The German Element in Two Great Crises of American History

1776—1861

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Proceeds from the sale of this pamphlet will be devoted to the relief of widows and orphans of the fallen soldiers of the German and Austrian armies.

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MOTTO.

Nobody can discern today how much those of English and how much these of German race have contributed to American life and to the progress of the land. Their work has become a unit, and it would be a happy development for the national soul, indeed, if at last their ideals would form a unit, too. The outer frame-work of the national life has been completed, but the spirit of the country would only gain if the traditional Anglo-Saxon culture also absorbed more and more the German faith in discipline of the will and in the over-personal value of the ideal goods. —Münsterberg.

PREFACE

The author of this little pamphlet does not claim to have made any new contribution to the subject herein treated. He is not a professional historian and has done very little in the way of original research. He has depended very largely upon the work of those who are historians by calling especially upon Dr. Bernhardt Faust, author of a great work on "The German Element in America," to whom he hereby wishes to acknowledge his great indebtedness. Indeed, the author frankly acknowledges that he has not only borrowed much of his matter from Dr. Faust, but in some cases has even given his "ipsissima verba."

But since it is part of the author's aim in publishing this pamphlet, to popularize some of the historical knowledge to be gained by a perusal of Faust's great work, and to call attention to it, these occasional plagiarisms will surely be pardoned.

But the discerning reader will also find much new material not found in Faust, in these two little essays. Some of this may be found in the ordinary histories of the periods treated by Bancroft, Fiske and Rhodes. Some of it the author culled from the pages of German periodicals and publications. Just a very little of it may also be considered new or original material due to original research by the author.

The author has also made use of two historical novels which throw light on the periods treated. The first is "In the Valley," by Harold Frederic, which deals with the Revolution, and the other is Winston Churchill's "Crisis," which deals with the Civil War. In the afterword to the latter, Churchill says: "Nor can the German element in St. Louis be ignored. The part played by this people in the Civil War is a matter of history."

For the history of the part played by the Germans in St. Louis during the Civil War, the author also feels specially indebted to Snead's "The Fight for Missouri."

The author does not expect to reap either fame or money by the publication of this pamphlet. His chief reward will probably be criticism. He did not rush into print inadvisedly, but only from a sense of duty and in accordance with the desire of many friends.

There are times when many Americans are inclined to

think and speak as if this were an Anglo-Saxon nation, and to forget the services rendered and the contribution made to our national life, by people of other racial stocks. The present is such a time. The pamphlet is therefore not without the quality of timeliness.

The essay on "The German Element in America During the Revolutionary War," was compiled from Faust and other sources, at the request of friends, whose interest in the subject had been aroused and who desired information. It was first read before the Sarah Hull Chapter, D. A. R., in Newton, Mass., in 1911, in the presence of the regents of most of the chapters of that order in Massachusetts. It was afterwards repeated before the Paul Revere Chapter, D. A. R., in Boston, the Cambridge (Mass.) Ministers' Association, the Brookline Historical Society, and other patriotic, historical and religious organizations in Massachusetts and Connecticut. None of its statements were questioned at that time. The date of the essay's composition shows that it is purely historical and therefore truly neutral in spirit.

The German Element in America During the Revolutionary War

AT the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the total population of the Thirteen Colonies, according to an estimate made by the Continental Congress, was 2,243,000 people. This estimate, however, is generally considered too large. Bancroft estimates the total white population of the Colonies in 1775 at 2,100,000.

According to a very conservative estimate, the number of Germans in America at this time was about 225,000, more than one-tenth of the entire population. Of his number fully 110,000 lived in Pennsylvania, where the Germans numbered more than one-third of the population. (See Note, page 18.)

The Germans in America, almost to a man, were patriots and champions of independence. This fact undoubtedly had a decided influence upon the outcome of the struggle. The social conditions of the Germans in the Colonies forced them as a necessary consequence, into the Democratic party, or the party of independence. They were not members of families that had been in favor at court for generations; they were not owners of estates that were gifts of the crown; they had no national sentiments of loyalty binding them to a British prince. They were men who had hewn their own farms out of the wild forest, had maintained their independence against its savage inhabitants, and now claimed as their own the soil on which their battles had been won.

