Jacob Astor—were thoroughly Americanized. So were their institutions. The socially prestigious German Society had recorded its minutes in English since 1794; and the Lutheran congregation of St. Matthew, which catered to upper-class Germans, conducted services in English.²⁹ It is safe to assume that the lack of any local German newspaper in 1834 was most keenly felt by more recent immigrants.³⁰ However, as the year progressed, potential readers did have access to at least two out-of-state German papers: Johann Georg Wesselhoeft's *Alte und Neue Welt*, which commenced publication in Philadelphia on 4 January 1834; and *Die Allgemeine Staats-Zeitung* (Wilkes-Barre), edited and published by Wilhelm Schmoele and owned by Charles J. Christel. The first issue of this Democratic campaign paper appeared on 28 August 1834.³¹

From its inception, Wesselhoeft's newspaper tried to avoid any taint of partisan politics; yet by year's end pro-Democratic sentiments did emerge.³² Beginning in March 1834, the increasing number of classified advertisements,³³ letters, and other communications from New York, testified to a growing readership in that city. At the same time the paper expanded its coverage of New York and its German community. Reactions to Mayor Gideon Lee's public declaration that German states were deporting criminals filled many columns,³⁴ as did accounts of cholera deaths, riots, and politics. By August the *Alte und Neue Welt* had two subscription agents in New York, one of whom also handled the new *Allgemeine Staats-Zeitung* (Wilkes-Barre).³⁵

If students of New York City politics have ignored the German vote of 1834,³⁶ historians of German America have not. The first detailed account was published by Gustav Körner in 1880.³⁷ Here is Körner's chronology in brief:

1. A German political meeting wholeheartedly endorsing the Democratic cause was held at Tammany Hall in the summer of 1834.
2. On 3 August a Whig-inspired meeting of Germans was convened to protest the resolutions approved by the German Democrats. Francis Joseph Grund was the main speaker.
3. On 27 October over three thousand Germans assembled at Tammany Hall to unite behind the Democracy.

Close examination of the contemporary press demolishes this chronology. The "summer" meeting of Democrats never took place. What Körner describes is the meeting of 27 October, the first mass gathering of German Democrats held in New York, and the only rally of German adopted citizens sponsored by Tammany Hall in 1834. It was a calculated attempt to capture the German vote before the fall elections (3, 4, and 5 November). The counter-demonstration instigated by the Whigs that Körner states took place on 3 August was actually held on 31 October.³⁸

The Democratic rally of 27 October was announced by the *Post* three days in advance, "by order of the Committee": John G. Rohr, president, John A. Stemmler, secretary. Rohr and Stemmler had been chosen by Tammany Hall to be Democratic power brokers in the German community. What were their credentials? John G. Rohr was born in Baden and naturalized on 3 November 1826 at twenty-five or thirty years of age. A member of the German Society from 1830 to 1838, he first made his mark as a merchant tailor and by 1838 also owned a platform balance and jack screw manufactory; after 1842 the foundry disappears from directory listings.³⁹ Despite his relative youth, Rohr was already a wealthy man in 1828 and thus a prize catch for the Democrats.⁴⁰ John A. Stemmler (1806-75) was a native of Rhenish Bavaria whose academic career began in Mainz and continued at the universities of Munich and Heidelberg. In 1829 "he took a leading part among the students who had imbibed ultra liberal ideas, and rebelled against the constituted authorities. To escape punishment, he was obliged to leave his country."⁴¹ Arriving in New York, Stemmler worked as a correspondent for the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* while reading law in the office of Thomas S. Brady, an influential attorney and politician.⁴²

On the day of the "GREAT GERMAN MEETING" attendance was estimated at "ueber dreitausend Deutsche der Stadt New-York," which may be taken cum grano salis.⁴³ John Stemmler delivered the keynote speech exhorting Germans in both city and state to unite, despite all difficulties, as Germans and as Democrats. Political apathy, he emphasized, must become a thing of the past:

A great deal has been done here towards the culture and preservation of the German language, and to make German arts and sciences flourish in this country, but the political field has been totally deserted by the Germans. . . . There is no organ here by which the Germans can communicate with their fellow countrymen in their own language; therefore it seems very important to establish here a German newspaper . . . to advance the interest, and promote the benefit of the German fraternity in general, and sustain and disseminate Democratic Republican principles.

The crowd was then addressed by Anthony Buchenberger, Augustus Gotthilf, Francis Lasak, and others. Buchenberger's stirring words were aimed specifically at his "Deutsche Brüder und Landsleute! besonders aber Ihr Handwerker und Tagelöhner!" J. G. Wesselhoeft, for one, was very impressed: "Nicht mit Unrecht wird diese musterhafte, eindrucksvolle Volksrede unter die erfreulichsten Erscheinungen der deutschen demokratischen Welt in Nordamerika gezählt."⁴⁴

After all the oratory, a set of resolutions was adopted creating a German Democratic-Republican Association loyal to Tammany Hall, not only for the upcoming election but as a permanent political entity. Essential to its success was a German newspaper, and the first issue of the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* appeared within two months. At the apex of the new political organization was a committee of fifteen charged with meeting every month and empowered to call a general meeting whenever necessary. This committee was also ordered to keep a book listing the names and addresses of all resident Germans. Aiding in this task was a system of ward committees. The statistical tables thus compiled would enumerate all German citizens, all applicants for naturalization, and also those Germans who had not yet declared their intentions. While ward committees were installed, though probably not immediately, the proposed record book does not seem to have been implemented. Indeed the latter suggestion drew considerable criticism.⁴⁵ A list of all officers and committeemen appointed at the 27 October meeting can be found in the appendix, part 1.

Whig party leaders, still hopeful of sending William Seward to the governor's mansion, were clearly irritated by the German Democratic meeting: "An impudent attempt" to "deceive the public," wrote Philip Hone; it "occasioned great dissatisfaction" among the Germans.⁴⁶ Thirty-four indignant New Yorkers immediately called a protest meeting for 31 October. "As this is to be essentially a meeting of GERMANS, none are desired to attend who are not *Germans, or descendants of German[s]*." Fourteen of the signees, including Philip Hone, were officers or speakers at this last-minute rally. Of the remaining twenty at least nine were merchants and importers (see appendix, part 2).

Philip Hone noted that the rally at Masonic Hall "was a grand affair." "The lower Room and Entry were crowded by a Mass of honest and intelligent men, Germans all, with their German blood properly up for the insidious attempt to make them subservient to a set of desperate Jackson men."⁴⁷ Hone's comments notwithstanding, the Whigs were in a dilemma. Under the aegis of Tammany Hall, German Democrats had been promised a tightly knit political organization, a party newspaper, and (inferentially) a share of the spoils. The Whigs were neither willing nor able to do the same. Their strategy was clear from the opening remarks of Charles de Behr, who "[deprecated] all manoeuvres of drilling the Germans into a political body [.] stating that the present meeting was called in self-defence, and expressing the

hope, that this would be the last time that Germans, as such, would meet for political purposes." (The word "Whig" was never mentioned in the published proceedings.)⁴⁸ Hero of the day was Francis J. Grund, who had come down from Boston to deliver his maiden political address. Grund was followed by George J. Bachmann, Jacob Hartmann, Philip Hone, and Jonas Humbert, Sr., who "made the only exclusively political speech heard at this meeting . . . [and] was called to order several times." It would be interesting to know what this "entrepreneur, political adventurer, and baker" had to say.⁴⁹

The resolutions adopted by the assemblage were largely the work of Grund. They assailed German Democrats for presuming, "in the name of their countrymen, to organize themselves in a separate political body and establish an odious system of espionage over the Germans in this city."⁵⁰ Though reaffirming the brotherhood of all Germans, the line was drawn at politics: Germans will not sell themselves to any party. And in this spirit the meeting endorsed a nonpartisan German newspaper.⁵¹ Officers and speakers at this "Whig" gathering are listed in the appendix, part 3.

From 31 October through the polling days of 3-5 November, Democratic papers printed ad hominem attacks on a number of prominent German "Whigs" in order to undermine their influence. The *Man* of 31 October accused Theodore Meyer, John F. Wolf, Joseph Landwehr, and Christian Wittmeyer of keeping "'houses of entertainment,' where emigrants not 'up to trap,' are 'taken in and done for' to their pockets' depths and their hearts' content." "Machel" Miller was denounced as "one of those speculating 'forwarders' or 'agents,' who waylay such fresh arrivals from the old country as bring money in their purses, and sell them land—the Lord knows where." When the votes were counted, Marcy and the Democrats had won a sweeping victory. The Whigs lost every election in the city by at least two thousand votes—and the Germans took full credit.⁵² There are no statistics on the German-born voters of 1834 and most cited estimates are inflated. Thus Francis Grund writing in 1836: "In the city of New York the Germans have already a great influence on the election of mayor and other city officers; the number of those who are entitled to vote amounting now to three thousand five hundred."⁵³ The claim that 2,000-2,300 Germans voted in the mayoralty election of April 1834 is certainly exaggerated.⁵⁴ More credible is an estimate of "over 700" German voters reported by a New York Democrat in November 1834.⁵⁵

III

Seward's defeat and the Democratic landslide in the city were severe blows to Whig morale, and for several years little was done to influence the German vote. Tammany, however, had a German Democratic-Republican Association (GDA) and a loyal German newspaper in place. The first issue of the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* appeared on 24 December 1834, and was

warmly greeted by J. G. Wesselhoef as "das Werk eines Vereines deutscher Demokraten und das Resultat des letzten Parteikampfes."⁵⁶ The paper was financed by selling shares of stock. Shareholders selected the tailor Conrad Bräker as publisher: "Von ihnen mit allen Vorrechten und Verantwortlichkeiten eines Eigenthümers derselben bekleidet."⁵⁷ Stephan Molitor, editor of the first fifty-two issues, was apparently succeeded by Gustav Adolph Neumann, who purchased the paper from Bräker on 23 January 1837.⁵⁸

The *Staats-Zeitung* was immediately embroiled in a bitter political struggle within the New York Democracy, an unstable coalition of Bank Democrats, firm believers in the existing credit system; moderate, Marcy Democrats, who supported (in public at least) the policies of Jackson and Van Buren; and radical, Equal Rights Democrats, who championed the cause of hard money, opposed state-licensed monopolies, and sought to abolish the credit system. Just prior to the November 1835 elections, the radicals defected from the regular party and selected their own slate of candidates consisting of seven Tammany Democrats and five rebels. These Equal Righters, or "Locofocos," enticed many Germans away from Tammany Hall, including the "famous" *Volksredner*, Anthony Buchenberger.⁵⁹ Another cause for German unease during 1835-36 was the sudden prominence of the Native American Democratic Association. With its xenophobic platform, the association won over some Democrats (particularly Locofocos) but was most heartily embraced by the Whigs.⁶⁰ After April 1836 the Native Americans disappeared as an independent party, and the Locofocos soon followed suit. Except for a few intransigents, most Locofocos were reunited with Tammany before the elections of November 1837.

