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"Yankee Dutchman": The Early Life of Franz Sigel

The revolutions of 1848 and 1849 were significant events in both German and American history, since thousands of German revolutionaries were cast upon the shores of the United States seeking political exile. In Germany, aristocracy had crushed the advance of republicanism and liberalism, and the idea of individual freedoms, popular self-government, and a unified fatherland vanished in the clouds of repression and militarism. According to George Trevelyan and Carl Wittke, it "was one of those turning points in human history when history failed to turn."¹

The revolution that failed to turn German history ultimately helped to shape the character of nineteenth-century American history. The transition from Germany to America in the 1850s forced the refugees of the 1848 Revolution to struggle with the pressures of assimilation. The attitude of many forty-eighters toward assimilation was one of great concern, especially since the early German émigrés had developed little Germanies in the United States. One of the reasons for this cultural maintenance was the anti-foreign reaction by Americans towards the Germans. The nativist agitation of the 1850s made them more determined to preserve their language and defend their culture. Therefore, a crisis in assimilation occurred impeding the Americanization process. When the German forty-eighters arrived in the early 1850s, imbued with the spirit of liberalism, idealism, and opportunity, they tried to infuse some new life into German-American culture. They had great aspirations for the German element in America and were prepared to battle with equal courage in America for the rights they had been denied in Germany. However, by the end of the decade many frustrated forty-eighter idealists had sought the American political system to provide some common ground for shared ideals. By 1860, it was the political structure that became the channel for Americanization for many exiled Germans.²

Franz Sigel was among this excited group of refugees known as the forty-eighters. He was among the thousands of uprooted Germans, who shared the common experience of exile and assimilation in Europe and America in the

pre-Civil War decade. His experience as a refugee in America epitomized the essence of the revolution that failed and his desire to achieve liberal reforms in an adopted land. Despite his attempts to become more American, he could not escape the cultural barrier that separated him from the very political, economic, and social structure he came to support. By the end of the 1850s, Sigel's life extended beyond the immigrant community. He had been absorbed into the American mainstream on economic, social and political levels, while maintaining his native culture. His early life in America helps to fill the void in nineteenth-century studies of Americanization and provides a closer look at one of the most prominent German-Americans of this period.

Born in the village of Sinsheim, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, 18 November 1824, "little Franz" was the third child and eldest son of Moritz and Anna Marie Pauline Lichtenauer Sigel. He received an exceptional education at the Karlsruhe Military Academy, which he recalled "was as fine a school as West Point."³ It was a grueling three years that tested his loyalties and devotion to the German hierarchy, since the academy attempted to infuse more than just a military education. It tried to instill duty, patriotism, and honor in the young man, which eventually brought him into conflict with his superiors, since he never gave ground on issues of judgment. The Baden uprisings, however, afforded Sigel the opportunity to put his own sense of righteousness over the military's. He believed he should prescribe the terms of virtue to which he would adhere. Although a champion of idealism, liberalism and democracy, he failed to achieve the goals of his followers. The lack of leadership, organization, focus and total commitment all led to the demise of the revolution in Germany. The authority of the German states was united in demonstrating its position over the people and more uncompromising in its principles. Sigel, like many young intellectual revolutionaries, was among those who believed German unification would provide greater economic opportunities for the German people and was willing to sacrifice his life to achieve greater democracy. He fought intensely against the Prussians and "the generalship displayed in [the] Baden campaign won for him among German-Americans a prestige which amounted to idolatry."⁴ His failures on the battlefield were overshadowed by his devotion to the revolutionary movement. Although the revolutionaries failed in their attempt to defeat the Prussians, they immortalized their common experience as the last great struggle for humanity and with it they immortalized Sigel. When he crossed the Rhine into Switzerland in July 1849, his friends and comrades never forgot his devotion to the revolution and most remembered him as the "great general."⁵

If the Badensians clung to the hope that one day Sigel would return to stir up new revolutions, the Prussians wanted to capture him and crush that hope. After the fall of Rastatt, Sigel became a political refugee desperately seeking safety. He was one of a diverse group of European revolutionary dreamers who had fled to Switzerland for protection. His passage through the rugged terrain of southern Europe nearly killed him. Although he utilized

some underground contacts to make his way to safety, Sigel often had to live off milk and chestnuts and remain in hiding since he knew the Prussians were pursuing him closely. Throughout August and September he remained in Switzerland but out of the social circles. He contemplated traveling to Austria to participate in the insurrection in Vienna. In October he secretly left St. Gallen with a false passport, passed through enemy lines, went to Tyrol and eventually to Vienna. He looked forward to meeting the patriot Robert Blum, a well-known revolutionary, and fighting with the Austrian people against their emperor. Before he reached Vienna, however, the Austrian government had suppressed the rebellion. Sigel appeared to be a rebel without a cause. He then traveled to Hungary to "fight with Kossuth." Louis Kossuth was a radical nationalist seeking independence and a parliamentary government for Hungary. Like the German revolutionaries, Kossuth also was influenced by the French revolution and by 1849 was involved in a civil war in Hungary. By 31 October, however, the revolution was spent and nationalist impulses were destroyed. Unfortunately, the Austrians arrested Sigel along with hundreds of radicals. He was about to be handed over to the German authorities who, Sigel said, "would have made short work of me," when friends helped him escape. He returned to Switzerland in late 1849 where he remained for some time.⁶

Switzerland was good to Sigel. Under the assumed name of Monsieur Roberts, he was able to travel more freely but was always aware that the Prussian spies were after him. He traveled through Zurich, Bern, and finally arrived in Geneva. He took up residence outside the city in the village of Aux Paquis and remained there for almost a year. Geneva was, as Sigel heard, filled with "such an atmosphere of freedom and liberty" and perhaps the "freest city in the whole world." He studied the Italian language and kept abreast of events in Germany. He made frequent visits to the hotel Campagne Brandt, which had become a center for exiled revolutionaries. There he met several refugees and discussed the possibilities for future campaigns in Germany.⁷