This state of affairs is well brought out in Harold Frederic's novel, entitled "In the Valley," the scene of which is laid in revolutionary times, among the early Dutch and German settlers in the upper Mohawk Valley, when he makes one of the German characters in the book say: "We Germans are not like the rest. Our fathers and mothers remember their sufferings in the old country, kept ragged, and hungry and wretched in such a way as my negroes do not dream of, all that some scoundrel baron might have gilding on his carriage, and that the elector might enjoy himself in his palace. They were beaten, hanged, robbed of their daughters, worked to death, frozen by the cold in their nakedness, dragged off into the armies to be sold to any prince who could pay for their blood and broken bones. The French who overran the Palatinate were bad enough; the native rulers were even more to

be hated. The exiles of our race have not forgotten this; they have told it all to us, their children and grandchildren born here in this valley. We have made a new home for ourselves over here, and we owe no one but God anything for it. If they try to make here another aristocracy over us, then we will die first before we will submit."

At the beginning of the Revolution, most of the Germans were settled on the frontier, their settlements extending from the valley of the Mohawk in New York, through Pennsylvania, Western Maryland, and the great Valley of Virginia, to the German settlement of Ebenezer in northern Georgia.

Frontiersmen gained from their mode of life a degree of independence which often set them in opposition to the policies of the seaboard.

The conservative Eastern settlements were better satisfied with the status quo; the frontiersmen looked beyond, aspired to new conditions, and were ready to make a bold venture. The frontier turned the balance toward independence.

According to John Adams, nearly one-third of the whole population of the Colonies at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War were Tories or Loyalists. The people of New York and Pennsylvania were very equally divided between the Tory and the Democratic parties, and the influence of the large German element in these states, undoubtedly contributed a great deal towards carrying them both for independence, just as, at a later crisis in the nation's life, it was the German element which held the great State of Missouri for the Union.

In Georgia the Loyalists were in the majority, and for a time contemplated separating Georgia from the general movement of the Colonies towards independence. Here again it was the German element which saved the state for the patriot cause and a German by the name of John Adam Treutlen was the revolutionary governor of Georgia.

Even after the beginning of the war, the Tory or Loyalist party, though always of course in the minority, often developed considerable strength.

Thus in December, 1776, when Washington was retreating across New Jersey before superior British forces under Howe, and when even his wonderful resourcefulness barely sufficed to save his little army from annihilation, what do we see?

Although the legislature of New Jersey was doing all it could, we read that the second officer of the Monmouth Battalion refused to take the oath of the state; Charles Read, its colonel, submitted to the enemy; the chief justice of the state wavered in his loyalty; and Samuel Tucker, who had been president of the constituent convention of New Jersey, chairman of its committee of safety, treasurer, and judge of its

supreme court, signed the pledge of fidelity of the British. From Philadelphia, Joseph Galloway went over to Howe; so did Andrew Allen, who had been a member of the Continental Congress, and two of his brothers, all confident of being soon restored to their former fortunes and political importance. Even John Dickinson, for two or three months longer refused to accept from Delaware an appointment to the United States Congress.

Among such lukewarm supporters of the Revolution, you will seldom or never find a German name, and on the contrary, when Washington won the battle of Trenton, the praeses of the German Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania and New Jersey announced the glorious tidings to the congregations under his charge in the words: "But the Lord of Hosts heard the cry of the distressed, and sent an angel for their deliverance," and thanksgivings were offered in all the German churches.

One of the interesting details concerning the military history of the Revolution is that Washington's bodyguard was largely made up of Germans. There had been Tories, or at least suspects, in the first bodyguard appointed, and plots were revealed by which the person of the commander-in-chief was to be seized. On the advice of Washington's private secretary and adjutant, Reed, who was himself of German descent, a troop was formed consisting entirely of Germans upon whose loyalty the general could depend. It was called the Independent Troop of Horse and placed under the command of Major Von Heer, another German. Von Heer recruited his men in the Pennsylvania German counties of Berks and Lancaster. They began to serve in the spring of 1778, and were honorably discharged at the end of the war, twelve of them, who had served longer than any other soldiers in the Continental Army, having the honor of escorting the commander-in-chief to his home in Mt. Vernon.

