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The *American Liberal* (1854-55): Radical Forty-Eighters Attempt to Breach the Language Barrier

Communication between German-speaking Americans and their Anglophone neighbors through the medium of print has a long history. It was generally the dominant Anglo-American culture that used German newspapers, books, and tracts to influence political behavior and religious attitudes.¹ During the nineteenth century different elements of German-American society did attempt to reach a larger public by preaching, lecturing, and writing in English—or having their German texts translated.² The inability to speak English effectively was the bane of many aspiring prophets, politicians, and social reformers. As Carl Wittke has pointed out, Karl Heinzen's "command of English was so limited that it deprived him of all opportunity to reach larger American audiences."³ Germans who did reach a national audience, such as Gustav Körner, Franz Joseph Grund, Karl Follen, and Carl Schurz, were those who had mastered the language of the land.

The arena of journalism offered more promise. Bilingual newspapers—part German part English—have not usually been considered in political terms, but from 1831 to 1846 almost all such papers were opponents of the Democratic Party of Jackson and Van Buren (a phenomenon that deserves further investigation). Between 1848 and 1860 the bilingual tactic was still used by Whigs, Republicans, and sometimes by German-American labor groups.⁴ A closer look at Grund's *Pennsylvania German* (1840-41) reveals something more than a Whig campaign paper, for it contained an interesting garniture of prose and poetry—Byron's *Don Juan* for German readers, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, and Novalis for English readers.⁵

By the 1850s the secular press was dominated by forty-eighters, whose radicalism was hardly monolithic in character.⁶ But the general public did not discriminate and tended to regard these outspoken journalists as either heroes or villains. This turbulent decade of political and economic crisis was accompanied by a resurgent nativism that was both anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant. The spring elections of 1854 saw

the first phenomenal success of the Know-Nothing party at the polls. In the fall elections the party triumphed in Massachusetts, Delaware, and Pennsylvania (in alliance with the Whigs), and sent about seventy-five sympathetic congressmen to Washington.⁷ Germans were understandably alarmed.

The need for an English newspaper to present the "German" point of view was now a topic of some importance. In January 1851, Albert Gloss deplored the isolation of the German press and its failure to influence Anglo-Americans. His remedy was a German-English newspaper. Heinrich Börnstein, editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens* in St. Louis, commented on this suggestion and developed his own idea for a "German-English central organ" that would collect the best articles from the German press and publish them weekly with English translations. Immediately Börnstein received and printed a letter from Dr. Heinrich Wilhelm Gempp announcing the imminent appearance of a bilingual paper "free from all party ties" to be published as a weekly supplement to the *Anzeiger*.⁸ The *German-American—Der Deutsch-Amerikaner* made its bow on 8 March 1851, and on 25 April Börnstein and Gempp purchased the *Anzeiger* publishing company. Gempp's sudden death destroyed the partnership and after 1 June *The German-American* ceased to appear.⁹ Two years later, in July 1853, Börnstein began his own "organ of mediation between Anglo-American and German-American life"—a Sunday edition of the weekly *Anzeiger* in English which lasted about a year.¹⁰

During the early 1850s, forty-eighter radicals created several quasi-national associations for freethinkers and rationalists, the most important being the *Freimännervereine*, Free Congregations, and the Socialistic *Turnerbund*.¹¹ The Societies of Free Men, which flourished primarily in the Midwest, functioned as community centers for the unchurched: sponsoring lectures, gymnastic, vocal, and dramatic groups, and German-English schools.¹² They were also the most militant of forty-eighter organizations. Their program of anticlericalism, antipuritanism, materialism, and radical politics was presented with such lack of restraint that many Americans became convinced that German democracy and irreligion were inextricably connected. Although the Societies of Free Men shared the rationalism of the Free Congregations, they feared that atheism was developing its own priesthood and so opposed the employment of any regularly salaried speaker as a vestige of ecclesiasticism.

