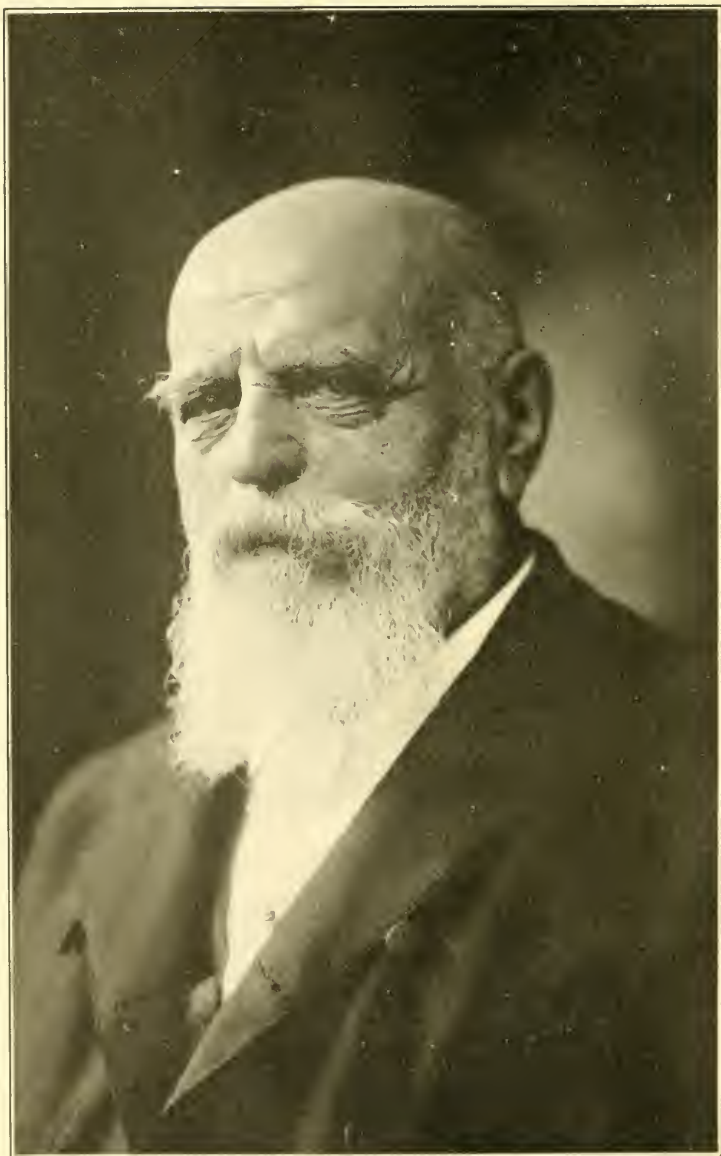


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DR. HERMANN KIEFFER

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

DR. HERMANN KIEFER

Chairman of the Freiburg Meeting

BY

WARREN WASHBURN FLORES, PH.D.

*Author of "Liberty Writings of Dr. Hermann Kiefer,"
"German Liberty Authors," etc.*

Historian of the Michigan Society of the Sons of the American Revolution



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TO THE MEMORY
OF MY MOTHER'S BROTHER
MAJOR GENERAL HENRY DANA WASHBURN



DR. HERMANN KIEFER

Born November 19, 1825, Sulzburg, Baden, Germany.
Attended *gymnasia* of Freiburg, Mannheim and Karlsruhe;
attended *universities* of Freiburg, Heidelberg, Prague
and Vienna 1844-49.

Member of *Suevia*, Heidelberg; founder of *Alberta*, Freiburg.

Delegate to the Offenburg Meetings of September 12, 1847,
and March 19, 1848.

Elected Chairman of the Upper Rhine District of the vater-
ländischer Verein.

Chairman of the Freiburg Mass Meeting, March 26, 1848.

Delegate to the Landeskongress of Baden, Offenburg, May
12, 1849.

Appointed alternate member of the State Committee and
elected member of the State Committee.

Passed State Examinations May 29, 1849 ("vorzüglich").
Volunteered as Regimental Surgeon and accepted May
29.

Attended meeting at Karlsruhe, June 10, 1849.

Present at Battle of Phillipsburg (June 20) and Ubstadt
(June 23).

Elected to the *Triumvirat* to fill Brentano's position, June 29.
Became fugitive July 10, 1849.

Arrived Detroit in October, 1849, and established the prac-
tice of medicine.

Married July 21, 1850, to Franciska Kehle of Bonndorf,

Baden, Germany; Children: Emilia Anna*; Alfred Kosuth*; Richard Faust*; Arthur E.†; Oscar Hutten*; Edwin H.; Edgar Siegfried; Hermina Cora (Bonning); Guy Lincoln.

Joined the Republican Party upon its organization, 1858.

Fremont Speech, 1856; Schiller Address, 1859; Arbeiter Address, 1867; Humboldt Address, 1869; Peace Oration, 1871.

Presidential Elector of Michigan, 1872, and delegate to 1876 convention.

U. S. Consul to Stettin, 1883-1885.

Regent of the University of Michigan, 1889-1901.

Orator of the fiftieth Anniversary of the Revolution of 1848, March 18, 1898.

Professor Emeritus of the Practice of Medicine of the University of Michigan, June, 1902.

Attended the one hundredth anniversary of the *Corps Suevia*, Heidelberg, July, 1910.

Died October 11, 1911.

* Deceased.

† The writings which form the material for this volume were carefully preserved by Arthur E. Kiefer.

FOREWORD

TO SOURCE EDITION *

This volume contains the most essential Liberty writings of the late Dr. Hermann Kiefer, the Chairman of the Freiburg meeting of March 26, 1848. The Offenburg resolutions, the Struve motion, the program of the May resolution and the *Common Laws of the German People* are reprinted from the original resolutions and pamphlets preserved by Dr. Kiefer in order to give a proper perspective to the writings of the Idealist of 1848.

Dr. Kiefer's translations from the Greek, Latin and Italian, likewise letters containing observations on the social and political conditions in America, diaries kept on travels in Germany and addresses and papers on the natural sciences and the profession of the practice of medicine, have not been included in this work.

The printing of this volume has been made possible by the surviving members of the family of Dr. Hermann Kiefer. An English translation will follow, if sufficient interest should be manifested.

I wish to express my appreciation of the assistance generously given me in the preparation of the book by Mr. Arthur E. Kiefer, Professor Alexander Ziwet of the University of Michigan, Mr. William Thiemt, Dr. M. Markus and Mr. Max Cohen.

* Liberty Writings of Dr. Hermann Kiefer. G. E. Stechert Co., New York City. Sm. 8vo. pp. X, 513. Price, \$3.00.

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THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

DR. HERMANN KIEFER

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

THE writings of the late Dr. Hermann Kiefer almost cover the time allotted to mortal man. In 1839 the first poem entitled *The Death of Socrates* was written, and in 1905 we find a contribution to the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Schiller's death, which was held in Chicago in May, 1905. One is a hymn to the noblest of teachers, Socrates; the other is an expression of appreciation of Germany's greatest singer of the rights of man, Schiller. One motive is common to both: the Black Forest youth of fourteen sang of freedom and the venerable American of eighty reiterated the same fundamental tone.

Dr. Hermann Kiefer remained an idealist to the very last, notwithstanding the decades which had intervened between the time when the young pupil of Freiburg first began to record his thoughts and when the Emeritus Professor of Medicine became enraged when he contemplated the signs of a restoration in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The writings found in an old package upon which was written the short but significant word *Eigenes* (my own) reveal in the year 1917 the thoughts and contemplations of a man who was to devote his powerful energies to the realization of a freer and higher conception of human life.

The lad grew up in Emmendingen, and as a boy went out under nature's skies and on the tops of the hills of the Black Forest listened to her teachings. He observed the moods and storms of nature so strangely attuned to the moods and storms of youth. From the first this, his foster-mother,

made a deep impression upon the soul and mind of her impatient and rebellious child of nature. He was even then being prepared to understand Humboldt's *Cosmos*. The eager lad listened to the legends of the Black Forest and heard with feeling the songs of these Highland people. He observed "the short and simple annals" of the children of the Upper Rhine Lands and beheld with compassion the needs and sufferings of the villagers. Their ominous mutterings, their inarticulate expressions of revolt, the very words "oppressors" and "oppressed" left no feeble imprint on the mind of the growing boy. He caught as a mere youth the powerful chords reverberating—freedom, education and common weal. He heard the expressed desire for a nation, and, as a real boy, his heart throbbed with pride at the conception of a German Nation. From childhood he had heard that the boys across the narrow, swiftly running river Rhine were boys of German descent. At home, on the streets, at school, he had heard of the time when Strassburg, the proud seat of culture, learning and trade, was a German city. The stories of the castles of German knighthood, whose homes had been amidst the Vosges Mountains toward the West, aroused his imagination. Even before the boy grew into manhood, the history of the great German Nation had fired his youthful soul.

As the only son of a physician he had been taught that he should take up the traditional career of his ancestors, and the idea of being able to prepare himself to alleviate the sufferings of the people appealed to him. His father, Conrad Kiefer, M.D., while a student in 1817-1820, had not been carried away by the revolutionary movement which aroused the *Burschenschafter* of 1817. Quite naturally he brought up the boy, or at least tried to bring him up, in a very con-

servative atmosphere. His mother was a daughter of the Grand Ducal Gardener of Carlsruhe. Thus he was trained to respect the established order of things.

The lad on entering the Lyceum of Freiburg really applied his exceptional talents, and like Carl Schurz and other men of 1848, acquired the mastery of his native and of foreign languages. He enjoyed especially those works which treated of nature and human nature. He was not unlike Wilhelm Meister. *Jerusalem Delivered*, which he translated into German from the Italian, may have finally given to his wandering thoughts a definite direction. He also translated Latin and Greek poems.

In the dull routine of school life, however, this lonesome child of nature found but scant opportunity to give expression to his innermost feelings and longings. And still he recorded his feelings and thoughts and carefully preserved his youthful writings to the very last. This collection gives the only direct material preserved which tells of the personal development of one of the great intellectual leaders of the Baden Revolution of 1848-1849 from the youth of fourteen to the Surgeon of the Army of the Republic of Baden, and explains why he still could pour his very life blood into an address delivered on the fiftieth anniversary of March 18, 1848. It is fair to assume that the life of this youth was not unlike the lives of the young scholars of Freiburg, Mannheim, and Carlsruhe and of the *gymnasias* in all parts of the German countries—like causes, like results. As mere boys, they were being prepared to sacrifice their freedom and their education for the common weal.

Freedom, education and common weal have obtained a meaning in the year 1917 which has justified the endeavors of the youth of Baden, who were the German forerunners of

1848. The world to-day has taken up their motto. The emaciated hand of a suffering humanity is ringing the sunken bell of liberty. Historians, with the usual self-complacency of men whose knowledge of life is obtained from time-worn parchments, or documents issued by the established classes, record that the revolution of 1848 was a failure. Hundreds fell in the conflict; thousands were compelled to flee and seek freedom in the unknown land of America. Many became absorbed in the struggles for existence in a strange country, and for various reasons were doomed to keen disappointment. The change from the land of culture to that of unbridled nature was too sudden and they were poorly prepared for the new conflicts which they were compelled to confront. Almost within a decade, hundreds of the Republicans of 1848 had an opportunity to give expression to their ideals of Liberty and Union. They aroused thousands of Citizens of the American Republic to take up arms for the preservation of the Republic and the extension of liberty to all classes of men. Many taught their children and grandchildren the principles which had fired their early youth. Among these Dr. Hermann Kiefer endeavored to keep alive the ideals of the Republic of 1848 among his fellow citizens of Detroit. His activities aroused the attention of the people of the State and he was finally selected to represent the interests of the Republic of America in the Imperial Country.

Inasmuch as the story of the struggles of the German peoples for liberty is of special interest to-day, it may be well to sketch the development of the lad who to the very end of his eventful life remained the child of nature and liberty. We shall use his own writings as the primary source, even although at times they may not measure up to the rules of the technique of literature and of rhetoric and may not

always be historically letter perfect. But whatever may be these literary shortcomings they reveal the story of the development of a true Republican and an ardent admirer of the natural sciences. We shall reserve for a future treatment the discussion of the historical and literary sources of the student of the Baden High Schools.

It is a significant fact that the boy of fourteen sang of Socrates the teacher and selected as his hero Friedrich II., whom he beheld as the model of German manhood and courage. The lad who undoubtedly had witnessed a boat sailing quietly upon the waters to be caught soon by the powerful furies of a storm was able to portray such a picture in a realistic manner. In early youth he experienced the happy hours which were to him but the awakening of spring. A deep religious trait is noticeable in the pathetic ode *The Last Day of the Year*, a poem which discloses the sad thoughts of an introspective youth who beheld God in the storms of life. He raised his praises to God who was revealed to him in nature.

When but sixteen years of age he sang of the noble profession of his family. He looked upon a physician as the saviour of men, who searched for the secret saps of herbs and plants in order to heal wounds and to prolong the life of young and old.

The lad who knew the hope of his people and had observed the influence of death was prepared to write *Lament Over Hermann's Death*. From childhood he had heard the story of Herman, for whom he was named. This poem, which sings of Germany's greatest loss, the loss of freedom, reflects the nationalist craving of the scholar of Freiburg, who, as a Primaner in Carlsruhe, selected the same theme he submitted for the Carlsruhe prize. His deep love for home is shown in the poem of that name. His conception of home was not

a narrow one. It was not limited to any particular country, but was the home where the frail mind is no longer deceived; where nothing weighs heavily upon the free spirit, and where tears are no longer shed. Seventy years rolled away. The boy who sang of home visited the old scenes, but he could find neither home nor peace in the country which had not recognized his youthful dream. The sad tone of his young life was strengthened by an experience in a cemetery. He beheld the grave as the great leveller of mankind, removing all contentions and all splendors of life. He never forgot the gruesome idea of a grave. Decades passed by and the lad who recorded these thoughts served continuously as the head of the Michigan Cremation Association from 1888-1896.

In *Germany's Apostle* he gave expression of thanks to those Christian Heroes who had implanted the teachings of light in the souls of the sons of Germany who were not giving heed to the development of the mind. He beheld Winfrid as the greatest of all of those apostles who directed the Germans toward higher ideals. He summoned all to praise the sons of Ireland who had brought the Christian God to the German people.

One evening the young gymnasiast ascended the mighty *Belchen*, the sentinel of the Black Forest, in time to observe the setting of the sun. His eyes involuntarily followed the light as it wandered through hill and dale. Under the influence of such a sign the youth saw his *Teutschland* which towered above all, and in the distance he viewed the Vosges mountains, then in French territory. From this lofty height he looked below upon the peaceful labors of the tiller of the soil. His eyes wandered to Helvetia's solid sentinels, protectors and lovers of freedom. A storm approached and its effects appealed to the imagination of the youth, who before had described nature's storms. He stood there alone amidst

the battle of the elements. The rising sun, however, dispelled the gloom of night without and night within. The happy song of the shepherd, praising the creator of the world, filled the heart of the lad with awe before the Divine, which no man can comprehend.

The introspective lad also responded to the moods of a dark November day. His farewell to Freiburg contains the keynote to his subjective character.

The young lad then went to Mannheim where he assiduously devoted himself to his school work. Here in the beautiful city of Mannheim his attention was diverted from the homesome experiences of Freiburg. We have little material which gives an insight into his life at Mannheim, the home of several of the leaders of the Revolution. It is fair to assume, however, that the school life of the boys in Mannheim was not unlike that described by Carl Schurz at Cologne and Bonn. Young Kiefer, however, did not know the struggles of a student without money. And still Schurz's statement "for need is a wonderful teacher, and I felt as if I had suddenly grown many years older" may be applied to Kiefer with a slightly different meaning of the word need. Only three poems seem to be the productions of the Mannheim period yet the writings of the following year show that the stay at Mannheim had a far-reaching influence upon his young life and prepared him for the Karlsruhe influences. He came under the influence of Karl Blind, who was five years his senior, and through Blind he was introduced to the circle of Gustav Struve, who published the *Mannheimer Journal*, and who afterwards published the *Deutscher Zuschauer*, 1847, and played a leading part in the Revolution of 1848. Henceforth Kiefer was no longer a child of the Upper Rhine District, and he had attained a higher conception of the fatherland. He began to behold the men of Germany rather

than Germany's rivers and mountains.

A small note book, which Kiefer carefully preserved, is an interesting document of his Mannheim literary associations. The frontispiece of the notebook, which he drew, gives information about the little club of young poets who were intimately associated with him. The note book contains the criticisms of the winners of the *Fichtenkranz*. The names written in the wreath on the anniversary of the club, the 12th of August, 1843, are of interest—Goll, Blind, Eichrodt and Eisen. The young men of this group selected the name of their club evidently in honor of Fichte, the leader of the students at the Wartburg (1817).

The story of the Burgundian Heroes who had resisted Etzel's hordes at the junction of the Neckar and the Rhine, appealed to the young student of Germany's heroic past. He compared Grunlacher with Leonidas who fell centuries before at Thermopylæ.

The study of the classics left a lasting impression upon the trained minds of the young nationalists of Southern Germany. The Republican theories of Plato and the works of Cicero especially were eagerly absorbed by them. Their teachers, the direct heirs of 1817, took advantage of the opportunity of interpreting the struggles for freedom contained in the writings of the Classics.

The new spring awakened in him new currents of life that were to thereby increase his longing to leave the fertile plains and return to the mountains of his beloved homeland. This desire was soon realized. He returned home for the summer vacation but was soon compelled to leave home for the last year in the gymnasium. He was sent to the former home of his mother, who, as stated, was the daughter of the Grand Ducal Gardener of Carlsruhe. The capital of the Grand Duchy of Baden had been the scene of Baden's consti-

tional struggles for decades. The young gymnasiast's connection with the gardener's family gave him an opportunity of becoming directly acquainted with the inside stories connected with the reigning family of Baden. But far more important were his associations with the exceptional group of young men at the Karlsruhe Lyceum. Naturally his family knew but little of the thoughts of these young men of eighteen, who were enjoying in their way the freedom of the life of a *Primaner*. The reciprocal influence upon each other of these advocates of a freer national life was far more intense and far more lasting than could have been divined. The year in Karlsruhe of '43-'44 was a direct preparation for the Revolution of 1848. The expository chapter of the first Offenburg Meeting, September 12, 1847, was being developed. Perhaps the lads were unconscious of the direction of their life's currents, but it is easy now to see the tendency of their thoughts.

The great problem for them was the German Nation, the priceless inheritance of the academic youth of middle Germany of 1817. The devise—Freedom, Honor and Fatherland—was their own possession. The youth of the Rhine provinces naturally longed for the restoration of the lost provinces across the German Rhine.

Just before going to Karlsruhe, or immediately after his arrival there, young Kiefer wrote a poem entitled *The Fatherland's Treasure*. The essential motive is freedom: Who is the fatherland's sword? The free man, the citizen.

For years afterwards the men of 1848 addressed themselves as Citizen. This is especially noticeable in the correspondence of Professor Kinkel relative to the attempt to finance the German Republic (p. 43).

In September young Kiefer had finished his largest contribution entitled *König Enzoio*. The poem, *König Enzoio*, is

written in a series of pictures. The first group calls up the form of Friedrich's son, Enzo, who had lost his life in Italy fighting for his rights. The second picture describes the scene of Enzo's capture. The third picture shows us Enzo alone with his zither sitting in the dark chamber. His only consolation is his ability to sing songs about the past life. One night Rothbart steps in like unto a picture of the past. Quietly he enters the cell, picks up the zither and begins to sing the dreaded Spirit song. He sings of his eventful reign of forty years and of his habit of descending every year in order to behold the grandeur of his house. He curses the olden enemies and implores Enzo to strike and become the victorious German Kaiser. In the next picture Enzo is seen reflecting on the fateful words just heard, but he cannot comprehend the meaning of the speech. Slowly the hour of rescue approaches the dark cell, where the Noble one dreams happily of battles and of human valor.

The faithful old Küper swings the cask in which the Hohenstaufen scion has hid and carries it through the guards. Rescue is about to beckon, but the star of the Hohenstaufen disappears on the horizon. The sun beholds a lock of Enzo's golden hair and tells of its evil power. Exclamations of woe are heard because the noble house of the Hohenstaufen was buried for eternity. In the final picture among the forms is seen the last scion of the noble race fighting yearly the terrific battles which lead him into the hands of his enemies. He will continue to fight until a Kaiser will lead the Germans.

Kiefer's interest in the history of Germany's past is best indicated by his essay *History of the German West-Boundary*; the prize theme of the Karlsruhe Lyceum in the year 1844. The prize was awarded to his comrade Karl Blind.

Perhaps the faculty of the Lyceum little realized that they were directly preparing these fiery young men to become the leaders in the attempt to establish a Republican United State. But the more the youths studied the past of Germany, the more they were inclined to attribute its losses to the policies of the leaders of the *Einherrschaft* (inherited monarchy). Their conceptions of German power, German courage, and German honor were strengthened by the study of the successful periods of Germany's past, and this increased their dissatisfaction with the present order of things and the know-nothing policies of the various Courts. The humiliation of the peoples of Germany reached its culmination in the total loss of the German Western boundaries. The youth of Germany blushed with shame when they read of the sorry rôle played by royal leaders of the German states. They would all have agreed with the Primaner of Carlsruhe when he wrote:

"The first period of this chapter closed in disgrace and ignominy, the second begins in disgrace. Nothing was won, all was lost; in vain the blood of the ancestors had been shed; in vain the hard battles of the German Emperors had been fought. The splendor and glory were no more; the Holy Roman Empire a leafless trunk, but without the creative power which begets worlds. That is the curse of disunion among the people, of the selfishness of the princes."