As if the vagaries of city politics were not enough, the German community also had to confront new internal problems created by an influx of radical students and revolutionaries, veterans of the ill-fated Frankfurt *Wachensturm* and other conspiracies. On 24 January, a number of these exiles founded the Germania society, whose goals were to awaken feelings of solidarity among Germans in all parts of the Union, to cultivate German character, morality, and culture, and to further democratic principles here and in the Fatherland. The formation of affiliated clubs was encouraged, though without much success. Germania's immediate plans included establishing a library, assisting political refugees, sending revolutionary leaflets to Germany, and building a "New Germany" on American soil.⁶¹ At first the society was sympathetically received, and although many affluent merchants viewed it as a pestilence, the *Staats-Zeitung* was very supportive. But controversies arose when Germania entered the arena of politics as Locofoco partisans. John A. Stemmler gave up his membership in the fall of 1835 along with other Tammany loyalists; and the *Staats-Zeitung* became an implacable foe.⁶² Under these circumstances Germania founded *Der Herold* (February [July?] 1836), a semiweekly with a Saturday literary supplement. Edited by Friedrich E.

Zerrlaut, *Der Herold* gave considerable space to European news while also publishing translations of all Locofoco manifestos and speeches.⁶³

The Whigs, as noted above, were a dispirited lot in 1835. They fielded no mayoral candidate that year and in the fall joined forces with the Native American party. Clearly, wooing the immigrant vote was not a Whig priority.⁶⁴ In any event the Whigs did not form a German organization or publish a German Whig newspaper until after the Panic of 1837. However, they may have been involved in launching the *Allgemeine Zeitung* as a counterpoise to the *Staats-Zeitung*. A nonpartisan German newspaper had been called for at the anti-Democratic meeting of 31 October 1834; and Henry Ludwig, an honorary vice president on that occasion, began to publish such a paper on 10 October 1835. The first editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* was Moritz August Richter, who did try to keep the paper out of party politics.⁶⁵ But this proved an impossible burden for Richter, and in January he endorsed the Locofoco critique of America's financial system. Later, with equal conviction, he opposed returning the party of Jackson and Van Buren to power, though he did not explicitly favor any of the Whig candidates.⁶⁶ At the conclusion of volume one Richter was replaced by Stephan Molitor, and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* became an openly Democratic newspaper.⁶⁷

When Van Buren took over the presidency the nation faced grave problems. During May 1837, banks all across the country suspended specie payments creating a financial panic; a second crisis in 1839 was followed by a depression that lasted until 1843. Fairly or unfairly, Jacksonian policies were blamed. Whigs responded by demanding the rechartering of a national bank. But Van Buren, desiring complete separation of bank and state, submitted his proposal for an independent treasury. Conservative Bank Democrats in New York were horrified by their president's decision; and in the fall of 1837, while moderate Democrats and Equal Righters were mending fences at Tammany Hall, Bank Democrats allied themselves with the Whigs. Among the apostates were two founders of the German Democratic Association—John G. Rohr and John F. Engold.⁶⁸ Their defection may have influenced the reunited Democrats to nominate Francis W. Lasak for assemblyman. Another German Democratic Association veteran, Lasak thus became the first naturalized German to run for state office, although in a losing cause. The November elections for state assembly and senate, and for county sheriffs and clerks, revealed the depth of anti-Democrat sentiment and resulted in a massive Whig victory. Now with access to state patronage, and guided by very capable men, the Whig party became a potent and effective organization.⁶⁹

In 1838 the Whigs retained control of city hall, Seward defeated Marcy for governor, and the German vote was sought by all.⁷⁰ Before the 1839 Charter elections, which the Democrats won, Francis Lasak was given equal billing with such dignitaries as Peter Cooper and Prosper Wetmore at a Tammany meeting convened on 28 March to approve Isaac Varian's nomination for mayor. It was a signal honor. City Democrats continued their

winning ways in November and Lasak, again the "German" candidate for assemblyman, was one of the beneficiaries. However, it was alleged that Lasak had been opposed by some members of the German Democratic Association on the grounds that he was a "Bohemian" and not a "real German," and only Neumann's persistence got him the nomination.⁷¹ This local politicking was only a prologue to the presidential contest of 1840. In an unprecedented appeal to the common man, Whig strategists held mammoth celebrations and remade General Harrison into "Old Tip." The ubiquitous log cabin became an American icon; and many Germans suddenly acquired a taste for hard cider. In the city, the well-established German Democratic Association held extra demonstrations that were more than matched by German Tippecanoe Clubs and their festivities. But with the *Staats-Zeitung* at their disposal, Democrats still had the most influential German paper in the state. To remedy this, the Whigs purchased the *Allgemeine Zeitung* from Henry Ludwig sometime during 1839. Georg Heinrich Paulsen became the new editor, but the paper suffered from a continual shortage of funds and abruptly ceased publication on 11 July 1840.⁷²

The year of the Log-Cabin Campaign began with physical violence against immigrant Germans, a nativist folkway usually reserved for the Irish.⁷³ In mid-March German Democrats were subjected to violence of a different sort when, without warning, their champion in Albany turned traitor. During debate on "An Act requiring banks to redeem their circulating notes in the city of New-York," Francis W. Lasak defended the utility of bank notes and came out in favor of a national bank.⁷⁴ At that moment Lasak abandoned the party that had elected him and within days was urging his fellow Germans to support the Whigs. The outraged Democrats expelled him from the German Democratic Association, and the Washington Riflemen unanimously demanded his resignation as captain. On 25 March the *Staats-Zeitung* printed a "Sendschreiben an den slawonischen Apostaten F. W. Lasak in Albany." Characterizing Lasak as a "*sinnlos gewordenen* 'half fledged political stripling'" was Neumann at his mildest. But the damage done was not easily repaired and Lasak's conversion was a cause célèbre for months to come.⁷⁵

Some of the old guard from 1834 were still on the scene in 1840, although in both parties the leadership was dominated by newer men. The original Democratic twenty had all but disappeared. At least four had become Whigs--Rohr, Engold, Lasak, and John G. Weise; only Jacob Bindernagel and Henry Boese remained active Tammany workers. In contrast, of the eighteen participants in the Whig meeting of 1834, at least six were still playing very public roles: Dr. Deffinbough, John F. Wolfe, Joseph Landwehr, Henry Handschuch, Jacob Hartmann, and Christian Wittmeyer.⁷⁶ But the star in the Whig firmament was Francis Lasak.⁷⁷ Early in April he was back in the city chairing a meeting of the German Democratic Whig Association. His former colleagues could hardly contain themselves, and on 27 May, after a rally by the Deutscher Tippecanoe-Club, Lasak's house was stoned by resentful

"Locofocos." The final gathering of German Harrison Men was held on the evening of 3 November at the Washington Hotel, where Lasak shared the platform with Jacob Hartmann and Anglo-American luminaries: "The multitude adjourned to meet at the polls."⁷⁸ Although the Whigs lost the city, they won the state and the nation: German Whigs as well as Democrats had now joined the mainstream of New York politics.

IV

In preparation for the 1840 campaign Whigs and Democrats sought out new leaders from the German community; Tammany had been doing this since 1835. While a listing of German political leaders from 1834 through 1840 is not feasible here, a tabulation by occupation may prove useful (see table 1).⁷⁹

According to table 1, both parties put forward representatives of crafts and trades that in later decades would be German preserves, or nearly so. These occupations included furriers, tailors, shoemakers, furniture makers, bakers, and food dealers, as well as precision instrument makers and jewelers. With such a cross section of tradesmen and master artisans, Democrats and their opponents sought to win broad support particularly among wage workers. German hotel and tavern keepers were already valued as political assets.⁸⁰ The large number of retailers and artisans may seem at variance with Brian Danforth's views regarding the low status and political influence of these occupational groups in New York. But the German community was not simply a microcosm of the general population; and men like Rohr (merchant tailor) and Lasak (furrier) were wealthier than many a city merchant. Moving up the social ladder, Danforth writes that "industrialists [and perhaps Rohr could be so classed] had a slightly higher status while doctors and lawyers were considered even more elevated socially, and this was reflected in their increased political power."⁸¹ So it was with the Germans; for the titular party leaders in 1834 were John Stemmler, lawyer, and Henry Deffinbough, physician.

The most striking disparity between Democrats and Whigs in 1834 was the public stance taken by the economic elite. While twelve merchants endorsed the Whigs, not one committed publicly to the Democrats. Indeed from 1834 through 1840 Whig leadership was dominated by merchants and brokers, eighteen in all. German Democrats studiously avoided any open association with "Bankites," monopolists, and aristocrats. On the surface this Whig preemption of the German mercantile class runs counter to Danforth's conclusion that between 1828 and 1844 wealthy New York merchants "lent active support in approximately equal measure to both national parties."⁸² If there were any German merchants in the Democratic camp, perhaps prudence kept them anonymous. As German voters were overwhelmingly wage earners, the German Democratic Association pitched its message accordingly, especially

Table 1.

German Political Leaders in New York City (1834-40) by Occupation

Occupation	Dems	Whigs ^a		New Dems 1836-40	New Whigs ^b 1839-40
	1834	A	B		
UNIDENTIFIED	1		2	5	7
NO OCCUPATION LISTED	1				2
CAPITALISTS					
Merchants/Importers		3	9		3
Brokers/Agents		1			2
SMALL PROPRIETORS & SHOPKEEPERS					
Hotel & boardinghouse keepers	1	1			
Saloon and tavern keepers	1	2		2	
Restaurateurs	1				
Food dealers	1	2	2	2	1
Distillers			1		
Tobacconists				1	
Boot & shoemakers	2	1		1	3
Furriers	1		1		1
Hatters				2	1
Merchant tailors	2	1	1	4	1
Dealers in dry goods					1
Dealers in paper goods					2
Dealers in sheet metal goods					1
Apothecaries		1	1		
Booksellers		1			
PROFESSIONALS					
Lawyers	1			1	
Notaries public				1	
Doctors		2	1	4	
Teachers	1			2	
Editors				1	1
Clergy				1	
MASTER ARTISANS					
Bakers	2	1	1	4	3
Cabinetmakers	1				2
Upholsterers				1	
Ornamental ironworkers	1				
Umbrella makers	1				
Precision instrument makers	1				
Clock & watchmakers	1			1	
Printers		1			
CLERKS					
Accountants		1			
WORKERS IN TRANSPORTATION					
Cartmen					1
LABORERS & PORTERS					
Lamplighters			1		
TOTAL	20	18	20	33	32

Sources: *Courier, Post, AZ, NYSZ*, and city directories.

^aColumn A = all participants in the 1834 rally except Grund and Hone; B = Whig supporters who did not participate.