One of the most interesting and romantic figures in the Revolutionary War was the German American, Peter Mühlenberg. He was the son of the Rev. Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, the founder and patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America. His mother was the daughter of Conrad Weiser, a German frontiersman, famous as an Indian fighter in the Mohawk valley. Peter was destined by his father for the ministry, and was sent to Halle to be educated. In 1772 he accepted a call to the Lutheran church at Woodstock, in the Shenandoah valley. His frank and manly bearing made friends within the congregation and without. An intimacy arose between Mühlenberg and Patrick Henry, with whom he laid deep plans of sedition. He also became intimate with Col. George

Washington, with whom he often shot bucks in the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Peter Mühlenberg was made the chairman of the committee of safety and correspondence in Dunmore Co., Va., in which Woodstock is located.

In the state's convention of 1774 at Williamsburg, and in the next session at Richmond in March, 1775, he supported Patrick Henry eloquently and gave assurance of the support of his large constituency of German settlers in the Valley of Virginia.

When Patrick Henry renewed his motion of arming the province of Virginia, it was Peter Mühlenberg who seconded him. When the war began, Mühlenberg was placed in command of the 8th Virginia regiment. This was at the request of Patrick Henry and George Washington. Two other German-Americans, Abraham Bowman and Peter Helfenstein, served respectively as his lieutenant-colonel and major.

Quite typical and characteristic of Peter Mühlenberg was the romantic way in which he took farewell of his congregation. The news that the popular young minister was to preach his last sermon brought crowds of hearers from far and near, filling not only the church but also the church-yard roundabout. It was in January, 1776, when the atmosphere was charged and electric with potentialities. At the close of his sermon, the minister spoke of the duties which we owe to our country, saying, with a fervor born of conviction, that "there is a time for praying and preaching, but also a time for battle, and that such a time had now come." As soon as he had pronounced the benediction, he threw aside his clerical robe, and behold, instead of a Lutheran minister in his black talar, there stood revealed a colonel of the Continental Army in full uniform. As he slowly descended from the pulpit, the whole congregation burst forth into singing that grand old German choral: "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," while outside the church the drums were beaten for the mustering of soldiers in the cause of freedom. Enthusiasm blazed up, carrying men away to a step before which they had long hesitated and trembled. Three hundred recruits were at once taken into the regiment of Mühlenberg, and on the following day the numbers were increased to over four hundred.

The regiment of Mühlenberg was first used in South Carolina and then brought north.

On February 21, 1777, Congress raised Col. Mühlenberg to the rank of a brigadier general in command of the 1st, 5th, 9th and 13th Virginia regiments. The brigades of Mühlenberg and of Weedon formed General Greene's division, distinguished for bravery and discipline in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown.

It was Mühlenberg's brigade which covered the retreat of the American Army after the battle of Brandywine and prevented its annihilation by Cornwallis. The same brigade also divided the right wing of the enemy at the battle of Germantown, the errors of that unfortunate battle being made in other quarters.

Mühlenberg's regiment was also at Valley Forge during the winter and subsequently sustained its good reputation at the battle of Monmouth.

A quaint and interesting character among Germans of revolutionary times was Christopher Ludwig. He was of a different type from Mühlenberg, in origin, social position and education, but one with him touching motive and enthusiasm.

Christopher Ludwig was a representative of that sturdy, middle-class element among the Germans which has frequently inspired admiration for its old-fashioned virtue and power, though it may sometimes cause amusement by its foreign smack. Ludwig lived in Philadelphia, where he aggressively championed the revolution from the very first.

When Gov. Mifflin made a motion that a collection be taken for the purchase of arms and ammunition and several voices were heard in opposition, Ludwig arose, and said in badly accented but very plain English: "Mr. President, I am of course only a poor ginger-bread baker, but write me down for two hundred pounds." Ludwig's move closed the debate and carried the proposition unanimously.