The essay is more than a mere record copied from the various histories at the disposal of the writer. He added his conception of country and his knowledge of it learned at home and school. He added more, namely: his love of fatherland acquired by his daily wanderings in the hills of the Black Forest and in the streets of the cities situated on the very border line, as it was at that time. His innermost nature revolted at the idea that the border line of Germany

had been forcefully thrown back during centuries of struggles. He craved for a united Empire in order to preserve and regain its lost provinces and also to extend its world power, and become a Nation worthy of its peoples, of the intelligence of its citizens and of its progress in the arts and sciences.

The final paragraph of the essay contains the ideals which fired the Old Revolutionist of 1848. It was written in the spirit of a prophecy which has in great part been realized.

“Germany is no longer a united Empire, it is a federation of states, a federation of princes which has not experienced war. Only the future can tell how it will fight its first battle. We may fall in the battle for freedom and right; peace oppresses us. Russia proceeds slowly but surely in the East. France is educating experienced troops in Africa. England trains her troops on the seas. Germany is sleeping in the arm chair. Disunited it will suddenly rouse in the coming struggle, disunited it will succumb to the powerful enemy. Union alone can save us, but the united Germany, which is on the tongues of all, is in reality not united. All too different are the different purposes; even the language does not bind us close together, the North German can hardly understand the South German; only one thing will rescue us and bring about Union,—a German, free Constitution! When once we have such, then we shall be able to strengthen ourselves and to throw off the disgrace which is weighing heavily upon us: then the time will come when a powerful, united Germany will again stand in the ranks of the peoples. And if we do not attain such, then the next century will become in a horrible manner the grave of the German peoples.”

The Primer of 1844 demanded a German, free Consti-

ution. This was the great preparation for his demand in 1847 for a German Parliament. The news of the 18th of March told him that this demand could not be realized. The Chairman of the Freiburg Meeting insisted upon a new constitution of Germany resting upon the foundations of a federative Republic (on a republican United State).

Several poems bear the date of the month of spring. The *Minstrel*, poor indeed, having witnessed the fundamental passions of human nature, tunes his instrument in order to begin the song of love and freedom. He sings of the happiness which freedom begot and of the power of love which was the handmaiden of freedom. He sings of man's worth and value before the chains of slavery dishonor him; he sings also the battle and the death-cry which demands the dawning of freedom. But the poor singer must depart, despised and forsaken, for past is the time when the German Kaiser takes pleasure in song.

The *Wonnemond*, the month of love and friendship, awakened these feelings in the breast of the young apostle of German unity and gave him new hope. On the eighteenth of the month he wrote *Germany and Its Rhine*. It is a summons to the German people to avenge the ignominy which has been forced upon them before it is too late.

On the fourth day of July he expressed his three wishes, his beloved, money and the doctorate. On the same day he wrote the poem *My Destiny*, which divulges his great desire to give up his life for love and his fatherland.

Another poem written for a remembrance album for Emilie Bouginé, contains the motif fidelity unto death. Already in the year 1843 he had written a contribution for the album of his first cousin, Emilie. Her happy and free nature had exerted a deep influence upon the earnest believer in preparedness, who was willing to lay down his life for

love and fatherland. It may be noted here that Emilie was very much interested in his literary work and that they exchanged selections from different writers and original poems.

In the poem written about the occasion of his leaving the Carlsruhe Lyceum he gave a toast to love, profession and fatherland. It is in this poem that the first mention is made of the black-red-gold ribbon.

A few days later he wrote of the power of a free song which peals out freedom to the people, arousing them from their lethargic sleep, and with the dynamic power of great spirits forces them upon the field of battle and victory.

On the 11th of August he created his most significant poem, most significant in that it best discloses the thoughts and the contemplations which prepared him to become the Chairman of the Freiburg meeting of the 26th of March, 1848. In *Lament Over Germany*, he shows almost prophetic vision. The young student had observed, as already indicated, the sad rôle played by the thirty-nine different states, not only in the defense of their historical rights, but also in the extension of their world power. This was due primarily to the fact that unity and life were lacking in the endeavors of the German people. The people endowed with free and natural talents had elected to serve the Devil, servility. They were accepting money and land instead of the priceless possession, Freedom. Having become oblivious to the derision of the world, they were living on the glory of their illustrious ancestors.

Everywhere a world wide activity is noticeable; but the German, fast asleep, heard not the loud sounds of the struggling worlds. France is sending her ships out upon the ocean's currents. Even on Lybia's rocky cliffs they recognize the courage of the Franks. The proud Lion is lurking in the background defiantly relying upon his secure lair and

upon his forests of masts. Germany is dreaming, reflecting, yawning and rejoicing in its customs union, proud of the free Rhine. In the meantime the world is being bartered for, but the German takes no part in the transaction. He looks quietly upon the changing world and speaks with a tone of helpless regret:

“Everything is changed,
Other times, other orders.”

On the same day the scene between the Frenchman, the Englishman and the German was written. In the outline Kiefer depicted a scene in which a Frenchman and an Englishman were discussing their plans for exploiting Algeria and Morocco on the strength of German finances. A German is shown asleep during most of the conversation and does not comprehend their purpose, but wakes up in time to rush out and find the money. It is interesting to note that the young man of nineteen, seventy-three years ago, was far-sighted enough to realize that the time would come when foreign possessions would be of importance to Teuton aims. Or was the handwriting even then so plainly upon the wall that any student of Germany's history could easily read its ominous message?

The German finally woke up, but only after decades had passed. The voice of the youth of the Rheinland was not heard. In another sense of the word there were “other times, other orders.” It is difficult to tell how the history of Europe might have developed, had Germany become a Republic in arms, but internally Germany paid the terrific price of not heeding to freedom, education and the common weal until near the end of the century. Internally the unification of Germany was brought about by the Bismarckian

policy of "blood and iron," a policy which had been previously used to crush out the nationalistic spirit of the German peoples. The glorious German Empire united with the Spirit of 1813 in 1913, a compact of the people sealed with the blood and sacrifices of the war of 1914, has not listened as yet to all the demands of the demanders of justice of 1848. The *Einherrschaft* (inherited Monarchy) with all its complicated machinery of a State organization still reigns supreme.

A Romance, *True Love*, and a Ballad, *Resignation*, written shortly before Christmas suggest the loss of the association with his beloved friend of Carlsruhe. Under the influence of these remembrances he read with sincere appreciation the poems of Goethe. He adapted Goethe's *Secretly Must I Ever Weep* in a pretty little poem entitled *To Appear and to Be*, which gives us an insight into his soul struggles, striking at the same time, however, the note of the dawning of hope. On the very next day he wrote under the influence of Goethe's words:

Then leave me to my woe!
 If only for once
 I can be lonesome indeed,
 Then I shall not be alone—

the poem *Need for Solitude*. This intense need for solitude motivated his life over sixty years later when he sat alone in the old chair in his home in Detroit.

A few minor poems and a collection of remembrance-books' sayings, riddles, charades, etc., complete the collection he had made in his book of poems. A collection of verses and sayings taken from remembrance-books indicates the range of interests of the young poet. In addition to the poems

written during the time spent at the different *gymnasias*, there are several preserved on separate leaflets, some of which are dated and others have no indication of the time when written.

Kiefer studied at Freiburg 1844-45, Heidelberg 1845-46, Freiburg 1846-47. Then he went to Prague in the winter semester of 1848 and to Vienna the next semester, attracted by the great renown of the new Austrian medical schools. In the fall of 1848 he returned to Freiburg where he completed his studies. He joined the *Corps Suevia* in Heidelberg and evidently participated in the internal disruption of this conservative society. In a pamphlet issued on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of this *Corps* reference is made to this trouble: "As the result of internal dissension the *Corps* withdrew in the year 1848 from the national society. After the uneasy years had passed and the differences had been settled, the *Corps* reëntered the national society in order to remain in the same in continuous close relationship." This discord had its beginning in the year 1844-45 for the reason that the ideas of the young students were, as indicated in the poems of Kiefer, very radical. A list of members, preserved by Dr. Kiefer, contains the names of several men who were active in the Revolution.

In the meantime, Kiefer had joined the *Turnerverein* of Freiburg, December 30, 1846, and had become an inactive member of the *Liedertafel*, July 10, 1846. He also founded the society *Alberta*, for which he wrote the society's song for the *Commers* held on the 6th of March, 1847. The meetings of the *Alberta* just after this *Commers* were evidently filled with a bitter controversy judging from Kiefer's words addressed to the members of the *Alberta* on the occasion of his withdrawal from the society. Young Kiefer had founded this society some semesters before. He had endeavored to in-

fuse his ideas into the society, as may be seen from the spirit of the society's song: "A New Spirit is evident Everywhere, Breaking With Powerful Strokes a New Course." The spirit of the society, however, was inclined to the *Corps*, as is evident from the founder's words: "You have decided for a *Corps*. Very well, so be it, but with all your heart, not half or modified." Kiefer decided to withdraw since he could not fully approve of the principles of a *Corps* even in a modified form.

Only student love songs with the setting of a free nature bear the dates of the years 1845 and 1846. Either the poems of these years have been lost to us or they were years of confusion or of social activities for the young student, typical *Fuchs* and *Burschen* years. One poem, *At the University*, reveals the state of mind of the young student, but it is without date. He realized his position very keenly as the poem indicates. Another poem, entitled *The Sentry*, gives us an insight into his wandering life. The lad who divined so clearly nature's moods, and those of man, divined too his own moods. This poem tells the story which the old Emeritus Professor hinted at during his conversation with the writer (p. 116). He seemed discouraged, since the hope of his youth was crushed. Yet rich in experience, bent with sorrow, melancholy and grief, he was "in spirit still the same." He continued to remain in spirit still the same.

The young student wrote a note dated the 10th of April, which exactly explains his mental struggles:

"It is a sad time, the period of this vacation. As the clouds chase each other in the skies and the wild storm rages, so it is in my soul. In nature the approaching spring is struggling with the obstinate winter which has outlived itself. She will conquer—but in my soul an approaching

autumn is struggling with a spring which has not fully blossomed as yet.

“Will he conquer? It is cold round about me, the world appears to me deserted and empty; people do not warm me; my heart is consuming itself in its own fire, which dares not break out into flames.

“Within is heavenly fire, but without coldness of the earth. So I take refuge occasionally in the halls of sacred poetry and endeavor to find therein and at the urn of a lost love the warmth which will inspire me.”

On the very same day he wrote about the approach of the storm, which was gathering with pent-up fury in the breasts of the German peoples. He seemed to understand the inner feelings of the oppressed German peoples who were almost ready for the Offenburg meeting in September.

On the 20th he wrote of the coming revolution but in a different melody. He made use of the clear song of the lark in order to express his hope that the spring of new life of freedom was about to burst forth, proclaiming the future course of humanity.

The new life at Freiburg and especially the student life of the *Alberta*, the *Liedertafel* and the *Turner* society aroused his interest in the questions which had filled his mind in the *gymnasia* of Freiburg and Carlsruhe. The experiences in the foreign world, however, were not without good results. They prepared him directly to understand better the principles cherished by the academic youth of the past three decades and steeled him to meet the great emergency which was about to confront him. They had aroused all the latent forces of his nature and had filled his soul with “sorrow, melancholy and grief.” This experience had ripened him and prepared him to understand the sorrow, melancholy and grief of the oppressed sons of Baden. It had

prepared him to become the chairman of the Freiburg district.

Just when he composed *The German Chase* is hard to determine, but the ideas contained in the poem correspond to the ideas of the young student at Freiburg in the spring of 1847. In this poem he compared the people to the noble stag hunted down and held by the statesmen grown grey in sin.

The poem *Princes and Peoples* treats of the oppression of the people under the great French tyrant, Napoleon, and of the "Battle of Leipzig," October 16-18, 1813. This poem no doubt was written with a touch of bitter regret, because the people after all their sufferings and sacrifices were compelled to endure the loss of freedom and were deprived of the fruits of their own victory by the princes who reserved unto themselves freedom and the crown. The war of liberation had been fought in vain by the German peoples.

In the little poem *Too Late* he enters a note which borders upon the spirit of the demands of the people, demands which found expression in the Resolutions of the first Offenburg meeting (p. 33).

In a song entitled *Black-Red-Gold!*, he interpreted the meaning of the flag he loved so well. Unfortunately the last part, the interpretation of Gold is lost, but it certainly had the keynote from night to light.

No further poems of Hermann Kiefer, if he wrote any in the year 1847, have been preserved. The developments leading toward the Offenburg meeting in September evidently absorbed his entire outside attention. Action was substituted for poetry. To all appearances he devoted his spare time either to a study of the German common laws, and of the constitutional questions involved, or to propaganda work. The only poem written during the period from Sep-

tember to the 26th of March, 1848, bears the date of the 20th of March and was composed just after the news from Berlin and Vienna had been received. The poem was conceived in a quiet but determined mood when the man, as well as the entire Nation, was almost stunned by the unexpected turn of events. Up to this time he had cherished some confidence in the rulers of Austria and especially in the King of Prussia. The Chairman of the Freiburg (Upper Rhine) district gave expression to his sadness of soul. He sang of the power of spring which brought the warm rain forcing the buds to life. The rain it was of blood. The heaven from which it poured was the heart of man, which, pierced by the brazen cannon, lays broken in the throes of death. But out of the open wound poured the warm blood swelling the seed and breaking the very last tie, thereby hastening the day of fulfillment.

After the Frankfort *Vor-Parlament* the student of Medicine went to Vienna to continue his work. On the 17th of July he summed up his thoughts in a poem entitled *The Formation of the Imperial Ministry*. This poem reflects all the elemental powers of the leader of the Baden Revolution, who beheld the great outbreak in the light of the development of the last three months. The ominous silence which followed the Frankfort meeting weighed heavily upon the ardent young disciple of a Republican constitution, yet he caught the inner spirit of rebellion which was to break out again in 1849.

These poems reveal the calibre of the candidate of Medicine who willingly responded to the summons to the "people" to meet at Offenburg on the 12th of September, 1847. The young men of Baden, who had been observing the tendencies of the last three years in the light of their study of the more recent past and of their observations of the conditions in

village and city, were not disposed to accept any further procrastination on the part of the party in power.

The experience of these eventful years became to be the spiritual property of these advocates of a democracy which would be safe for the world. And fifty years later Kiefer was able to describe the events, as if they were but of yesterday. His speech, delivered on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the 18th of March in 1898, before the meeting held in the hall of the *Socialer Turnverein* of Detroit, is a remarkable human document. In tracing the development Dr. Kiefer said of the period just before the Offenburg meeting:

“After the Bundestag by means of its reactionary measures, the changed economical conditions caused by the rise of capitalism and of the proletariat, and, in addition, the unworthy condition of the farmer class had broken and plowed the ground, so likewise the intellectual forces of the people were at work by means of political pamphlets, philosophical and religious investigation, by poetry, in rhyme and in song, in sowing in the ground the seed which needed only the fructifying storm in order to spring up with vigor and strength. Discontent was seething in all classes of the population, by the day laborer with pick and shovel, by the farmer behind the plow, by the workingman at the machine, by the small man of industry at the bench and anvil, and even in the circles of the bourgeoisie and of the professional men; likewise hatred of and disdain toward the miserable *Bundestag* and the faithless princes. A sultriness lay heavily upon the land. The people had found themselves for decades in a double struggle for political independence and national development, for freedom and unity. Among the governing and governed existed a common doubt and lack of faith in the stability of the existing

state of affairs.

“In the southwest corner, the weather corner of Germany, especially in Baden, where a constitutional life had developed itself most fully, appeared the first harbingers of a storm. Already on the 12th of September, 1847, a powerful assembly of the people had met, which for the first time formulated the demands of the people, and in less than six weeks made its triumphal procession throughout entire Germany.”

The memory of this powerful meeting still kindled the enthusiasm of the splendid soldier of the common good even though removed from the scene of the conflict by thousands of miles and by five decades of time.

The main demands of the first Offenburg meeting, restated in the second great meeting of the people held at Offenburg, are:

Freedom of the press; freedom of conscience and of education; the allegiance of the army to the constitution; the protection of personal liberty against the police; national representation in the German *Bund*; a popular military system; universal accessibility to the schools; improvement of the relations between capital and labor; the abolishment of all privileges, including classes; the separation of the State and Church, and a progressive income and property tax. In short the demands form the essential planks of a modern economic and industrial state.

It is interesting to note the points underscored by Dr. Kiefer: personal liberty, equitable taxation and improvement of the relations between capital and labor.

It is true that practically all of the reforms advocated have been adopted by the New German State within the last two decades. This is due largely to the accomplishments of individuals, to the exposés of modern German writers, to

the community spirit of the Centrists (party of Catholics), and to the organized endeavors of the Social-Democrats.

The general impression is that the 1848 Revolution is either an aftermath of the French revolution or the direct result of the Proclamation of the Republic on the 24th of February, 1848. In Baden, at least, the people had been prepared to receive with enthusiasm the news of the great proclamation. We have seen in Kiefer the gradual development of one of the Revolutionists, and he was not unlike his companions of Mannheim, Karlsruhe and Freiburg in spirit and in mind.

In reality the movement had become so strong that Radowitz, the Prussian ambassador at Karlsruhe, wrote on November 20th, 1847, in a memorial to his King: "The most powerful force of the present time, that of Nationality, has become the most dangerous weapon in the hands of the enemy of rightful order." As Dr. Kiefer stated, the formulated demands of the people aroused great interest in all parts of Germany within the next few months. Accordingly the news contained in the extra edition of the *Kölnische Zeitung* which appeared at 7 o'clock in the evening of February 26th shook Germany to its very foundations. Everywhere was repeated "Revolution in Paris! The Republic proclaimed!" Within a fortnight preparations had been completed for the second meeting of Offenburg.

The fact that Kiefer played an important part in this meeting also is established by his election to the chairmanship of the Upper Rhine Circuit. The large enthusiastic meeting adopted resolutions of far more significant import than those of September 12th, for the seed had already been sown on fertile soil. The most important feature of the March meeting was the decision to demand a German Parliament and the adoption of plans leading to a definite or-

ganization. The "Citizens" returned to their respective homes filled with the spirit of this great event. The news of the Berlin "slaughter" and of the Vienna happenings were brought to the demanders of rights of Baden. These events had taken place too late to be considered at the Offenburg meeting. Almost stunned by the blow, Kiefer wrote the significant poem, *Spring '48*, forecasting the revolution.

The most important act of Kiefer, the courageous chairman of the Freiburg circuit, was to summon his committee and prepare resolutions for a public meeting called in Freiburg for the 26th of March. The Freiburg meeting has not received due consideration at the hands of the historians. In fact it has been completely overlooked in the general histories. Kiefer called this meeting to protest against the dire deeds of the 18th and 19th which had transpired in Berlin and Vienna, and to guarantee that such ruthless scenes should not be re-enacted. The meeting at Offenburg had called for a German Parliament; the word republic, however, had not been inserted in the resolutions as adopted, therefore the credit or discredit of introducing the word republic belongs to the Committee of the Upper Rhine Circuit, of which Kiefer was the chairman. They demanded "that the German Parliament should establish a new constitution based on the foundations of a federated Republic (a Republican United State)." The resolutions as adopted stand as the great witness of the Declaration of Independence forced by the occurrences of the unhappy 18th of March. The young chairman of the Freiburg circuit had been prepared by a decade of development, already revealed to us in his writings, to control the excited session at Freiburg sufficiently well in order to have the resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority in spite of a spirited opposition.

The Baden Republicans were enraged on receiving the reports of the sad events at Vienna and Berlin. With renewed determination they appealed in powerful words to the German people to assert their rights:

The people demand assurances that such massacres as the one at Vienna and the still more frightful one at Berlin shall not be repeated. The people can only possess such assurances when the long-looked for German Parliament improves the conditions from the ground up.

The German people will not be contented with a piece of new cloth on the old garment of German hereditary monarchy. It will not permit the new wine of the German people to remain in the old bottles, thereby breaking them, running out and perishing; rather it demands an improvement from head to foot, a thorough cleansing of the German Augean stables.

The German people, therefore, demand above all things that the German Parliament create a new Constitution of Germany to be drawn up by it on the foundations of the federative Republic (the Republican United State). . . .

The people demand from the long-looked for German Parliament that it arrange, guard over and direct among the many questions, which are assuming new form, above all: the fusion of the militia and of the standing army for the purpose of forming a true national army, including all men capable of bearing arms; the freedom of the press; trial by jury, and absolute religious tolerance.

To the many demands of the German people of all parts of the country they naturally add—the people

demand: complete separation of church and state; personal liberty (habeas corpus); home rule in the election of the clergy and mayors; immediate alleviation of the poverty of the working classes and of the middle classes and the improvement of commerce, of the industrial class and of the farming industry.

The hitherto existing enormous civil lists, appanages, the excessive salaries and pensions, the idle possessions of many incorporations, as well as the public domains, offer adequate means for this purpose.

One of the most interesting clauses of this remarkable resolution was the demand for the establishment of a permanent condition of liberty.