^bThese figures do not include Democratic defectors.

after the return of the Locofocos in 1837 and the subsequent depression. By 1840 announcements of German Democratic Association meetings printed in the *Staats-Zeitung* were always accompanied by an upraised arm and hammer modeled after the symbol of the General Trades' Union in 1836 and the seal of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York, designed in 1785.⁸³

Just below merchants in level of political involvement between 1834 and 1840 were bakers, food dealers, shoemakers, and merchant tailors. Eleven bakers, split along party lines, presaged the future domination of that trade by Germans; and as the career of Jonas Humbert illustrates, bakers were not loathe to assert themselves. Shoemaking and the clothing trades were two artisan crafts already being transformed by New York's expanding market economy, and it is unlikely that German masters were not also profiting. There are no data on the seven shoemakers, but among the ten Germans in the clothing trades, John Rohr and Conrad Bräker certainly, and others, very likely, were producing ready-made garments. The social position of American tailors, and the role they played in civic affairs, were a constant surprise to visitors from Europe. Egal Feldman points out that "the fluidity of society in America enabled a number of New York tailors and clothiers who had enjoyed a few successful years in business to drop their needles and enter into real estate, politics, banking, or a comfortable retirement."⁸⁴

It is no surprise that members of the professions exerted an influence disproportionate to their small number. They soon dominated the Democratic hierarchy, though after 1837 the reformed Whig leadership included only Dr. Deffinbough. Every year the German Democratic Association selected new officers and a Standing Committee of some fifteen to twenty members. (There are hints that the Democrats did not always strictly adhere to this policy.) The organizational structure of the German Whigs from 1838 to 1840 is unknown and was probably an ad hoc affair. Among the new German Democratic Association officers in 1836 were Dr. J. F. Daniel Lobstein (1777-1840) and a promising young lawyer, Philip J. Joachimsen. In 1837 Lobstein was joined by Drs. G. Christian Scherdlin and Louis Anthony Gescheidt. The party chief at this time was still John Stemmler.⁸⁵ By 1839 G. A. Neumann had taken over the presidency, a post he also held in 1840 when the Democrats fielded an exceptionally able team of political workers.⁸⁶ Two of them, Dr. Dominick von Quenaudon and Johann August Försch, were men of singular character.

Quenaudon's background is obscure (directories list him as de Quenaudon), but he apparently began practicing medicine in the United States around 1828. By 1835 he was living in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, a self-described evangelical pastor and vendor of botanic medicines. Quenaudon came to New York in 1839 and for three years practiced as a German physician, surgeon, and accoucheur, imported Hungarian wines, and operated a medicinal bathing establishment. "Herr Baron," as the Whig press called him, also immersed himself in political and cultural affairs. In June 1842 Quenaudon founded a

society to investigate the mineral resources of North America. Two weeks later he announced his departure on a nationwide scientific tour (although by May 1843 he was again residing in New York City). Dr. von Quenaudon was last heard from in 1846, living in Windsor, Pennsylvania, the author of a small book that sheds more light on an adventurous life.⁸⁷

The career of J. A. Försch was also an adventure, albeit of another sort. During the early 1830s he toiled as a Reformed minister in rural York County, Pennsylvania, then moved to Chambersburg in 1837. But Försch's unorthodox views soon forced him to seek a pastorate in Washington, D.C. Some months into 1838 he exchanged pulpits with Friedrich Rulemann Eylert, who had founded a nonsectarian Protestant congregation in New York the previous year.⁸⁸ Försch quickly transformed the church into a German rationalist congregation and started a newspaper, *Der Vernunft-Gläubige* (late 1838-39). A charismatic speaker, Försch attracted such crowds that a new and larger Temple of Reason was dedicated with much fanfare on 7 April 1839. The German Democratic Association eagerly welcomed this newcomer and appointed him to its Standing Committee. Sudden fame apparently had a destabilizing effect on Dr. Försch. In June 1840 the governing board of the congregation held a special hearing and the unfortunate minister was denounced for drunkenness and grossly immoral behavior. The Democrats did not seem too disturbed by this, and in fact they probably aided Försch to start the *Wächter am Hudson* (10 October 1840-?), a partisan Van Buren paper.⁸⁹

At a time when all Democrats were painted as "Fanny Wright Infidels" or "blasphemous Atheists," Försch and the German rationalists were easy prey. Editor Paulsen of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* took on the task of keeping his pious countrymen from reaping the whirlwind sown by those many misusers of reason.⁹⁰ This was only one facet of a boisterous campaign during which the Whigs shed their nativist past to win the hearts and votes of the foreign-born. Although the German Democrats had better journalists and a stronger organization, the Whigs proved masters of political theater, and German Tippecanoe meetings, enlivened by song and cider, drew enthusiastic crowds. The *Courier* of 20 October described one meeting at which sixteen vice presidents and four secretaries were chosen by acclamation. Whigs conferred the dignity of office with a lavish hand. All the new leaders—and many of the men of 1834, including Democratic defectors—came from the world of business. Presiding over the German Harrison meetings was Samuel Bromberg, unrecorded in directories until 1842 when he is listed as partner in the brokerage firm of Bromberg and Bell. There is no evidence that Bromberg was German-born, and his associate was obviously not. Given the latent nativism of that era, where a person was born was important when choosing party chieftains or nominees for office.⁹¹

The Whigs further ingratiated themselves with local Germans by appointing Bromberg a secretary of the citywide Central Democratic Republican Committee of the Tippecanoe and other Harrison Associations.

Tammany Hall never went that far. Some other leading Harrison men were: Joseph Gutman, notary and customhouse broker; George Ruben, drygoods dealer; William Murtfeldt, clothier; and Lewis Bleidorn, importer.⁹² It was a surprise to find that apparently more German Whigs than Democrats were either nominated for public office, named to ward committees, or given jobs in city government. Despite the pro-immigrant rhetoric of the Democrats, their only German nominee during 1834-40 was Francis Lasak; and as far as can be determined, Germans received only one patronage appointment, that of Teunis Fokkes (a secretary of the German Democratic Association in 1840) as marshal.⁹³ In comparison, the Whigs named Henry Gable to the Tenth Ward Vigilance Committee in 1836; nominated Dr. Deffinbough for assistant alderman of the Tenth Ward in 1838, and John F. Wolfe for State Assembly in 1840. Leonard Hoffman and Jacob Hartmann were appointed marshals of the court in 1839. All of these men had been stalwart Whigs in 1834.⁹⁴

Tammany's reluctance to reward its foreign-born colleagues with political office did not deter the German Democratic Association from proselytizing German voters even beyond the city limits. On 8 October 1840 the German Democrats of Newark held a political rally to which a number of New Yorkers were invited, including Dr. von Quenaudon and G. A. Neumann. Both addressed the gathering to ringing applause. Newark in 1840, with a population of 17,290, was still a Whig stronghold, and this rally is one of the first of its kind recorded.⁹⁵ Philip J. Joachimsen, another emissary from New York, was dispatched to Albany where on 15 October he spoke for almost two hours in that city's Tammany Hall. The assembled Van Buren supporters then adopted a constitution which was essentially identical to that of the German Democratic Association. Also in October, five Democratic spokesmen drafted a letter in German to their candidate for governor, William C. Bouck. The signatories were Neumann, Quenaudon, the schoolmaster August Marpe, the watchmaker Johann Maerz (who was a Catholic), and Leopold Bissinger, a prosperous hatter. Ostensibly the letter was meant to ascertain Bouck's political opinions, but its probable purpose was to emphasize his German ancestry. Both the letter and Bouck's reply were printed in the *Staats-Zeitung*.⁹⁶

All this hard work and seven years of loyal service bore bitter fruit as Tammany continued to disregard German demands for office. By 1841 this resentment could not be contained. "Our city government," complained the *Staats-Zeitung*, "notoriously at the mercy of adopted citizens has found room for but *one* officer, the *Regulator of Public Clocks*; out of 85 or 90 Candidates but 4 were naturalized citizens--none of these Germans! Call you that 'backing your friends?'"⁹⁷ The consequences of this neglect was a temporary split with Tammany in 1843.

Up to now we have considered the origins, organization, tactics, and leadership of German Democrats and Whigs through the year 1840. It is only fair to ask what impact this political activity had on the voting behavior of New

York's Germans. That is not easy to answer, since election results give no clue to voter nativity and the enumeration of German-born citizens by ward only begins with the state census of 1845. Amy Bridges's analysis of municipal elections (1834-43) shows that the second American party system in New York was highly competitive and, assessing the German vote, that ethnicity was not a decisive factor. Based on a correlation of "selected ward characteristics with Democratic percentage of total vote for mayor," Bridges concludes:

There are positive, though weak, relationships between the Democratic vote and the presence of Germans, mechanics, and Methodists and Baptists. There is a negative but even weaker relationship between the presence of immigrants born in Great Britain (the majority of whom were Irish) and Democratic voting. These relationships disappear, however, when the class composition of the ward is controlled. *The Democratic vote is strongly related to the class composition of the ward* [italics added]. . . . In these early years, it would have been difficult for a voter to make a partisan choice on the basis of ethnicity alone.⁹⁸

During the 1960s and 1970s, the ethnocultural school of American politics, inspired by Lee Benson's analysis of Jacksonian New York, published a number of heavily quantitative studies of voting behavior that explain political divisions largely in terms of religion and ethnicity. These works have been criticized by scholars of various persuasions. Sean Wilentz argues that "(even if their correlations had been perfectly accurate), the voting studies did not prove why anyone—not one single voter, let alone an entire electorate—voted the way he did. . . . The revisionists had construed politics far too narrowly."⁹⁹ As this study has tried to demonstrate—and much has been omitted—German-American "politics" in New York, during a period generally passed over in silence, was more than voting and holding office. "A meaningful assessment of political behavior," contends Frederick Luebke, "takes in any discussion of political issues and the relationships of an ethnic group to governmental and political processes, in newspapers, editorials, public addresses, or sermons. . . . One cannot easily separate political behavior from other activities. It is woven into the fabric of life, with all its complexities and contradictions."¹⁰⁰

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Appendix

1. Officers and Committeemen Appointed 27 October 1834

President:

John G. Rohr, merchant tailor and manufacturer, GS (1830-38).¹⁰¹

Vice Presidents:

Augustus Gotthilf, professor of languages. August Philip Jurdes Gotthilf, subject of the city of Lübeck, naturalized on 26 January 1832.

Christian Cäpe/Cape, provisioner, GS (1830-33).

Jacob Bindernagel, baker, GS (1827-47).

John F. Engold, umbrella and parasol maker.

Francis W. Lassack/Lasak (1800-89), furrier, GS (1831-55). Born in Prague, naturalized on 22 September 1828.

Henry Bösse/Boese, grocer.

N. Hodel/Heddell.^{*102}

Secretaries:

John A. Stemmler, attorney, GS (1838-55).

Anthony Buchenberger.* Andrew Buchenberger, cabinet-maker, is listed in *Longworth's Directory* (1836).

Conrad Bräcker/Braker/Bräker, tailor, GS (1831).

N. Plank.*

John J. Ricker/Rickers, listed in *Longworth's Directory* (1827-29) as piano and music store owner. Subsequent entries give no occupation; but listed in (1840) as agent.