In May, 1777, Congress appointed Ludwig superintendent and director of baking for the entire army, for ever since 1754 he had practiced in Philadelphia the trade of a baker, which he had learned in his native city of Giessen. He was required by the Continental authorities to furnish one hundred pounds of bread for every one hundred pounds of flour. But he said: "No! Christopher Ludwig does not wish to get rich by the war. He has enough already. Out of one hundred pounds of flour, one gets one hundred and thirty-five pounds of bread and so many will I give." The added water, of course, increases the weight of the flour when it is baked into bread.

The legislators of that period were ignorant of this simple fact of which any housekeeper could have informed them. Ludwig's predecessors, who were grafters of an early date, had given themselves the benefit of this ignorance. But the Dutch gingerbread baker was too honest and patriotic for that.

Ludwig's behavior in this matter compares favorably even with that of Gen. Greene, who, while at the head of the quartermaster department, did not scruple to enter into a most secret partnership with the head of he commissary department in order to increase the profits which he derived by furnishing supplies to the army.

One of Ludwig's notable achievements was the prompt execution of Washington's order, immediately after the surrender of Yorktown, to bake bread for the army of Cornwallis. Ludwig baked six thousand pounds of bread in one day.

Dr. Benjamin Rush thought Ludwig worthy of a biography by his own distinguished pen. His "Life of Ludwick" was printed in Philadelphia in 1801, and reprinted in 1831.

The occupation of Philadelphia by the British inflicted heavy losses upon Ludwig, and also upon many others, whom the British authorities denounced as "notorious rebels," among which were numerous Germans.

Among these German patriots and rebels was Heinrich Miller, then serving as printer of Congress, whose printing press and property were confiscated. The British also robbed the house of Jacob Schreiner, a German member of the revolutionary committee, and destroyed the sugar refinery of David Schäffer. They plundered the house of Rev. Michael Schlatter, who had shown the greatest sympathy for the cause of the patriots from the very beginning and was even then serving as a chaplain in the revolutionary army. They also damaged the property of the following German patriots: Keppele, Kuhn, Hogner, Zantzinger, Bärtsch, Sprögel, Eekert, Graff, Gressler and Knorr, most of whom were well-to-do merchants of Philadelphia.

The German settlers in the Mohawk Valley rendered a most signal and important service to the revolutionary cause, by their defeat of the army of St. Leger, which frustrated the ambitious plans of General Burgoyne.

In the middle of June, 1777, General Burgoyne began his march from Canada. He wished to cut off New England from the rest of the Colonies, by establishing a line from Lake Champlain down the Hudson to New York. He was to be aided by a British expedition coming up the Hudson from New York. At the same time, Col. St. Leger was to come from the westward, joining Burgoyne at Albany, after having subdued the whole of the Mohawk Valley and robbed its German farms of their rich harvests, which were to supply Burgoyne's army with food.

St. Leger left Montreal about the end of July. One-half of his force consisted of Hessian Chasseurs, skilled marksmen recruited in Germany from the gamekeeper or forester class, who were among the hired troops which England employed against the Colonists.

Joseph Brant, the famous Indian chief, was expected to meet them at Oswego with an Indian force; and also Col. Claus with a command of Missisagues or Hurons from the far

West. The rest of the force was composed of British Regulars and Canadian Volunteers.

On the third of August St. Leger arrived in the neighborhood of the present city of Rome. The German farmers and settlers of the Mohawk Valley, however, advanced to meet him in battle array under the command of Nicholas Herkimer, and inflicted such severe losses upon him in the battle of Oriskany that he was compelled to retreat. General Herkimer himself died from wounds received in the battle.

George Washington himself has said: "It was Herkimer who first relieved the gloomy scene of the northern campaign. The pure-minded hero of the Mohawk Valley served from love of country and not for reward. He did not want a Continental command nor Continental money."