Sigel became a close friend of Giuseppe Mazzini, the Italian nationalist. He was immediately taken with Mazzini, exclaiming, "he made at once the impression of a very important man on me, but also seemed to be an honest man for whom his convictions went above everything else." "His pale features," Sigel described, "showed a restless work and worry," and "his high forehead, [and] big dark eyes showed a clearness and depth of thought and his way of speaking showed the feeling of a noble heart."⁸ Mazzini treated the young German as a father would his son and often gave him advice. He stressed to Sigel that the German revolutionaries should get money through contributions of friends to sponsor an agitation league. Mazzini's idea would eventually be utilized and Sigel would become part of such a league when he later moved to London. These ideas were also emphasized by the Italian romantic adventurer Giuseppe Garibaldi, a fervent republican, who became an acquaintance of Sigel's. Garibaldi immortalized his name, when in 1860 he led his "red shirts" to rescue his fellow Italians from the oppression of the Bourbon

King Francis II. Both men unknowingly made an impact on the impressionable German, but it was difficult for Sigel to conceive of such plans under the present circumstances since he feared being captured.⁹

At twenty-five Sigel was still searching for some direction in his life. He agonized over whether or not to return permanently to the fatherland. Because of his Baden military blunders, he questioned his leadership abilities but the immodest opinion he had of himself as a soldier removed doubts about his performance in the field. For a while he thought of returning to Germany and wrote articles for Italian and German newspapers about the need for a new revolution. He contributed articles to Mazzini's Italian newspaper including one entitled "Tyranny," an exposé on the problems with the existing German structure. He wrote an essay for the *Basler Nationalzeitung* entitled "A Project of Invasion," which he hoped would inspire a new revolution. In his spare time he edited a series of army journals in German, some of which were eventually adopted by the Prussian army corps, which, if nothing else, reflected his military education at Karlsruhe despite his combat experience. By early September, two friends of Sigel's, James Fazy and Louis Frappolli, informed him that the Prussian spies were on to him because of his writings and that he needed to leave. Frappolli urged Sigel to journey with him to Lugano, located in Italian Swiss Tessin. In mid-September 1850, the two men left Geneva and headed for Lugano.¹⁰

It was difficult for Sigel to leave the "freest city in the world," and be on the run again, but he had no alternative. After traveling by carriage and on foot through the Rhine Valley Sigel and Frappolli finally made it to Lugano in late September. Sigel's first impressions of what he called "one of the most beautiful cities in Switzerland" were lasting impressions. He later compared the grandeur of this region to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia when he was transferred from the Western Theater to the Eastern Theater of the Civil War in America. At Lugano he met refugees from all over Europe, including members of an agitation league. He lived with an Italian family who helped him master the Italian language. He toured the city incognito and managed to get to the theater quite often, something he had been unable to do since before his exile. He had acquired a taste for the finer things in life and the theater was one of his fancies but his social pursuits had been overcome by the revolutionary upheaval in 1848 and his subsequent participation in the movement. He had not played the piano with any intensity since his school days and longed for the days when he could once again engage in the luxuries afforded him by free time. But he knew that as long as the Prussians pursued him he had to keep traveling.¹¹

Frappolli stayed with an English woman in Lugano to avoid suspicion by local authorities. Sigel benefitted greatly from this situation because when he visited Frappolli the woman taught him the English language, which eventually made his transition from Europe to America much smoother. He made good use of his time in Lugano and continued his quest for inspiring a new German

revolution, the very reason the Prussians wanted him captured. His determination to foster such ideas was indicated by the continuance of his contributions to newspapers and journals, despite his knowledge of being pursued by the enemy. His radical literature appeared in major newspapers in Switzerland and France and had become the reason and now the justification for which he would be banished from the country he had come to love. Although the Swiss people were sympathetic to the exile, his radical ideas and potential for troublemaking had convinced the Swiss government that his presence was no longer desirable.¹²

One day in early April, Frappolli and Sigel were having lunch at a café when they were approached by a gentleman, who turned out to be a Swiss soldier in disguise and arrested Sigel. He was escorted by the Swiss gendarmes back to his apartment where he packed a suitcase and hid his writings in the fireplace. When word spread that Sigel had been caught a crowd of rioters protesting his arrest gathered in front of his apartment. Sigel was personally called upon to disperse the crowd. After this incident Sigel was given the choice of either being sent to Germany or France. He graciously chose the latter and was transported to Basel, given a passport to the United States, and handed over to the French commission.¹³

In France it became apparent to Sigel that he could never return to Germany. He had been reading about the hundreds of imprisonments by the Prussians in Germany and hoped his family had escaped. Unfortunately, several members of Sigel's family had been captured by the Prussians. Sigel feared for all their lives since he had heard only rumors about the whereabouts and safety of his family. He hoped that they would one day be reunited and eventually they were reunited on foreign soil where he, like his brothers, became American citizens.¹⁴

In the meantime, Sigel made the most of his time in France. He stayed in Paris and in the company of a French friend went to the theater and the numerous cafés, which were scattered along the Champs Élysées. It was at a German-French café where he met General Alexander Schimmelfennig, a Prussian officer who fled after the 1848 revolt with Ludwig Blenker and Friedrich Hecker. Sigel and Schimmelfennig became friends and eventually fought together in the Shenandoah Valley during the American Civil War. Schimmelfennig introduced Sigel to Carl Schurz, a doctoral candidate at the University of Bonn when the 1848 Revolution broke out, who had joined the revolutionary forces to fight for the same ideals shared by his comrades. Schurz later fled to Switzerland but returned to Germany and was among those in the fort at Rastatt when it succumbed to the Prussians in 1849. He escaped through a sewer and later fled to the United States, fought in the Civil War and eventually became a champion of the Liberal Republican movement of the 1870s. When Schimmelfennig introduced the two to one another, he took off his hat, placed it on Sigel's head, gave him his coat and said, "now you are free." Sigel, however, was not free, and like other German exiles, realized

that it was not safe to stay in Paris, since the Prussian authorities pressured the French government for their return. Soon after he left Paris under police escort and near the end of April, Sigel boarded the steamer *Franklin*, which was en route to England.¹⁵