Committeemen:

John Imbery, clockmaker.

John G. Weise, bootmaker.

Charles A. Zeitz, surgical instrument maker.

Francis Oertle, ran a boardinghouse in 1834; later listed as jeweller and watchmaker.

Charles Schmitt/Schmidt.* *Longworth's Directory* lists a Charles Smith, porterhouse (1829) and a Charles F. Schmidt, porterhouse (1837). Identification uncertain.

Joseph Heim, bootmaker.¹⁰³

Francis A. Reitz, baker. In 1837 he owned the Sixteenth Ward Hotel and put his bakery up for sale. *NYSZ*, 29 March 1837.

2. Twenty Signees of the Call for a Protest Meeting 31 October 1834

James Benkhard/Benkard (1799?-1865), merchant (by 1841 as Benkard & Hutton, importers), GS (1831-62). Born in Frankfurt, naturalized on 16 March 1830.¹⁰⁴

John G. Beyrer/Beyer, grocer.

August F. Diettrich/Dieterich, wholesale and retail furrier, GS (1831).

George F. Duckwitz (Victor & Duckwitz, importers), GS (1833-64).

Conrad W. Faber (1798-1855), merchant and importer, GS (1828-54). Born in Hesse and consul for the Electorate of Hesse.

Henry Gable, druggist.

George F. Gerding (Gerding & Siemon, importers), later a shipowner, GS (1831-52). American consul in Mannheim (1845-47) and a founder of the Wartburg colony in East Tennessee.

Luther Hein/Heins, lamplighter.

Charles Henschel, M.D., GS (1838-71).

H. H. Hoffman.* Directories list two Henry Hoffmans, a baker and a stonemason. Identification uncertain but probably the former.

Leonard G. Hoffman, grocer.

George Meyer (1774-1850), merchant, GS (1805-49).

Theodore Meyer (Meyer & A. W. Hupeden, merchants), GS (1811-41). Hanoverian consul.

"Machel," probably Michael Miller, distiller.

Nicolaus D. C. Möller (Möller & Oppenheimer, merchants), GS (1830- 59). Venezuelian consul.

Born in Bremen. His firm, which did business with Puerto Rico, failed before 1839 when Möller became a partner in B. Aymar & Co. In 1866 he joined the house of Möller, Sands & Rieva, steamship agents.

Jacob Pfozter.*

Frederick S. Schlesinger (F. S. & P. Schlesinger, merchants), GS (1828- 60).

Abraham Wartele.*

G. G. Winter, probably G. E. Winter, importer.

John Bernard Wobbe, tailor. Born in Münster, naturalized on 20 September 1824.

3. Officers and Speakers at the "Whig" Gathering

Chairman:

Henry Deffinbough/Deffenbach/Diefenbach, M.D. Born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, he moved to New York in 1827 where he died on 15 November 1840, at the age of forty-six.¹⁰⁵

Vice Presidents:

Francis Mickel, owner of a porterhouse; later listed as a druggist.

George J. Bachmann, shoemaker.

John F. Wolf/Wolfe, grocer, GS (1842 as J. F. Wolff).

Henry Ludwig, printer, GS (1839-72).

Hofer [i.e., Joseph] Landwehr, grocer and porterhouse owner.

Henry A. Handschuh/Handschuh, tailor.

George H. Siemon (Gerding & Siemon, importers), by 1837 also Bavarian consul, GS (1837-70).

Theodore Vietor (Vietor & Duckwitz, importers), GS (1829-64). Born in 1802, probably in Hesse-Cassel, Vietor came to New York in 1824 and established the firm of Vietor & Duckwitz in 1832. He died in 1867.

Charles de Behr, bookseller and publisher, GS (1827-38).

Secretaries:

George F. Vaupell/Vaupell, accountant (though described in the *Courier* as a porter). A subject of Great Britain, Vaupell was naturalized on 2 January 1830.

Philipp Schlesinger (P. & F. S. Schlesinger, merchants), GS (1829-30). Naturalized on 31 July 1829, a subject of Hamburg.

Committeemen:

Francis J. Grund, who after his return to Boston became a staunch Van Buren Democrat.

J. F. Wilkens, M.D., GS (1833-37). Jacob Frederick Wilckens, subject of Bremen, naturalized on 1 March 1831.

Christian Wittmeyer, boardinghouse owner.

John Reinecke, probably John Reinicke, produce broker, listed in *Longworth's Directory* (1834-38). A John F. Reinicke, sugar refiner, is listed in *Longworth's Directory* (1837-40).

Lewis Feuchtwanger, druggist and chemist. Introduced "German silver" to America. A German Jew from Fürth, Dr. Feuchtwanger (1806-76) graduated from Heidelberg University before emigrating in the late 1820s.

Speakers:

Jacob Hartmann, described as a journeyman baker by the *Courier*, but listed in *Longworth's Directory* (1834-41) as owner of a porterhouse. He was probably a son of Philipp Jacob Zimpelmann (1772-1841), who came to America from Rhenish Bavaria in 1801 and legally changed his name to Hartmann. P. J. Hartmann died in Philadelphia.

Jonas Humbert, Sr., baker.¹⁰⁶

Notes

¹ For an overview of this political shift see Richard P. McCormick, *The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 3-16, 104-24, 329-56.

² Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Bank War: A Study in the Growth of Presidential Power* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1967), 125; see also 75, 80, 82. Important complements to Remini are: Peter Temin, *The Jacksonian Economy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1969); John M. McFaul, *The Politics of Jacksonian Finance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972); and for the entire period, Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics*, revised ed. (1978; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, Illini Books, 1985).

³ Remini, *Andrew Jackson*, 126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 166-67.

⁵ Jerome Mushkat, *Tammany: The Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789-1865* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 1.

⁶ "The word 'Whig' first appeared on a ballot in the New York City elections of 1834." Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *The Jacksonian Era, 1828-1848* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 96.

⁷ Leo Hershkowitz, "New York City, 1834-1840: A Study in Local Politics" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1960), 13, 25-26. On the symbolic import of the Bank War see Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (1957; reprint, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), 24-28.

⁸ Hershkowitz, "New York City," 27, interior quotation from the *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*, 1 April 1834. See also Van Deusen, *Jacksonian Era*, 96.

⁹ The leader of the original Working Men's movement was Thomas Skidmore, author of *The Rights of Man to Property* (1829), "the most thoroughgoing 'agrarian' tract ever produced by an American." This movement "linked artisan radicalism and journeymen's unionism." A Working Men's ticket for the State Assembly garnered about one-third of the vote in November 1829. That December the Working Men's party was organized and a cabal of Skidmore's opponents and rivals simply read him out of the movement. With a few loyal supporters Skidmore formed a Poor People's (or Poor Man's) party and managed to field a slate of candidates for the fall elections of 1830. The best account is Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (1984; corrected reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 8-9, 182-216, quotations from 184 and 212. See also Edward Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1967), 58-66.

¹⁰ Walter Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement, 1829-1837* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), 24, who also notes that in local politics, the workingmen still harbored an "inveterate suspicion of both Tammany and the Albany Regency [the ruling state Democratic party]."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

¹² For another account of the campaign see Robert W. July, *The Essential New Yorker: Gulian Crommelin Verplanck* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1951), 180-97.

¹³ The figure 181 is cited by Hershkowitz, "New York City," 51. Mushkat (*Tammany*, 156) gives the margin of victory as 171 votes.

¹⁴ Mushkat, *Tammany*, 156-157; Hershkowitz, "New York City," 50-53. This was not the only violence to plague the city. A race riot broke out at the Chatham Street Chapel on 7 July and violent anti-abolitionist mobs raged at will from 10 to 13 July. In August the stone-cutters rioted because prison labor was being used to hew and cut marble. See Hershkowitz, 67-69.

¹⁵ Published in book form as *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States* (1835). It went through at least seven editions. See Louis Dow Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1901), 20-22; and Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York: Columbia University, 1919), 373.

¹⁶ Mushkat, *Tammany*, 202.

¹⁷ Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 35. Leggett's coeditor, William Cullen Bryant, was traveling in Europe during this time.

¹⁸ The announcement, printed in French and English, was signed by L[aurant] Bonnefoux [importer], president; Charles Del Vecchio [looking glass manufacturer, later auctioneer], vice president; Joseph Dreyfous [importer] and Jean Milani, secretaries. First names and occupations within brackets are taken from *Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory* . . . , publication years 1834-38. Hereafter cited as *Longworth's Directory*. Jean Milani could not be identified or was unlisted. Charles Del Vecchio, born in Milan (d. 1854), was a leading Democratic politician who was named one of the city's three fire commissioners in 1839. Giovanni Ermenegildo Schiavo, *Italian-American History* (1947; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1975), 1:509-10.

¹⁹ "MEETING OF THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN adopted citizens. The French and Italian naturalized citizens of this country, having never before endeavored to form a body distinct from the American family, found it nevertheless necessary to meet tonight, November 1st, at the House of Mr. Broyer, owing to the strenuous efforts made by the aristocrats, to lead the public opinion to the belief that all this class of citizens had voted last spring and will vote this fall, with the hirelings and minions of the Mammoth Bank—considering that this assertion is not founded in truth, and that but a small portion of them who have to rely on Bank favors, have done so—considering that the French and Italian Mechanics and Workingmen especially, are and always will be the opponents of all kinds of monopolies, from the knowledge they have of their disastrous effects on their native countries—therefore they have organized . . ." Here follows a list of officers, members of a Resolutions Committee and the Vigilance Committee. *The Evening Post*, 3 Nov. 1834. Hereafter cited as *Post*.

²⁰ *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*, 4 Nov. 1834. Hereafter cited as *Courier*. Eleven indignant citizens, listed as Vigilance Committee members, denied any participation. *Courier*, 4, 5 Nov. 1834.

²¹ A rough definition of "Germans" would include persons born in German states, or of German-speaking parents in other sovereignties.

²² Howard F. Barker, "National Stocks in the Population of the United States as Indicated by Surnames in the Census of 1790," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1931*, 1:305. Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), 20.

²³ Rosenwaike, *Population History*, 42.

²⁴ *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, 1 Jan. 1884. Hereafter cited as *NYSZ*. Reprinted as "Das Entstehen der 'New Yorker Staatszeitung,'" *Der Deutsche Pionier* 15 (January 1884): 411-16 (text reference to p. 413).

²⁵ Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 70.

²⁶ Both categories would have been lumped together in the population figures derived from the 1790 Census. In Rosenwaike's statistics for 1845-60, American-born citizens of German descent are included in the total "native" population. *Population History*, 42.

²⁷ Edward Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1973), 104-5. Abraham Bininger, the founder of the family, was born in Switzerland.

²⁸ Richard Hofstadter's comments on Hone are worth repeating: "In New York the pre-eminent example of the mercantile ideal was the famous diarist, Philip Hone (1780-1851). Hone's experience shows how capable a well-knit local aristocracy was of absorbing a gifted newcomer, for no one lived more fully the life of the civilized merchant than this parvenu, who began life as the son of a joiner of limited means." *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 248.