These organizations were natural targets for nativist politicians and journalists. John P. Sanderson in 1856 devoted eleven pages of his book *Republican Landmarks* to the dangerous hordes of German radicals, the Free Men in particular. "They come here," he wrote, "as disciples of Heine, who, in 1848, published his famous Democratic programme in Switzerland, one of the main features of which is, that there can be no true freedom until Christianity shall be abolished."¹³ Although the real culprit was probably Karl Heinzen,¹⁴ the very name Heine was anathema to many Americans, not to mention German-Americans.¹⁵

In 1850 Friedrich Hassaurek, who was then barely eighteen years old, founded the Cincinnati *Freimännerverein* which, if not the first, was

perhaps the exemplar for similar societies in other cities. Hassaurek's newspaper *Der Hochwächter* was their most important organ.¹⁶ Though German radicals indulged in imprudent attacks on American institutions—such as Heinzen's call for the abolition of the presidency—the centripetal force that held the Societies of Free Men together was antireligious fervor. Members were convinced, by their experiences in Europe, that religion was a gigantic plot conceived of by the clergy for the enslavement of mankind. This animus turned violent during the American tour of Papal Nuncio Gaetano Bedini in 1853-54, after which the Societies of Free Men steadily lost influence until the crisis of civil war made them irrelevant.¹⁷

During 1854 the fateful debate over the Kansas-Nebraska bill aroused Germans throughout the country to political action. A number of statewide conventions of radical German groups were held that year. The most important took place in March at Louisville and produced Karl Heinzen's *Louisville Platform*, a remarkable and influential program for social and political reform.¹⁸ Unfortunately, Heinzen's platform created a bitter split in the ranks of German radicals, which was quite evident when delegates from seventeen organizations in Ohio convened at Cincinnati's Freeman's Hall on 23 March 1854.¹⁹ Besides hammering out another lengthy platform, the Free Germans of Ohio voted to establish an English-language paper, possibly the most important item on their agenda.²⁰ Christian Esselen, whose personal journal *Atlantis* was one of the finest intellectual fruits of the forty-eighter renaissance, was called upon to implement this decision. Esselen wrote,

We stand between two fires: On the one side the slaveholding party with their caucuses, nominations, their corruption and demagoguery, threatens our political honor and independence; on the other side there stands nativism, with its fanatical puritanism, as dangerous today as in the time of Cromwell, with its hatred of the immigrant population, with its Sunday and temperance laws.²¹

By September the Central Committee of the Free Germans of Ohio (located in Cleveland) announced that John Hancock Klippart, the American-born editor of the *Democratic Transcript* in Canton, Ohio, was willing to undertake an English paper with German radical tendencies to be called the *American Liberal*. Cleveland was chosen as the place of publication.²²

Esselen, who moved to Cleveland prior to December 1854, agreed to serve as associate editor—which meant that he supplied original copy in German and Klippart made the English translations.²³ Many articles appeared in both Esselen's *Atlantis* (in German) and in the *American Liberal*, but the latter was basically more polemical, emphasizing party politics and questions of the day, while *Atlantis* took the higher road of objective analysis.²⁴ Nowhere in the new journal was there any mention of "German radicalism." Esselen as editor ensured moderation, intelligence, and high-minded idealism. The typical abrasiveness of German-American journalism was absent, for the *American Liberal* was presented

in the spirit of reconciliation as a journal "devoted to the development and affiliation of all American Citizens of whatever nativity."²⁵ It lacked sparkle, however, thanks to Klippart's rather pedestrian translations. Heinzen had called Klippart's *Democratic Transcript* "a very mediocre local sheet" and predicted that the *American Liberal* would be without any real influence since it was not published in New York.²⁶

On Wednesday, 20 December 1854, the *American Liberal* introduced itself with a long "Salutatory."

The special tendency of the Liberal will be to acquaint the Anglo-American citizens with the views and objects to be obtained, by the educated and liberal Germans resident in America. We take it for granted that an enterprize of this kind will not be unkindly received, and cheerfully promoted by our fellow citizens of both the English and German tongue. Harmonious relations will thus be established between the two nationalities, which have been partially commenced by political parties—further developed by social intercourse, but which have nevertheless not yet attained to that permanence and confidence which we think desirable to maintain uninterrupted amicable relations. . . .

Those who deem it important to view a subject from all points, it will well repay the pains, to examine closely the views presented by "foreigners" in relation to American institutions. . . . The study of politics, like that of anatomy, is best studied comparatively.

The program of the new journal was disarmingly presented: "We . . . advise all Germans to Americanize themselves as speedily as possible, but we do not understand by this to disclaim our nationality, but simply to employ it in the general purposes of American institutions." These "general purposes" were then specified: defense of the Declaration of Independence, support of the Republican Party, first priority to antislavery agitation, and repeal of the fugitive slave law. Other controversial issues were addressed with more circumspection. First was

a stumbling block which has heretofore caused considerable confusion in political ranks.—We mean the agitation of the Temperance question. The fact that the Germans as a mass, stand arrayed in the foremost ranks of opposition to the Maine-Law, is not based upon their love of spiritous liquors, but is based upon a sentiment of devotion to personal liberty and independence, which sentiment is an innate characteristic of all Germanic tribes.