By this time England had long become the stepping stone to America for thousands of refugees. Sigel stopped off in England mainly because he was not sure about leaving the Old World. He was still too young, he thought, to be confronted with such major decisions concerning his future and needed more time to think about his situation carefully and about the possibilities still afforded him. He could not help but feel traitorous to the cause of liberalism and to those he left behind. When he arrived in London he took up residence with a Protestant minister who was sympathetic to the young refugee. He was fortunate to make friends with a Dr. Goetz, whose wife was known as the "mother of the exiles." Mrs. Goetz tutored Sigel in English and helped him get a job using his musical talents in the World Exhibition in the Crystal Palace. He was an accomplished pianist and earned his keep playing the piano in the Chinese Exhibit, a sideshow of the World's Exhibit. He continued his literary pursuits by writing for the *Times* of London and other newspapers and journals. In his spare time he socialized with other exiles including Amand Gögg, Gottfried Kinkel, Joseph Fickler, Gustav Struve, and occasionally Karl Marx. Together, these exiles made up a "colorful and turbulent colony" of political refugees who tried to influence Germans in America to support a second "republican uprising in Germany." Sigel became active in the organization of a German democratic opposition and agitation league, which, from the very beginning, was plagued with internal problems. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels detailed these problems and ridiculed Sigel for his participation in this league in "Die Großen Männer des Exils." The German Agitation Union of London, of which Sigel was also a member, included several of Sigel's friends, in particular Arnold Ruge, a well-known German writer and philosopher. Ruge, who lived in Brighton, asked Sigel to translate his German works into English. Sigel graciously accepted and did most of his work at the New Brighton Library where he had access to a variety of materials. It afforded him the opportunity to study American history and government, perfect his English writing skills, and for the time being relieved him from the pressure of making monumental decisions.¹⁶

Sigel became quite popular in England by moving in the right social circles. He was often entertained by exiles and friends including Gottfried Kinkel, August Willich, Joseph Mazzini and Alexander Schimmelfennig. By the end of 1851 he had met a young woman who would change his life. Elsie Dulon, born in Bremen, was the eldest daughter of Rudolph Dulon, who had been a pastor in Bremen and Magdeburg, and was a Prussian revolutionary in 1848 and 1849. He was a noted freethinker and had been arrested in 1851 for publishing radical material in the press. He was forced into exile and journeyed to New York City two years later where he became well-known for

his educational activities among the Germans. In 1855 he opened the Feldner School, a German-American Institute, and employed Sigel as a professor. Elsie and Franz courted frequently and the young German fell in love immediately. Elsie was the embodiment of the perfect woman, in his eyes. She was bright, pleasant, proper and a stickler for detail. She came to admire him for his ambitious nature and unflinching desire to promote the causes of the people. They would eventually marry, but for the time being they had to be content with courting since Sigel was preparing to leave for America.¹⁷

In the spring of 1852, Sigel reached yet another turning point in his life. He recalled at the time that "after a great struggle within myself . . . I [decided] to set sail for a new home." With the aid of an American consul, "Mr. Crosby," Sigel made the necessary preparations to embark for the United States. The indecision of whether to leave Europe or stay made him ill. He could think of several reasons to stay including Elsie, but ultimately knew the Prussians would catch up with him. On 1 May 1852, Sigel boarded the steamer *George Washington* and departed for the United States. He had great expectations of the land of "Jefferson, Franklin and Washington."¹⁸

Many refugees who sailed from England harbored romantic illusions of America. "These new argonauts seeking the golden fleece of liberty," were men of spirit, devotion, education and idealistic notions.¹⁹ They were determined to preserve their culture in the high tide of nativism in the New World. After two weeks of "weary travel" the German forty-eighters, as they came to be known, arrived in New York harbor. The forty-eighters were few in number when compared to those Germans who came to America because of material hardship. They brought with them the "legacy of Europe's revolutionary traditions from Jacobin republicanism to utopian socialism and Marxian communism."²⁰ They were a community of exiles who had a common bond of language and experience in a new world, but the new experiences they encountered forced them to adapt their political ideas to realities. They viewed the United States as the constitutional republic they failed to achieve in Germany, and yet now questioned their place in the American political party process. Some accepted America as home, while others, less tolerant of American institutions, did not and tried to reorganize a revolutionary movement in their adopted land. They received sympathy but no support. Sigel recalled at the time that it was a difficult experience for the exiles who arrived in 1852-53 since the political upheaval in the United States left even Americans searching for new parties. It was hard for the Germans to understand the party system and a federalized structure, since their culture had not yet politically unified. The forty-eighters almost immediately had to choose between parties, issues, and concepts that were unfamiliar to them. Slavery, nativism, temperance, and reform clouded their romantic illusions and their assimilation into the American culture would depend on how their native leaders would lean.²¹

When Sigel arrived on 15 May he was met by his younger brother Emil, whom Sigel had informed of his departure from England some weeks prior. His first glimpse of America was overwhelming. New York was a metropolis of over a half million people and the embodiment of the ethnic melting pot of the United States. Sigel was among those intellectuals and professionals who had idealistic visions of America, and of the "grand portal entrance to the Republic of Freedom." The forty-eighters, however, were perceived by native Americans as "hair-lipped Germans and red republicans," who by their very nature were pompous, arrogant, and critical of many American institutions including education, politics, and slavery.²² Although many refugees initially found assimilation difficult, Sigel was fortunate to view his trip across the Atlantic as a liberating experience. What he had been vainly seeking in Germany he discovered in rich abundance in his adopted land. He found new opportunities in an environment filled with freedom and livelihood, which had previously been "forbidding, alienating and hostile." Like many of the mid-century emigrants from Central Europe, Sigel continued to cling to his native culture and language, but enthusiastically embraced all he had hoped to find in the American culture.²³

Sigel's first employment in the United States was tutoring in four of the five languages he had mastered, including French, Italian, English and his native tongue. He also gave fencing lessons at the local gymnasiums associated with the turner society. For the first few weeks he managed to survive by working on the railroads and canals. He sympathized with those forty-eighters who "had learned everything except what would be useful to them in America," and he consequently saw professors and writers who could quote Shakespeare but were forced to support themselves "by making cigars, acting as waiters or house servants, boot-blacks or street sweepers," and mere laborers.²⁴ At night Sigel used his musical talents by playing piano in local German-American clubs. By early summer he managed to get full-time employment with a drafting company on Staten Island and worked as a surveyor and apprenticed as a draftsman. By the end of 1852 Sigel had achieved some economic independence and decided to remain in New York City. His parents and his brother, Albert, had finally ventured to the United States and Sigel was now reunited with his family.²⁵

In the summer of the following year, Franz and Albert founded a cigar store on Canal Street and became devoted tobacconists. For the time being Sigel seemed satisfied with earning a modest living and later wrote that his experience as a tobacconist made him aware of the truly American dream of becoming successful. In just a short time the Sigel brothers managed to make their new enterprise a financial success. This allowed Franz sufficient time to become involved in German societies and committees. He never forgot he was "a citizen of two worlds," a refugee from the old and an intruder in the new. Toward that end he maintained ties with the fatherland and devoted some time to propagandizing the need to restore liberalism and republicanism in Europe.