²⁹ Klaus Wust, *Guardian on the Hudson: The German Society of the City of New York, 1784-1984* (New York: The Society, 1984), 21. According to Anton Eickhoff, the minutes were kept

in English for forty-eight years until the use of German was reintroduced in 1844. "Die Deutsche Gesellschaft der Stadt New York," 40; separately paged supplement to Eickhoff, ed., *In der neuen Heimath: Geschichtliche Mittheilungen über die deutschen Einwanderer in allen Theilen der Union* (New York: E. Steiger & Co., 1884). On St. Matthew's and other German congregations, see Agnes Bretting, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City, 1800-1860* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981), 121-27.

³⁰ The only German paper in New York before the *NYSZ* was *Der Deutsche Freund: Eine Zeitschrift für Unterhaltung und Belehrung*, published by the Reverend Friedrich Christian Schaeffer. The first and probably only issue is dated October 1819 (New York: bei Peter Schmidt, No. 80 Maidenlane). It was printed in Philadelphia by Simon Probasco.

³¹ On Schmoele and Christel's paper see *Alte und Neue Welt*, 6 Sept. and 4 Oct. (their prospectus) 1834. Hereafter cited as *ANW*. See also Gustav Körner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848* (Cincinnati: Verlag von A. E. Wilde & Co., 1880), 44.

³² Wesselhoef abandoned his apolitical policy on 11 October 1834. "Als Herausgeber 'der alten und neuen Welt' war es nie unsre Absicht, der Politik des Landes eine fortlaufende oder stehende Rubrike zu eröffnen. . . . Doch manche Leser scheinen zu wünschen, dass wir die Tagesereignisse unseres bürgerlichen Lebens gleichfalls berücksichtigen möchten. Wir erfüllen ihren Wunsch mit der heutigen Nummer. Unsere Absicht ist auf diesem Wege fortzufahren." On 18 October Wesselhoef reiterated his nonpartisan position, but at the same time echoed the anti-Bank rhetoric of radical Democrats. "Der Gedanke der Monarchie ist uns völlig fremd. . . . Auf welchem Grund es stehe, auf den Goldsäcken einer incorporirten Bank, oder auf sogenannten legitimen Thronen, es hat keinen grösseren Feind als uns."

³³ For example: J. N. Rothermel of 241 Houston Street, a teacher of German, Latin, drawing, and piano, wanted students. C. G. Christman's musical instrument store, 398 Pearl Street, needed customers. J. Ad. Stemmler, attorney, 24 Duane Street, sought clients. *ANW*, 8, 15 March, 5 April 1834. More such notices were to follow.

³⁴ *ANW*, 15, 22 March, 5 April 1834. Jacob Bindernagel of New York informed the mayor of negative reactions to his comments in Pennsylvania and Maryland newspapers. Mayor Lee sent back an apologetic letter post haste; a German translation appeared in the *ANW*, 5 April 1834.

³⁵ Agents for the *ANW* were George Weidemeyer, owner of a German Coffee House at 231 William Street, and Ferdinand Marwedel, a dyer, located at 143 Elm. *ANW*, 9 August 1834. Weidemeyer also distributed the Wilkes-Barre paper, which had agencies in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and St. Louis as well. See prospectus dated August 1834 but printed in the *ANW*, 4 Oct. 1834. The *Allgemeine Staats-Zeitung* was absorbed by the *Susquehanna Democrat* in 1835. Unfortunately, no files seem to have been preserved. Dr. Wilhelm Schmoele, by birth a Westphalian, came to the United States ca. 1833-34 and first settled in Wilkes-Barre. He moved to Philadelphia in 1835 and became one of the leaders of the German community. Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 73-76 et passim. Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1973-80), 1:600. Hereafter cited as Arndt and Olson.

³⁶ E.g., Hershkowitz, "New York City," and Mushkat, *Tammany*. Fox does mention that "in Tammany Hall special meetings were arranged for Irish, French and Germans [in 1834]." However, the reference is to a meeting of primarily Irish "Adopted Citizens." *Decline of Aristocracy*, 374. Amy Bridges takes no cognizance of German voters prior to 1838-43; *A City in the Republic: Antebellum New York and the Origins of Machine Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 64-65.

³⁷ *Das Deutsche Element*, 107-8.

³⁸ What was the cause of Körner's confusion? Apparently a typographical error in the *ANW*. In the issue of 8 November 1834 the proceedings of the 31 October meeting were printed under the date—in large type—"am 31sten August 1834." (Elsewhere in the same issue, the correct date is given.) This initial error was then inadvertently altered by Körner to read 3

August 1834. And since these proceedings attacked a Democratic rally of Germans, an earlier "summer" meeting at Tammany Hall had to be assumed. To my knowledge, all subsequent descriptions of these events more or less follow Körner's scenario: Ernest Bruncken, *German Political Refugees in the United States during the Period from 1815-1860*, special print from "Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter" (Chicago, 1904), 22-23; Georg von Bosse, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines politischen, ethischen, sozialen und erzieherischen Einflusses* (Stuttgart: Chr. Belsersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1908), 141; Irmgard Erhorn, *Die deutsche Einwanderung der Dreissiger und Achtundvierziger in die Vereinigten Staaten und ihre Stellung zur nordamerikanischen Politik: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Deutschamerikanertums* (Hamburg: Hans Christians Druckerei und Verlag, 1937), 22; Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (1949; reprint, Port Washington, NY: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1965), 166-67; Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984), 97. Bretting, who only mentions the 27 October meeting in her short description, cites Erhorn and Körner as sources (*Soziale Probleme*, 156).

³⁹ Kenneth Scott, comp., *Early New York Naturalizations: Abstracts of Naturalization Records from Federal, State, and Local Courts, 1792-1840* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 334; Eickhoff, "Deutsche Gesellschaft," 109; *Longworth's Directory* (1827-42); *Doggett's City Directory* (1842-44). The entry in Scott is somewhat ambiguous regarding Rohr's age. Occupations listed in city directories are often misleading since low status occupations, such as carpenter or bootmaker, may be wholly at odds with an individual's real wealth. On the other hand, it was also common for men of influence and wealth to have only their names listed. Poorer citizens were often excluded entirely. Brian Joseph Danforth, "The Influence of Socioeconomic Factors upon Political Behavior: A Quantitative Look at New York City Merchants, 1828-1844" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1974), 82-83, 111-12; Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power*, 49; Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 221.

⁴⁰ Edward Pessen has carefully sifted the manuscript tax rolls to compile lists of New York City's "Wealthiest Five Hundred" in 1828, and "Wealthiest One Thousand" in 1845. "The Wealthiest New Yorkers of the Jacksonian Era: A New List," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 54 (April 1970): 145-72. While the tax records did substantially underassess property values (149-50), they do enable one "to ascertain who the wealthiest persons in the community were (152)." In 1828 the assessed wealth of John G. Rohr was between \$50,000 and \$100,000 (157).

⁴¹ Stemmler's obituary, *New York Times*, 30 March 1875.

⁴² Stemmler was elected Justice of the Seventh District Court in 1863 and again in 1869 (obituary, n. 41). See also *ANW*, 5 April 1834. His mentor and patron, Thomas S. Brady, represented the Sixth Ward as assistant alderman (1835) and alderman (1836-37). Brady's name appears on a list of twenty-three Democratic party leaders for the period 1834-40 compiled by Hershkowitz, "New York City," 524; see also 507-12.

⁴³ *ANW*, 1 Nov. 1834. I have used the translated proceedings published in the *Post*, 29 Oct. 1834, which also appeared in the *Working Man's Advocate*, 1 Nov. 1834. The original German text was printed in the *Philadelphier Wöchentliches Anzeiger und Unterhaltungsblatt*, supplement to the *ANW*, 1 Nov. 1834. This version retains the German spelling of personal names, includes some additional matter omitted in the English text, and prints the resolutions adopted in a different order.

⁴⁴ *ANW*, 1 and 22 Nov. 1834 (the latter issue contains Wesselhoeft's comments). Wesselhoeft not only printed Buchenberger's speech in his paper (15 Nov.) but also as a broadside—within a decorative border—for 6 1/4 cents.

⁴⁵ A New York Democrat, signing himself "Ein Volksfreund," claimed that this census of Germans was only meant to locate "die Hausarmen" in order to assist them, "und die Arbeitslosigkeit, die Wurzel der Armuth zu vertilgen." *ANW*, 15 Nov. 1834.

⁴⁶ Philip Hone Diary, 29 Oct. 1834, New-York Historical Society, as quoted in Holman Hamilton and James L. Crouthamel, "A Man for Both Parties: Francis J. Grund as Political Chameleon," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 97 (October 1973): 467.

⁴⁷ Philip Hone Diary, 31 Oct. 1834, quoted in Hamilton and Crouthamel, "Man for Both Parties," 467.

⁴⁸ *Courier*, 1 Nov. 1834, "GREAT AND OVERWHELMING MEETING OF GERMANS."

⁴⁹ Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 207. The characterization is apt. On 3 November 1801, when bakers went on strike to protest the assize on bread, a group of wealthy citizens agreed to form the New York Bread Company. Humbert publicly opposed this monopolistic threat. In 1813 he drafted a petition for repeal of the assize (which was discontinued in 1821). But in 1824, "disenchanted with open competition," Humbert petitioned for reinstatement of the assize. Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York University Press, 1979), 186-91, 196-97, 203 (quotation). Humbert's political adventurism is well documented. In 1809, while Inspector of Flour of the City of New York, Humbert ran unsuccessfully as a Madisonian Republican in a three-way race for alderman from the Sixth Ward. *American Citizen*, 7, 9, 10, 27 Nov. 1809; *Public Advertiser*, 14, 18, 21 Nov. 1809. Surprisingly, in 1829 Humbert became an ardent supporter of Thomas Skidmore (see n. 9) and was the Skidmore party candidate for lieutenant governor in November 1830. The city gave him a minuscule 118 votes. *Working Man's Advocate*, 11, 25 Sept., 13 Nov. 1830. When the journeyman bakers went on strike in June 1834, Humbert attacked trade unions (in the *Gazette* of 20 June) as "very dangerous combinations, pregnant with alarming consequences." In rebuttal, John Bowie of the General Trades' Union pointed out Humbert's recent affiliation with the Skidmore Agrarians and their "Levelling system." In another response, "A Journeyman Baker" called Humbert an aspiring office hunter and political weathercock hoping to procure a "lazy berth that would afford him ease and peace in his age of dotage." *Man*, 24, 26 June 1834.

⁵⁰ Those attending the Tammany Hall rally were described as "principally . . . persons unknown as Germans, and unacquainted with the German language; and that of the Germans present, a large proportion were not aware of the political objects of the meeting, very many of them but recently arrived in this country, and of course but superficially acquainted with its institutions, and not qualified to interfere in its political concerns." The last observation is probably correct; and a small percentage of these new arrivals were political exiles who would have an immediate impact on the German community.