Another thorny issue was religion, which the *American Liberal* diplomatically dismissed as "an affair of a strictly private nature and character." The paper's anti-Catholicism was far more acceptable (at least to non-Catholics) than its proposal to tax all churches and church property. The *American Liberal* also praised the common school system as "the most brilliant point of American institutions" and pledged itself to the transmission of German culture:

The American Liberal will thus supply a vacuum which appears to exist, namely, of affording the German population who are natives of this country, but who are not familiar with the German tongue, an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of existing German affairs in the English language, whilst at the same time the American will be enabled to form a more correct estimate of the German character, Literature, Politics, Science and Art.

It was all very earnest. Each weekly issue had four large pages with six columns of text per page. About half the content was devoted to domestic and European affairs, the rest to Esselen's essays, literature, and miscellaneous items. Among the literary contributions were translations from Goethe, Schiller, and Freiligrath, Shelley's "Man and Nature," and a number of sketches by George Lippard.²⁷ In February the *American Liberal* began to serialize "Book One" of Fichte's *Die Bestimmung des Menschen*, its first publication in the United States (and hitherto unrecorded). By 21 February the paper had agencies in twenty-five cities in fourteen states, including Texas, South Carolina, and New Hampshire. Almost all the agents were Germans.

With the issue of 14 March, the *American Liberal* was forced to adopt a smaller format—temporarily it was hoped, since the necessary weekly income of \$90 to \$100 was not forthcoming. The economic slump was partly to blame, but the paper's stand on Sunday laws, lack of religious freedom, religious hypocrisy, and puritanism also hampered sales, as Esselen candidly admitted.²⁸ The issue of 14 March is also notable for printing Heine's well-known condemnation of America from his book on Ludwig Börne—a very appropriate choice for an antislavery journal.²⁹

In the March number of *Atlantis*, Esselen announced suspension of the *American Liberal* and his own resignation as associate editor.³⁰ A deputation from Toledo wished to take over the paper which then had eleven hundred subscribers, almost all behind in their payments. For this purpose, a new committee was formed consisting of Jakob Müller, Peter Lenk, and Guido Marx, one of the owners of the *Toledo Express*. However, the move to Toledo was abandoned. An attempt to reorganize by selling shares was then undertaken, but to no avail. The *American Liberal* was irrevocably dead.³¹

Despite its faults and limited circulation, the paper was remarkably good. Even Samuel Ludvigh praised it highly in his own fashion.³² The *Cleveland Leader* commended the *American Liberal* as being "the recognized organ of the intelligent, anti-slavery Germans of the United States . . . destined to fill an important gap in American politics and social life."³³ As a unique example of forty-eighter journalism, the *American Liberal* well deserves to be rescued from oblivion.

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Notes

¹ Many examples may be found in Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984). The American Tract Society's *Amerikanischer Botschafter* (NY), founded in 1847, soon reached a circulation of 30,000. Noted in Moritz Wagner and Carl Scherzer, *Reisen in Nordamerika in den Jahren 1852 und 1853*, 2d ed. (Leipzig: Arnoldische Buchhandlung, 1857), 1:280. For a characteristic "infidel" attack on the Society, see Samuel Ludvigh, "Gruß! Der Herausgeber der Fackel an die amerikanische Höllen-Gesellschaft . . .," *Die Fackel* 7 (1853-54): 137-42.

² The predominantly German religious denominations made extensive use of translations. Radical propagandists rarely had the money for such purposes. While both Samuel Ludvigh and Karl Heinzen enjoyed long careers and were prolific writers, only some of Heinzen's works reached an English readership, and this was largely due to the efforts of the *Verein zur Verbreitung radikaler Prinzipien* (organized in 1865). On the origins of this Verein, see Cazden, *Social History*, 526-27. Samuel Ludvigh had no such backing. Late in 1868, a wealthy Chicagoan, identified only as "A. P.," offered to invest \$5,000 for an English translation of Ludvigh's liberal writings. It was, however, a meaningless gesture since Ludvigh died a few months later (*Die Fackel* 21 [1868-69]: 58).

³ Carl Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen (1809-80)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 138.