He joined Arnold Ruge's and Amand Gögg's "People's League," which advocated financial assistance from Americans who called themselves republicans to help their comrades in Germany. Both Ruge and Gögg were close friends of Sigel, and both men emigrated to America after the German revolution. Gögg, like Ruge, had known Sigel in England and apparently had a high opinion of the "General" saying on one occasion, "this little beardless man who reminds one in his whole being of Napoleon . . . a hero, a man of the future, most of all in genius, productive in spirit and restlessly busy with new plans."²⁶ Karl Marx, who ridiculed Sigel and other radical forty-eighters, differed greatly in his estimation of the German's abilities saying,

the battles in which he did not fight are the best known . . . he was really not able to understand well-done maneuvers . . . and in his daily orders . . . seems like a priest and while he develops very little style his intentions [are] better than Napoleon and holier than the Pope.²⁷

Clearly the factions within the German émigrés of the mid-century either approved of Sigel and assessed his abilities positively or disapproved of the German commander and portrayed him as a blunderer.²⁸

In America the so-called radicals created plans to encourage support for German republicanism, and Sigel insisted on some of Mazzini's techniques including propagandizing financial assistance to those in the fatherland. One of the foremost advocates of a second German revolution was Gottfried Kinkel, also a friend of Sigel's. Kinkel had participated in the 1848 Revolution, was wounded, and eventually captured by the Prussians. Carl Schurz finally helped him escape from Spandau Prison and flee to Switzerland and then to England. Recently arrived in New York, Kinkel demonstrated the need for a new revolution and tried to acquire a loan to finance one. The faction of the forty-eighters that opposed Kinkel was led by Joseph Fickler, Amand Gögg, August Willich, Carl Heinzen, and Sigel.²⁹

Although Sigel associated with radical German elements, and indeed was a radical, he never considered himself one, and merely fought for what he considered right on "both sides of the ocean." He wrote in his later years that during the German revolution and his subsequent exile to America he had encouraged people to fight for the rights entitled to them as individuals. He believed that this should not have been viewed as radical but revolutionary, and even that seemed too strong a word. To establish a reform-oriented government and social structure was something the Americans had done in 1776, and Sigel knew that although the American Revolution was in its very nature a revolutionary break from the age of kings and queens, it served as a unifying device for an emerging nation. He was very concerned about how governments functioned, and he utilized his literary talents to raise the political conscience of the Germans in America, especially since the idea of a second

revolution had worn off by the mid-1850s. He wrote articles for the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* and the *New York Times*, espousing his liberal views and urging his comrades to channel their revolutionary zeal into reform in America to combat against nativism, temperance and slavery.³⁰

In January 1854 Sigel reached another turning point in his life, one he later recalled as the most memorable. He married Elsie Dulon after almost two years of a courtship that had once spanned the Atlantic, but now spanned only a few city blocks. Elsie had recently moved to the United States with her family and resided in New York City. Elsie was everything Franz could hope for in a wife. The charming bride fully understood Sigel's ambitious nature. She was devoted to helping her husband achieve the goals in which he so passionately believed. After they were married Sigel left the family cigar business and helped his new father-in-law organize a German-American Institute. Both Dulon and Sigel were concerned over the "shortcomings" in the American school system, especially in the training of teachers, and that the present educational system manifested "certain defects." The German-American Institute or Feldner School was created, according to its founders, out of a need for a more challenging curriculum and higher educational standards. The Feldner School opened in 1855 and Sigel became a professor of mathematics, American history, and languages. He also gave piano lessons and was the fencing master. He instantly became popular for his teaching ability and the school became widely known for its educational contribution in the German community throughout the United States. He broadened his educational endeavors by teaching English in the night school of Public School Number One. He drilled students at the institute three times and gave them instructions on military tactics. At one point he issued and edited *Die Revue*, a monthly literary, military, and technical magazine devoted to educating local military organizations.³¹

Meanwhile, Sigel became involved with the German turner movement in New York. The turners, first organized in 1811, in Berlin, by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn were devoted to physical training, which at that time included gymnastic activities and prescribed various fitness programs. The American version of the turner society was patterned after the German *Turnvereine*. It created a demand for gymnasiums where students could go to learn the essentials of physical fitness. The first turner society in New York was organized in 1848 where the ideals included more than just the development of a sound body. This organization advocated a "sound mind in a sound body." The New York turners helped the forty-eighters and Sigel become Americanized. Though it continued to be predominantly a German organization and used German as its official language, it served as a bridge between the newcomers, those arriving in the United States in the 1850s, and other, more established German-Americans who participated in the turners' activities. Both Americans and Germans benefitted greatly since it allowed them the opportunity to come together on some common ground.