⁵¹ The proceedings were sent to the *ANW* in English so that a translation had to be made before publication on 8 November—after the election; and Wesselhoef did not hide his irritation at not receiving a German text.

⁵² Hershkowitz, "New York City," 89; Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 108.

⁵³ Francis J. Grund, *The Americans in Their Moral, Social, and Political Relations* (Boston: Marsh, Capen and Lyon, 1837), 215-16.

⁵⁴ *NYSZ*, 1 Jan. 1884, reprinted in *Der Deutsche Pionier* 15 (January 1884): 412-13. The *NYSZ*, 12 April 1837, appraised the number of eligible German voters at roughly two thousand—but that was for 1837!

⁵⁵ "Es ist ausgefunden worden, dass über 700 Deutsche in den verschiedenen Distrikten gestimmt haben." Letter dated "New York, den 11. Nov. 1834," signed "Ein Volksfreund" (*ANW*, 15 Nov. 1834, supplement). Whatever their number, the value of the German vote, present and future, was fulsomely recognized by the Democratic press. See the *Post*, 12 Nov. 1834.

⁵⁶ *ANW*, 10 Jan. 1835.

⁵⁷ *NYSZ*, 8 Feb. 1837.

⁵⁸ See Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 202. Molitor's letter of resignation appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (NY), 19 Dec. 1835; hereafter cited as *AZ*. For Bräker's statement of sale, dated 23 January 1837, see *NYSZ*, 8 Feb. 1837. The *NYSZ* was published weekly through 1840, but the earliest years have not all been preserved. Prior to 1840, the existing file consists of a fragment of the 21 December 1836 issue, the year 1837 (lacking six numbers), and the issues of

18 and 25 December 1839. Consequently, the early history of the paper is not at all clear. Compare the accounts in Arndt and Olson, 1:399, and 2:470-76 (which include the findings of F. Peter Schulz). About Neumann himself, little is known. Schulz contends that the *NYSZ* in its anniversary issues barely mentions him, perhaps deliberately. Carl Wittke describes Neumann as a "Silesian who had studied theology at Jena and Marburg," but gives no sources (*The German-Language Press in America* [Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957], 44). Neumann died on 11 December 1886, "Age 79 years, 6 mos. & 22 days," according to his tombstone in Sullivan County discovered by Schulz.

⁵⁹ Fitzwilliam Byrdsall, *The History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party . . .* (1842; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1967), 21-32; Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, 168-69. Charles G. Ferris, Loco-foco candidate for Congress in November 1835, garnered 3,600 votes and captured the heavily German Tenth Ward. Hershkowitz, "New York City," 139-43. Buchenberger, in a political pasquinade, "Der böse Hund," criticized the partisanship of the *NYSZ* and its personal attack on him (*AZ*, 7, 14 Nov. 1835). That the Loco-focos were not really a labor party but essentially middle-class, is the conclusion reached by Hershkowitz, "The Loco-Foco Party of New York: Its Origins and Career, 1835-1837," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 46 (July 1962): 305-29. See also Carl N. Degler, "The Loco-focos: Urban 'Agrarians,'" *Journal of Economic History* 16 (September 1956): 322-33.

⁶⁰ For example, James Watson Webb, editor of the *Courier*. See Hershkowitz, "The Native American Democratic Association in New York City, 1835-1836," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 46 (January 1962): 41-59; and Mushkat, *Tammany*, 162-63. On Loco-foco support of nativism see Hershkowitz, "Loco-Foco Party," 328. The complex interrelations among Loco-focos, nativists, Whigs, and labor are succinctly described by Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 267-69, 293-94.

⁶¹ See *ANW*, 14 Feb. 1835 (Germania's initial manifesto); *AZ*, 31 Oct. 1835; and C. F. Huch, "Die Gesellschaft Germania," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia* 9 (1908): 22-25. For the names and backgrounds of Germania officers and prominent members, as well as their publications, see Cazden, *Social History*, 97-98, 498, 585-87, 608 and passim. One correction: The apothecary Wenzeslaus Fortenbach, president of Germania, was also a newcomer and not a long-term resident. A native of Bavaria, Fortenbach was naturalized on 30 September 1840. Scott, *Naturalizations*, 167. Additional information, drawn from German archives, may be found in Herbert Reiter, "Politisches Asyl im 19. Jahrhundert: Die deutschen politischen Flüchtlinge des Vormärz und der Revolution von 1848/49 in Europa und den USA" (Ph.D. diss., Europäisches Hochschulinstitut, Florence, 1988), 133-41. A branch of Germania with forty members was established in Newark (*ANW*, 18 Feb. 1837).

⁶² *AZ*, 24 Oct. 1835, 9 Jan. 1836 (on Stemmler). See also Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati: Verlag von Eggers and Wulkop, 1847), 281-82 (on German merchants); Heinz Kloss, *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums: Die Geschichte einer unvollendeten Volksgruppe* (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1937), 189-91; Bretting, *Soziale Probleme*, 140.

⁶³ *ANW*, 27 Feb. 1836; *NYSZ*, 21 Oct. 1840; Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 105. No issues of *Der Herold* appear to have survived. The *AZ* of 23 July 1836 reported that the now defunct *Herold* would soon be replaced by the bilingual *Veter Michel* and *John Bull*. There is no record of any such newspaper. By October the *Herold* printing shop was up for sale (*ANW*, 15 Oct. 1836). Zerrlaut was a political refugee from Baden, and some information on his European career is contained in "Lettre du Substitut d'Altkirch au Garde des Sceaux, du 4 octobre 1836," reprinted in Jacques Grandjonc, "La France et les émigrés allemands expulsés de Suisse (1834-1836)," *Cashiers d'Histoire* 13 (1968): 419-21. It reads in my translation: "As early as 1833, [Armand] Eichborn and someone named Frederic Zerrlaut had printed in Metz a proclamation or circular aimed at reuniting the German patriots and inducing them to form a large association." Soon after *Der Herold* ceased publication, Zerrlaut moved to Baltimore where he opened a bookstore and found employment as professor of modern languages at Annapolis. In 1837 the learned doctor was named a delegate to the first national convention of Germans held in Pittsburgh. However, Zerrlaut was criticized for his authoritarian manners, and his quixotic

plan to establish a German Academy of Arts and Sciences proved a failure. By late 1839 or early 1840 the former Locofoco was in New Orleans, hired to edit *Der Deutsche* and transform it into a Whig campaign paper (*ANW*, 6 Jan. 1838 [misdated 8 Jan.]; *NYSZ*, 21 Oct., 25 Nov. 1840; Arndt and Olson, 1:176, 369).

⁶⁴ Hershkowitz, "New York City," 123, 506-10. Perhaps a contributing factor was the Whigs' deeply-rooted "distaste for party." Since "the Whigs were, on the whole, slower to set up political organizations than their Democratic counterparts," they "had more difficulty in getting out their vote" (Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979], 53).

⁶⁵ M. A. Richter was a lawyer from Chemnitz, Saxony, brother of Karl Ernst Richter, editor and publisher of *Die Biene* (1827-33) and part owner of the Richter'sche Buchhandlung in Zwickau. During 1832 Moritz Richter began agitating among the farmers in various Saxon villages for the abolition of still existing feudal prerogatives and in 1833 was sentenced to a term in prison. He escaped arrest and emigrated to America in 1834 followed soon after by his brother. On M. A. Richter see Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848-1849* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1930-31), 1:229; Reiner Gross, *Die bürgerliche Agrarreform in Sachsen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Untersuchung zum Problem des Übergangs vom Feudalismus zum Kapitalismus in der Landwirtschaft* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1968), 90-91; Rudolf Muhs, "Zwischen Staatsreform und politischem Protest: Liberalismus in Sachsen zur Zeit des Hambacher Festes," in Wolfgang Schieder, ed., *Liberalismus in der Gesellschaft des deutschen Vormärz* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 208-9 (K. E. Richter), 230 (M. A. Richter). See also M. A. Richter's own account of the "Revolutionäre Aufregung in Sachsen," and of his and K. E. Richter's tribulations in New York: *AZ*, 30 Jan., 17 Sept., 1836. Much on K. E. Richter may be found in Emil Herzog, *Chronik der Kreisstadt Zwickau* (Zwickau: R. Zückler, 1839-45), 2:797-828. On Moritz Richter's subsequent American career and publications see Cazden, *Social History*, 599, 602, 616-17.

⁶⁶ *AZ*, 7 Nov. 1835, 30 Jan., 5 March, 2, 30 April, and 23 July 1836.

⁶⁷ *AZ*, 1 Oct. 1836. The paper's Democratic affiliation under Molitor is noted by Wilhelm Weber, "Die Zeitungen in den Vereinigten Staaten; mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der in deutscher Sprache erscheinenden Blätter," *Das Westland* (St. Louis and Heidelberg) 1 (1837): 208-9. Whether the *AZ* backed the Locofocos or Tammany Hall is not known, since only vols. 1 and 5 (12 Oct. 1839-11 July 1840) are extant. It may be significant that Molitor resigned from the *NYSZ* when the Locofoco rebellion began, and joined the *AZ* three months after Zerlauth's *Der Herold* ceased publication. Stephan Molitor (1806-73) was born in Scheßlitz, Upper Franconia, and studied philosophy and jurisprudence at Würzburg. He apparently came to the United States in 1830. Molitor's tenure at the *AZ* ended before December 1837, for on 2 December of that year the first issue of the Buffalo *Weltbürger* appeared with Molitor as editor. The *Weltbürger*, published by George Zahm, soon became a Democratic paper, but by March 1838 Molitor had departed for Cincinnati to become editor of the *Volksblatt*. George Zahm, the first printer of the *NYSZ*, was a Catholic from the Palatinate. In Buffalo he became the first local German asked to do campaign work and also helped organize the first German Democratic rally (1838). His brother Jacob was a founding officer of Buffalo's German Democratic Association. George Zahm and two other politicians died in 1844, crushed by a falling hickory tree in Cheektowaga, New York. Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 202-3; Arndt and Olson, 1:454-55; David A. Gerber, *The Making of an American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825-60* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 212-19; *ANW*, 17 March 1838, 5 Oct. 1844.

⁶⁸ Both Rohr and Engold were among the vice presidents of a meeting of Whig "mechanics" held on 6 February 1838 to protest the sub-Treasury bill then before the Senate. *Courier*, 5-7 Feb. 1838. See also Mushkat, *Tammany*, 177-79, 182-83; McFaul, *Politics*, 178-209; James C. Curtis, *The Fox at Bay: Martin Van Buren and the Presidency, 1837-1841* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 64-151; Temin, *Jacksonian Economy*, 113-77; and James Roger Sharp, *The Jacksonians versus the Banks: Politics in the States after the Panic of 1837* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 3-49, 297-305.

⁶⁹ Jabez D. Hammond, *The History of Political Parties in the State of New York . . .*, 4th ed. (Syracuse: Hall, Mills & Co., 1852), 2:479-80; McCormick, *Second American Party System*, 121-22.