How important the part played by Kiefer was in the furthering of the Republican State idea is shown conclusively by a comparison of the Freiburg resolutions with the program adopted in May, 1849, by the advocates of a federated Republic.

It, however, is not our purpose to rehearse the subsequent developments which took place in the deliberations of the committees nor to record the story of the propaganda made by the leaders of the Republican movement among the people at Baden. Hermann Kiefer, gifted with exceptional oratorical powers and endowed with an almost imperial personality, spoke along the lines of the resolutions in various places in the vicinity of Freiburg, Emmendingen and Sulzburg.

The undaunted youth of Baden did not give up the fight for the establishment of a Republic in Germany, but continued their endeavors. The climax of the movement was reached in May, 1849. The *State Congress* was opened in Offenburg on the 12th of May and the *State People's As-*

sembly took place on the following day. Kiefer was selected to be an alternate of the standing State Committee. A definite program was adopted. Kiefer was selected as a member of the State Committee when the number of the committee was increased.

The proclamation contained in the *May Program* gives to us an insight into the insistent and persevering character of the men who still hoped for a Republican form of government.

The State meeting of Offenburg proclaims:—

Germany is in a continuous condition of complete revolution, called forth anew by the attacks of the larger German princes on the constitution of the Empire, finally to be adopted by the German National Assembly and on freedom generally. German princes have conspired and united to suppress freedom; the high treason committed against the people and the fatherland is as clear as day; it is clear that they are even calling upon Russia's armies for the oppression of freedom—The Germans, therefore, are in a state of self-defense; they must meet the attack of the German rebels by armed resistance.

It is incumbent on the German races to preserve freedom by mutual endeavor in order to carry out the fundamental principles of the sovereignty of the people; they, therefore, must support each other wherever attacked.

Kiefer remained true to his convictions and was one of the thirty-six men who responded to the call of the meeting at Carlsruhe, which took place on the 19th of June. At this meeting a provisional Government of three was established. These members were given full power to act. The members of the *Triumvirate* elected were: Brentano, Goegg and Werner. On the 29th of June Kiefer was elected to take Brentano's place, but he declined the honor of the election.

At the same time he continued the study of medicine and in May, 1849, he went to Karlsruhe for the State examination which he passed "vorzüglich." He received his license to practice on May 29, 1849. He immediately volunteered as a surgeon in one of the regiments of the army of the Republic. Until the very last he carefully preserved the notification of the acceptance of his offer. He was present at the Battle of Phillipsburg (June 20) and Ubstadt (June 23). Dr. Kiefer's own words about the end of the revolution are very impressive: "Already in July Freiligrath's poem, *The Dead to the Living*, a poem glowing with anger and shame, resounded like the trumpet call of the final judgment in the ears of the German people, calling them to a new battle—in vain! He sang the requiem of the revolution."

One evening a high official of the government, a friend of the family, called upon Dr. Conrad Kiefer, the father of the Surgeon of the *Freischärler*, and informed him that he was compelled to arrest his son on the following morning and advised him to induce his son to flee. Dr. Hermann Kiefer, equipped with a pass, issued by the provisory government, went to Strassburg, then in French territory, and fled the fatherland he had loved with all the strength of his boyhood and young manhood life. He, like hundreds of others of the flower of Germany's educated youth of that period, who had fought the good fight against the ruthless established classes, decided to seek his fortune in the Republic of the United States. He arrived in Detroit in October and opened his office for the practice of medicine on the 19th of that month.

The young surgeon had lost the fight for the free home of the Black Forest, but for him the word home had a deeper meaning, the place where nothing more weighs heavily upon the free spirit. America meant much in the way of promise

to the young man, who, although defeated by the sword, remained unconquered in spirit.

A beautiful picture continued to inspire him in the New World. He never forgot the intense scene of departure, which he recalled in his peace oration of 1871. The fair image of a young noble-minded woman helped to cheer the long hours of the first bitter winter in America. Months before the young men of his regiment had marched away to fight for freedom, proudly carrying the beautiful banner of liberty created by the loving hands of their betrothed, bearing the inscription: "This banner you must not forsake; it leads you to victory and to honor; and even if the parting is such sweet sorrow, yet we could only hate the coward."

The young sons of liberty were enriched by the experiences of the May days of 1849, which exerted a purifying influence upon their future lives. When they came to be fugitives, they were fugitives only in a political sense, for they took with them the personal assurance of the young girls, who had developed into courageous womanhood amidst the struggles of shot and shell, that they also would become voluntary fugitives in order that their lives should be consecrated to the lives of the men who had offered to make the supreme sacrifice for freedom and for love.

One of the Black Forest maidens, richly endowed with natural gifts, in the fulness of young life, plighted her word to Hermann Kiefer. In the following spring Francisca Kehle sailed for the Republic of America. She left her parents, sisters, brothers and friends. She bade farewell to a lovely and comfortable home to give her all to the man she loved. In many respects she was a fugitive indeed, for she knew nothing of the language and customs of the strange new land.

The life of the young bride was destined to become a life

of devoted sacrifice. And when she was married to Hermann Kiefer on July 21, 1850, just one year after he was forced to flee, a home was established, which proved to be a haven of rest and security for the young man, who for half a century labored for the upbuilding of the community and the Commonwealth of Michigan.

The difficult task of Francisca Kehle Kiefer in the construction and re-construction period of America can never be thoroughly appreciated. The burden of all political, social and commercial wars falls heavily upon the shoulders of the wife and mother. Her only reward here on earth seems to be the consciousness of hard duties well performed. The struggles of a young woman in a strange country, with strange social customs, is doubly hard, due in part to isolation, but mostly to a cruel attitude, assumed, unconsciously indeed, by her more fortunate neighbors.

Francisca Kehle Kiefer fulfilled her creative task of wife and mother with devoted love, with unlimited patience and with sincere consideration. Fortunately she lived long enough to reap the harvest sown by her untiring hands. Her children have recognized the work of their "Mother" in inspiring them to whatever success they may have attained in various fields of productive labor. Her first born fell as a victim to a ravaging disease which so rudely cut down so many young lives in the new country. Later on two young boys were also tenderly laid to rest. She, however, lived to rejoice in the associations with five sons and one daughter.

Decade after decade the mother labored for her children. The wife sacrificed for her husband. She took great pleasure in furthering his ambition to play a creative part in the upbuilding of society. Had she been idle, indifferent and extravagant, it would have utterly killed the ambition of her husband. In this respect he was absolutely free to work.

One of her sons wrote "Father, with her help and support, became even a greater, grander man than he was." Without the untiring devotion of the young woman, who came to America in the spring of 1850, the great State University of Michigan would never have conferred upon Regent Kiefer the title of "Professor Emeritus of the Practice of Medicine." Her work in the family and in the community, laid to a greater extent than the City of Detroit knows, the real foundation of the Hermann Kiefer Hospital.

The chapter which would reveal the most human characteristics of Hermann Kiefer is that of the home life lasting over one-half of a century. After a successful married life of nearly sixty years, Francisca Kiefer passed away on August 6, 1909. Her ashes were kept during the remainder of Hermann Kiefer's life in a bronze urn which stood on his desk and upon which he had engraved: "A noble woman, a good wife, and a loving mother!" Goethe's words may be applied to the student of Germany's poet of humanity:

"For by the bride whom a man selects, we may easily gather
What kind of a spirit his is, and whether he knows his own
value."

THE FIRST AMERICAN PERIOD 1849-1871

TO Detroit came many a comrade in thought and they soon formed a group of two score and more who had fled from the fatherland in that time of restoration. These educated young men were often compelled to take up the trades; in other words they were workers. They, however, looked upon all productive men as workers. The real meaning of the word, as they interpreted it, was unfortunately lost, owing largely to the reconstruction of social life which followed the great civil war. The societies they founded still keep alive many of the principles they advocated. The most prosperous of these societies are the *Arbeiter* societies, the *Socialer Turner Verein* and the *Harmonie*. One of the most attractive features of these societies were the lectures and the little libraries.

The greatest event in the young lives of the thousands of the immigrants of the late forties was the trip made by Professor Gottfried Kinkel to the United States in 1851-1852, undertaken with the purpose of raising a loan for the financing of a Republic in Germany. The reception given to Professor Kinkel in Detroit was a very notable one.

These exiled German Republicans listened attentively to the words of Professor Kinkel, for to them they were glad tidings full of hope and satisfaction. They were carried away by his prophecy:

“And now, Germans in America, consider the situation. The Revolution in Europe will come, for in all political, social and industrial relations we have retrograded back to

the year 1847. And conditions, which broke out in the Revolution of 1848, cannot be endured much longer. The entire world sees clearer the immediate goal of this revolution to be the creation of independent republics throughout central Europe, and there is but slight danger that the movement will stop before the goal is attained.

“Everything depends on the fact that now all nations must prepare themselves for the blow. It cannot be denied that our two neighbors (Italy and Hungary) are better prepared than Germany. It is indeed certain, if these people be victorious, that they will endeavor to free Germany; but it is not fitting for the greatest nation of Europe to allow freedom to be presented to her. Every freedom, which is a gift, would later place us in a new state of dependency, for it would hinder us in establishing our national rights on our boundaries.

“One says of the German that he is a cosmopolitan; cosmopolitanism, however, is disgusting. One worships foreign nations and places his confidence in them, because he is either too cowardly to fight himself or too jealous to help his own countryman in fighting. Germany, if supported by its revolutionary party in America in a vigorous manner full of sacrifice, can organize itself for a revolutionary beginning just as well as Hungary or Italy; at least, it can prepare itself to answer the first blow in the south and east with a similar powerful blow in the north and west, thus bringing the enemy between two fires. On this rests the security of victory, even for the other nations. If Germany does not revolutionize; if the princes succeed again in bringing against these nations the irresistible German military forces, then they also must succumb again.

“The great task is—*independent initiative of the revolution in our fatherland resting upon a firm, carefully planned*

organization of all movable forces—and for the realization of this task the power of money is necessary. May history not be compelled to record in its annals that Germany was for a great act of self-emancipation too poor in revolutionary characters, or that its people were too selfish and too suspicious to grant to these characters the power to act.”

Neither Professor Kinkel, however, who had been away from Germany for some time, nor the men of 1848 discerned that the fears mentioned had already been realized. The reaction had already gained the control and the Princes had dug themselves in behind their strong ramparts. Therefore the words of the messenger of a Republic made a deep impression upon Dr. Hermann Kiefer and his associates.

The entire city extended a hearty welcome to the advocate of a Republic in Germany. Detroit had long been a real center of Republican principles. In 1848 the Democracy of the country had selected General Lewis Cass to be candidate for President of the United States. Senator Cass, in a powerful speech, supported a resolution instructing the committee on foreign affairs to consider the suspending of diplomatic relations with Austria on the occurrence of the revolt of Hungary.

This speech expresses at once the spirit not only of Detroit, but of the entire middle West which prepared for the coming of the sturdy youth of the Fatherland, who in turn helped to build up and eventually save the New Republic in the time of the great Crisis. It explains why it was possible for these young men, in spite of their lack of knowledge of the English language, to establish a home within a comparatively short time in the New Republic:

“Here is an empire of freemen, separated by the broad Atlantic from the contests of force and oppression, which seem to succeed each other like the waves of the ocean in

the mighty changes going on in Europe—twenty millions of people enjoying a measure of prosperity which God, in His providence, has granted to no other nation of the earth. . . . Think you not, sir, that their voice, sent from these distant shores, would cheer the unfortunate onward in their work—would encourage them while bearing their evils to bear them bravely as men who hope—and when driven to resist by a pressure no longer to be borne, to exert themselves as men who peril all upon the effort?

“But where no demonstration of interest on the part of the government is called for by circumstances, a sound public opinion is ready to proclaim its sentiments, and no reserve is imposed upon their expression. It is common to this country, and to every country where liberal institutions prevail; and it is as powerful, and as powerfully exerted, in France and in England as in the United States. Its effects may not be immediate or immediately visible; but they are sure to come, and to come in power. . . . Our Declaration of Independence has laid the foundation of mightier changes in the world than any event since the spirit of the Crusades was precipitated from Europe upon Asia with zealous but mistaken views of religious duty.”

The minds of liberty loving men had been prepared by the interest aroused in the establishment of new Republics, or at least in republican constitutions, for Professor Kinkel to make his tour of triumph, from the point of view of enthusiasm, through the Northern States. The German Revolutionists of 1848 received him as a messenger bringing glad tidings from across the waters. Professor Kinkel, however, although an inspiring orator and propagandist, was an unsuccessful and unbusinesslike organizer from the financial point of view. The attempt was bound to fail, but the interest aroused in the thirty or more centers where Kinkel

spoke did not subside on his return to England. His words made a deep impression upon the young men in a strange country. And hundreds of them, interpreting the revived principles in the light of the new *Heimat*, told the story even unto the second generation. Dr. Kiefer, first vice-president of the Detroit Local, carefully preserved the correspondence etc., bearing on the Liberty Loan.¹

The former chairman of the Freiburg meeting which had adopted the resolutions insisting on Republican institutions, came to be the natural and intellectual leader of this group. Unfortunately, in some respects, his endeavors during the first years were confined to the narrow circle of those who could understand the German language. The product of the *gymnasia* and the Universities of Germany, the zealous advocate of the teachings of nature, found but a limited group of hearers. It was, however, an extraordinary group of men. They loved nature, music and art.

One of the most interesting institutions they founded was the German Theater Society which flourished, with some interruptions, until after the war. They themselves produced, with the assistance of traveling actors, even the works of their beloved Schiller. They lived again the songs of the fatherland which they were applying to America. They founded (1850) the Workmen's Aid Society with the object of having an organization which would be of social as well as of mutual protection to themselves and families. They met in some quiet inn and exchanged their views. A typical example of the intellectual interest of these early settlers may be found in a series of lectures given by Dr. Kiefer on the natural sciences before the Workmen's Society and in Bloyneck's Hall. These lectures were given every fortnight, as for example, January 15, January 28, February 12,

¹These valuable writings will be published separately.

1854. Evidently other lectures were given by different members.

The ideals of the different societies founded by this group of men are summed up in various addresses held by Dr. Kiefer on the occasions of the dedications of their new halls (*Arbeiter Verein*, 1867; *Socialer Turner Verein*, 1858; *Harmonic*, 1869).

In the meantime Dr. Kiefer had built up quite a large practice of medicine. His reputation soon attracted not only the citizens of German descent, but those of various nationalities. This association carried him out into the other groups of social life in Detroit, at least to a certain extent.

The Republicans of 1848 who had fled from a settled State with all the burdens of a selfish and oppressive monarchy were doomed, as stated, to dire disappointment. They could not feel at home in the booming cities in the frontier lines of the westward march of civilization. The growth of Detroit in the forties and early fifties had attracted young men and women of all types to the city of the straits. The young man educated in the classical schools of Baden and in German Universities was a stranger in a strange land. Yet he who had observed the social conditions in Europe, continued to observe the conditions in Detroit. He saw Detroit from a certain historical perspective. He saw the conditions and beheld with the eyes of a scientist. He saw the effects and understood to a great degree the causes.

The men who had offered all for their principles were not inclined to be satisfied with a "little money." In fact, Dr. Kiefer had always enjoyed the opportunities which money could furnish, and he did not seem to grasp the fact that most of the people of Detroit were enjoying in their way the pleasures which money could purchase.

Each group lived its own life and heeded not the life of the others, at least, not until conditions had become unbearable; and typical of the life of a new country, they made up their minds to remove that which they did not like or which interfered with their ideals of life. They had come West or had emigrated from Europe on purpose to embrace the opportunity of acquiring land or capital and to live according to their own ideals. They had acquired land and capital and proceeded to carry out their ideals of personal liberty or of social welfare and made no attempt to understand the other man. The men who had come over to America to make laws, proceeded to make laws as the easiest way to eliminate conditions which seemed to them to be the sources of all evils. The others resented this autocratic and sumptuary method with the inherited hatred toward the ruling classes. The result was the typical life of a new city with all its strict morality and unrestrained immorality.

The men of 1848 had not dreamed of this outgrowth of society within the form of government they had admired. The men who had hoped to develop the conditions by education and thereby bring about a real prosperity for all and at the same time preserve personal liberty, could not comprehend the men who also held a similar idea as to the power of the community, the city, to regulate the conduct of the citizens according to their notions of right and wrong. The trained men of 1848 desired to bring about a better state of affairs by education and regulation. The more strict men of New England, or of the Community Christian type, were not prone to delay and insisted on a law to take an immediate effect.

Dr. Kiefer, an advocate of temperance, expressed his opinions on this subject in no uncertain terms in a communication to a Monroe County paper relative to the

“Michigan Liquor Law,” June 6, 1853:

“When I read the grand bills which our honorable legislators hammer out for the money of the people in order to consign them, as still-born children, to oblivion, I must consider where I am; whether under the Russian knout or under royal, imperial Austrian police supervision.

“The bad social conditions are due partly to the crudeness of the masses and partly to the bad liquors. It is a sad phenomenon which characterizes the life of the people here. No idea of a higher purpose of life, no conception of political conditions, no feeling for art or science—only money—money is the mainspring of everything, money is purpose and aim, cause and effect. The loafer—and rowdiness of this Union is to be found in the lack of education of the masses and in the indifference of the authorities towards education. We see no other means to check the drunkenness, crudeness and crime than to further the education of the people by all possible means at our disposal; to enforce compulsory education, but at the same time to make the schools real schools of life.

“Only the cultivated and educated man is in a position to be free, he alone understands how to appreciate republican conditions; the uneducated, however, the vulgar, craves for a straitjacket, in order that he may live a more decent life, because he is unable to conduct himself as a man without the cudgel of the police. Therefore educate and enoble the masses, and your liquor laws will be unnecessary, just as unnecessary as unreasonable.”

Unfortunately Dr. Kiefer’s letters to his father relative to these conditions, have not been preserved. These letters would have been of unusual interest since the visit of Dr. Conrad Kiefer to Detroit had prepared him to understand the conditions to a certain extent. One letter evidently ap-

pealed to Dr. Conrad Kiefer for he sent it to the *Mannheimer Journal* and it was printed in the magazine section on the 10th of October, 1855. This letter gives us an insight into the thoughts and contemplations of the liberty loving republican who had seen in America the great opportunity of creating an ideal State.

Dr. Kiefer wrote of the extremes which are found in the "great and free country"; excessive drinking and exaggerated prohibition; almost unbounded liberty and the most vicious slavery; the so-called will of the people and the abject submission to political machines; freedom of religion and the strictest blue Sunday oppression, etc. He caught the meaning of "Time is money"; "for 'money' is the pivot about which all thinking, reflecting and considering here turns, and 'time' the means to acquire it."

The advocate of a federated United State observed that the Constitution was not of vital interest to the people of the United States. In fact, he was surprised to see how little the people knew about it. The student of politics looked with disgust upon the cheap methods of petty politicians. He felt the need of a new party which would contain planks suitable to a free man. The apostle of free labor viewed with alarm the tendencies of the Democratic party to further the growth of slavery. The Free Soil party was the only party which presented principles along the lines of the Republican movement in Europe in its endeavor to further free men, free labor and free soil. Yet this same party was inclined to limit personal liberty having adopted principles which grew out of the Puritanism of the East and the North.

At the same time Dr. Kiefer was keen enough to observe that the native Americans were driven to advocate such principles, chiefly owing to the conduct of the foreign set-

tlers. Years before the country had been settled by advocates of religious freedom and they did not welcome the endeavors of the Irish and German Catholics to encroach, as they interpreted the growth of the Catholic Church, upon the principles of religious liberty. On the other side the freethinkers of Europe were attempting to eradicate all religious tenets, which aroused a natural opposition. The political conduct of the German settlers who had come over in the early thirties did not contribute much to their general influence. The tendency of these people, who were enjoying prosperity, perhaps for the first time, to overstep the line of temperance did much to increase the activities of the prohibitionists. The fact that "saloons and groceries" sprang up in the German section beyond all reason, had its dire effects upon this element of the population. The resultant brawls aroused the opposition of the nativists to these foreigners, who were in many cases making license out of liberty.

And although all these phenomena were easily to be explained by the conditions in the rapidly growing new country, yet Dr. Kiefer, a true friend of freedom and humanity, and an educated man, found it almost impossible to live in such a state of affairs. He expressed the wish to turn his back on the entire mess, but at the same time he did not contemplate with enthusiasm the idea of establishing the practice of medicine in Germany. He also dreaded the ravages of the climate and the evil effects of diseases peculiar to the new country, since medicine had not discovered the methods of preventing the spread of contagious diseases. His own first born fell prey to the ravages of disease which swept away so many of the children of the New America.

Great political events were transpiring in America. The entire country was aroused by the discussions which had

been taking place for nearly a decade. The fundamental principles of 1776 were being weighed in the balance. The very Union was at stake. Naturally the Republican Nationalist of Baden advocated the maintenance of the United States which had served as a model for them at the meeting of the *Vor-Parlament* at Frankfort. By 1854 Dr. Kiefer had gained so much influence in Detroit that he was appointed Chairman of the German Republican executive committee of Michigan. In order to understand the importance of this committee it is necessary to look at the map of Michigan in 1830 and again in 1854. Nineteen years before Dr. Hermann Kiefer fled to escape punishment for high treason, the story of the natural wealth of Michigan had appeared in the *Merkur* published in Stuttgart in 1830. Thousands of the children of the eastern side of the Black Forest had come to Washtenaw County. Gradually the German settlers worked toward the west in the southern tier of counties, extending almost to Kalamazoo. The Bavarian group had settled near Saginaw and gradually the entire "Thumb" district was being redeemed by these sturdy pioneers. From Ann Arbor and Detroit they had pushed forward to the North and West, and by 1854 the importance of the German vote compelled recognition. What was true of Michigan was true of the Northern States. In fact the word Republican was adopted partly to attract to the banners of the new party the Republicans of Germany.