⁴ For details, see Cazden, *Social History*, 255-57, and 280-81, nn. 18-19, 23-24.

⁵ Grund's paper succeeded the *Deutsche National-Zeitung* (Philadelphia), published by C. F. Stollmeyer, on 14 March 1840. First called *The Pennsylvania German*, it soon changed its name to *Grund's Pennsylvania German*. After 31 October 1840 the paper was conducted entirely in German as *Grund's Pennsylvanischer Deutscher*. The last known issue is dated 13 March 1841.

⁶ Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), is the best introduction to forty-eighter radicalism.

⁷ Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1952), 388.

⁸ *Wöchentliches Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis), 8 February 1851. My translation. Hereafter cited as WAW. In 1851 Albert Gloss was very possibly a resident of Richmond, Virginia, since the following year he represented a *Komitee für europäische Revolution* from Richmond at the *Deutscher Revolutions-Congress* in Philadelphia (29 January-1 February 1852). The purpose of this congress was to raise money for a London-based group of revolutionaries led by Amand Goegg and Joseph Fickler, who were both in attendance. At this meeting the *Amerikanischer Revolutionsbund für Europa* was founded. See the report in the Philadelphia *Freie Presse*, 29 January 1852, reprinted in WAW, 14 February 1852; and C. F. Huch, "Revolutionsvereine und Anleihen," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, Nr. 18 (1910): 1-19.

⁹ Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1973-80), 1:255. Hereafter cited as Arndt-Olson.

¹⁰ WAW, 16 July 1853. My translation. Five thousand copies of the first issue were printed on 16 July 1853 edited by Louis Didier and Julius Neudorff. See also Arndt-Olson, 1:250. Börnstein was one of the few forty-eighters to accomplish the hat trick of publishing newspapers in both languages. In 1854 Christian Esselen reported that Theodor Gülich and Karl Röser were about to publish English newspapers, although neither seems to have succeeded. The forty-eighter Gülich was publisher of *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, IA), an independent paper founded on 15 November 1851, while Röser was publisher of the *Wisconsin's Demokrat* (Manitowoc) from October 1853 until January 1861 when it changed hands. See Esselen, "Die Thätigkeit der deutschen Vereine," *Atlantis*, n.s. 1 (June 1854): 232; and Arndt-Olson, 1:663.

¹¹ On the *Sozialistischer Turnerbund* see Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternbanner: Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit, 1848 bis 1918* (München: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1978); and Cazden, *Social History*, 646-47.

¹² On the St. Louis Society and its school, which were torn apart by internal dissension, see J. Lucas, "Aus der Sturm- und Drangperiode des 48er Deutschthums in

Amerika. (Der Verein freier Männer in St. Louis),'' *Amerikanischer Turner-Kalender* 2 (1881): 56-63.

¹³ John P. Sanderson, *Republican Landmarks: The Views and Opinions of American Statesmen on Foreign Immigration . . .* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1856), 219-29, here 219. The quotation continues:

Liberty to them is a vague and indefinite idea, and, under their guardianship, would soon be nothing more nor less than licentiousness. Imbued with the German philosophy of European revolutionary leaders, and filled with new, strange and bewildering theories of the destiny of man and of human society, they soon find, on their arrival here, that their ideas of universal happiness are not likely to be realized, in the present state of American society, or under the existing form of government, and they become accordingly the advocates for the abolition of both. Denying all imperfection in the nature of man, and finding the Christian religion in the way of their social and political reform, they do not hesitate to assail the religion as well as the government of our revolutionary ancestors. Organized under the style and title of *Free Germans*, they have their associations in all the principal cities of the Union.

¹⁴ The reference may have been to Heinzen's most popular atheistic tract, which in its first version appeared in Karl Heinzen, ed., *Die Opposition* (Mannheim: Hoff, 1846), 1-32, then as *Erst reine Luft, dann reinen Boden!* (Bern: Jenni Sohn, 1848). It was frequently printed in the United States as *Sechs Briefe an einen frommen Mann* (1853 etc.) and in English translation (1856 etc.). See Wittke's discussion in *Against the Current*, 158-60.

¹⁵ For an example, see Cazden, *Social History*, 308-9.

¹⁶ On Hassaurek, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Hassaurek, Friedrich." Details on the early days of *Der Hochwächter* and the *Freimännerverein* may be found in Joseph Rudolph, "Kurzer Lebensabriß eines achtundvierziger politischen Flüchtlings: Schluß," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 8 (January 1908): 25-30. Rudolph, an Austrian forty-eighter, was secretary of the *Cincinnati Verein*. See also Henry John Groen, "A History of the German-American Newspapers of Cincinnati before 1860" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1944), 204-23.