⁷⁰ On 2 November German Democratic Whigs met to attack the sub-Treasury scheme. The following day German Democrats heard their chairman Francis Lasak lash out at Whig candidates James Monroe, George Bruen, and Mayor Aaron Clark for declaring "all immigrants to be vagabonds and paupers." Hershkowitz, "New York City," 346-47 (quote from the *Post*, 5 Nov. 1838), 359.

⁷¹ Hershkowitz, "New York City," 384. Details of Lasak's nomination and Neumann's role in the affair, were reported in a not unbiased communication (signed "Philo") printed in the *AZ*, 2 Nov. 1839. It reads in part: "Die Tammany-Parthei hatte längst ausgefunden, dass F.W. Lasack ein zu einfältiger Pinsel ist, und zu wenig Einfluss und Popularität besitzt, überhaupt unter den Deutschen, und er ist ja auch gar nicht einmal ein Deutscher, und kann weder richtig Deutsch sprechen noch schreiben, sondern ein 'Böhmack,' um ihn freiwillig als Kandidaten zum zweitenmal aufzustellen." Lasak served in the assembly during the sixty-third session, 7 January to 14 May 1840.

⁷² According to Neumann, the former almshouse commissioner Engs (probably Philip W. Engs) purchased the *AZ* on behalf of the Whig General Committee of New York. *NYSZ*, 3 June 1840. Little is known about Paulsen. In 1837 he was associated with Wilhelm Radde, a German bookseller and publisher in New York. The partnership lasted barely a year, though during that time the firm issued the first American edition of Goethe's *Faust I and II* (in German). After the *AZ* expired, the German Society hired Paulsen as its first salaried agent, a post he resigned in 1845. See Cazden, *Social History*, 296-98; *NYSZ*, 30 Sept. 1840; Eickhoff, "Deutsche Gesellschaft," 129. Paulsen began publishing the *AZ* before 12 October 1839, the date of the earliest issue preserved (apart from volume one). From the outset the paper was hampered by lack of money due largely to a lack of subscribers. The Buffalo *Weltbürger* reported that New York Whigs were circulating a letter requesting friends of the party to make every effort to prevent the only German Whig paper in New York State from ignominious extinction. Quoted in *ANW*, 12 Oct. 1839. On 1 August 1840, the *ANW* announced: "Die New-Yorker 'Allgemeine Zeitung' is tod. Dagegen hat ein anderes Whig-Blatt unter dem Titel: 'Der deutsche New-Yorker' seine Erscheinung gemacht." No copies of *Der Deutsche New-Yorker* are known. As noted in the *NYSZ*, 29 July 1840, this new paper was financed by Joseph Gutman on behalf of the German Tippecanoe Club. Its first number at least was simply a rehash of material taken from Francis Grund's *Pennsylvania German*, a bilingual Harrison paper published in Philadelphia. Gutman, a prominent German Whig, was already the New York agent for Grund's newspaper. See *AZ*, 25 April 1840.

⁷³ See Hershkowitz, "New York City," 431-32, for details.

⁷⁴ New York State, *Journal of the Assembly*, 63d sess., 1840, 776-79 and *passim*. A summary and evaluation of Lasak's speech was printed in the *AZ*, 21 March 1840, and reads in part: "Er erklärte in der vorigen Woche in der Assembly bei Gelegenheit als die Geld-Bill unter Verhandlung war, dass er zu Gunsten der Banken und einer National-Bank wäre, weil unserm jetzigen Banksysteme eine Seele fehle, um dasselbe zu reguliren und nützlich für das Wohl des Volkes zu machen. Er erklärte im Laufe der Rede, man habe ihm von Pennsylvanien aus, eine deutsche (Locofoco) Zeitung gesandt, und einen Artikel darin angestrichen, bezeichnet: 'Das Beispiel des österreichischen Papiergeldes, welches sich mit unserm gegenwärtigen Zustande sehr gut vergleichen liesse.' Er wäre nach Durchlesung desselben mit *Abscheu* erfüllt worden, da der Schreiber nur die eine Seite der Frage welche ihm von Nutzen wäre, darin behandelt hätte, und erklärte, es wäre bloss geschrieben um seine Landsleute irre zu führen. Er stellt dann einen Vergleich zwischen Oesterreich und den V. St. an, und bemerkte, dass sowohl in Oesterreich als Frankreich, Banknoten oft eine Prämie über Gold und Silber hätten. Zuletzt erklärte er, dass er in der Assembly nicht als Parteimann sondern als Repräsentant seiner Constituenten stände."

⁷⁵ See *NYSZ*, 25 March, 1, 8 April 1840; *ANW*, 28 March 1840. The Washington Riflemen, German Democrats all, were founded in 1840. *NYSZ*, 8 April 1840.

⁷⁶ *Courier*, 4 Nov. 1840 (Weise); *NYSZ*, 12 Feb. 1840 (Bindernagel and Boese). On the Whig veterans see *Courier*, 20 Oct., 2, 4 Nov. 1840; *AZ*, 2 Nov. 1839, 7 March 1840.

⁷⁷ After the 1840 campaign, Lasak, already a rich man, devoted most of his time to amassing more riches. His assessed wealth in 1845 was between \$45,000 and \$100,000. Pessen, "Wealthiest New Yorkers," 168. When Lasak died on 13 February 1889, at the age of ninety, the estimated worth of his estate was five or six million dollars: "He accumulated his large fortune through early association with the Astors and by successful operations in real estate and good management as a furrier." *New York Times*, 14 Feb., 8 March 1889 (quote). He left four daughters, all of whom married into socially prominent families (including the Schermerhorns). Lasak's complex will resulted in over six years of litigation and was finally settled on 30 April 1894, when "the greatest auction sale of realty this year took place." Ten parcels of land were sold for \$904,300. Lasak's brownstone residence on Fifth Avenue brought \$184,000 and was purchased by Charles Astor Bristed, "a descendant of Mr. Lasak's old partner." *Times*, 1 June 1894. Unfortunately, Lasak is not mentioned in Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931).

⁷⁸ Hershkowitz, "New York City," 454, 476; *Courier*, 4 Nov. 1840; *AZ*, 23 May 1840. Lasak also spoke to German communities around the state, for this was a campaign without precedent in its reliance on itinerant speechmakers. It was really only fitting that Francis Grund, Whig "hero" of 1834 and recreant Van Burenite, returned to address the German Tippecanoe Club on the evils of the sub-Treasury. *Courier*, 16 Oct. 1840. See also Neumann, "Des böhmischen Whigmissionärs Lasak Bekehrungsversuch unter den deutschen Loco-Foco-Heiden in Rochester (Seitenstück zur Biographie eines Verrücktgewordenen)," *NYSZ*, 16 Sept. 1840; and Robert Gray Gunderson, *The Log-Cabin Campaign* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 161-62, on "the craze for stump oratory."

⁷⁹ For post-1834 Democrats see: *AZ*, 24 Sept. 1836, 9 Nov. 1839; *NYSZ*, 8 Nov. 1837, 1 Jan. 1840 (GDA officers for 1839), 12 Feb. 1840 (GDA officers for 1840 and members of the Standing Committee). For Whig leaders see: *AZ*, 2 Nov. 1839, 15 Feb., 7 March 1840; *Courier*, 20 Oct., 2, 4, Nov. 1840. The list of occupations in table 1 is based on Robert Ernst's classification, *Immigrant Life*, 206-12. The hierarchical arrangement was suggested by Amy Bridges's class structure analysis, *City in the Republic*, 45-46.

⁸⁰ See Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, 72, 214-17; and especially Stanley Nadel, "Kleindeutschland: New York City's Germans, 1845-1880" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1981), 128-82. Democrat Francis Oertle, who kept a boardinghouse in 1834, was a watchmaker and a jeweler by training and opened his own shop before 1836.

⁸¹ Danforth, "Influence of Socioeconomic Factors," 119.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 105. Danforth's list of some seven hundred wealthy merchants includes only four that figure in this study: James Benkard (identified as French); George F. Gerding (identified as Dutch); George Meyer and Conrad W. Faber. It may be argued that most of the fifteen German merchants listed as Whigs were not yet wealthy enough to make Danforth's list. This seems doubtful as Benkard's assessed wealth was less than \$10,000 in 1828, and \$28,000 in 1845; Gerding's wealth in 1845 was assessed at less than \$10,000 as was Faber's in 1828. Others on Danforth's list had even smaller fortunes. George Meyer, however, went from less than \$10,000 (1828) to \$45-100,000 (1845). Faber's assessed wealth in 1845 was \$37,000. Danforth, 215, 229, 231, 251. Since many German merchants were engaged in overseas trade, it might be expected that they would sympathize with antitariff Democrats. But as Danforth points out, this "was not the case; for anti-tariff merchants were almost evenly split between the two major parties." In most instances "these merchants' political behavior is correlated to economic determinism—business interests, kinship, or patronage." Danforth, 142. However, Frank Otto Gatell claims that "the Democratic response to the Bank War and Panic of 1837 temporarily solidified the New York City business community into an anti-Democratic force." "Money and Party in Jacksonian America: A Quantitative Look at New York City's Men of Quality," *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (June 1967): 245. Pessen discusses these two contrasting views in *Jacksonian America*, 252-53.

⁸³ See illustrations in Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, between 216 and 219. The NYSZ for 1839 has not been preserved.

⁸⁴ Egal Feldman, *Fit for Men: A Study of New York's Clothing Trade* (Washington, DC, Public Affairs Press, 1960), 121. On tailors and shoemakers see Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 120-25; Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic*, 239; Nadel, "Kleindeutschland," 164-65.

⁸⁵ Very many New York physicians were then engaged in politics because of "their interest in amending laws relating to medicine." Hershkowitz, "New York City," 121. Dr. Gescheidt, a native of Dresden, came to New York in 1831, retired in 1870 and died in 1876. "Since his retirement," wrote the *Times*, "he has been consulted in many important cases, one of which was that of Commodore Vanderbilt. He was noted for his benevolence, having for many years attended the poor gratuitously." *New York Times*, 22 August 1876. P. J. Joachimsen (1817-90) was a German Jew from Breslau and a precocious scholar, fluent in seven languages. In 1827 or 1831 (sources differ) Joachimsen arrived in New York and studied law in the offices of Clinton and Kane, Samuel Meredith, and John L. Lawrence. By 1837 he was already a member of the bar. In 1840 Joachimsen was appointed Assistant Corporation Attorney of the city of New York. Fifteen years later he was named Assistant United States Attorney, and under special provision of an act of Congress, was appointed Substitute United States Attorney. Among several noteworthy cases, he secured the first capital conviction for slave trading. During the Civil War Joachimsen organized and commanded the 59th New York Volunteer Regiment. After injuries received at New Orleans, he was honorably discharged and made Brigadier-General by brevet. In 1870 he was elected a Judge of the Marine Court of New York City, returning to private practice in 1877. For information on his writings and charitable works see Isaac Markens, *The Hebrews in America* (1888; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1975), 223-24; and the *New York Times*, 7 Jan. 1890.