Sigel was fortunate because he was conversant in English and was able to become a leader in the New York turners through the use of his language skills. He was involved in the chess club, library club, the choir and became the first fencing master. He became an ardent spokesman for the society in New York. He wrote several pamphlets promoting the society including "School of People," which emphasized the need for more involvement in such organizations. He also published a manual of gymnastics and fencing that sold over two thousand copies. On Sunday he conducted a German-American church school for children at the turner hall. Sigel became popular enough to be elected president of the *Turnverein* and on one occasion was the Grand Marshal of the annual *Turnfest* and gymnastic spectacle. It was his association with the turners that allowed Sigel to become more involved with American institutions and assimilate more easily into the American culture.³²

In the fall of 1854 Sigel joined the 5th New York militia, of which he would eventually become an honorary member. The 5th New York was the oldest and considered the best of the German militias. He became involved as an instructor in military tactics and was instrumental in the organization of other local German militias. One regiment in particular, the 52nd, was called the "Sigel Rifles" and earned fame in the Civil War as part of the 3rd Brigade under Union General Edwin Sumner. Sigel enjoyed the opportunity to return to the military and the use of his teaching skills proved valuable to the 5th New York. Even if he had not earned fame in the German revolution as a military commander, his military education and subsequent teaching in America earned him respect.³³

The general political ferment of the 1850s included such issues as slavery, abolition, nativism, immigration reform, and the temperance movement. Like many of the forty-eighters, Sigel was trying to fit into the American political process, cast his vote, and fulfill his newfound political obligation. He was confused about his place as a German-American in the German community as well as in American institutions. He questioned whether or not the political decisions he had made would be representative of his ethnic group or whether he had risen above such considerations. For the most part he made decisions that were in accordance with his ethnic group.

The Germans in America in the 1850s were a remarkably diverse and divided group. Sigel viewed the German relationship to the issues of the day as essential to achieving political unity, an idealistic and rather naive notion. Like many forty-eighters, he was outraged by slavery or what he called the "Black institution." He looked to those parties that condemned slavery to cast his vote. Unfortunately, the anti-immigrant sentiment, prevalent in the urban areas, found its way into the only parties that condemned slavery. Sigel was faced with a dilemma since he knew that the only two choices he had were the dying Whig party, which at the time was no match for the Democratic party, or the Know-Nothing party, which had been successful in restraining the increasing political power of the immigrants. Sigel despised the Know-Nothing

party and reluctantly joined the Whig party, which in 1848 had elected a slaveholding president. Although he joined the Whigs at a time when the party was dying, he hoped that a coalition of all the northern constituents would unite into one party and defeat the slavocracy of the southern Democrats. Sigel, because he was impatient for reform, became increasingly involved in the local political machinery designed to combat nativist organizations and found a new cause in which to espouse the same ideals he had fought for in Germany. The emergence of the sectional crisis concerned Sigel deeply, and the states' rights issue did not excite him as he refused "to follow those constitutional theories."³⁴

It was the slavery issue that drew Sigel and many Germans directly into national political activity, especially since they needed to unite with Americans on some common ground. He utilized his newfound idealism and talents for reform in the slavery crisis. He was Americanized by his opposition to the "peculiar institution," because in this way he could join northern counterparts who shared the same ideals and fulfill his American duty of voting. Both Americans and Germans shared the experience and the problems of the Kansas-Nebraska crisis of the mid-1850s. Sigel perceived, however, that "the problem of slavery [was] not the problem of the Negro. It [was] the eternal conflict between a small privileged class and the great mass of the non-privileged class, the eternal struggle between aristocracy and democracy."³⁵ He viewed the crisis on the frontier as larger than slavery and popular sovereignty. It was directly associated with class struggle all over America, not just in the slaveholding South but also in the wageholding North.³⁶

Out of the turmoil over the "Bleeding Kansas" crisis and other subsequent events the Republican party was born and in 1856 made its first bid for the presidency. John Charles Frémont, the pathfinder from California, was the party's candidate. It was during the 1856 election that political factionalism among the Germans became evident as thousands of German Democrats deserted the party and allied themselves with the Republican party. Obviously the German press was instrumental in persuading these Germans to abandon the party of slavocracy and follow them into the Republican ranks. These Germans were also concerned about both Catholic leadership in the party and Irish competition. Apparently, ethnic leaders like Sigel, who wrote for the German newspapers, were influential in convincing Germans that despite the fact that the Republican party harbored members of the old Know-Nothing party they were not the leaders of the new party. The Republican party recognized the potential for large numbers of German votes and "utilized every device to woo the [Germans]" into the party. Many turner societies, including the New York turners, endorsed Frémont because of his compassion for immigrants and his antislavery stance, chanted "Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Free Work, Free Kansas, Frémont."³⁷

Sigel became immersed in the political activity and vigorously promoted the new party, urging the German-American community to follow his lead. In

the 1856 campaign he joined with former Whigs like Friedrich Kapp, and moderate forty-eighters like Rudolph Lexow, editor of the *Belletristisches Journal*, and communist forty-eighters like Fritz Jacobi to hold a rally in support of the Republicans. Sigel was one of the elected officers of the meeting. The New York *Tribune* reported that the rally attracted almost four thousand Germans in its August meeting and in October attracted almost ten thousand.³⁸ Although his name became well-known at the local level, it was his western counterpart, Carl Schurz, recently returned from Europe, who performed the "herculean labors" of channeling the Germans into the party on the national level. Schurz had become influential in building Republican strength in the West from St. Louis. Both leaders favored the economic reforms proposed by Republican leaders and both opposed slavery, but they were concerned with temperance crusaders and religious fanatics within the party. Sigel was not a sectional fanatic, but based on what he knew from contemporary newspaper accounts and listening to what others had to say about slavery, he loathed the South's aristocratic, arrogant leadership and its barbaric "dirty institution." He viewed the Southern culture or condition as distinct but had never been to the region and formed his opinion based largely on the judgment of others. He did, however, educate himself on Southern culture by reading as much as he could on slavery. He recognized the dilemma of the slaves as having a dual character, one involving them as property, the other involving them as human beings. He believed he could identify, however, with the institution because it involved a class struggle of one class dominating another. The fact that the lower class was rendered ignorant and used as property compounded his abhorrence for the South. He therefore became a champion of the new party and was accepted as a leader among his native constituents in New York City.³⁹

In many ways the 1856 presidential campaign proved exciting and beneficial to the Germans. Although Republican John Frémont and Millard Fillmore of the American party lost to Democrat James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, the election had raised the political conscience of the Germans and had drawn thousands of Republicans and Democrats into the political arena. It also indicated that in the next four years both political parties would be looking for leaders among the Germans. Sigel had already become popular among the Germans for his work in the turner society and the 1856 campaign, and now Americans began to recognize his educational, military, and political talents.