Dr. Kiefer, now thirty years of age, became a vigorous leader of the new organization. The principles he advocated are laid down in an appeal to the Germans of Michigan on the occasion of the Fremont election. Unfortunately the introduction has been lost. The same spirit which moved the Republican of Baden aroused the old love for liberty in the Republican of Michigan. He poured his very life blood

into this oration, an oration which betrays the careful study of Cicero's masterpieces.

"You all stand, fellow-citizens, on the side of the Republican party. No German *can* be a defender of slavery, no one *will* be. But you still cling, to a certain extent, to the old name. The beautiful name, democracy, resounds so enchanting in your ears and its magic tone rocks you into a carefree slumber.—Fellow-citizens! If you vote for Buchanan, for the Democratic party, you will vote for the legalization of slavery, for its results and consequences—they are the natural results of an unnatural system, a system which is the disgrace of the century. Do you wish to vote for its perpetuation? Did you escape the yoke in Europe in order to support the oppressors here, and thereby to extend their power? You hesitate. You say: 'If the Republicans win, the Union will be divided and the Union must be preserved.' Yes, she *must* be preserved. But who is continually sounding the cry of division? Are they the men of liberty or of slavery? Does not the South openly threaten with disunion, hoping thereby to terrify the North and make the North her obedient tool?

"It is the same game which the reaction in Europe played; they deceived the good people with unity; they terrified its desire for freedom with the feared words—'discord and disunion.' They unified and unified until freedom was lost, and union came to be but an empty name. Citizens, *if you stand for freedom, then you stand by the Union*, for this is built on the principles of freedom, and it is impossible to harm it without destroying the entire structure. Do not let yourselves be deceived; stand fast by the Constitution, by the Declaration of Independence, and yours will be the reward of having saved freedom and the Union."

In no manuscript left by Dr. Kiefer can be found his

terrific irony more direct than in the review of the speech delivered by Hon. F. E. Grund, of Philadelphia. The much-heralded Democratic speaker was sent to the wild West to hold the Germans of Michigan in line. The meeting was attended by the "impertinent" men of 1848 and their associates, the *Turner* and the *Black-Republicans*. Grund's pastoral attitude towards the educated group of Freemen was enjoyed by them to the fullest extent.

Dr. Kiefer's speech and his review of Grund's attempt give us an insight into the creative and active mind of the Republican, who fully understood that the rise of the price of a slave even to the sum of \$5,000 would not, in the long run, bring about better wages to the white man. Fortunately the Germans of the Northern States had a high opinion of their own value or rather perhaps of the possibilities of their value. At least they dreamed of the higher values of productive labor. It was fortunate for the United States that these "impertinent '48ters" were there to help point out the dangers of slavery to the advancement of the white men. Practically every progressive plank in all the parties has the Spirit of 1848, as interpreted by the educated fugitives from the Rhine Lands and other parts of the German countries.

The great protest of Dr. Kiefer against slavery in 1856 was in accord with the trend of events which made the men of Germantown draw up the first formal protest against slavery drafted in the colonies. They had in mind the same identical attitude toward labor;—labor must be free.

Kiefer's appeal to the German population of Michigan had a far-reaching effect. The Spirit of 1848 revived by Professor Kinkel not only in Detroit and Ann Arbor, but in nearly all the Northern States helped to pave the way for the great war of Liberty and Union. The leaders of the Revo-

lution of the Rhine Lands were prepared to accept the principles of the Constitution of the United States. The influence of South Western Germany upon America has not been fully appreciated. The great singer of liberty was a child of this district—Friedrich Schiller.

The pupils of the Baden *gymnasia* were inspired by Schiller's songs of the fatherland. They thought and spoke the language of the poet of liberty. The students of Medicine particularly had a peculiar preparation to understand the thoughts of the son of an army surgeon, who in turn prepared himself to practice as a doctor. The influence of Schiller upon the young army surgeon of Emmendingen, who like Schiller was compelled to flee his fatherland, became especially strong in the New Country. As stated before, these lovers of art and literature found their most sincere recreation in the production of the plays of Schiller.

The one hundredth anniversary of Schiller's birth approached. Preparations were made for the celebration of this event in all parts of the country. The name Schiller seemed to grasp each German heart with a forceful magic power. The fugitive army surgeon of the army of the Baden Republic relived Schiller's men and Schiller's ideals. He prepared the address for the celebration of the great event in Detroit, with full consciousness of the importance of the occasion not only for Germany, but for the world. It is clearly evident that he used the books on Schiller which were at his disposal. Modern research has thrown a new light upon the Swabian poet, but at the same time modern research has also proven that these men of 1848 understood much about their countryman, which had escaped the scholars who delved in the archives and in libraries, but who did not possess the life experience to fully grasp the fugitive of Swabia, and who therefore could not fully comprehend his songs of the

fatherland. There is also evident a tendency to restate Schiller's conception of country in the terms of the modern German Conception of State. Dr. Hermann Kiefer approached the works of Schiller with his special preparation. The fugitive surgeon interpreted the fugitive surgeon to his hearers. The advocate of humanity endeavored to inculcate in his hearers the teachings of humanity of the apostle of humanity. The lover of art recognized the artist Schiller who held that the loftiest mission of the poet was to educate men to freedom by means of art.

The address of Hermann Kiefer is a remarkable human document in many respects and, with minor corrections, is a real contribution to the Schiller literature of the 19th century. But above all it reveals the high ideals which motivated the speaker in his endeavors to keep alive the ideals which the Germans had brought over with them into the new country, which although rich in natural resources, offered so little for the intellectual development of its people. These educated men of 1848 felt the loss of cultural influences keenly. The young fathers began to realize that the young children would not be able to enjoy the advantages of a carefully regulated school system. Dr. Kiefer took advantage of the opportunity to emphasize the importance of the study of Schiller.

The main points of Kiefer's address which are of importance for the understanding of his life and his activities in educational lines within the next decade and even later are found in the following paragraphs:

"Schiller!—Not only the German pays him tribute, but every educated man in the world, and the man whose heart beat most powerfully for *entire* humanity, is now being celebrated as the man by the *entire* humanity. Yes, the entire educated world celebrates to-day a birthday festival,

and each one thinks that he has an especial right to participate therein.”

The fugitive from Baden recalled the tragedy of the fugitive from Württemberg, who, as a young man of twenty-three years of age, had fled from his parents and fatherland, home and friends, exclaiming with tear choked voice, on beholding his parental home for the last time:—“O my mother!” This scene appeared before the eyes of the man who had lived a similar scene a decade before, and he interpreted it for his hearers, who likewise could understand it: “Only a few attain the goal; many perish who do not remain sitting on the sandbank of the commonplace—but Schiller attained the goal. O blessed sleep which leads the expatriated into a world of ideals, permitting him to forget the misery of the present and removing him through the realm of dreams from the wretchedness of a distressful reality. Wrath and pain fill our breasts when we think of the noblest poet of Germany as a fugitive, prostrated by exhaustion on the dust of the highway!”

The lover of art discerned the thought, which as a red thread permeates Schiller’s life and works in all forms and under all conditions, namely, to ennoble by art: “the artists impart to men the revelation of the divine, they are the priests who, by means of the beautiful, educate society to the recognition of the truth and to moral dignity.”

Kiefer thought that Schiller had a special message for the Germans in America: “And finally what shall he be for us Germans in America? Torn away from the motherland, planted in foreign earth, surrounded by a strange element, oftentimes hostile and overpowering—let him be our protective spirit, which will guide and preserve us lest we perish in this Babylon of peoples. No, the language of Schiller is too beautiful that it should not be transmitted from generation

to generation; and children and grandchildren in every part of the earth should be proud of their ancestry. Yes, his remembrance should make us proud and plant real manly pride in our breasts, a pride pointing with quietude and dignity to the great accomplishments of our people. Let his life's task be also our task—the cult of the beautiful, the education and the ennobling of humanity through art. Let us not grow weary in grafting by word and deed the noble branch of German humanity upon the wild trunk of American liberty. Let us be united in the cultivation of the good and the beautiful and never desecrate the divine art by a miserable servitude! And it will so come! The celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of his birth is the guarantee, the celebration of the most ideal of all men in a time so material. Let us strengthen and ennoble ourselves in his example for the fight for freedom and humanity!"

This notable expression of appreciation of Schiller's message to a freer humanity permits us to examine the thoughts of the man who since boyhood had found his greatest consolation in perusing the works of the advocates of liberty and humanity. His complicated experiences, from the school life in Freiburg to this anniversary, had given him an exceptional preparation to understand Schiller's essential message to humanity. His address will not always measure up to the technique of modern investigation, but it contains the real human elements which enable one man to understand another man. And this is the primary requisite for the understanding of literature, and especially dramatic literature, which has its roots in the soil of home and of fatherland. The new country unfortunately could not offer a field for the lover of art and literature to absorb his attention, as it did to the advocate of a federal union or to the physician. He therefore felt lonesome in the "prairie of American life." He

therefore naturally cultivated in his leisure hours the old German inheritance. He decided to do his part in providing that his sons should also profit from a thorough humanistic training.

With this idea in mind he helped to found the German American Seminary in the year 1861. This school was incorporated by the State for higher instruction in all departments of learning. The language used to be both English and German as far as practical and desirable. The underlying principles cherished by the founders of this school are almost identical with those of Detroit's educators to-day. For example, Dr. Kiefer's interest in maintaining the German language was not a national interest in any respect, but a culture interest in the highest meaning of the word. He who had profited from the thorough training in the Baden schools, held that the boy in America should also have a thorough humanistic training and that this training should begin as early as possible. Notwithstanding the many difficulties which beset the school in the very beginning, increased by the outbreak of the Civil War, the preparation was a thorough one, especially when compared with other schools of equal rank. The boys trained in this school have lived to become leaders in the various professions, not only in Detroit, but also in the country. It soon gained a reputation for good scholarship. It, however, had many opponents for various reasons. Finally in 1871 it was compelled to close, then largely on account of an unfortunate sale of certain properties, which was deemed necessary to maintain the running expenses of the school.

In 1866 Dr. Kiefer was elected a member of the School Board of the City of Detroit. He endeavored to bring about the introduction of the teaching of German into the public schools, holding that the pupils should study languages at

an early age in order to prepare them to understand the culture, the science and the progress of the German peoples. He insisted that the citizens of German descent should maintain the German language as a valuable cultural and practical asset and he desired that the young people of other nations should understand the German language in order that they might properly understand the ideals of the citizens of German descent.

He even attempted to bring about a reorganization of the system of the schools which had been established along the lines of the first plans proposed for the schools of the State of Michigan. This system had been built upon Victor Cousin's report on the state of public instruction in Prussia. The Baden Republican was naturally opposed to the Prussian interpretation of the function of the schools.

He had in mind the ideals which had inspired the educated classes of Europe in 1830 and 1848. Dr. Kiefer was opposed to the system which had been adopted in America, according to which all pupils were sent through the same classes with the false idea of democracy of education. He held that the pupils should be trained for the vocation which they should pursue later on. At the same time he held that all productive work should be recognized as important for the development of the State and Nation and that there should be a recognition of merit. He knew that different youths were endowed with different talents and he insisted that they should be given an opportunity to develop these talents in order to fit them for their work within a State which should recognize the rights and talents of the youths who would come to be the Citizens of to-morrow.

In 1867 an event occurred which aroused great enthusiasm among the liberal citizens of German descent of Detroit. The

Arbeiter society had flourished owing to the influence of such men as Richter, August Marxhausen, Dr. Hermann Kiefer and many other men of strong calibre. These men looked upon the laboring classes as the real productive classes. The real meaning of the word, as they interpreted it, was unfortunately lost by the building up of classes even in the new country, owing partly to the aristocratic influences wafted across the ocean from Europe, and partly to the natural forming of classes along the lines of material success. This explanation is necessary in order to understand the activities of the 1848-ers in the *Arbeiter* and *Turner* societies. These men prospered and their own children in many cases returned to type, as it were, and became aristocratic in the German officialdom sense of the word. They have naturally failed to grasp the scope of the social activities of their own parents and thereby have helped to postpone the day when artisans and artists by virtue of their productiveness and skill can socially understand each other. One principle of 1848 had been attained to a great degree by many of these men, prosperity, but not always education, and with prosperity and education, not always liberty. To this complication was added the coming of many from Germany of the real laboring classes who had not enjoyed the blessings fought for by the men of 1848. This naturally had a great influence on the membership of the *Arbeiter* society.

The society which had been formed in 1850, largely for the purpose of the protection of widows and for mutual benefits, had progressed with the growth of Detroit. A site was selected in the very midst of the growing German section. These men had acquired comfortable homes and enjoyed the real pleasure of family gatherings. The war had exerted a great influence upon the citizens of German descent

who were proud of the part played by their fellow countrymen. This self-consciousness demanded a public expression and it was decided to build a hall which would be fitted to their various needs and which would serve as a social center for the families of the members of the society.

To such men as Marxhausen and Kiefer the building of the hall had a far larger significance. They thought that it meant the realization of their ideals and the ultimate establishment of a meeting place for the advancement of the social welfare of the society. Dr. Kiefer especially, looked forward to the day when the laborers of all classes would unite in common endeavors. This hope had been strengthened by the examples of the great war. He thought such a wonderful experience, which had made possible republican development in times of war, would naturally be further developed in times of peace when everything seemed so auspicious for a progressive Republic in America along the lines of intellectual as well as material welfare. With this great hope inspiring him, he addressed the large audience which was thoroughly impressed by the importance of the occasion. They listened very closely to the words of the man whom they respected so much.

Dr. Kiefer was always conscious of his power and also of the powers of the German people. He therefore appealed to this consciousness with the words: "And what then is the tie which unites us? It is the consciousness that we all belong to a society: to a society of free labor, that it is labor alone which honors and ennobles the individual and makes nations powerful and great, that in labor is the lever of progress and the fundamental cause for every accomplishment of modern times, that it is the impelling force in the gigantic development of the nineteenth century." He then emphasized his interpretation of the word worker: "a worker

is every man who does his duty in the service of humanity, who works and creates, who produces and makes himself useful . . . you are all workers, workers in the service of a great society of free labor; you are all working for the perfection and humanization of mankind."

He recognized the endeavor of the *Arbeiter* Society to further the education of the youth in words which sound like those of Wilhelm Rein of Jena: "so it is especially this society, which, in proper recognition that the guarantee of the future lies in the education of the youth, took active interest in the school and gave the first impetus for the establishment of free German-English schools." He also emphasized the great value of the introduction of the library, the theatre and the singing sections.

The man who appreciated the values which he had inherited from the German race desired to preserve them for America. The man who had mastered foreign languages, both classic and modern, thought that it would be a gain to America, if America's children could understand both German and English.

Yet in many respects his demands are being fulfilled by the very State he helped to build up. The great war has temporarily postponed one prophecy: reconciliation after fifteen centuries of separation. Nevertheless his great hope is still heard abroad in the lands: "And the very last and highest purpose is, the cultivation of humanism, of a free humanity in its purest form."

Dr. Kiefer, however, did not take one fact into consideration, namely, that the Germans who had come over to America and especially those who had joined the *Arbeiter* society did not have the necessary foundation to hasten the day of free labor, yet at the same time it must be recognized that these citizens of German descent were carried away by the

dream of the advocate of an artistically developed laboring class. In their way, by educating their children and their children's children, they have prepared for the advancement of the country.

Dr. Kiefer regarded the successful outcome of the Civil War as the beginning of a new era, but as a student of Germany's history, he feared the reaction and the restoration. His fears proved to be not without foundation. The first result of the war in respect to education was the growth of the typical American Spirit of that time that this country should free itself completely from all European influences. And the very sons of the educated men of the British Isles and of the Rhinelands were the most nativistic. The people disliked the English because of England's friendship to the Government of the Confederacy and at the same time looked upon the endeavors to introduce German as an attempt to Germanize the Republic. They could not understand the ideals of the idealists of 1848 in their endeavors to further education. For generations the people had enjoyed only a meager schooling and therefore could not appreciate the vision of these men trained in the *gymnasias* of the continent.

The war which had united the States with the power of the sword left the country more divided in many respects than ever before. Reaction set in and obtained control. The educators with their narrow preparation opposed any attempt to reorganize the schools or to introduce any new subject, not to mention the study of a modern language. The attempt of Dr. Hermann Kiefer naturally failed. Fifty years have gone by and now the educators of the State, aroused by the demands of a new industry, are confronted with the most serious problems. The great European war, however, has not as yet awakened the people to realize Dr.

Kiefer's primary object, namely, to prepare the youth of America to occupy the positions of leadership in all vocations. The educators, then as now, kept their hands on the pulse of the people and their ears on the ground. The result was that Europe, especially Germany, continued to send over their trained young men to America. This certainly was not to the advantage of the young American who found himself unprepared. The endeavors to Americanize Detroit in 1916-1917 are not unlike the endeavors of Dr. Hermann Kiefer fifty years ago. In fact, in some respects, the men leading the new Americanization along the lines of education may well consider the ideals of one of Michigan's fore-runners of a reconstructed school system, a system adapted to the needs of a modern Republican State. Otherwise history may repeat itself and within a decade the trained youth of Germany will again be called to occupy the positions which should rightfully belong to the youth of America.

In many respects Dr. Kiefer's endeavors to reform the public schools of his city for the benefit of his own sons and the sons of all citizens, will be recognized as his greatest contribution to the City of Detroit and therefore to the State of Michigan. He keenly felt the failure of his honest attempt to elevate the standard of education. He continued, however, to encourage the German-American Seminary, although his contention that the State should control the schools made many enemies to his endeavors.

The revolutionist of the educated State of Baden began to realize that his boys could not have a thorough preparation. He also thought of the boys of his comrades not only in Detroit, but throughout the entire country. Perhaps his father, Dr. Conrad Kiefer, would have been contented with the education which was to prepare boys to be gentlemen of the old school, but the young surgeon of 1849 had heard

of the new education. The *gymnasiasts* of Baden had felt the oppressive hand of the old line education. The students of Medicine of Freiburg, Heidelberg, Prague and Vienna had listened attentively to the teachings about nature and human nature. They had become imbued with the doctrines of power and of the forces of nature. They had listened to the story of creation as interpreted in the spirit of a *Cosmos*. They naturally felt the need of systematic training which could be adapted to the needs of the growing Republic. They interpreted the Ordinance of 1787 in the light of their own experience.

In various parts of the country these men cherished the above thoughts. The near approach of the 100th anniversary of Humboldt's birth seemed to them to be an opportune moment of realizing a long dreamt-of plan. In 1859, the year of the 100th anniversary of Schiller's birth, the idea of establishing a German University had been suggested, but nothing was accomplished in carrying the idea into effect. Dr. Kiefer, who years before had inaugurated the lecture course on the Natural Sciences already referred to, conceived the idea of arranging a *Humboldt* celebration, for the purpose of arousing interest in the establishment of suitable lecture courses, not unlike the system of Extension Lectures finally adopted by the leading Universities, and the foundation of a museum which should be connected with the New University. The word German, however, was to have the meaning of German scientific investigation and not the pan-German or pro-German national meaning. They judged from the standpoint of the accomplishments of the German people in every sphere in the world's work.

The first meeting was held on the 19th of June, 1869. Tentative plans were made for a fitting public demonstration and celebration to take place on the 13th and 14th of

September. Dr. Kiefer had prepared an appeal to the Germans of the United States. This summons was ordered printed with the request to be reprinted in all the German papers of the country. The plan was to establish a great *Cosmos* Society along the lines of the Society proposed at the Offenburger meeting to make the Parliament possible. In other words the organization proposed resembles the machinery of organization of the Socialists. The object is clearly stated in the second paragraph of the summons.

As stated in a second summons sent out on the 19th of August, this plan did not arouse the expected interest. The trained men of the *gymnasia* and the universities, who had enjoyed the opportunities of being children of educated families and who found themselves thrown into the very midst of the uneducated, or at the best meagerly educated, and in addition in a new land, could not understand why the people could not see their own best interests. In 1848 they had observed similar conditions, but as good revolutionists held the governing class responsible for the conditions. They had advocated a republican government of liberty and union. They had helped to win the fight for liberty and union in the new Republic. They thought that the time was ripe to have an institution of learning equal to the German universities, which had been educating the young men of the world. They thought America should have such an institution. They knew that the average college or University was a University in name only. They knew that the average lawyer could not read law and that the average physician could not read medicine. Therefore they had no confidence in the existing schools. The great war had been fought without having much influence on the school system. The people had not heeded the needless waste of human lives in the war and also

in the war with nature.

They made the attempt to organize the hundreds of thousands of Germans in the strange belief that the German people were prepared for such an undertaking. They could not realize the great abyss which existed between the humanists of Germany and the masses of Germany. They had been compelled to flee before they could understand the conditions in the old country. And in the very same year, 1869, when the followers of the theories of a Karl Marx were organizing Germany in the hopes of educating the people to see their own interests, the student of Humboldt's *Cosmos* dreamed of the organization of the Germans in this country, who, as they thought, would appreciate the great opportunity of improving their hard lot. He did not even understand the changes which had taken place among the educated fugitives of 1849 within the last two decades. He did not understand his own prophecies about the future of Germany written in 1844. He did not realize how much Germany had lost in the world struggles of two decades in the endeavors of the houses of Austria and Prussia to crush each other. Either in the hours of lonesomeness, or with a few companions, he had created an ideal Germany which he desired to implant in America, just as he, years before, had created an ideal Republic for which he offered his life.