In proportion to the number of men engaged the battle of Oriskany was the bloodiest battle of the whole war. A tremendous thunderstorm raged just before and during the battle. This made it impossible for either side to use their old-fashioned flintlocks. The two armies came together in a narrow defile, and the battle was fought out with cold steel in a terrible hand-to-hand conflict, like some of the great battles of antiquity. No prisoners were taken and there were few wounded. All who were lost by either side were slain. But the German farmers proved themselves a match and more than a match, at this dread work, for British Regulars, Canadian Volunteers, savage Indians and Hanau Chasseurs.

Thus Lexington and Concord were not the only fields where the embattled farmers stood and resisted British Regulars, or fired the shot heard round the world, nor were these embattled farmers alway of Anglo-Saxon race.

And the praise of these sturdy heroes found an echo in distant Germany, where the veteran poet Klopstock beheld in the American War the inspiration of humanity and the dawn of an approaching great day. He loved the terrible spirit which emboldened the peoples to grow conscious of their power. With proud joy he calls to mind that, among the citizens of the young republic, there were also many Germans who gloriously fulfilled their duty in the war of freedom. "By the rivers of America, light beams forth to the nations, and in part from Germans," he sang.

Nicholas Herkimer, like nearly all of his officers and men, was German. The correct and original spelling of his name was Herckheimer. His little army, consisting of 8,000 men, nearly all German, with which he defeated St. Leger's force of 16,000, was divided into four regiments, respectively commanded by Cols. Ebenezer Cox, Peter Bellinger, Jacob Klock and Friedrich Visscher. Three out of the four colonels being German.

In his novel, entitled "In the Valley," Harold Frederick makes his hero write of this battle of Oriskany, at which he was one of the combatants, as follows: "To my way of thinking, they, i. e. the Germans and Dutch of New York, have ever since been unduly modest about this truly remarkable achievement. As I wrote long ago, we of New York have chosen to make money, and to allow our neighbors to make histories. Thus it happens that the great decisive struggle of the whole long war for independence—the conflict which in fact made America free—is suffered to pass into the records as a mere frontier skirmish. Yet, if one will but think, it is as clear as daylight that Oriskany was the turning-point of the war. The Palatine Germans, who had been originally colonized on the upper Mohawk by the English, to serve as a shield against savagery for their own Atlantic settlements, reared a barrier of their own flesh and bones, there at Oriskany, over which St. Leger and Johnson strove in vain to pass. That failure settled everything. The essential feature of Burgoyne's plan had been that this force, which we so roughly stopped and turned back at the forest defile, should victoriously sweep down our valley, raising the Tory gentry as they progressed and join him at Albany. If that had been done, he would have held the whole Hudson, separating the rest of the Colonies from New England, and having it in his power to subdue and punish, first the Yankees, and then the others at his leisure.

"Oriskany prevented this! Coming as it did, at the darkest hour of Washington's trials and the Colonies' despondency, it altered the face of things as gloriously as does the southern sun rising swiftly upon the heels of night. Burgoyne's expected allies never reached him; he was compelled in consequence to surrender—and from that day there was no doubt who would in the long run triumph.

"Therefore, I say, all honor and glory, to the rude, unlettered, great-souled yeomen of the Mohawk Valley, who braved death in the wild-wood gulch at Oriskany that Congress and the free Colonies might live."

Most people have heard the legend of Moll Pitcher, but few are aware that Moll was a young woman of Pennsylvania-German extraction, whose real name was Maria Ludwig.

She was an interesting individual, reminding one of the Marketenderin in Schiller's Wallenstein's Lager. About the time of the beginning of the war she married William Hess, a German like herself. Her husband became a gunner in an artillery company, and Molly returned to service. She got news that her husband had been severely wounded, whereupon she started out immediately to find him. She nursed him when found, and after that, for seven years, she accompanied

him from battlefield to battlefield. She was utterly fearless, brought water and food to the soldiers, and helped carry away the wounded and care for them.

"Here comes Molly with her pitcher" was a refreshing sound in the heat of battle, that made her known throughout the army as Moll Pitcher.

When her husband was wounded, at the battle of Monmouth, and no assistance seemed available for serving the cannon, she herself set about putting the piece in order and loading it, while those about her were in doubt whether to stand or to retreat. It was a trying moment, but the company held out until sustained by reinforcements.