⁸⁶ They included two teachers, August Marpe and Charles Julius Hempel (George Templeton Strong studied German with him in 1845). Hempel (1811-79) was much in demand as a public speaker in 1840. A native of Solingen, Hempel spent some time in Paris where he lived with and assisted Jules Michelet in the preparation of the latter's *Histoire de France*. Hempel emigrated to New York in 1835 and in 1845 earned his M.D. degree. By 1840 he was already an elder in the Swedenborgian New Church and a pioneer American Fourierist. Subsequently Hempel became a distinguished homoeopathic physician and author (his translation of Schiller's complete works was published in 1870). Among his original books is *The True Organization of the New Church, as Indicated in the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, and Demonstrated by Charles Fourier* (New-York: William Radde, 1848). See Cazden, *Social History*, 529-30, 688, 704; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Hempel, Charles"; and Strong, *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, ed. Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 1:254 (the editor's note is incorrect). For an example of Hempel's political oratory see NYSZ, 16 Sept. 1840.

⁸⁷ *Praktische Anwendung des Animalischen oder Thierischen Magnetismus, als Heilmittel für Nervenkrankheiten; mit allerley, nützlichen Recepten und Kräuter- u. Hausarzneimittel*. Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von D. v. Quenaudon, Der Heilkunde Doctor, Professor der Kräuterkunde in Charleston, S.C., Begründer und Arzt des Kräuter- und Badekur Anstalt in Windsor, Berks County, Premier Lieutenant der Uhlanen Garde in Philadelphia, Staatsnotar in der Stadt Neu-York, Regimentskapellan des 2ten Regiments Neu-York Artillerie, Oberst des 1sten Regiment Freiwillige Waschington Dragoonier im Feldzug gegen die Seminol Indianer in Florida, Freibürger der Vereinigten Staaten, ordentliches Mitglied mehreren medizinischen, theologischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften in Amerika und Europa. Gedruckt in Berks County für den Verfasser, im Jahre 1846 [title page sic]. Transcribed by Thomas R. Brendle and Claude W. Unger, "Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-Occult Cures," *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society* 15, pt.2 (1935), 251. See also ANW, 21 Feb. 1835; NYSZ, 18 Dec. 1839, 27 May, 24 June 1840, 15, 22, June 1842, 3 May-29 July 1843.

⁸⁸ The congregation, which included such worthies as Dr. Scherdlin and G. H. Paulsen, was soon embroiled in a nasty dispute that led to the pastor's resignation. ANW, 2 June, 15, 29, Sept.,

6 Oct. 1838. For a summary of Eylert's novel, *Rückblicke auf Amerika* (1841), in which Dr. Hempel and Paulsen make appearances, see G. T. Hollyday, *Anti-Americanism in the German Novel, 1841-1862* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1977), 23-35. Eylert's father, Rulemann Friedrich, was a bishop, chief court preacher and personal advisor to Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia.

⁸⁹ G. A. Neumann did become outraged when Försch, who had been struck from the roster of Reformed ministers, publicly recanted in 1842. By 1843 Försch had a pastorate in Pottsville, Pennsylvania; but his reconversion was short and the church expelled him a second time. Försch then resettled in New York. See Cazden, *Social History*, 499-502; *ANW*, 9 Feb., 2 March, 13 April 1839, 10, 17 June 1843; *NYSZ*, 22 July 1840 (the denunciation of Försch), and 1 Oct. 1842. Arndt and Olson do not list the *Wächter am Hudson*.

⁹⁰ Gunderson, *Log-Cabin Campaign*, 132; *AZ*, 12 Oct. 1839.

⁹¹ The Pennsylvania-born Dr. Deffinbough is a case in point. Another example is the selection in 1841 of George W. Bruen, a former assemblyman, to be chairman of the German Whigs of the Seventeenth Ward. Bruen's father, Matthias, was a close associate of Thomas H. Smith, the greatest tea merchant of his day; and George Bruen was Smith's son-in-law. See *Courier*, 12 April 1841, and Walter Barrett [i.e., Joseph A. Scoville], *The Old Merchants of New York City* (New York: Carleton, 1863-64), 1:33, 37, 87, 91; 2:51.

⁹² *Courier*, 20, 27 Oct., 2, 4 Nov. 1840; *AZ*, 2 Nov. 1839, 15 Feb., 7 March, 23 May 1840.

⁹³ On Fokkes, a notary public, see *Longworth's Directory* (1840), *NYSZ*, 12 Feb. 1840, and 12 May 1841 (which states that he was employed at the Court of Common Pleas as a translator to assist new arrivals to declare their intention of becoming citizens, or obtain naturalization papers). It is true that in March 1840 the Common Council, acting on a petition submitted by Alderman Daniel F. Tiemann, granted the *NYSZ* the privilege of publishing its transactions and a fee of \$100 (\$200 according to Paulsen). *NYSZ*, 18 March 1840; *AZ*, 23, 30 May 1840.

⁹⁴ *Courier*, 4 Nov. 1836 (Gable); *New York As It Is. . .* (New York: T. R. Tanner, 1840), 32-33, and *AZ*, 12 Oct. 1840 (Hoffman and Hartmann). On Deffinbough and Wolfe, both of whom were defeated, see *Courier*, 4 April 1838 and 20 Oct. 1840. Wolfe, a grocer in 1834, was now general passage agent for the American Transportation Company. I have found no information on the nativity of these men apart from Deffinbough and possibly Hartmann.

⁹⁵ *NYSZ*, 14 Oct. 1840. See also Susan E. Hirsch, *Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of Crafts in Newark, 1800-1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 17, 112-21. Hirsch makes no mention of this meeting or its officers, J. Schuller and a Mr. Pierson.

⁹⁶ On Joachimsen and Bouck see *NYSZ*, 21 Oct. 1840. Though Bouck lost in 1840 he was elected governor in 1842.

⁹⁷ *NYSZ*, 20 Oct. 1841, as translated by Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, 165-66.

⁹⁸ Bridges, *City in the Republic*, 65 (quote) and 66 (table 7), which uses the 1845 census for the number of German-born per ward. The so-called "German" wards, the 10th, 11th, 13th, and 17th, were also working-class neighborhoods. There were, however, some Germans living in every ward. When the Deutscher allgemeiner Wohlfahrts-Verein was founded in 1840, it estimated New York's German population at over 40,000. The Verein appointed committees in all seventeen city wards as well as Brooklyn, Williamsburg, Hoboken, and Staten Island. *NYSZ*, 16 Sept. 1840.

⁹⁹ Sean Wilentz, "On Class and Politics in Jacksonian America," *Reviews in American History* 10 (December 1982): 48. For critiques of Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York State As a Test Case* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), and other products of this school, see Wilentz, "On Class and Politics," and Pessen, *Jacksonian America*, 247-50, 354-55.

¹⁰⁰ Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 79.

¹⁰¹ Surnames are given as printed in the *ANW*, followed, if necessary, by the most frequently found variants. Occupations are taken from *Longworth's Directory* (1827-42). An asterisk means that the name could not be found, or identified with certainty, in the directories.

The abbreviation GS, with inclusive dates, indicates membership in the German Society of the City of New York as listed in Eickhoff, "Deutsche Gesellschaft," 89-118. Biographical information comes from Scott, *Naturalizations*, 65 (Lasak), 368 (Gotthilf), and the *New York Times*, 16 March 1889 (Lasak).

¹⁰² *Longworth's* (1827) does list a John Hodel, grocer. However, the most likely identification is Paulus Hedl, who in 1835 emerged as a leading Locofoco Democrat. Fitzwilliam Byrdsall describes him as follows: "Paulus Hedl has lived in the city of New-York nearly forty years, and so upright and blameless has been his conduct, that he has not a personal enemy, though few men have had more intercourse with their fellow citizens. It would not be easy to find in any part of the world, an honest man and a more ingenious mechanic than Paulus Hedl. Excellent as a draughtsman, skilful as a practical workman, he stood at the head of the business he followed, the originator of the ornamental and fancy iron railing and palisading for which New-York has been distinguished above any city in the Union. So just a man could be nothing else in politics than a Loco-Foco." *The History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party*, 106 and passim.

¹⁰³ But in the *Courier*, 5 Nov. 1834, Heim "disclaims any connection with the [party] of Germans which met at Tammany Hall."

¹⁰⁴ *Courier*, 30 Oct. 1834. Names taken from the *Courier* followed, if necessary, by variant spellings as found in directories. Format of entries is described in n. 101. Occupations from *Longworth's Directory*; places of origin from Scott, *Naturalizations*, 66 (Benkard), 293 (Wobbe); and Eickhoff, "Deutsche Gesellschaft," 134 (Faber). Additional information from Danforth, "Influence of Socioeconomic Factors," 215 (Benkard), 229 (Faber), 251 (G. Meyer); William Thompson Bonner, *New York, The World's Metropolis*. . . . Commemorative Edition, New York City Directory (New York: R. L. Polk, 1924), 720 (Möller); Doggett's *New York Business Directory, for 1841 and 1842* (1841), 32 (Benkard & Hutton). On Gerding, a native of Osnabrück who emigrated in 1825, see Klaus G. Wust, "Wartburg: Dream and Reality of the New Germany in Tennessee," *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland: Report* 31 (1963): 21-45.

¹⁰⁵ Personal names are taken from the *Courier* followed by commonly found variants. Format of the entries is described in n. 101. Biographical information from *NYSZ*, 18 Nov. 1840 (Diefenbach), 3 March 1841 (Hartmann); Scott, *Naturalizations*, 9 (Wilckens), 67 (Vaupell), 282 (Schlesinger), 344 (Vietor); Eickhoff, "Deutsche Gesellschaft," 147 (Vietor). On Feuchtwanger see Edgar H. Adams, "Dr. Lewis Feuchtwanger," *The Numismatist* 26 (June 1913): 297-302. On Henry Ludwig (born in New York State) and Charles de Behr see Cazden, *Social History*, 99-102. Behr's bookstore was consumed by fire on 3 March 1836. See George Templeton Strong's vivid account in Strong, *Diary*, 1:10-11.

¹⁰⁶ "Mr. Jonas Humbert, a baker, and a German by birth, but so long in this country that the language of his father is no longer so familiar to him as that of his adopted country, begged to be heard in English." *Courier*, 1 Nov. 1834. John Bowie also confirmed Humbert's foreign birth. *Man*, 13 June 1834. But in an affidavit sworn before Special Justice James Warner, aldermanic candidate Humbert stated that he "was a native of the state of New Jersey, and was born, as I learn from my mother, the family papers being now in the possession of Stephen Humbert, residing in New Brunswick, in the year 1764, on the 13th of April" (*Public Advertiser*, 21 Nov. 1809). The elusive Humbert has intrigued other historians besides Wilentz and Rock: e.g., Mark A. Lause, "THE 'UNWASHED INFIDELITY': Thomas Paine and Early New York City Labor History," *Labor History* 27 (Summer 1986): 387.