Through his own personal endeavors, with the assistance of others equally interested, he aroused enthusiasm among the Germans of the City of Detroit and the celebration in September was a noteworthy one. It found "an interested ear and warm hearts" but, as is usual in the endeavors to educate the people, no "full purses."

Dr. Kiefer's recognition of Humboldt stands as an interesting contribution to the Humboldt literature of the year 1869.

Naturally the suggestion of Dr. Kiefer to found a German University which should be equal to the Universities of Germany could not be realized in America. Even if he had left out the word German, his ideal of a University could not have been attained. The celebration, however, in Detroit and throughout the country was not without results. The seed sown fell on fertile ground. Naturally the tree grew very slowly, but the growth was sure. It is true that thousands of young Americans were compelled to go abroad to study and therefore became acquainted with Germany's great contributions in all fields of sciences and with the German people. And even to-day they recognize the progressive forces of the German people and will welcome the contributions of the Baden Republicans to the preservation of the ideals and common laws of a Republican form of government in all parts of the *Cosmos*. Many thousands of the trained sons of Germany have come over to find a new field of work in this Republic. And they may well emulate the example of the Chairman of the Freiburg meeting.

Later on during his term as Regent of the University of Michigan, Dr. Kiefer was able to further the ideals advanced in 1869, however, not in a German University, but in the State University of Michigan. Dr. Kiefer's interest in the advancement of the study of Natural Sciences is fully recognized, even though he was especially interested in the Department of Medicine and Surgery. He also had an opportunity of observing the great progress made in the study of natural sciences in the entire country. His interest was always alive in this respect. He was especially interested in the growth of Cornell University. On learning that the writer came from Cornell he said: "So, you have studied in Ithaca? The foundation of Cornell University is indeed very good. I understand that they are liberally inclined

there. Your first president is really a man of consequence." (He had reference naturally to President Andrew Dickson White, who was formerly at the University of Michigan and for some time the American Ambassador at Berlin. Dr. Kiefer had read with great interest President White's book: *The Warfare of Science and Theology, etc.*)

The celebration of the 100th anniversary of Humboldt's birth had a quickening influence upon the educated classes in America. The celebration in the German circles was more far-reaching than generally recognized. The hundreds who listened to the speeches in Detroit and other cities and the thousands who read of the great German's contribution to knowledge and thought, did not forget the message sent abroad in the land. For although they could not enjoy the advantages of a higher education, they cherished the idea for decades, and this movement was not without influence even upon the second generation. To Dr. Kiefer belongs the credit of starting the movement among the German speaking citizens of the country.

THE SECOND AMERICAN PERIOD 1871-1911

IN the meantime Bismarck had forged the German Empire. One of the great ideals of the Revolutionists had been attained although by blood and iron—a federated German Nation. Many of the fundamental common laws of the German people, as advocated by the men of 1848, were incorporated in the new constitution, at least in letter if not in spirit. The most essential principles of their conception of a free economic and industrial Republicanism, however, were not accepted by Bismarck. The news of the establishment of the German Empire aroused the self-consciousness of the Germans in America and also the respect of the peoples of the world. Sedan more than superseded Jena. The world gradually became interested in the institutions of learning which had prepared Germany for this signal victory. It is true that the attempt to found a German University in the United States was a vain one, but nevertheless the agitation of the subject was not without immediate influence, and this influence grew when America began to realize the magnitude of the German victory.

In the light of recent developments the endeavors of Dr. Hermann Kiefer to reorganize the schools of Detroit and to establish a German University for the purpose of preparing the children of German descent to compete with their own cousins in the struggle for the survival of the educated, assumes a new aspect. His attempt in 1869 failed, but before the decade had passed the youth of America found it necessary to attend a German University in Germany. The

number, however, who attended was very small indeed, due largely to the fact that school teachers were paid such a miserable pittance that the real ability of the American youth could not be induced to invest the necessary sum. Gradually the demand for a higher education became stronger and stronger in the entire country. The young men of America were not prepared. Many of the Germans, as did Dr. Kiefer, sent their own sons back to Germany to get the education needed for the new emergency. These men told the story of opportunity to their cousins and friends and before the end of the century nearly all the schools and colleges of the country were filled with young men trained in Germany.

America did not listen to the suggestions of the Revolutionist of 1848, who for twenty years insisted on the establishment of a German University. The establishment of Universities in the meaning of the word German interpreted by the Republican of Baden would have been a great advantage to America. Naturally the word German would have been dropped in course of time.

The Civil War had acted as a leveler of many prejudices against the sturdy sons of the fatherland. In fact the war made Americans out of hundreds of thousands of these men, even if they were not prepared to consider the question of higher learning. When the prepared and trained men of the different German States began to flock to the flag to fight for Liberty and Union, the fortunes of war smiled on the side of the Republic. The people began to realize that the men and women who remained devoted to the land they had left in order to have greater opportunities and who had preserved the German traits of industry and perseverance, were for that very reason called, as it were, to be the best defenders of their new homes and their new country. They grew strong

again. Minor differences had been forgotten in the great struggle for the Republic they loved so well. They loved it because they had been trained to love their home and fatherland.

On the 1st of May, 1871, the Germans of Detroit celebrated the coming Peace. They naturally selected Dr. Hermann Kiefer to deliver the oration of the occasion. If the assembled men and women expected to hear a speech of exultation in the usual sense of the word, they were doomed to disappointment. The terrific Civil War had saddened the former Army surgeon. He saw in war not the procession of triumph, not the maddened frenzy of the mass, so easily carried away by a superficial interpretation of freedom and humanity, but the powerful struggles of great peoples and the intense suffering of individuals who had sacrificed their lives for their opinions of freedom and right. He recalled the suffering of the brave young men of Baden. He, who had sung the songs of freedom, knew full well the melodies cherished by the lovers of freedom, the melodies of hopeful youth. He knew that the youth had a right to live a life of free creative work.

Dr. Hermann Kiefer was not a supine pacifist. He believed in preparedness, yes, in military preparedness. In 1848 he had advocated preparedness for the establishment of a sovereignty of the people in order to overthrow the inherited monarchy, the arch enemy of political freedom. He still retained the idea of preparedness as stated in the Offenburg Resolutions:

“The people has no guarantees for the realization of its demands and for the establishment of a lasting condition of liberty. It must create its own guarantees. For this purpose a fatherland society shall be formed in every district of the country of Baden, the task of which shall be to care for

the arming, and for the political and social education of the people, as well as for the realization of all its rights.”

The Republican of 1848 could accept Washington’s idea of a peace establishment, for he knew full well the dangers of an armed peace.

The physician beheld the destructive forces of war and considered the sad destiny of the single man and especially the tragical lot of the one doomed to suffer the pains and pangs of a slow death. His ideas along this line find their best expression in a short funeral oration held in memory of Erhard Kirchberg, who suffered a lingering death for freedom and union. As a beautiful contribution to his belief that nothing can perish stands his *Address at the Grave of a Child*. And although bearing no date it sings similar melodies. The war of 1861-65 had filled his great life with feelings not unlike those expressed as he beheld the individual losses of the war. The war of the two great civilized nations had awakened and strengthened these powerful feelings. The fact that he was compelled to reflect upon the development of the war in a distant clime added to the intensity of the experience. Therefore a peace celebration to him was a conception having its serious aspects, for he beheld the entire war as a *Kriegs- und Staatsaction*, as a chapter in the development of the Imperial nation. He looked upon the victory as a victory of the German nation. Throughout the entire long speech he does not mention the name of any single individual, of a König, of a Bismarck, of an officer. He was not in a joyous frame of mind when he worked on this contribution to the peace celebration of the German nation: “Let it be far from us to exult over the conquered opponent, far from us *vae victis*. The victory makes us happy indeed, fills us with pride and gratitude toward the German nation which has rescued the honor of its name in such a glorious and

brilliant manner. . . ." He used the occasion to give public expression to the ideas which he had cherished so long. Therefore the speech is a real contribution to the understanding of the development of the German nation, written, as he frankly confessed, not by an historian, who could grasp the political conditions in their historical perspective, but by a dilettante who hardly had time even to retouch his work.

A Spielhagen would say that this powerful peace oration was created by a man of the people, who had stood at the very forge of the currents of the 19th century and who understood the feelings and thoughts of the men who drew up the resolutions of 1847 and 1848 and thereby definitely directed the immediate history of constitutional Germany. This oration could have been written only by a man who had helped to evolve the development of the German nation. And even though he may still be looked upon as a dilettante by men who understand merely the cold recorded letter, this significant peace oration indicates that he had reached the height from which he could behold the way he had travelled and therefore had an outlook. Only the occurrences of 1914-1917 could have given a proper perspective to a reader of this admonition to his beloved fellow citizens. He spoke as one who had continued to participate in the maintenance of the common laws of the 19th century, which he himself had helped to preserve. He remained still the chairman of that meeting which adopted the demand for a republican state, and therefore had followed the entire trend of events with the consistency of the man of the people who had helped to make possible the unification of the German peoples.

Conscious of the importance of the occasion and conscious of his own message Dr. Kiefer delivered his oration, which certainly did not correspond to the joyful expecta-

tions of the people who heard him. They, however, were impressed with the power of his conviction and by the power of his delivery. The very first paragraph treated of the dire results of war between civilized nations:

“To-day we are celebrating a festival as will occur in such grandeur only once in the life of a man, yes, we may say in the life of a nation; a festival, grand, noble, and beautiful; a festival in which every humane heart must rejoice—a peace festival. Yes, a peace celebration after the bloody war between two of the most civilized nations of the world, which after a terrific struggle, after heroic deeds, such as history hardly ever records, have put out the flaming torches of war and have returned to a nobler occupation more worthy of men.”

Hermann Kiefer saw more than a mere peace celebration, he saw the festival of the resurrection of the German Nation, which for centuries had been compelled to endure ignominy and oppression. He traced the development of the growth of the national hate between these two nations which had made war unavoidable. He understood the dire effects of the armed peace which had consumed the productive energies and the material sources of these two peoples, crippling their commerce, industry and agricultural development.

On the other side he recalled the old feelings of the South Germans who felt that safety consisted in a complete defeat of the French. This had come to be almost a patriotic confession of faith on their part. He referred with bitterness to the miserable *deutscher Bund*, which had not been equal to the occasion, and therefore largely responsible for the trend of events. He sketched the development within Germany after the removal of the unhappy dualism of Austria and Prussia and the growth of the power of Germany until, without wishing war, no one was afraid of it, as for

example in 1848, when all trembled at the word: "Die Franzosen kommen." After tracing the development of the political relations and showing the growth of the attitude of the peoples, he described in detail the insignificant event which precipitated the war, "which must become decisive for the power and the existence of both nations."

His description of the drama which took place among the German people written in his lonesome hours so far away from the homeland, demonstrates the truth that people remain about the same. The lad who had sung of the river Rhine and the young surgeon who had witnessed the uprising of the people for the establishment of their idea of the German nation, understood full well the Spirit abroad in the land.

With an artist's touch he wove into his speech the words of the old Arndt. He seemed to divine the significance of this rejuvenated "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland" for the German people. At the same time he could see the beloved ones at home, who, with anxious timidity, with hope and fear, waited for the first news, since they knew the stories told about the ancient enemy from childhood.

In his speech the old German Republican recorded the hope he had cherished when he read that the Republic in France had been proclaimed. He interpreted this proclamation in the light of the proclamation of 1848:

"The world breathed freely for it was believed that the republican government of France would hasten to atone for the crime of Napoleon and would extend a brother's hand to Germany, which had freed her from the shackles of Napoleon, and would say—'civilized nations do not wage war with one another, let us live in peace; we rejoice that we have gotten rid of him and his militarism which has clubbed, imprisoned, banished and murdered us for years.'"

Dr. Kiefer believed that this war was a defensive war with the national independence and honor of the German Nation at stake. He was disappointed that the man of the hour did not stand up in France and tell the French people the naked truth, but he could not know that even if the man had arisen, that Bismarek, whom he does not mention in the speech, would not have listened to a Republican, for even if he had not willed this war, he was going to carry it out to the finish in order to complete his great ambition, the establishment of a Modern German Nation, not in the sense of the men of 1848, but in the sense of the Prussian interpretation of the words "inherited monarchy." Dr. Kiefer's conception must be interpreted with this fact in mind, as he spoke of the war:

"The war is over; the thunder of the cannons is silenced; the noise of the battles dies down; the smoke of conflict has disappeared; friend and foe, who hated each other in life and could not endure one another, lie peacefully side by side in death. Spring decorates with its flowers the graves of those resting in foreign soil, who, far from their loved ones, have found the death of heroes. The storms of winter are past, the entire nature breathes peace; may this peace also enter into the hearts of men and blot out the hatred which lead them to mutual destruction. The warriors will return home, but many a seat remains empty in the beloved family circle; here the father is missing, there the son. Tears of pain for those who have fallen intermingle with the tears of joy. Let us place the laurel branch and the wreath of immortelles upon the graves of the heroes." And then he added, according to his conception of *Cosmos*: "charitable time will cure even this pain."

The apostle of peace, who had joined the army of the Republic of Baden for the purpose of establishing a lasting

condition of freedom for the German Nation and who had volunteered to serve in the army of the Republic in America, expressed in experienced words his confession of faith:

“May this peace hasten the time when the people themselves will conduct their own destinies and no longer destroy each other as the mere playthings of dynastic purposes. Wars among civilized nations are a crime against humanity. Only among savage people, where no arguments founded on reason may be applied, is the appellation to arms justifiable; only where the voice of reason dies away unheard, shall the brazen mouth of the cannon decide. May it be the problem of the newly arisen power in the heart of Europe; may it be the problem of Germany, to make wars impossible forever. Long it was the Cinderella among the nations, modestly it contented itself with the last place at the table of nations. May it use its power for the welfare of humanity. Higher rights bring forth higher duties. If Germany fulfills these duties in the meaning of progress, of freedom and of humanity, then and only then can it assume its position in a worthy manner in the great council of nations, acquire the respect of the entire world, be unassailable and unconquerable. And all the German races, who still stand outside of the common fatherland, will unite themselves under Germania’s protecting banner.”

For a moment under the powerful influence of the peace celebration the hearers accepted this conception of faith. The writer himself was carried away by it and he continued;

“If, however, the present German Empire should be a copy of the old Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, if expeditions to Rome and crusades shall be its task then Kaiser William may well lay himself down to sleep alongside the old Barbarossa in Kyffhäuser—and we will say with Stein: ‘If I consider the affair exactly, we really do not

need a Kaiser? Not by means of the sword, by battle and by war, by blood and death has Germany to make its conquest, but by the power of science, by the recognition of free thought, of free investigation and of free self-determination. And it will fulfill its task. The spirit and the character of the Germanic race vouchsafes this for us!"

Thus spoke the Republican Kiefer to an audience of Germans, who had made the land of the free their home, and who with him beheld the victory as the victory of the German people. So thought the "still in the land" even in all the states of Germany until 1913, when they sang the word of the old Arndt with the new State-National interpretation. Even this celebration aroused in the peoples of Germany a different feeling from what was anticipated by the leaders of the inherited monarchy. It aroused the old Germanic folk-consciousness. We hear again the warning of the Republican of 1848, who on the occasion celebrated, spoke in the terms of a real peace celebration.

The advocate of democracy reinterpreted the ideas of 1848 on the beautiful May morn of 1871 for the children of 1948. Not by means of the sword, by battle and by war has Germany to make her conquests, but by the power of science, by the recognition of free thought, of free investigation and of free self-determination. He certainly did not foresee the extent of the growth of autocratic imperialism in the land which had produced so many disciples of liberty.

The wars of 1861-65 and 1870-71 proved to be great teachers. The leaders of the New Republic had learned to know these men in the great struggle, and in 1872 Dr. Kiefer was selected as one of the presidential electors of Michigan. In 1876 he was a delegate to the Cincinnati Republican Convention. From that time on until 1880 he was a Republican speaker among the Germans of Michigan.

In the meantime he had visited Germany where he spent several months in the year 1873. He has left no record in his handwriting of these speeches. A research in the press of that time would undoubtedly indicate that his message in the Fremont speech and the ideas already developed in his written works still inspired the Republican orator. It must always be kept in mind that the Revolutionist of Baden idealized the word Republican. But so intense was his idealizing, so vigorous his attacks on the established order, and so untiring his blows for the new freedom, that it was only Dr. Kiefer's lack of free command of the English language which kept him from becoming in this country a national leader.

His work was recognized and in 1883 he was appointed U. S. consul to Stettin, Germany, where he remained until January, 1885. He looked upon this position as one of honor and also of responsibility. The location of Stettin gave him the opportunity of studying the conditions in Northern Germany. The American Consul Kiefer looked upon the development in this country, largely from the point of view of what he could bring of advantage to America. He immediately became interested in the growth of the sugar beet industry. The establishment of a beet-root factory in Stettin was the direct result of the growth of this industry during the last decade. The investment was an excellent one. In his report (*Consular Reports*, Vol. XII, pp. 95-98) he made a recommendation, which indicated far-sightedness on the part of the man who had studied the development of America. Even in this respect he may be considered a forerunner of modern development, since he emphasized the importance of this growing industry to the United States:

“When I look at these astonishing results I cannot help

thinking that in the cultivation of this root a new and large field of enterprise and prosperity would be given to our American people, and the object of this dispatch is to call the attention of those whom it may concern to this very important matter.

“Climate and soil in many States, as for instance, in Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, are particularly fitted for the culture of sugar-beet, and one hundred thousand acres lying idle now, if planted with it would yield a rich harvest; thousands of men would get work in the factories needed for gaining the sweet juice, and for manufacturing the sugar; the genius of the American people would contrive without doubt in a short time new machines and processes to make this wonderful industry even more profitable than it is in Germany; the time will come when the beet root will be for the North what the sugar-cane is for the South, and sugar factories will replace within the Northern States the sorghum mills now springing up in the South, and the wealth of the nation will be increased materially, not only by adding a new industry to the country, but also by saving hundreds of thousands of dollars now annually sent abroad.”

Consul Kiefer carefully observed the European methods of introducing new articles into foreign countries and sent several dispatches bearing on this important question. The *Neue Stettiner Zeitung* ran an article which corroborated the opinions already expressed by Dr. Kiefer. The main points of the article are:

“It is nothing new at all that manufacturers get together and send experts as their representatives, but the fact is not appreciated by German merchants as it ought to be. . . . The travelling expenses and those of first fitting such an expedition, if divided among a number of partners, are according to experience not heavy at all, and will soon be

refunded. Besides, it might be shown in this way that many articles of the German industries, if exported, will find a market more readily than is usually expected.

“The imperial consuls in foreign countries, as is generally agreed, are very willing to give any information about the countries and the people, to show the best ways and means to be taken, to obtain through their personal influence the introductions needed, and to place at the disposal of those interested all the knowledge of local conditions they have. . . . This is the reason why we want to recommend very earnestly the measure recently adopted by the Austrian manufacturers.”

This article, reprinted in the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, appealed to Dr. Kiefer who recognized the importance of studying first of all the local conditions and the peoples as the main secret of success in any attempt to extend trade. He therefore added in his characteristic manner: “I can only say ‘amen,’ and think, in my humble opinion, the same principle, if carried out in Europe, and especially in Germany, might prove equally successful here, and the words—*mutatis mutandis*—ought to be told again and again to our American manufacturers!” This recommendation was written May 19, 1884. (*Consular Reports*, Vol. XIII, p. 14.)

Perhaps the most interesting report made by Dr. Kiefer was his report: “How Germany is Governed.” (*Consular Reports*, Vol. XV, pp. 394-400. See also p. 122.) The Revolutionist of 1848, who had contributed his energies to making the constitution of the proposed Republican form of Government and who had advocated the preservation of these principles for over three decades, naturally became interested in how Germany is governed. He also knew that the educated people of America did not understand the govern-

ment of the German Empire. The election of October 28 had aroused considerable interest in Germany and also in the rest of Europe. Dr. Kiefer felt that America should understand the causes which had brought about the changing of German opinion. He gives a very concise statement of the principles of the parties and of the methods of election. He also traces the trend of events leading up to the October election. The most significant result of the election was the selection of 24 members of the socialist party. The advocate of freedom, education and common weal of 1848 had become intensely interested in the social conditions of Northern Germany in 1884. He had followed the campaign very closely and his diagnosis of the causes which led to the victory of the Socialists is significant in that it explains to us the orator of the fiftieth anniversary of 1848. The most important paragraphs are:

“It is only natural that the public, seeing socialistic ideas indorsed by the Government itself thinks them all right. But the most important reason is the lamentable social condition of the people, the scanty food, the miserable lodgings, the low wages, the increasing poverty of the working classes, the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few, the usury practiced by a certain class of money-lenders, the riches gained by unscrupulous speculation, often based upon the ruin of thousands; the pride and haughtiness of the nobility looking down from their ancient castles upon those toiling and working along in the sweat of their brows, as inferior beings; the contrast between comparatively few carrying on a life of idleness and luxury, and the thousands striving for their daily bread and the poorest shelter against storm, rain and cold; all this combined with the conviction that they are treated wrongly, and in consequence of a more general education, a greater intelligence, and the desire for bet-

tering their conditions, the claim for a fair share of the profits yielded by their work, a claim so far denied, has caused a widespread dissatisfaction, which swells the socialistic ranks daily and hourly.