By this time the center of German Republican strength was in the American Midwest and after the election Sigel had notions of traveling to St. Louis. Fortunately, in mid-August 1857 he had a chance to make an opportune move. Realizing that Sigel would be an asset to the popular Deutsches Institut in St. Louis, Dr. Adam Hammer, president of the institute, offered him a position as a professor. At first Sigel was hesitant about moving to the Midwest and leaving his work with the Feldner School and the New

York turners. He had finally found a home in New York City and had established some roots in the German-American community, something he had not been able to do since the German revolutions. He knew little about St. Louis but felt that Missouri was enmeshed in the sectional crisis and his antislavery views might lead to problems for his family. Other factors compounded his indecision. Elsie had borne their first child, Robert, in August 1856, and was pregnant with their second child, Paul, who was due in March of 1858. Despite her condition and the fact that she would be leaving her family in New York, Elsie encouraged her husband to make the career change. Sigel was reluctant to expose his family to the journey west but since the professorship increased his annual salary to \$800, he believed it would be good for his future and provide more security for his family. Therefore, in late August 1857 Sigel made preparations to leave New York City. He resigned from the Feldner School, the positions he held in the turners, the 5th New York militia, and embarked for the "gateway to the West."⁴⁰

If Sigel was active in New York City, he became even more enterprising in St. Louis. He arrived filled with a renewed vigor that only the booming Midwestern city could absorb. He received his teaching certificate in October and entered into his professional duties. He taught mathematics, English, French, German, American history, and military tactics, instituting the same demanding principles he established at the Feldner School. He became active in the fencing club and gave lessons in the art of swordsmanship, and joined the St. Louis turners. At one point, Sigel was appointed to the committee of safety and secret police designed to protect civilians from bandits, thieves and sectional fanatics. He was influential in the Union Clubs devoted to preserving the United States and abolishing slavery. The *Westliche Post*, a radical Republican German newspaper, was organized by Carl Dänzer, an opponent of Know-Nothingism and slavery, and provided an outlet for Sigel to espouse his views and encourage the Midwestern Germans to look to ethnic leaders within the Republican party for leadership in the national crisis.⁴¹

Meanwhile, Sigel joined Friedrich Kapp, Hugo Wesendonck, Frederick L. Olmstead, and George Opdyke in forming and promoting the *Interpreter*, a new monthly designed to educate Germans and Americans to better understand one another. The journal was a success and became widely read. He became active in the local militias and continued to write tactical journals. One such journal, entitled *Kavallerie-Reglement für deutsch-amerikanische Miliz-Compagnien*, was published in 1859. It soon became apparent that the name Sigel was synonymous with educational and military affairs and he became respected and popular among both Germans and Americans.⁴²

By early 1860 Sigel had reached another turning point in his life. He was now the father of two sons, a third child was expected in February, he was a professor at the highly acclaimed Deutsches Institut, active in the turners and various other organizations, an American citizen, and recently appointed a district superintendent in the St. Louis public school system. It appeared as

though the middle-aged professor had accepted the genteel life of teaching and raising his children. The coming election, however, changed his life because he could not refrain from getting involved in politics and campaigning for the Republicans. There was no question about his commitment to the Union or to the party of Lincoln—just as there had been none to the liberal views and abolition of monarchy in Germany—and these commitments eventually drew him into the Civil War. Sigel, like many Germans prior to the 1860 election, supported John Frémont but now campaigned for Abraham Lincoln. By now the Republican party became the chief means by which forty-eighters entered mainstream politics. While some Germans, including Sigel, privately doubted Lincoln's commitment to abolition and the destruction of the Southern culture, they publicly supported him and felt confident that their vote could win him the election. Toward that end, Sigel traveled the Midwest vigorously campaigning for the Republican party and Lincoln. Although he became known locally for his patriotic appeal, it was again Carl Schurz who traveled the national circuit urging Germans to support Lincoln. The Republicans looked to Schurz to reduce the normal Democratic majority among German-Americans. Despite their efforts, a significant number of Germans remained Democratic simply because they felt alienated by some Republican issues.⁴³

The outcome of the 1860 election is well-known; Lincoln won a decided victory over three other presidential candidates, Stephen A. Douglas, John C. Bell, and John C. Breckinridge. The issues of slavery and states' rights split the Democratic party, giving the Republicans a distinct advantage. The German vote may not have been as decisive as it was wanted or expected to be but it was significant, especially in the Midwest. Sigel's political popularity increased as a result of the election because of his association with the victorious party. He continued to expound the issues even after the polls closed. In an article written for the *Mississippi Blätter* entitled, "Can the United States Tolerate a Black Confederacy at its Side," he expressed his desire to prevent the establishment of a confederacy.

The Free States cannot tolerate an American Russia as a neighbor. The men of the Free States cannot submit to the care and the cost of protecting their frontier by a girdle of forts and maintain a large army to face the mercenaries of the Southern despotism. Nor will they submit to an examination of passes in going from state to state nor find a path to California by way of British America or round Cape Horn. Free unhampered states in the South and free communication through the whole South—freedom of speech and the press, no restriction to the right to meet and to arm, sacredness of the person in political and religious convictions, free untrammelled ballot; these are the rights which the real republic and national government must maintain even with force of arms if necessary in the North as well as in the South,

because they are the essential attributes of a republican constitution, and because they are clearly expressed in the Constitution of the United States.⁴⁴

Sigel's political views concerning the South and a republic in this instance reflect his increasing Americanization. He was concerned about issues which had divided the United States, and although he had always considered oppression as an element leading to the destruction of a nation, it was the first time he could use his Americanness to share these ideals and unite with Northerners on some common ground. In this way, Sigel assimilated into American society through politics. Fortunately, his Republican American counterparts viewed his antislavery stance as beneficial to their cause, since the Germans could swell the Republican ranks.

As a result of Lincoln's election, South Carolina seceded from the Union in December and by February of the following year six other states bolted as well. Confederates believed secession to be a legal and revolutionary right, although Unionists felt otherwise. Unionists believed secession a treasonable offense, punishable by death. While Lincoln remained without authority, President Buchanan declared secession illegal and condemned Republican leaders for their antagonism toward the South's peculiar institution. He thought they were provoking disunion. Throughout the "great secession winter" compromise measures were undertaken but seemed hopeless at best since, according to New York Senator William Seward, the country was on the verge of an "irrepressible conflict" between "opposing and enduring forces."