Washington himself witnessed the act, praised the woman, and in reward raised her husband to the rank of sergeant. This may seem a strange way to reward the woman—by promoting her husband—but probably Willie Hess is not the only man who has owed his promotion and success to his wife.

After the war, Molly and her husband settled at Carlisle, having served throughout the war. Congress gave her the rank of a brevet captain, and allowed her an annual pension of forty dollars, which she received until her death. Some people say Moll Pitcher is a myth, but I don't believe that Congress would pension a myth.

The struggle for liberty in America attracted many foreign volunteers, among whom were many Germans. Of all the distinguished foreigners who aided the American cause, none did more real service than the German Baron Von Steuben, the drillmaster of the American forces.

In the words of Alexander Hamilton: "Steuben benefitted the country of his adoption by introducing into the army a regular formation and exact discipline, and by establishing a spirit of order and economy in the interior administration of the regiments.

At the time when Steuben took hold the American Army was at its very lowest ebb, not only through lack of supplies and equipment, but also through the absence of discipline and military spirit. Through desertion and disease the original force of seventeen thousand had dwindled down to a little more than five thousand men who could be called out for duty. Even these were poorly armed and clothed in rags. Yet there were capabilities in these men which the trained eye of Steuben recognized.

After the intriguing and incapable Conway had been removed from the inspector-generalship, Steuben received a free hand in drilling and schooling the army.

Events soon proved the excellence and thoroughness of his work in the spring campaign of 1778, when Washington

could get his whole army under arms and ready to march in fifteen minutes, and when Lafayette, seeing himself outnumbered and cut off from the main body of the army, was able to save his men by an orderly retreat, owing to the training they had received under Steuben.

At the battle of Monmouth, it was the sound of Steuben's familiar voice which rallied the broken columns of the traitorous Lee, and made them wheel into line under a heavy fire as calmly and as precisely as if the battlefield had been a parade ground.

The economies of the service resulting from Steuben's work were enormous. Instead of having to count upon an annual loss of from five to eight thousand muskets, the war office could enter upon its records that in one year of Steuben's inspectorship only three muskets were missing and even these were accounted for.

At Yorktown, Steuben was the only American officer who had ever been present at a siege and his services were of great value. He was in command of a division and fortune willed that his division should be in the trenches when the first overtures for surrender were made. He had the privilege therefore, so highly prized by all superior officers, of being in command when the enemy's flag was lowered. No one was more deserving of the distinction than Steuben, the schoolmaster of the American Army, and no one in the military service of the Colonies, after Washington and Greene, deserves to rank so high as Steuben.

One of the fighting generals of German nationality in the revolutionary forces was John Kalb. He is frequently, though erroneously, described as the Baron de Kalb, the son of a Dutch nobleman. The truth is that he was not a baron, he was not Dutch and his name was not De Kalb, but plain, honest German John Kalb, born in Huttendorf in 1721 of poor Franconian peasants.

By his own native ability and energy he was able to rise in life. Two years before the Revolution he had been employed by the government of France to inspect the condition of the American Colonies. After his return he married the daughter of a Dutch millionaire—there were no daughters of American millionaires for foreigners to marry in these days. He occupied an assured position of influence and comfort in Europe and was happy in his wife and children, nevertheless he offered his services and finally gave his life for the cause of freedom in America.

He came to America in 1777 with Lafayette, was appointed a major-general, and was considered the most experienced, calculating and cautious of all the foreign officers in the American service.

In 1780 Kalb was despatched to South Carolina in command of the Delaware and Maryland troops. He lost his life in the battle of Camden, in which the American forces were defeated, owing to the incompetency and incapacity of General Gates, who once tried by intrigue to supplant George Washington as the head of the army.

Bancroft's description of Kalb's part in this battle is as follows: "After the rest of Gates's army had been dispersed and routed, the division which Kalb commanded continued long in action and never did men show greater courage than these men of Maryland and Delaware."