“They have resolved to stand upon their feet, to rely upon their own strength, they believe in the justice of their cause, and are usually convinced that the future is theirs. They don’t trust to any promises; they don’t compromise with any party, and they are ready to sacrifice for their principles.”

Thus Dr. Hermann Kiefer explained in 1884 the inevitable rise of the Socialistic party. The lamentable conditions gradually grew worse and worse until they seemed to reach their climax in 1891, the year in which the Erfurt Program was adopted. Dr. Kiefer also observed the importance of the election of 24 members to the *Reichstag*:

“It should be known that, according to the rules existing, no one can bring in a motion if not subscribed to and indorsed by fifteen members, at least. Hence, the Socialists will teach their principles in the legislative halls of the German Empire; they will advocate the measures proposed by them for years, not that they expect to carry them, but they can make, without incurring punishment, a formidable propaganda; the words spoken in the *Reichstag* will go, in the stenographic reports, all over the country; the anti-socialist law has no effect upon them, for the members of the *Reichstag*, the representatives of the people, are, by the constitution, unimpeachable for what they are saying in exercising their mandates.”

The final sentence of the keen observer of the conditions of Baden in 1848 and the similar conditions of Northern Germany of 1884 shows that he understood the trend of events:

“Having shown the current of the tendencies and sentiments of the German people and the differences of opinion separating them, we must not overlook the fact that two powerful elements are uniting them, viz., patriotism and national pride; the fatherland and a strict military organization bind them together; the former is the moral, the latter the physical element of their strength and prestige.”

The remarkable report written in 1884 seems to almost foretell the Germany of the 20th century. It remained for the Government to recognize the situation and to bring about the necessary legislation and the application of business and scientific methods in order to remedy the historical evils. It remained for the silent revolution of 1885 to awaken the people and finally the government to realize the dangerous position of the German Empire.

Dr. Kiefer had already treated the conditions of the laboring classes in a report to the Department of State. (See Department of State, Document 2299, *Labor in Germany*, pp. 485-529.) The introductory remarks are characteristic of the man who understood that this entire investigation would amount to little:

“First, the magnitude and the importance of the subject is so great and its field so extensive that it would well be worth the pen of the most renowned national economist, and a John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Lassalle, Marx or Henry George ought not to have been ashamed to try their genius on it after a lifelong study of the questions involved.

“Second, as the Department wants ‘these reports completed as speedily as possible,’ no time is given to collect facts as it ought to be done; besides the people here who only could give the needed information are in many cases not willing to do so, and either refuse it at once, or, what is even worse, promise it, delay it from one week to another,

and at last excuse themselves with want of time, or hand in two or three meagre items at the most. Government employees, who could give all information wanted, are forbidden to do so. . . . Many of the most important questions asked are just now under discussion in the German Diet; also statistics are being prepared about wages, cost of living, rent, etc., by the Imperial statistical bureau; but as the Germans are doing all that they do completely and thoroughly, they cannot do it quickly and speedily as we Americans are used to. Within a few years it will be an easy matter to make such a report, as everything needed then will be found in the works edited by the German authorities, and will only have to be translated."

From the above it is evident that Consul Kiefer recognized the importance of such investigation for both Germany and America, but that he did not have much confidence in American thoroughness and scholarship. He also evidently did not discern that the German Government was carefully concealing the true state of affairs both on account of the effect of the investigation upon the German people and also upon the world at large. Even the Republican of 1848 was being deceived by a promised investigation of the labor situation and of the cost of living. Bismarck did not dare to recognize the claims of the Socialists. It would have hastened the day of the repealing of the anti-socialistic law and certainly would have increased the number of members of the Socialistic party.

And although Dr. Kiefer did not fully grasp the importance of the question from the point of view of the Imperial Government, yet his observations of the local conditions in Stettin and neighborhood, show that he was a close observer of conditions and could compare them with the conditions he had observed in Detroit and America. In writing

of the cost of living, he said in part:

“With all the differences, the following facts are indisputable: (1) The incomes are so small, that considered from an American standpoint they will be looked upon as starving wages; (2) in consequence of this smallness, the laborer has to save on clothing, rent, etc., and *vice versa*, and this is the way he has to make both ends meet. An American laborer spends nearly as much money for food alone, although the prices are lower, than his German fellow-worker earns during the year. That they *can live* on such a trifling sum depends on the minor waste of tissue and vital forces, first in consequence of climate and then because of work being done more slowly and things generally taken easier. Out of all Americans only American consuls are paid in the same ratio.”

The situation, as far as the feelings between employees and employers were concerned, appeared to be fair and passable, yet it seemed to Consul Kiefer that the “satisfaction” was only on one side, while the other was calmly suffering what it could not change. He wrote:

“The effect of this state of things on the general and particular prosperity of the community is so far a beneficial one, when a feeling of general security exists, everything going smoothly, and no outbreaks and social disturbances occur. But the careful observer cannot fail to notice that the idea of common interests of employer and employee is losing strength every day and is fading away in the same proportion as when the works of private persons are turned over to associations of capitalists, *i. e.*, stock companies taking the place of private enterprise.”

Dr. Kiefer, who thought that mutual esteem and friendship were the essential bonds which united employer and employees, could not quite discern the unqualified blessings

of trade regulations and social legislation. He wrote:

“This change of sentiment is aided besides by the trade regulations (*Gewerbeordnung*) and social legislation, which define and settle all the relations between both parties and cause an alienation of the employed from the employer, because the former does not feel himself any more either obligated to or dependent upon the latter, since the rights and duties of both have been determined by law. So, in spite of the many true and noble principles embodied in these regulations, they seem to have in many instances the contrary effect of what the framers and authors expected; instead of binding together and uniting in one body both parties, they are loosening the ties of friendship and love hitherto existing. The patriarchal relations of former times are growing weaker, the remembrances of the past are sinking into oblivion and blindfolded justice in its supremacy is enthroned on the deserted chair of mutual esteem and friendship. Whether this is a gain—who can say?”

Under the caption “General condition of the working people,” Dr. Kiefer treats material which has been freely used by the modern German writers. He describes the miserable lodgings in cellars and in the upper stories of the old buildings. He comments on the natural social degradation which follows the crowding of the people of all ages and sexes in such miserable limits. He quotes from the reports of the official communications as follows: “The fare of workingmen is on the whole a sufficient one, the prices of provisions being in accordance with wages paid, although the former differ about 20 per cent in various places of the province” and then adds: “Now let us hear the parties interested themselves.” He then describes the meager meals in detail. He did not follow the official communication or hearsay, but went to the workingmen who described their daily “bread!”

The answer of one of his informants is a typical one inasmuch as it gives us an insight into the keen powers of observation of Consul Kiefer. It tells us the story of a modern drama, and explains the impulse to go to America. "He smiled gloomily (I never shall forget this smile) and said: 'I *must* get along with it (the food) or steal—this is the choice left to all who are neither noblemen, nor rich men, nor salaried officers; when in the house of correction, or state prison, we are cared for; but for the poor wives and children—I am going to America when my brother sends me the money.'"

Consul Kiefer's comments on these poor fellows were made before the rise of modern German commerce and industry. In fact the primary object of modern German expansion was to further the development of these men and women. To Dr. Kiefer the ownership of the land seemed to be the essential question. He writes:

"Their chances for bettering their condition are none, everything in this country being fixed and settled for centuries; the land in possession of private owners, principalities of 100 square miles often in one hand, and, on the other side, again, lands are divided into such small parcels that the owners cannot live off their produce; an over-population by which wages are kept down to a minimum; the poor people carrying on a life of incessant toil and privation, a continuous struggle for existence, working day by day, from morning to evening, for the barest necessities of life, knowing that when old and invalid and unable to work any longer, they have to depend upon charity; after forty years of hard work to be at the same point whence they started as young men, and yet content and at times even happy! On Sundays and holidays they go out with their families, hear some music, have a dance, breathe fresh air, enjoy themselves under

the green trees, delight in nature's beauty and spend a few pfennigs, saved by assistance of wife and children. And then the moralist steps in and says, 'they are improvident and regardless of the future and spend in drinking and dancing all they earn.' Oh, the Pharisee! That they go sometimes into excesses, I admit; but I only am astonished how seldom it happens. They drink bad whiskey because they have no money for beer or something better. They would certainly prefer wine or champagne as well as our moralist does, if they could afford it. I might ask, have they really no claims to pleasures and joys of life, and, besides, what inducements have they to save anything, even if they could? They never could get a home for themselves; nothing they can call their own in the world, except their poverty and their misery. Thousands and thousands more would come to the United States every year if they only could save the marks to pay the passage."

Dr Kiefer, the advocate of a regenerated humanity, continues his description, a description equal in power to one of the realistic school of writers. Unfortunately the original was not preserved:

"One of this class (the better class) told me that he saved 50 marks within four years, and bought furniture for two rooms worth 100 marks—altogether \$35.70—but only with the strictest economy. Thirty-five dollars and seventy cents within four years,—think of it, American fellow-laborer (note the old meaning of the word used by the Republican of 1848)! The savings of man and wife after four years' constant hard work! On the other end of the line, we find good-for-nothing fellows, the scamps, the idlers and tramps; *they* pass away their time in idleness, and spend what they earn (if ever they do earn) in drinking and dancing; but they also are exceptions, fortunately not many; they may

once have been good, honest workingmen, but they don't belong any more to this noble and respectable class. Bad company and bad whiskey have ruined them; misfortune, poverty, and misery may have helped to do the work; these are the causes which surround them and influence them for evil. As soon as the workingman is getting to be a regular whiskey drinker, he goes down; whiskey was in Northern Germany the common beverage, and it is yet in a smaller degree, but good, wholesome lager beer, is now taking its place more and more, and shows already a very beneficial influence; religion and the consideration given by employers and the government to the welfare of the laborers do not fail to exert also an influence for their good. The physical and moral condition is the result of all the conditions written upon in the foregoing pages. With potatoes and chicory water as main food, a little bad whiskey, and, above all, miserable water to drink, with small, dark, ill-ventilated rooms, crowded to their utmost to live in; no sunshine ever sending in its golden beam; the atmosphere contaminated with foul air arising from cellars and yards; the original race badly mixed with foreign elements; want, scantiness, poverty, and misery around them, we cannot expect to find among these classes the powerful athletes of olden times as Tacitus describes them, with their fair, golden-reddish hair, the blue eyes, the glance even which the unconquered Romans could not stand; we miss that well-known 'furor teutonicus' which made old Rome tremble and succumb to those barbarians."

The skilled physician trained by long experience to know that conditions beget to a great extent the manifold ailments of humanity, wrote with the conviction of a modern disciple of eugenics about his observations:

"Scrophulosis with all its consequences, sore eyes, sore heads, swollen limbs and abdomens, rhachitis, with its curva-

tures of the spine, and so on, and the whole legion of diseases resulting from poor food and bad air, insufficient nutrition in general, are only too frequent and fill the hospitals and asylums with their victims, cripples, idiots, epileptics, etc. Also these conditions will produce in moral respects no saints; the purity of morals is stained with dark spots, but according to all information obtained, no worse than in countries better situated. Prostitution, illegitimate births, syphilis not more spread than elsewhere, the crime of abortion nearly unknown. Man is the product of the conditions surrounding him,—food and drink, air and light, society and education make him what he is. I tried to get official figures about all these points to show in tabular form the percentage of suffering in physical or moral respects, but in vain. Those who have evaded all the perils surrounding their childhood and youth grow up still as comparatively strong and healthy if not tall men; and the three years' military service, with repeated exercises through nine years further, make them tough, enduring, steady, and adroit. They have inherited a marvelous tenacity, everlasting energy and the powerful vigor of their ancestors which carry them through the most unfortunate conditions.”

Dr. Hermann Kiefer, the Socialist for the time being (Socialists, however, may properly object), held that the improvement of these conditions would bring about a renaissance of the most important class of the nation:

“And this energy, this tenacity, this vigor is only asleep within these poor classes; it exists among them and awakens under more propitious circumstances! Give them fresh air and sunlight; wholesome food; give them free speech, free soil, and free labor; let them have freedom of thought and liberty of action, and they will recuperate, regain their physical strength, recover their moral health, and justify the

truth of the words of the honorable Secretary of State in his letter to Congress dated May 17, 1879: 'Such are the characteristics of the German working classes, characteristics which, under more favorable circumstances in the United States, have helped so materially in the development of our vast resources, which have made the name German-American synonymous with industry and good citizenship, and which have given to the agricultural and manufacturing mind of our country much of its solidity and perseverance.'"

Consul Kiefer's remarks on the safety and comfort of factory operatives also shows a careful study of the situation and a close observance of the laws passed to improve the conditions of the laborers and to strike at the root of direct misery, viz., sickness and accidents. It is interesting to note how keenly Consul Kiefer noticed the trend of events leading up to the ultimate regulation of the conditions which has made Germany the strongest national organization in the world. When he visited Germany in 1910 and noticed the remarkable advance made along the lines of education and common weal he became reconciled to a great extent with the efficient German government which had recognized the results of modern scientific research, at least as far as the natural sciences and the science of medicine were concerned. He even thought that personal liberty was more appreciated than in America. But he always maintained that the government had been forced to recognize the principles advocated in 1848 and also later by the Socialists.

Under the caption "*Causes of Emigration*" Consul Kiefer adds powerful sentences which come right out of his long life's observation of the dire annals of the poor working classes. The question of emigration seemed to awaken his thoughts and feelings as a fugitive from "justice." He re-

lived the very destinies of the poor people who were compelled to leave the *Heimat* they really loved. His observations may well be studied to-day by the average American who fails to grasp the thoughts of these people and of their children who have helped to build up the Republic, and who, by the way, will listen more attentively to Kiefer's appeal to support federal policies as time goes on.

Causes of Emigration as Stated by Consul Kiefer

A number of causes combine to swell the flood of emigration. Among them I will enumerate:

1. The overpopulation of most parts of Germany.
2. Large estates.
3. The smallness of wages, with all its consequences which drive the laborers to "the last ditch," the Atlantic ocean and across, with the common device "it cannot get worse."
4. The relatives and friends living in "America"; scarcely a family is here without such. Each of the former acts involuntarily as an immigration agent; news from America is waited for with eagerness. If a letter arrives the people congregate in groups; the letter is read to all by the lucky fellow who receives it; the dull faces lighten up, the eyes glisten, and one wish is common to all: "Oh, that we could go to America!"
5. The money advanced by their American friends, either in cash or in form of passage tickets. Without this help hundreds and thousands never would have seen the hospitable shores of the "free land"; hundreds and thousands more would leave every year if they only had the means.
6. The words "ora et labora," once comprising the sub-

stance of all their rights, is not believed in any more in this sense of the word; and a hundred Stöckers and Winthorsts cannot restore the lost faith; the poor fellows begin to understand that they also have some claims besides, and some more rights in this beautiful world.

7. As other causes might be mentioned, among many the game law, the law against the Socialists, the obligation to do military duty, and some more. But all these are of minor importance—the main, principal cause, the leading idea, is to better their condition, to get independent, to become free citizens of a free country, with equal rights to all; a country which affords the opportunity to rise higher in material, physical, and moral welfare, and the wish to see their children happy, free and contented before they themselves pass away. The great bulk of emigrants are laborers, agriculturists (farm hands), and mechanics of every sort and ability. The other classes here are mostly well-to-do, and, as a class, do not emigrate; a few dozens perhaps, of educated and professional men who, either led by the idea of finding a better field for their work, or driven by the desire to see foreign countries and increase their knowledge; some young merchants who want to enrich themselves by establishing branch houses, agencies, and so on, to import European goods, and a few “lost existences,” who have nothing to lose and everything to gain, make up the rest.

Dr. Kiefer, the true American citizen, added in closing this section of his report: “And it is to be hoped that all these men and women, who have given up home, friends, and ‘fatherland,’ knowing that they will never see them again,

will find their wishes fulfilled, their expectations realized, and become good, industrious, honest and true citizens of our great Republic."

Dr. Kiefer, the firm believer in the essential forces of nature and human nature, had a strong confidence in the regeneration of humanity within a State which would remove the conditions undermining the constitutions of the children of men. At the same time the son of the Black Forest had great faith in the most important class, the productive laboring class of Germany.

"The German laborer is poor but honest, suffering and struggling for his daily existence, but contented, fond of pleasure, but industrious and economical, loving the place of his birth, the play-grounds of his childhood, the fields which have witnessed the labor and the bravery of his youth and manhood; but despairing to ever better the conditions he lives in, he gives up everything to find a new home, a brighter future for himself and his beloved children in a far-away land, that land which is the hope of all the unfortunate, of all the oppressed and downtrodden of the world. May his hope forever remain."

The important report of Consul Kiefer, finished in July, 1884, notwithstanding the fact that he was unable to obtain exact statistics, and was compelled to complete it as speedily as possible, contains observations which are of great import even for the reconstruction period which inevitably must follow the great European war, whether the United States becomes actually involved in the war or not. In fact in many respects the threatening unrest among the laboring classes of America, shows that the reunited Republic did not sufficiently hearken to the repeated warnings of the Republican of Germany. The reports of Consul Kiefer contain all the essential problems which will confront the Republic

for the next three decades.

It was unfortunate for America that Consul Kiefer resigned his office upon the election of a Democratic president, because he was not willing "to be," as he stated, "a victim of the political guillotine or to see civil service reforms managed by the Democrats." He would have observed the trend of the development of the social conditions of Germany and his reports and dispatches would have contained valuable information for his beloved America. He remained in Europe for several months and continued to observe the changing social conditions of the laboring classes. These years in Germany awakened his memories of the old struggles in Baden, but he viewed the conditions in the light of the study of the works of Karl Marx and Henry George. He came to be more a Socialist than a Republican. This was due partly because the Socialists had adopted practical measures for the improvement of the social conditions and because the tendency of the leaders of the Republican party was towards the barons of organized finance. He held that the State, that is the federal government, should regulate the growth of all industries, both city and country.

In the meantime Dr. Kiefer devoted his attention in public matters to the work of the Detroit library commission and to the extending of his ideas of the development of the City and of the State. He was a charter member and vice-president of the Wayne County Savings Bank, which position he resigned when he received the appointment as U. S. Consul at Stettin, Germany. He was a director of the *Michigan Mutual Life Insurance Company* from 1883 to 1892. He was active in the *Michigan State Medical Society*, as well as in the *American Medical Association*. His interest in history and social and political sciences is indicated by the fact that he joined the *American Historical Association* and the

American Academy of Political and Social Science. Dr. Kiefer preserved nothing which would bear on this period. His ideas, however, are preserved in an extended correspondence with his close and intimate friend, Dr. Ziegel of Stettin. But it is impossible to obtain the correspondence for this volume.

In 1889 Dr. Kiefer was appointed by Governor John T. Rich to fill a vacancy on the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan and he was elected in 1893. His name was again brought up before the convention in 1901, but he refused to enter into any political combination. He maintained that he had never compromised himself in political matters and did not intend to begin the new century by any action which would reflect upon his character. He looked upon the Regency of the University of Michigan as a position of honor and trust and resented any attempt of practical politicians to use this position as a means of furthering their power or political interests.

Dr. Kiefer's untiring work for the University of Michigan was recognized by the *Board of Regents* of the University of Michigan. On June 19, 1902, he was honored by the *Board of Regents* with the honorary degree of M.D., and with the title of *Professor Emeritus of the Practice of Medicine*, in consideration of his merits for the advancement of the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the University of Michigan. The faculty of the Department of Medicine and Surgery had his life size portrait painted in oil for the faculty room in the new medical building by his son Edwin H. Kiefer (this note is taken from a little slip which Dr. Kiefer added to the statement found in *The National Encyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. XI, p. 415).

Dr. Hermann Kiefer took his seat as a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan in the April

meeting, 1889. At the very next meeting in June Regent Draper moved, on the recommendation of the Department of Medicine and Surgery, that all students who enter the Department after July 1, 1890, be required to pass four years of professional study before graduation. The motion was carried. Dr. Kiefer therefore became Regent at a most important time for the development of the Department of Medicine and Surgery, since the extension of the course made the realization of the academic spirit possible. He took considerable pride in the fact that he was able to bring about the settlement of the long debated question. Already in October, 1887, a resolution of the Medical Faculty to the effect that the "Department be improved by its extension to four years of nine months, instead of three years, thus bringing it nearer to the standard of the most advanced medical schools of Europe" had been presented, but the resolution was laid on the table.

The spirit of the resolution appealed to Dr. Kiefer who, as already indicated, had been trained in the universities of Baden and had studied in Prague and Vienna. He knew personally the results of the most advanced medical schools of Europe. In order to make the results of the Newer Medical Science more effective the Founders of the Republic of Baden had established departments of medicine within their state organization. Dr. Kiefer was to be appointed Chairman of the departments of Medicine and Obstetrics. It was his ambition then to bring to the people the direct benefits of proper regulation and state prevention of diseases, as well as the results of research. He had noticed the price paid by the sturdy people who had come over to America, because of the lack of medical preparedness. As an Army surgeon he deplored the ruthless toll of uneducated surgeons in the great Civil War. In the year 1869 he ad-

vocated the establishment of a German University in America, having in mind Detroit as the logical center. He desired to make this University German in the sense of German scientific investigation, a university approaching the standard of the most advanced medical schools of Europe. He had observed very closely the gradual adoption of research by the German government during the time of his work as Consul, forced largely by the demands of the people on one side and the appeal of the men of research on the other. Dr. Kiefer was especially well prepared to understand the point of view of the young scientific men of the Medical Department. It is a significant fact that the resolution was carried immediately after he became a member of the Board of Regents.