Meanwhile, Southern delegates formed a constitution in Montgomery, Alabama, elected Mississippian Jefferson Davis as president, and on 22 February 1861 the Confederacy was born. As Americans anxiously looked on awaiting the inevitable, the "Damned Dutch" looked to their native comrades for leadership. Like many Germans, Sigel questioned his mission in the approaching conflict. Gustav Struve, an old comrade of Sigel's in Germany and now one of those forty-eighters in search of some direction summoned up the position of the Germans:

In Germany, disunion was our curse; but in this country we are united with all people who have found an asylum in this glorious country, and before all with the sons of the patriotic founders of the great republic which has adopted us. The same spirit which lived in us in 1848 is still living in us The question now is between secession and Union and liberty and slavery.⁴⁵

Because a majority of the German forty-eighters had military experience they were among the first Germans to join the Union ranks. Sigel was no exception as he saw the war as an opportunity to advance his German ideals in an American context. It has been said that the Civil War finally

Americanized these Germans, but the emphasis on their Germanness actually became stronger during this era. Sigel became an exponent of all these ideas. He had been absorbed into mainstream American political, economic and social structures during the 1850s. It was in the pre-Civil War decade that Sigel asserted his Americanness to achieve some common ground with Americans. The Civil War ultimately forced him to use his ethnicity and the political system to accomplish military objectives.

Although he was still teaching at the Deutsches Institut when hostilities broke out, he believed war was justified since the South had formed a Confederacy. He became a role model for hundreds of Missouri Germans who wanted to aid in the preservation of the Union, and fight for their adopted country, while maintaining their ethnicity. He had been lionized earlier in America by the German press for his role in the German revolution and many Germans felt he would fight with the same vigor against the Confederates as he had against the Prussians. It was Sigel's misfortune, however, that he, like many German soldiers, would have to fight two enemies, one in the front and one in the rear. The opportunity to give up the pen, take up the sword, and get back in the saddle to fight for his beliefs as he had in Germany had arrived. This time, however, he donned the blue coat which earned him the name "Yankee Dutchman."⁴⁶

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Notes

¹ Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 1-2; Adolf E. Zucker, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 187.

² Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 58-60.

³ "Autobiographical Sketch," Franz Sigel Collection, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, OH. Hereinafter cited as "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

⁴ Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, 187; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

⁵ "Autobiographical Sketch," Franz Sigel Collection, New York Historical Society, New York, NY. Hereinafter cited as "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS.

⁶ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Franz Sigel, "Memoirs," *The Nation* 76 (January 1903): 35; Franz Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten des Generals Franz Sigel aus den Jahren 1848 and 1849* (Mannheim: Verlag von J. Bensheimer, 1902), 137-38.

⁷ Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 137-38; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

⁸ Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 137-38; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

⁹ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 137-38; Personal Papers, Franz Sigel Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO. Hereinafter cited as Personal Papers, Sigel Collection, MHS.

¹⁰ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; Sigel, "Memoirs," *The Nation*, 35-36; Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 137-39.

¹¹ Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 142-43; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; C. W. Schlegel, *Schlegel's German-American Families in the United States* (New York: American Historical Society, 1915), 1:23-24; Personal Papers, Sigel Collection, MHS.

¹² Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 142-43; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

¹³ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 142-43; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 23-24; *The Missouri Republican* 19 July 1861; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 177; Alfred von Rohr Sauer, "The Curious Career of General Franz Sigel," presented at St. Louis Civil War Round Table, February 1987.

¹⁴ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 22-28; Paul F. Guenther, "Albert Sigel: St. Louis German Poet," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* 36 (1980): 156-61. There are few manuscripts in any of the Sigel Collections, in Europe or America, which contain information about Sigel's family during and after the German revolution, and virtually no secondary sources which trace his family's migration from Germany to the United States.

¹⁵ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 143-44; Alfred C. Raphelson, "Alexander Schimmelfennig: German-American Campaigner in the Civil War," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 87 (April 1963): 158-59; *Reading Gazette and Democrat*, 16 September 1865; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 22-24; see also Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, biographical listings in the appendix; Wilhelm Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkriege* (München and Berlin: Druck und Verlag von R. Oldenburg, 1916), 553.

¹⁶ Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 144; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; see also the George Bliss Papers in the NYHS; Personal Papers, Sigel Collection, MHS; Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Die Großen Männer des Exils," ed. Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus, *Marx Engels Werke* (1964) 8:233-335, especially 313-15, 328-29; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 90-95; Carl Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Carl Heinzen, 1809-80* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 89, 262; see also Steven Rowan, "The Strange Fate of the Sigel Papers in St. Louis," paper presented at the 14th Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, Indianapolis, April 1990, pp. 5-6.

¹⁷ Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 144; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; Steven Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri. Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1847-1862* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1983), 295; Franz Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives, Washington, DC; Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Baden-Württemberg, *USA und Baden-Württemberg in ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen* (Stuttgart, 1976), 80-82; The Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison was extremely helpful in locating some invaluable material on Franz Sigel.

¹⁸ Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 58; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 147; Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, *USA und Baden-Württemberg*, 80-82.

¹⁹ Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 58.

²⁰ Stanley Nadel, "The Forty-Eighters and the Politics of Class in New York City," in Charlotte Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 51.

²¹ James M. Bergquist, "The Forty-Eighters and the Politics of the 1850's," in Hans Trefousse, *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration* (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1980), 112-14; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 50-60; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Rowan, "Sigel Papers," 8-10; Bonnie J. Krause, "German-Americans in the St. Louis Region, 1840-1860," *Missouri Historical Review* 83 (April 1989): 296; Nadel, "The Forty-Eighters" 51; see also Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

²² As quoted in Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 61.

²³ Nadel, "The Forty-Eighters," 51-52; Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters*, 34; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 24; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 50-63; Blaich Family Papers, Blaich Family Collection, Bentley Historical Society, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; see also *New York in a Nutshell: Visitor's Handbook to the City* (New York: T. W. Strong, 1853), 9.

²⁴ Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 60-65; see also Heinrich Börnstein, *Geschichte der deutschen Schulbestrebungen* (Leipzig, 1884), 55.