¹⁷ See Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 135-37; and Bruce Carlan Levine, "In the Spirit of 1848': German-Americans and the Fight over Slavery's Expansion" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Rochester, 1980), 221-28. The decline of the once proud *Cincinnati Verein* forced the membership to turn its *Freemen's Hall* into a German Institute. In 1860 it was sold for debts and became a Catholic Institute. "Sic transit gloria rationis!" was Samuel Ludvigh's epitaph (*Die Fackel* 13 [1860-61]: 96).

¹⁸ See Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 163-65. The *Louisville Platform* was widely disseminated in both German and English; for example, Sanderson, *Republican Landmarks*, 219-22.

¹⁹ "The *Freimännervereine*, to which Heinzen expected his platform to appeal, quarreled about its details and indulged in controversies as bad as the narrowest sectarian conflicts. Heinzen himself savagely attacked a comparable declaration of principles issued by the 'Free Germans of Ohio' " (Wittke, *Against the Current*, 95).

²⁰ See [Wilhelm Rapp], "Die 'freien Deutschen' in Wisconsin, Kentucky and Ohio. (Aus der Turnzeitung vom 15. April 1854.)," *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei* 1 (January 1892): 241-49. Reporting on the decisions of the Ohio convention, Rapp wrote:

Die Pflicht des Central-Committees [in Cleveland] und der Kreisvororte [Chillicothe, Sandusky, Toledo, and Cincinnati] ist, das in der Platform ausgesprochene Streben mit allen ihnen zu Gebote stehenden Mitteln zu fördern und eine unablässige Agitation auf die deutsche und englische Bevölkerung des Staates durch Verbreitung von entsprechenden Propaganda-Schriften, Aussendung von Rednern, Berufung von Massenversammlungen &c. zu beginnen und zu unterhalten. Die Kreisvororte haben besonders darauf hinzuwirken, daß auch *amerikanische* Fortschrittsvereine gebildet und zum Anschluß an die Organisation veranlaßt werden. Dem Central-Committee ist es zur Pflicht gemacht, Schritte zu thun, um die Gründung einer *englischen* Zeitung im Sinne der Platform zu bewerkstelligen, und in Kurzem wird ein Aufruf an alle deutschen Fortschrittselemente in den Ver. Staaten erfolgen, durch vorläufiges Abonnement die Existenz des Blattes zu sichern. (243, italics mine)

The *Platform der freien Deutschen Ohio's* is reprinted on 243-49. See also Levine, "In the Spirit of 1848,'" 218-21. The first of these statewide conventions was held in Milwaukee,

1-2 October 1853, when 62 delegates representing 23 *Vereine* formed a *Bund freier Menschen* (Rapp, 242). Esselen also reported on similar conventions in Peoria, Illinois, and San Antonio, Texas. "Die Thätigkeit der deutschen Vereine," 230-31. The Peoria convention (May 1854) and its platform are discussed by Levine, "Free Soil, Free Labor, and *Freimänner*: German Chicago in the Civil War Era," in Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910: A Comparative Perspective* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1983), 169. On the San Antonio platform, see Rudolph Leopold Biesele, "The Texas State Convention of Germans in 1854," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 33 (April 1930): 247-61; and W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 115-17 et passim.

²¹ "Die Thätigkeit der deutschen Vereine," 231. My translation. On Esselen's activities as founder of the Frankfurt *Arbeiterverein* and his participation in the German Revolution of 1848-49, see Franz Neuland, *Proletarier und Bürger: Arbeiterbewegung und radikale Demokratie 1848 in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt: Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, 1973), which augments and corrects the earlier works by Veit Valentin and other historians. See also Dora Edinger, "Christian Esselen: Citizen of Atlantis," *Michigan History* 34 (June 1950): 133-43; H. A. Rattermann, "Christian Esselen," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 12 (1912): 405-46; A. E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 292; and Eitel Wolf Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika: Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958), 74-77.