In June, 1890, the Faculty of the Department of Medicine and Surgery presented a scheme for a four-years' graded course in the Department of Medicine and Surgery, which was, on the motion of Regent Kiefer, adopted, and the schedule was referred back to the Faculty for a more complete arrangement of the matter for the printer. Dr. Kiefer had given this question very careful consideration and was able to scrutinize the scheme as presented by the Faculty. From the very first meeting until the laying of the corner stone of the new medical building on the fifteenth of October, 1901, Dr. Kiefer co-operated in all the endeavors to advance the study of medicine in every way. He assisted in the bringing about of the appointment of young men of promise and encouraged them in their scientific work as much as possible. The inside preparedness of the Medical College is due in large part to the fact that the Revolutionist of 1848 still advocated the recognition of new knowledge. He assisted in the establishment of new departments and in a proper arrangement of the work in order to make

this possible. He often deplored the fact that the State had not awakened to the dire need of supporting advanced education for its own sake. And although he appreciated the merits of the men of the Old School of Gentlemen scholars, he also discerned that their spirit of harmony and culture was not in accord with the demands of the new age.

He especially encouraged the providing of laboratories and clinical work both for instructor and student, thereby replacing the didactic lectures. In his address delivered at the ceremonies of October he practically restated the principles he had advocated for over a half of a century:

“Modern laboratories are the most pressing need; laboratories, the imitations of nature’s secret workshops, are indispensable to modern medical education. The didactic lectures of fifty years ago have given place to laboratory and clinical work, to be done by the students themselves; the time has passed when Mephisto’s sarcasm could be only too well justified:—

“Prepare beforehand for your part
With paragraphs all got by heart;
So you can better watch and look
That naught is said, but what is in the book.”

“I said this building, besides being the home of the Department of Medicine and Surgery, will also be the nucleus of the University of the future, a university different from the University of the past. Professor Huxley, the eminent scientist, comparing the two, says in a letter of April 11, 1892: ‘The Medical University looked backwards: it professed to be a storehouse of old knowledge, and except in the way of dialectic cobweb spinning, its professors had nothing to do with novelties. The modern university looks forward,

and is a factory of new knowledge; its professors have to be at the top of the wave of progress. Research and criticism must be the breath of their nostrils; laboratory work, the main business of the scientific student; books, his main helpers. The lecture, however, in the hands of an able man, will still have the utmost importance in stimulating and giving facts and principles their proper relative prominence.'

"The Department of Medicine and Surgery of this University is to be congratulated on having a corps of able men, imbued with these principles, full of scientific tastes, full of zeal and energy to advance science, enthusiastic in their endeavors to reach the highest goal, and, notwithstanding all the adverse circumstances, successful in keeping up the highest standard of medical education in this great country. Thanks to the men, thanks, who with all the difficulties here to be overcome and with all the inducements offered elsewhere, stood true and loyal to their posts, hoping against hope.

"Great strides have been made by science within the last half of the nineteenth century, but great as they are, a scientific Alexander of the twentieth century needs not to despair that no work has been left for him. The knowledge of natural sciences, of which medicine is one and a principal part, is only in its beginning, is yet in its infancy; the highest problems are yet to be solved; the eternal questions, wherefrom, whereto, why, and wherefore are not yet answered. Shall DuBois Reymond's famous word 'Ignorabimus' stand forever? or has Haeckel by his *Riddles of the Universe* shown the way for solution and answer? Who knows? Science is a mountainous region, full of abysses, gorges, cañons, precipices, and peaks; if you have climbed one of the latter, imagining you could look around to the farthest horizon, you find your view obstructed by others,

you have to go down and climb up again. The great problems of mankind will not be solved by rough riders on the heights of San Juan in the glaring light of a tropical sun, not by the roar of cannons under fire and smoke, but by the quiet, persevering, never-tiring scientist in the solitude of the secluded laboratory, with the aid of artificial light in the sacred silence of the night.

“May then this building become a ‘factory of new knowledge’; may there here be not only a teaching of what we know, but also a training in the methods of learning what we do not know; always aware that ‘the ascertainable is infinitely greater than the ascertained’; may it become a pilot to guide the ship of science on the stormy sea of contending doctrines, and be a beacon to the sincere seeker of truth!”

Although primarily interested in the upbuilding of the Department of Medicine and Surgery, Dr. Kiefer did not confine his attention entirely to this department. He was also interested in the extension of the course of the Law School and in the demands of the advocates of natural and social sciences, philosophy and modern languages. He was absolutely opposed to any autocratic attempt to prevent the rise of young men of merit and to a tendency to frustrate the introduction of newer methods of instruction in the name of harmony and unity. He encouraged the spirit of academic freedom in every respect and believed that the state universities should be models of an educated Republican government and could not quite comprehend the bureaucratic tendency under the name of service and of efficiency.

Notwithstanding the great demand upon his time and attention, Dr. Kiefer, now seventy years of age, still followed with intense interest the development of the German Empire. The panic of 1893 and the resultant social conditions,

both in Germany and in America, aroused his heartfelt sympathy for the suffering laboring classes, for he well knew that meant the postponement of the time when the hope of the workingmen of the world could be realized. He was inclined to hold those in power responsible for the trend of events. He had always advocated that a government which recognized freedom, education and common weal, could control the great economic questions, adjust the differences between capital and labor, and could safeguard the interests of all productive classes, and especially the agricultural class, which he considered to be the most important class. He insisted that the government should be run by properly prepared officials and not by politicians. He thought it was necessary to have political parties in order to keep up the interest of the people in the principles of government. But at the same time he deplored the fact that the men were using the political parties necessary for the maintenance of these principles, in order to obtain positions in the government of the city, state and country, regardless of the utter lack of ability or of the slightest semblance of preparation.

In the midst of these conflicting feelings of the years 1895-1898, the report came over from Germany that Prussia had refused permission to permit the erection of a simple monument to the men who had fallen for their convictions on the 18th of March, 1848. This fact aroused the old fighting blood of the advocate of a real preparedness. He had a meeting called at the *Socialer Turner* Society in order to celebrate the 50th anniversary of these fallen heroes. He prepared with great care the oration of the occasion. This oration is the last important document we have of Dr. Hermann Kiefer, who was then seventy-three years of age. It furnishes a fitting closing chapter of the eventful struggles of the idealist of 1848. Nearly all of

these men had fought the good fight of life. Only a few remained to celebrate the 50th anniversary of their great endeavor.

The oration of Dr. Kiefer is of particular interest since it fills out so completely his record of this struggle. The poems of the gymnasiast and of the student, the resolutions of the different meetings and especially of the Freiburg meeting, where he controlled that wonderful gathering of men whose very souls were on fire, his various writings on the same fundamental question, including the inspired Schiller oration and the consular reports, containing so many observations of the social conditions of the laboring classes, and finally his review of the great events of 1848 give us the most complete statement on the Revolution of 1848 written by one of the most active leaders of the Republican movement. Dr. Kiefer remained consistent in this respect until the very last. He felt at the time of preparing this memorial to the fallen heroes of 1848 that it would be his last contribution. He could not dream at that time that he would live to see the new century or contribute to the 100th anniversary of Schiller's death. He certainly never anticipated the fact that he would personally celebrate the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the *Corps Suevia* (Heidelberg) in 1910.

He therefore poured into this oration his very life's blood, and although it is easy to discern that he studied again the original reports, resolutions and documents which he had brought over with him to America, and also later works on this period, nevertheless he remoulded this work according to the realization of the days which he seemed to re-live for the time being. The same spirit, which fired him on the 26th of March, 1848, rekindled his powerful personality in 1898. The audience followed the speaker in absolute si-

lence for they seemed to realize that they were listening to a message written in 1848.

The man who had lived the Revolution from boyhood, and who had re-lived the demands of the people in his lonesome hours in America, and who had had the opportunity of visiting the old scenes and of observing the rise of the New German Empire was prepared to unfold the story of the events and of the spread of the spirit of 1848 throughout Germany. He was still proud of the part played by Baden in this revolution. The events of the Offenburg, Freiburg and Frankfort meetings seemed to him as if they were but yesterday. His realistic description of the economic, industrial and social conditions, which called forth the meetings, made a profound impression upon his liberal hearers.

The development within the last decade had aroused in him new interest in the fundamental questions of personal liberty, just taxation and better relations between capital and labor. He could not resist to call the attention of the citizens before him to the conditions in America:

“Fellow citizens: He who has attentively followed this description of the time before the March days, can not fail to notice the striking similarity in many particulars—*mutatis mutandis*—with the conditions of our own times. Who can not find the demands of the people formulated at the Offenburg meeting just as justifiable and necessary in the ‘Land of the Free and the Brave’ as they were then in the old fatherland fifty years ago under the control of the *Bundestag*! It is an old law: like causes, like results.”

These little excursions into the by-ways where his thoughts wandered, reveal to us the inner contemplation of his problematic nature, and it is unfortunate that he did not give expression to his feelings later on in life as he did in the years leading up to the Freiburg meeting.

He spoke of the appearance of that fateful "extra" which shook the very foundations of Germany and therefore of Europe, as if he held the "extra" in his very hands. At seven o'clock on the evening of the 26th of February an extra edition of the *Kölnische Zeitung* appeared and brought the following news, which shook Germany like an earthquake:

"Revolution in Paris!
The Republic proclaimed!"

He described with the faithfulness of an eye-witness, who still saw the very looks of the German people, the effects of this sudden announcement upon the people of Baden, who had been preparing themselves, perhaps unconsciously for this hour. Yet the very accomplishment of the deed seemed to stun them. The simple sentence, "Orators of the people arose of their own accord, explained the contents and summoned the people to similar action and to deeds; improvised meetings of the people were formed in the cities, in the villages, and even in the open country, which vehemently demanded the final granting of the promises made long ago by the princes and the fulfilment of the demands of the people," came out of his own experience, for he was then, as in 1898, an orator of the people, who had appeared from time to time to awaken the people to realize the position in which they had kept themselves.

At the same time the speaker described the inner feelings of those in power, who, terrified at the very demands of the people, realized the sad and hypocritical rôle which they had played in the development of events. Conscious of their own guilt, as is always the case with petty men in power, they hastened to crush the people before they could arise

any further. He poured his old hatred of the men, whom he, as a youth, held responsible for Germany's sad position, into words spoken with the fire of life: "The bad conscience, due to having defrauded their people of their most sacred rights, the consciousness of having repeatedly broken their promises made in the time of dire need crippled their energy; before their very eyes appeared the forms of Carl I., Louis XVI., and Marie Antoinette and wrote their 'mene, tekel, upharsin' on the wall. Even the *Bundestag* in Frankfort, which had held out the cold hand of the devil against all warm life, did not dare any longer to meet this movement breaking with elemental force. . . . In this proclamation the hated administration, laden with the curse of the German people, declared: 'Germany must and will be elevated to the rank which is due it among the nations of Europe, but only the way of harmony, of lawful progress and of united development can lead there.'"

The speaker recast for us in the same old mould the effects of this proclamation upon the people, for he had helped to prepare the people for their actions. He told the story of the meeting of the 5th of March held in Heidelberg, where 51 men gathered from various parts of Baden in order to make preparations for a public meeting. This meeting was set for the 19th of March at Offenburg. He described these preparations as only one could who had participated in them.

He then reviewed in the light of his explanations the occurrences in Vienna and Berlin. It is evident that Dr. Kiefer had reread the descriptions found in the histories at his disposal, but his adaptation of the accounts show how powerfully the news of the Berlin massacre, which had caused him to call the Freiburg meeting, had affected his entire life. He relived the March days, as he wrote the

words he delivered with such magnetic effect. The old flag—black-red-gold,—to him the symbol “of the united and freed Germany,” seemed to unfurl before his very eyes as he recreated the unfortunate scene which had taken place in Berlin and he heard again the words: “We have been betrayed—to arms—revenge, revenge!”

With dramatic power Dr. Kiefer described the procession of death which had assumed the aspect of a procession of victory. He then interpreted with words of derision the motives of the King forced to accept the colors of the old German Nation.

With all the pride of a young victor the old revolutionist recalled the days “of the birth of a nation for the German people.” He became, as it were, the author of the poems dedicated years ago to the beloved black-red-gold flag, one of which was brought over to America to him, but which he had returned to his native city, where he thought it belonged to remind the youth of Baden of the deeds of their Republican ancestors.

The man who had witnessed the death struggles of men falling for their idea of fatherland and who had so often watched human beings in their last hour, seemed to participate in the burial procession on the 23d of March, 1848. He relived the hours of the feeling of revenge which dominated the student of medicine when he wrote the verses on the 20th of March, entitled *Spring '48*.

The influences of the conditions which he had observed in Germany in the fateful year 1884 had reawakened the experiences of the March days of 1848 and had rekindled the old fires of his elemental nature. His entire body burned with anger and shame as he reflected on the refusal of the permission to erect a simple monument as a memorial of recognition that these men had not fallen in vain. Dr. Kiefer,

however, had not noticed the tendency in Germany during the years 1890-1898 to glorify the part played by the inherited monarchy in the development of the Modern German Empire. Prussia, which conquered the Republican heroes in 1848 and 1849, was driving forward in the great intellectual winning of the German States.

Dr. Kiefer poured his wrath into the closing paragraphs of this remarkable address.

“Already in July Freiligrath’s poem, *The Dead to the Living*, a poem glowing with anger and shame, resounded like the triumphal call of the final judgment in the ears of the German people, calling them to a new battle—in vain! He sang the requiem of the revolution. To-day in the glorious German Empire, which has the ideas of ’48 and ’49 as the foundation of its structure, it has gone so far, that narrow-mindedness, cowardice and meanness have refused the dead ‘heroes of the revolution’ a simple monument, and this in the very same Berlin in which, fifty years ago, King and ministers bowed and reverently bared their heads before these dead. They desire to blot out every remembrance of that time from the memory of the people, but it still lives in the heart of the people, not only in Germany, but wherever Germans live. To-day we bring in this city our tribute of recognition and of admiration to those soldiers of freedom and of the rights of man. Let us and with us, the Germans of the United States, carry out that which the old fatherland refuses—a lasting monument in a fitting place to those who fell in the years 1848 and 1849 for the freedom and unification of Germany—as a remembrance of the dead and as an admonition to the living.”

The speaker then described the period of the reaction which was victorious everywhere with the resultant humiliation, persecution, punishment and banishment. The day

when he was compelled to flee the beloved fatherland was as if but yesterday. The man who had rejoiced in the victory of the German peoples in 1871 and had noticed the tendency of the improvement abroad in the land even in 1884, was not inclined to acknowledge that this development was due to the wise administration of the representatives of the monarchy. He knew full well that the development was due more perhaps to the *individual man* in the various fields of the State's work than to one man, a Kaiser or a Bismarck. He had lived long enough and had been away far enough to see the development in a better historical perspective than if he had been permitted to remain in Germany. He had not been influenced by the various attempts to divert his attention from the principles he had advocated. He remained loyal to his Republican principles, and for that matter to the Republican party, notwithstanding various attempts by men who desired to form new parties in order to further progressive principles, which can be found in the common laws of the proposed Republic of Germany. He had studied carefully in the light of the Baden history the constitution and the government of the New Empire, and although he welcomed the phenomenal growth of the Socialistic party, yet he was inclined to believe that even the Socialistic party was not responsible for the great economic development of the German people. He thought that such a development should not be ascribed to a single man or a single party, or for that matter to a State, which being the servant of the people, had merely recognized the demands of the people. He insisted to the very last, although he recognized the pre-Revolutionary contributions to the growth of the people, that the ideas advanced in 1848 formed the real foundation of the German State. He would not designate the recent tendency in Germany to accept certain de-

mands of the people as State Socialism, but rather as State Republicanism, the natural evolution of such a state leading to a Republican state. He therefore finished his significant address with words giving expression to his conviction:

“But in spite of all exertion the year 1848 was not to be stricken from the book of history, and the conditions prevailing before the March days were no longer to be reintroduced. Another time had dawned. The idea of unity and freedom had become greatly strengthened, and was no longer to be eradicated, and even if it became realized in a different manner than we had expected and aspired to, yet much has become better in the old fatherland. The years of '48 and '49 have not been in vain. No *Bundestag* places its mailed fist on every free thought. Germany is no longer a geographical conception, but a State, which takes *the* place in the council of nations which is due its population, the intelligence of its inhabitants, its progress in art and science; and the foundations of this State are the ideas of the year 1848.”

Nevertheless the old Baden Republican did not behold the situation as one without unmixed evils. The news of the refusal to permit the simple monument to be erected to the fallen heroes of 1848 had opened the old wound so deeply inflicted. Alone he reviewed the entire development of the history of the unification of Germany, naturally not with the eyes of a Modern Prussian Historian, nor even with the eyes of a Modern German State Historian. The *dilettante*, as he called himself, could not quite accept the history as taught to the youth of Germany. It pained him to be compelled to accept the fact that the flag for which he had fought had not been recognized by the New State. With keen regret he stated:

“Verily the black-red-gold flag does not wave over the land. They have eradicated the gold of freedom, and as a sign that Germany is being absorbed in Prussia, they have taken for the foundation the black-white Prussian flag.”

Yet he consoled himself with the thought that the black-red-gold flag had served its good purposes, as he beheld the approach of the new century in the light of the great advance which had taken place within the last decade. The times of 1893 had passed and he took new hope when he observed the improvement of economic conditions and the building up of the new industries. The news which wafted across the waters from Germany seemed more hopeful. Yet at the same time he did not fail to see that this forward movement was not all it should be. He beheld the growth of the trusts at the expense of the productive classes, who were not receiving their due share, as dangerous to the real prosperity of the State. He deplored the growth of the power of politicians. He observed the tendency not to recognize merit and education as the cause of promotion, but political and social influence. He noticed the tendency to eliminate the personal freedom of the individual in all classes. He looked with mistrust upon the attempts of organizations, especially churches, to control the problems which belonged to the city or to the State. He observed the sad lot of the oppressed and the disinherited which stood out in greater relief on account of the apparent prosperity. He thought that Barbarossa had been awakened and that it was necessary only “to free the oppressed and disinherited of all lands from their miserable existence.” In the light of 1848 he beheld a new Revolution under a new flag which would restore the color Gold (Freedom) which had been eradicated from the flags of the Nations. Otherwise it would be difficult to interpret his final admonition:

“As the days pass by they will demand with greater violence the rights which have been withheld from them so long, hourly their demands grow more urgent and louder and more sure of victory resounds the call:

“One more fight we must endure,
A last great victory;
The last fight on earth,
The last holy war.”

In the last years of his life he brooded about the Revolution which was to come. One evening in a conversation with the writer he said, in speaking of the period of reaction which had set in during the first decade of the twentieth century, a reaction which seemed about to obtain control of the schools and of the state, using the diagnosis of the social reformers as a pretext to obtain control of men: “Be careful, young man. The powers of hypocrisy and of the stupid reaction are too strong for you.”

The venerable Revolutionist sat for a few moments in silence in his arm chair and then added: “There will be a revolution here, perhaps not so soon. But if it should go so far, do not forget what I have told you. Have you a son?” To the answer “yes” he added after a few moments of silence: “Poor boy, perhaps he may be compelled to sacrifice all for the dream of his youth! Would you like to hear my story?” Naturally I answered “yes.” He paused and became very tender. His entire body seemed to thaw up under the influence of the pictures which evidently passed before his mind’s eye. I shall never forget that look as he sat there and told the story of his life which was so powerful that I cannot repeat the words. Then he closed with the words: “My entire life has been a failure.”

The 100th anniversary of the death of Schiller approached. As in 1859 preparations had been made in all parts of the world wherever two or three Germans could meet together, in 1905 similar preparations, only on a more extensive scale, were made to recognize the contributions of the Swabian poet to art and liberty. Only a scattered few who had contributed to the Schiller celebration in 1859 had been spared to witness the revival of Schiller-cult in the first decade of the twentieth century. The committee in charge of the Schiller commemoration in Chicago arranged not only for the production of *Wilhelm Tell* on the 14th of April and for the programs of the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th of May, but they also decided to publish a volume to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of Schiller's death.

An invitation was extended to Dr. Hermann Kiefer to contribute to this volume, and, as stated at the very beginning of the introduction, the venerable American of eighty reiterated the same fundamental tone he had touched in his very first poem—Liberty. He closed his letter with the hope he had cherished his entire life in America, "that the related Germanic races, which had met again on American soil, that the Anglo-Saxon and German would join hands in common labor for the extension of the empire of freedom and humanity."

We have no material written during the last few years of the life of the demander of justice. He kept abreast of the social and political development of the times and came to be especially interested in the economic development of modern Germany. In his lonesome hours he reviewed the events of the last half century, and the people whom he had met in the years gone by lived again for him. His bitter conflicts in the endeavors to further his conception

of the kingdom of Liberty and Humanity became real once more.