²⁵ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 50-63; Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 295; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Guenther, "Albert Sigel," 156-61; Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkriege*, 553.

²⁶ Marx and Engels, "Die Großen Männer des Exils," *Marx Engels Werke*, 8:315.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 90-108; Marx and Engels, "Die Großen Männer des Exils," *Marx Engels Werke*, 8:315; Eitel W. Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1958), 157-61.

²⁹ Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika*, 157-61; Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, see biographical listings in the appendix for Kinkel; see also Gottfried Kinkel Collection, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

³⁰ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS: see also prewar journals, manuscripts and miscellaneous correspondence; Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, 117.

³¹ Records of German-American Conferences, German-American Institute Records, New York Public Library, New York, NY; Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 295; "Autobiographical," and prewar journals, manuscripts and miscellaneous correspondence, Sigel Papers, NYHS; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; *New Yorker Criminal Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, 23 February, 13, 27 July, 28 September 1855; 18 July 1856; 14 July 1857—this was a weekly journal devoted to poetry, novels, cultural and literary materials; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, chap. 20; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 24-25; Bettina Goldberg, "The Forty-Eighters and the School System in America: The Theory of Practice and Reform," in Charlotte Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 207-10; Rudolph Dulon, *Aus Amerika über Schule, deutsche Schule, amerikanische Schule und deutsch-amerikanische Schule* (Leipzig und Heidelberg: C. F. Winter'sche Verlagshandlung, 1866), 141-62, 235-55.

³² Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, 112; Robert Wild, "Chapters in the History of the Turners," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 9 (December 1925): 126; Alfred F. Kierschner, "New York Turn-Verein 100th Anniversary," *American German Review* 16 (August 1950): 8-10; *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, 11 August 1859; *Baltimore Wecker*, 10 July 1858; *Wächter am Erie*, 16 April 1870; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Army*, 43; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 147-60, 195-200, 227, 282-83; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS.

³³ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Records of the 5th New York Militia, New York Historical Society, New York, NY.

³⁴ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 177-201; Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, 117, 212; Frederick C. Luebke, "German Immigrants and American Politics: Problems of Leadership, Parties and Issues," in Randall M. Miller, ed., *Germans in America: Retrospect and Prospect* (Philadelphia: The German Society of Pennsylvania, 1983), 60-63; Krause, "German-Americans," *Missouri Historical Review*, 308. Historian Carl Wittke suggests that much of the nativist antagonism was linked to intellectual Germans: "The superior attitude of German intellectuals toward American culture and institutions was partly responsible for the unfavorable reaction of many Americans toward the German immigrants" (178-79).

³⁵ Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, 117; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; on the Americanization of immigrants during the Civil War; see Fred Tangwell, "Immigrants in the Civil War: Some American Reactions," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1962. Franz Sigel really became Americanized in the decade before the American Civil War, since the process of

assimilation forced him to adapt more readily to the American political, economic and social customs. The Civil War itself ultimately allowed Sigel to assert his Germanness as a political weapon against the republican administration. It became Sigel's custom to use his ethnicity and political pressure during the Civil War to gain military pursuits.

³⁶ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 212-13; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Army*, 43; Wild, "History of the Turners," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 131; Krause, "German-Americans," *Missouri Historical Review*, 302; Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustav Koerner* (Cedar Rapids, IA: The Torch Press, 1909), 1:316, 341; 2:4; see also A. A. Dunson, "Notes on the Missouri Germans and Slavery," *Missouri Historical Review* 59 (April 1965): 359-65; Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* (New York: McClure Company, 1907), 2:39; see also the German radical press, for example, *Der Anzeiger des Westens*.

³⁷ Allan Nevins, *Frémont: The West's Greatest Adventurer* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928), 492-95; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 207-17; Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 26-27; Virgil C. Blum, "The Political and Military Activities of the German Element in St. Louis, 1859-1861," *Missouri Historical Review* 42 (January 1948): 107.

³⁸ *New York Tribune*, 22 August 1856; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Nadel, *Little Germany*, 135.

³⁹ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Nevins, *Frémont*, 492-95; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 207-17; Blum, "Activities of the German Element in St. Louis," *Missouri Historical Review*, 107; Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 26-27.

⁴⁰ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; Kierschner, "New York Turn-Verein," *American German Review*, 8-10; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 28-32, Robert Sigel was born 12 August 1856, Paul Sigel was born 1 March 1858, Rudolph Sigel was born 28 February 1860, Leila Sigel was born 27 August 1864, and Franz Sigel, Jr., 23 September 1872.

⁴¹ Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 41-43; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 25-26; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; Hans Christian Adamson, *Rebellion in Missouri, 1861: Nathaniel Lyon and His Army of the West* (Philadelphia and New York: Chilton Co., 1961), 14-15.

⁴² "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 277-78; Kierschner, "New York Turn-Verein," *American German Review*, 8-10; Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 128; George A. Townsend, *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant and His Romaunt Abroad During the War* (New York: Bloelock and Company, 1866), 232-33; *Anzeiger des Westens*, 17 September 1860; *Belletristisches Journal*, 20 January 1860; Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:39-41; see also Personal Papers, Sigel Collection, MHS.

⁴³ "Autobiographical," and miscellaneous personal journals, and correspondence, Sigel Papers, NYHS; Andreas Dorpalen, "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 29 (January 1942): 61-64; *Daily Gazette* (Cincinnati), 2 February 1860; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 46; *Anzeiger des Westens*, 22 March 1860.

⁴⁴ Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 26; *Mississippi Blätter*, 2 December 1860; Jay Monaghan, "Did Abraham Lincoln Receive the Illinois German Vote," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 35 (1942): 133-39; see also James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) for the best general study of the Civil War.

⁴⁵ Frank Moore, ed., *Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events With Documents, Narrative, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry* (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1861-1868), 1:108; Jörg Nagler, "The Lincoln and Frémont Debate and the Forty-Eighters," in Charlotte Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 157; *Anzeiger des Westens*, 17 December 1860; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

⁴⁶ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; Lucy M. Schwienher, "The St. Louis Public Schools at the Outbreak of the Civil War," *Missouri Historical Review* 13 (October 1956): 10-22.