²² Esselen, "Das deutsch-amerikanische Zeitungs-Projekt," *Atlantis*, n.s. 1 ([September] 1854): 305-7. Klippart, of German ancestry, was born in Stark County, Ohio, in 1823. He was praised as being "completely at home with the German language, and familiar with German literature, German thought, and German philosophy" (306). My translation. The Cleveland announcement, reproduced on 305-6, is signed by members of the Central Committee: C[arl] W[ilhelm] Schmidt, H[umbert] Droz, J[akob] Müller, C. F. Thiele, and J. Koch. Years later Müller published an account of the *American Liberal* in his *Aus den Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers: Skizzen aus der deutsch-amerikanischen Sturm- und Drang-Periode der 50er Jahre* (Cleveland: Druck von Rud. Schmidt, 1896), 135-40. Klippart, who was largely self-educated, failed in the newspaper business but served for nearly 22 years as Secretary of the Ohio Board of Agriculture. For further details, see Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio . . .*, The Ohio Centennial Edition (Cincinnati: State of Ohio, 1904), 2:618-20; and *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Klippart, John Hancock."

²³ Esselen was in Milwaukee until about September 1854, then lived in Chicago where he published one or more issues of a weekly leaflet called *Die Krisis: Ein politisches Flugblatt* (not in Arndt-Olson). He had planned to move to Dubuque, Iowa, in November, but instead took his *Atlantis* to Cleveland. See *Atlantis*, n.s. 1 ([September] 1854): 159. See also the *Milwaukie Flugblätter*, 2 September 1854.

²⁴ "Der American Liberal und die Atlantis," *Atlantis*, n.s. 2 (January 1855): 79.

²⁵ *American Liberal*, 20 December 1854, subtitle. Until recently only four issues of the *American Liberal* were known to me: 20 December 1854; 3, 10 January and 21 February 1855 (American Antiquarian Society). For this article the Ohio Historical Society has kindly supplied a film of its holdings: 20, 27 December 1854; 3, 10, 24 January and 14 March 1855. Whether any issues were published after 14 March is doubtful.

²⁶ Heinen's remarks are quoted in Groen, "German-American Newspapers of Cincinnati," 217-23, here 219 and 221. My translation.

²⁷ The issue of 20 December 1854 included the following: part one of "The Tale. From Goethe's 'Entertainment of the German Emigrant,' " Carlyle's translation taken from *Fraser's Magazine*; Schiller's "A Walk in a Linden Grove"; Freiligrath's "Revenge of the Flowers." The number of sketches by George Lippard that appeared in the *American Liberal* attests to that author's great popularity among German-Americans. See Cazden, *Social History*, 352-54.

²⁸ "Schlechte Zeiten für die Presse," *Atlantis*, n.s. 2 (February 1855): 159-60.

²⁹ The text (with excisions) is translated from Heine's *Ludwig Börne: Eine Denkschrift* (1840), 2d book, 38, lines 23-34, 39, lines 4-13. See *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Klaus Briegleb (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), 4:38-39.

We find in a letter bearing [the] date July, 30. 1830, from Henri Heine—a German poet not unknown to American literati—the following opinion of America:

“Or shall I go to America, that tremendous prison house of liberty, where the invisible fetters oppress more painfully than the visible ones in Fatherland [*sic*—where that most perverse of all tyrants, *the rabble* rule in all their uncouthness. You know my thoughts in relation to this miserable land, which I once loved, before I knew it. And yet I must publicly praise and vindicate it as a professional duty! My dear German Farmers go to America! There is there neither Prince nor Noble; there “all men are equal”—equal boors—with the exception certainly of several million, who have either a black or a brown skin and are treated worse than you would treat a dog! . . .”

On Heine's anti-American views, see especially Jost Hermand, “Auf andere Art so große Hoffnung: Heine und die USA,” in Sigrid Bauschinger et al., eds., *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt—Nordamerika—USA* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1975), 81-92.

³⁰ “Deutsch-amerikanische Literatur,” *Atlantis*, n.s. 2 (March 1855): 237-39.

³¹ “In Sachen des ‘American Liberal,’” *Atlantis*, n.s. 2 (April 1855): 312-14.

³² “Auch den Werth eines Journales kann man nicht nach der Zahl der Abonnenten beurtheilen, sonst müßte z.B. der ‘American Liberal,’ gewiß ein ausgezeichnetes Blatt, das schlechteste englische Journal und z.B. die Baltimore ‘Sun’ das beste sein” (Ludvig, “Geld und Geist,” *Die Fackel* 8 [1854-55]: 243).

³³ *Cleveland Leader*, 29 December 1854. Quoted from U.S. Works Progress Administration, Ohio, *Annals of Cleveland 1819-1934* . . . (Cleveland, 1937), 37:220.