He who had given his best life to the establishment of societies for the preservation of human ideals and for the furthering of the welfare of the productive members of society, beheld with intense regret the destructive social activities of the city which had become too prosperous. He, who had given up all for Liberty, yes, for personal Liberty, beheld the tendency to rule the people with an iron spirit, if not an iron hand, with feelings mixed with amusement and pity. He looked upon the growth of capital at the exploitation of the productive classes as a real menace to liberty, education and the common weal. He could not comprehend why men in the beginning of the new century had not taken up the banners of the new century, but had returned to the old colors. He could not understand why people refused to apply the results of the research of the past century to their own private life. It made him sorrowful to be compelled to observe the mad struggles for external pleasures at the cost of the cultivation of the gifts of nature.

He looked upon the development of America with strange feelings. Everywhere commercial progress, economic development, the application of science to world's work, but intellectual stagnation. He could not understand what he might call the "strange blindness" of American society. If he could have lived another decade, he would have had the inner pleasure of seeing his diagnosis finally realized. The year 1917 finds America awakening to the realization of the conditions, even if she has not as yet seen the woman clad in gray—Dame Prejudice—stalking about in the land, spreading the menacing doctrine of hate and distrust, blessing the youth with a hand whose very touch blights the spirit of Liberty.

One day an invitation came which brought forth a revolution in his lonesome spirit. The invitation came from the *Corps Suevia* from Heidelberg to the old alumnus to attend the hundredth anniversary of the *Corps*. The student days assumed a new life. The student days of 1845-46 were revived by this invitation of 1910. Sixty-five years had exerted a healing effect upon the wounds of student days. The eternal vigorous life of academic freedom beckoned him to return to the scenes of his early student days, already described in his own poems. He beheld these days in the light of a hope which nature has so kindly planted in the soul of one who has experienced the struggles of the world for almost a century.

The "old alumnus," 85 years of age, decided to participate in the one hundredth celebration of the academic youth of the University he loved so well. In other words he was a fugitive again. This time he fled the autocracy of his experienced life in the Republic of America, into the freedom of the Republic of University days. The fugitive was welcomed back to the land he had fled. The University boys were proud of the man who had presided at Freiburg and treated him with the respect due to his academic courage, and to his career in helping to build the Commonwealth of Michigan.

The spirit of the meeting seemed to be best expressed in the presentation of the *Schwabenstiftung*, the income of which was to be used for historical research, and especially in the times of the war of liberation. This act of recalling the war of liberation made an especial impression upon the honored guest from America, who had observed the influences of a war of liberation in America and who had fought for the liberation of men in times of peace, as well as in times of war, but he still beheld the liberation of the Ger-

man peoples in the light of the interpretation of 1848. He could not fail to notice the great step forward taken by Germany along the lines of his ideals. Everywhere he noticed education and common weal. And in comparison with the social situation of America he observed that the men and women in Germany were apparently enjoying the blessings of liberty in many respects even more so than in the Republic of America. And to a certain extent, with the indulgence of age, he became reconciled with the modern German Empire, even with the Prussian inherited monarchy, for he thought that his opinion expressed on the 2nd of May, 1871, had been realized to a far greater degree than he had anticipated: "Germany has to make its conquest by the power of science, by the recognition of free thought and of self-determination!"

The "old alumnus" had also the satisfaction of observing that the youth of Baden of 1910 were able to celebrate this anniversary owing to the cultivation of the soil by the students of 1845-1848, and that the years of 1848 and 1849 "had not been in vain." He felt that the "oppressed and disinherited" had been freed from their misery to a great extent and he beheld Germany as a "land of free labor." In the midst of the happy hours of the significant celebration, carried away by the powerful forces of young manhood about him who were being carefully trained for a career under Germania's protecting banner, rejuvenated by the wonderful nature of his country, Baden, in the golden harvest month, the old man, who years before had been compelled to flee for the great crime of defending his conception of home, rejoiced that he had been given the golden opportunity of weaving liberty into the life of modern Germany. With this beautiful picture to cheer his lonesome hours he could return to America with feelings

of joy and sorrow.

The feeling of sorrow, however, was increased by a visit to the scenes of boyhood and youth he loved so well. A long illness at Munich caused him to brood about his entire career. He recorded these feelings in a friendship album on a page opposite to a dedication written by his son, Arthur E. Kiefer, many years before. He felt strange in a strange land, as he had felt sixty years before in America. He could not find peace nor could he find home. In the very last poem he wrote, a poem pregnant with sorrow, he gave expression in simple words to the sadness of his lonesome soul:

I am going home,
Only a stranger here.
My native country is no more,
Peace likewise is gone.
The world rejoices, ne'er my heart,
I am going home.

* * * * *

Dr. Hermann Kiefer returned to nature on the eleventh of October, nineteen hundred and eleven. The Kiefer Memorial Gate at the Detroit Crematorium and the bronze tablet in the Kiefer niche in the columbarium indicate that he remained true to his conception of the forces of nature. The Hermann Kiefer Hospital of Detroit is a fitting living memorial to the man, who, as a mere boy, wrote of the ennobling profession, which has as its object the prolonging of life, the alleviation of affliction and the prevention of suffering.

WARREN WASHBURN FLORER.

Ann Arbor, Michigan, March 24, 1917. Revised, February, 1918.

HOW GERMANY IS GOVERNED

Report by Consul Kiefer, of Stettin

THE new German Empire, proclaimed as such on January 18, 1871, in Versailles, is a union of twenty-six sovereign states, including the three free cities, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, and the territory of Alsace-Lorraine. Its fundamental law is the constitution of the German Empire with an hereditary emperor at its head as executive, a power vested with the King of Prussia, and a diet composed of the Bundesrath and Reichstag as a legislative body.

All legislation is done by the Federal Council (Bundesrath) and the House of Representatives (Reichstag). All laws have to receive a majority of the members of each house. They are then published, by order of the Emperor, in the name of the Empire, after having been signed by the chancellor, and take effect fourteen days after having been published in the official paper in Berlin (*Reichsgesetzblatt*), if not ordered otherwise.

The laws of the Empire are supreme, those of the different states being subject and subordinate to them.

The Emperor appoints and, if necessary, dismisses the officials of the Empire; he calls in the Diet, opens it sessions, adjourns them, can, with the consent of the Bundesrath, dissolve the Reichstag, and closes the sessions of the Diet. The Diet has to convene yearly. In case of a dissolution of the Reichstag new elections have to take place within sixty days, and the members elected have to assemble

within ninety days from the date of dissolving.

The chancellor, who is also appointed by the Emperor, is secretary of state; the heads of the different Government officers are subject to him; he sees that the laws passed by the Diet are executed and carried out, and regulates all constitutional matters.

The Federal Council is composed of the delegates of the sovereigns of the different states, with fifty-eight votes.

Each state of the union may send as many delegates as it has votes, but the votes of each state must be given as a unit, and count as follows: Prussia, including Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse, Holstein, and Nassau, 17 votes; Bavaria, 6; Saxony and Württemberg, 4 each; Baden and Hesse (Grand Dukedom), 3 each; Schwerin and Brunswick, 2 each; the remainder, 1 each. Alsace-Lorraine sends 4 commissioners.

The Federal Council is presided over by the chancellor. Its legal powers involve, among others, the originating of laws and bills, which are submitted in the name of the Emperor to the Reichstag and advocated by members of the Federal Council before this body.

The Reichstag is composed of 397 members, who are elected by direct, universal, secret ballot for three years, 100,000 inhabitants are entitled to one member. The members draw no salary.

Every citizen of the Empire of good moral character is a voter, if twenty-five years of age, not under guardianship, not in bankruptcy, not supported at the time or during the last year by public means, if living in the district he votes in, if enrolled in the list of voters.

These lists are compiled by the city or county authorities, posted eight days for inspection, in a public place, about three weeks before the election. The citizens are invited

by public advertisements in the newspapers to see for themselves that their names are entered on these lists.

The place of residence at a certain date is taken, as a rule, and entitles a man to vote in the district where he then lived. Here, in Stettin, for instance, the 1st of September was adopted this year.

The candidates for membership in the Reichstag are selected by the party committees; the name of each candidate is laid before a meeting of his party's voters, and either adopted or rejected by those present. The candidates are often present at these "ratification" meetings and define their positions about all important questions. After having finished their speeches, they have to answer a number of interrogatories, which have been sent in by writing to the president of the meeting. Long and animated discussions often follow. The candidates nominated then "stump" their districts, as in the United States. Meetings are held all over, usually well attended, and the interest manifested in these elections is as keen as that exhibited in the United States in an election for a member of Congress in an off year; the excitement even runs nearly as high as in our Presidential elections.

Only one feature is missing; here there are no parades, no uniformed guards on horseback or on foot, no torchlight processions, no banners, bonfires, or bands playing through the streets. Everything goes on quietly and earnestly. The Germans do not believe in show, and have no money to throw away on these expensive pleasures which the citizens of the great American Republic are so fond of. But a still more important difference is to be noted. The candidate here does not need to live within the district by which he is nominated and which he will represent if elected; he may live anywhere in the Empire. By this means distinguished men,

prominent party leaders, are nearly always sure to be re-elected, as they are generally nominated by two or more different districts. If they are elected by two or more of those districts they are at liberty to accept the mandate which they themselves choose, and as a rule they take it of the district in which the election of the candidate of their own party is the most doubtful; the districts which thereby are left without a representative have to hold a second election for a substitute, going through the same preliminaries again.

Another difference is that an absolute majority of all the votes cast is necessary for an election, and as there are three, four, and even more parties and as many candidates in a district, very often the first election does not give an absolute majority, in which case the two candidates who receive the highest number of votes enter into the secondary election.

In the elections of October 28, out of 397 members, only 299 were elected by first vote, in 98 cases the two candidates standing highest had to fight it over again.

As there are very many parties and factions a great variety of combinations (fusions) is possible in those cases, and a party, for reasons not necessary to explain, may fight in one place the party which it supports in another.

For instance, in A National Liberals and Social Democrats enter into the test; here the Conservatives of the district will support the National Liberals. In B German Liberals and Social Democrats are engaged in the test, and here the Conservatives will support the Social element, and so on.

The first German Reichstag was solemnly opened by the Emperor in person March 21, 1871. The Reichstag regulates its own order of business, makes its own parliamen-

tary rules, elects its own president, vice-president, and secretaries, and decides about the legitimation of its members. Its principal rights are the following:

No laws can be passed, no appropriations of money made, without its assent; besides, it has the right to propose laws and forward petitions to the Bundesrath through the chancellor of the Empire.

If we look at the different parties we find that besides the political differences two other elements are coming into consideration, viz., religion and nationality.

The "Centrum," the most powerful and most numerous party of the Reichstag, is the representative of the Catholic Church; it goes in for the supremacy of the church; all other questions are of secondary importance. It is constant in its members, immovable in its views, solid in its vote, firm in its purposes, holds the balance of power, and conquers step by step the positions lost by the legislation of May, 1872. It numbers now 100 against 106 of last session. Its allies are the different nationalities of non-German origin, and inhabitants of annexed provinces, as the Guelphs of Hanover, the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine, the Poles, and the Danes, numbering now 40 members altogether, against 46 before.

The other parties may be divided in two great sections, viz., the Conservatives, including the High Conservatives, Free Conservatives, and National Liberals, comprising 157 against 121 before, and the Liberals, including the German Liberal Democrats (people's party) and Socialists, comprising 97 against 124 before. Three seats are vacant yet, waiting for secondary election. There may be small mistakes in the numbers given, as they are not from official sources, but compiled from different reports of newspapers by the undersigned.

What do all these names mean? What do they represent? This is a difficult task to explain to an American reader, as the political foundations and conditions of the United States and the German Empire are so widely and essentially different. To understand and comprehend the motives of the different parties, it would be necessary to go over the past history of Germany, the result of which they are.

Besides, issues different from those with us are presenting themselves; old privileges, feudal rights, etc., are daily and hourly coming into consideration. Also, the parties themselves change their names as well as their principles.

It is neither my intention, nor is there space for it in this report, to inquire into these complicated and often vexed questions; may it suffice to say that at present the Conservative parties, including the National Liberals, are going in mostly with the Government, the Liberal parties opposing the measures proposed and advocated by it.

The Conservatives hold up the old historical rights sanctioned by centuries; the Liberals are the champions of modern views and modern times, but by no means in harmony among themselves; the Conservatives are the advocates of feudal rights, of coercion into guilds, of a protective tariff, of state socialism—the latter expression meaning that the state, *i. e.*, the Government, has to take care of its inhabitants and has to regulate everything; the Liberals are fighting against all these issues, and insist that everything be left to free competition of individuals or corporations; they only admit free guilds, are for free trade, and against state socialism; the German Liberals are against the latter on principle, the Socialists, because it does not go far enough. In some points the two extremes, Conservatives and Socialists, meet; in others, National Liberals and German Liberals

vote unitedly.

After the Austro-Prussian war in the then established Norddeutscher Bund, and after the Franco-German war in the new Empire, from 1876 to 1879, the National Liberals had a majority in the Reichstag. They were then, as their name says, a liberal party. National questions were at issue; they were the party of the Government at that time, which worked with them against the Conservatives and the then existing Liberals, Progressives, Democrats and Socialists.

But when with 1879 the era of protection began they divided. Part of them left their old comrades and called themselves Secessionists; the rest went for the measures of the Government.

The Secessionists in course of time united with the Liberals as the Liberal Union, and, again, in the spring of 1884, the Liberal Union associated with the Progressives as German Liberals. This broke up the majority on which the Government could rely, and the latter had to work its way through under difficulties and many embarrassing obstacles, the Centrum, as said above, holding the balance of power, the Government had to work with a Conservative-Clerical majority. If the Government did not yield to the wishes of the Centrum, Mr. Windthorst, the leader, joined the Liberal factions and defeated the measures of the Government.

To make an end of this unsatisfactory state of things, the Government wanted to secure by the last elections, if possible, a Conservative-National-Liberal majority, in order to free itself from the dictation of the Centrum.

The German Liberals during the session of the last Reichstag had been the most bitter and most obstinate opponents of all measures proposed by the Government, no matter if they tended to social reforms, as announced by an imperial

message of November 17, 1881, or to tariff measures as inaugurated in 1879, or to foreign policy as favored by the chancellor at the end of the last session, which policy culminated in the subsidies asked for trans-Atlantic steamboat lines, and in his ideas about colonization. By this opposition the party had become unpopular with many classes of the population; with the farmers, because they were opposed to the raising of the grain duties; with manufacturers, because of its opposition to a higher tariff on manufacturers; with the trade-masters, by its opposition to the coercion into guilds; with the Socialists, because it was opposed to all social reforms, and unpopular with German national pride, German national feelings, with Germanism generally, by opposing the foreign policy of the chancellor. Under these circumstances the latter hoped, by supporting the National Liberals with all the influence at the command of the Government, to weaken the German Liberals in such a degree that, if not securing an absolute Conservative National-Liberal majority, a majority of the so-called "middle parties" for the coming Reichstag (the German Liberals) would be at least so much reduced that Mr. Windthorst could not get a Clerical-Liberal majority any more; he further expected to make considerable gains for the policy of the Government also in those districts which were doubtful for the Centrum.

The conventions of the National Liberals, held in Heidelberg, in Neustadt, and Berlin, declared open war on the German Liberals, and indorsed the policy of the Government; the fight was a hard and bitter one, and the result an increased Conservative Clerical majority. The increase was in favor of the Conservatives and the Socialists; the losses on the side of the German Liberals, a few only on that of the Centrum, but not enough that the Centrum cannot

play again its double game, the more so as the Socialists gained many of the seats lost by the German Liberals.

The members of the different parties for the coming Reichstag are as follows: 100 Centrums, 75 Conservatives, 30 Free Conservatives, 52 National Liberals, 66 German Liberals, 7 People's Party, 24 Socialists, 16 Poles, 15 Alsations, 8 Guelphs, 1 Dane, 3 are outstanding (397).

Taking it altogether, the German Liberals and National Liberals cannot be pleased at all with the result of the election. The Government can only be satisfied so far as the German Liberals got weakened. The Centrum is as much pleased as before, if not even more, and the Socialists are triumphant and jubilant all over.

They counted 600,000 votes, increased their seats from 13 to 24; and this notwithstanding the anti-Socialistic law which was passed first in 1878, and after having been prolonged in 1880, ought to have expired September 30, 1884, but had been again continued during the last session for two years more.

Under this law their leaders have been driven out of the country, their newspapers suppressed, their pamphlets seized, their meetings broken up, etc., nevertheless they gained in Berlin 38,732 votes since 1881; and in the same proportion throughout the Empire.

How is this to be explained? I think there are different reasons for it. First, because suffering under special legislation, the public sentiment turned in their favor; they were looked at as martyrs. Justice wants equal rights for all. The same argument accounts for the unbroken strength of the Centrum, the adherents and constituents of which also suffer by a similar state of affairs.

Then the law had the effect of cautioning the Socialistic leaders to disguise their anarchical tendencies and conceal them by a more moderate program in order that the law

could not reach them—at the same time to organize secretly in the most perfect manner.

So it was demonstrated that class legislation, even enforced by the arm of a powerful Government and with the most rigid means, failed to have the desired effect. Every class legislation drives the real or supposed evil only away from the surface; it hides itself under different names, and under various disguises it works along secretly and gains surreptitiously in strength.

If it only would be generally understood at last that men will be bettered, their morals raised, their ideas elevated by education rather than by coercive laws, it would save the world much suffering and trouble. Further, the Government adopted, in some degree, by its reform measures, Socialist ideas. Conservative papers, such as the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, declared a short time ago the conservative, socialistic result of the elections in Berlin for the Prussian Landtag “as a victory of the idea of common rights,” an idea common to both conservatism and socialists, the latter only differing from the former by following it up to its last consequences.

This last consequence we find expressed in a socialistic pamphlet, urging the election of the socialistic candidate, Capel, and closing with the words, “All the grounds, fields, and forests must again become the common property of the community as with our ancestors.”

It is only natural that the public, seeing socialistic ideas indorsed by the Government itself thinks them all right. But the most important reason is the lamentable social condition of the people, the scanty food, the miserable lodgings, the low wages, the increasing poverty of the working classes, the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, the usury practiced by a certain class of money-lenders, the

riches gained by unscrupulous speculation, often based upon the ruin of thousands; the pride and haughtiness of the nobility looking down from their ancient castles upon those toiling and working along in the sweat of their brows as inferior beings; the contrast between the comparatively few carrying on a life of idleness and luxury, and the thousands striving for their daily bread and the poorest shelter against storm, rain, and cold; all this combined with the conviction that they are treated wrongly, and in consequence of a more general education, a greater intelligence, and the desire for bettering their conditions, they claim for a fair share of the profits yielded by their work, a claim so far denied, has caused a widespread dissatisfaction, which swells the socialistic ranks daily and hourly.

They have resolved to stand upon their own feet, to rely upon their own strength, they believe in the justice of their cause, and are usually convinced that the future is theirs. They don't trust to any promises; they don't compromise with any party, and they are ready to sacrifice for their principles.

What and how they are thinking about the other parties, and particularly about the conservative factions, the *Berliner Volkszeitung* tells in vivid words. In an article referring to the results of the last election, it says:

“What a curious mixture of political and social elements!

There are reactionaries of all shades; court counselors who ought to have lived five hundred years ago; knights with petrified views of feudal rights; monkish fellows who know less of modern life than of the monarchism of medieval times; owners of latifundia and inheritants of primogeniture rights, bankers and job-

bers; in short, all those elements that are living yet within the ideas and prejudices of bygone times, fancying that the dead forms of the past can be revived and transferred into modern existence.

These men also see that a nation will be ruined by the rude materialism of our industrial life as represented by free competition, by the war of all against all, of every one against every one.

But while fighting this system they want less to relieve the sufferings of the people than to save their own absolute privileges, which they find endangered by the materialistic liberalism of our times, by modern Manchesterism.

So they are making small, insignificant concessions to the people, lessened besides by an increased political guardianship. Never has the latter shown such a doleful proportion to the intelligence of the century as at present.

Therefore the spiked helmet and the baton of the policemen stands behind even the smallest grant given by conservatist social legislation."

I have dwelt at some length on the favorable results of the Socialistic party, because of their importance, an importance illustrated by the gains achieved, which latter not only shows the increasing popularity of their ideas among the masses of the people, but has also conquered the right to bring its own motives before the Reichstag by getting twenty-four, perhaps twenty-five, seats.

It should be known that, according to the rules existing, no one can bring in a motion if not subscribed to and indorsed by fifteen members at least. Hence, the Socialists will teach their principles in the legislative halls of the

German Empire; they will speak in the presence of their opponents to the people outside; they will advocate the measures proposed by them for years, not that they expect to carry them, but they can make without incurring punishment a formidable propaganda; the words spoken in the Reichstag will go, in stenographic reports, all over the country; the anti-Socialistic law has no effect upon them, for the members of the Reichstag, the representatives of the people, are, by the constitution, unimpeachable for what they are saying in exercising their mandates.

Having shown the current of the tendencies and sentiments of the German people and the differences of opinion separating them, we must not overlook the fact that two powerful elements are uniting them, viz., patriotism and national pride; the fatherland and a strict military organization binds them together; the former is the moral, the latter the physical element of their strength and prestige.

HERMANN KIEFER

Consul

United States Consulate

Stettin, November 19, 1884

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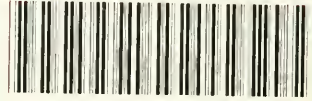
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