The horse of Kalb had been killed under him and he had been badly wounded, yet he continued to fight on foot. At last, in the hope of victory he led a charge, drove back the division under Rawdon, took fifty prisoners, and would not believe but that he was about to gain the day, when Cornwallis poured against him a fresh party of dragoons and infantry. Even then he did not yield until disabled by many wounds. The victory cost the British about five hundred of their best troops. "Their great loss," wrote Marion, "is equal to a defeat." Exeept one hundred Continental soldiers whom a Col. Gist conducted through almost impassible swamps, through which the British cavalry could not follow, every American corps was dispersed. Kalb lingered for three days and died.

The Col. Gist referred to was also a German, and the Maryland regiment which formed the heart of Kalb's division in this gallant action, was composed of German settlers from Western Maryland: the same stock which later gave to the nation Winfield Scott Schley.

General George Weedon was another German officer in the Revolutionary Army. His real name was Gerhard von der Wieden and he was born in Hanover in Germany. He had already served in the French and Indian war as lieutenant in the Royal American Regiment, which was composed entirely of Pennsylvania Germans.

When the French and Indian War was over he settled at Fredericksburg, Va., so largely populated by Germans, and when the Revolution broke out, he became lieutenant-colonel of the 3rd Va. Militia, colonel of the 1st Va. Continental, and finally in 1777 brigadier-general, taking a leading part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He left the service for a time, then in 1780 re-entered it under Mühlenberg and commanded the Virginia militia before Gloucester Point at the siege of Yorktown.

Another noted German officer was Heinrich Emmanuel Lutterloh, major of the guard of the Duke of Brunswick. Lutterloh's work was especially appreciated by Washington, who

in 1780 made him quartermaster-general of the army, in which capacity Lutterloh served to the end of the war.

It is rather significant that three such responsible positions in the Revolutionary Army, as that of inspector-general, quartermaster-general, and superintendent of bakers, should all have been filled by Germans: for these three positions were held respectively by Steuben, Lutterloh and Ludwig, all Germans.

Friedrich Heinrich von Weissenfels was an officer in the British Army in New York, but as soon as the Revolution broke out he offered his services to Washington and served with distinction throughout the year.

John Paul Schott was another. He was a young man of fine culture, who came to America intending to enter the English service. But being deeply impressed by the spirit and serious purpose of the patriots he changed his mind. He made the acquaintance of Washington under most romantic circumstances, and entered the Continental service. He served his chosen cause with great devotion and proved a most valuable officer.

At a time when Washington had great difficulty in retaining any soldiers whatever about him, most of them being short term men whose period of service was over, and when the English forces were constantly being increased by mercenaries from the continent, Washington sent Schott to the German districts of Pennsylvania, where the latter recruited an independent German troop of dragoons. This troop was officered entirely by Germans and even the military commands were given by Germans.

The Order of the Cincinnati, which was formed by officers engaged upon the patriot side during the Revolution, had a large number of Germans among its membership. For the state of New York alone, the roll of the Cincinnati includes the names of fifteen officers of the highest rank.

In "Der Deutsche Pioneer," Kapp gives a list of the German officers in the first thirteen Pennsylvania regiments. Hundreds of names of German officers and subalterns are there given.

The Germans in the South also rendered distinguished service to the revolutionary cause.

When Lafayette and De Kalb first landed in Charleston, S. C., they took up their quarters with Major Hüger, a distinguished German citizen of that place.

The German citizens of Charleston also organized the German Fusileers, who were commanded by Lieutenant Michael Kalteisen, and who saw distinguished service at the storming of the fortress of Savannah in 1779, by Col. Laurens. In spite

of the spelling of his name, it has been claimed on good authority that Col. Laurens was also of German descent, the original form of his name being probably Lorenz.

At the battle of King's Mountain or Cowpens, Oct. 29, 1781, which did so much towards reviving the hopes of the patriots in the South, Col. Hambright, of German descent, and in all probability representing a southern branch of the Pennsylvania family of the same name, rendered distinguished service.

Many of the sharpshooters who served under General Daniel Morgan were Germans gathered from the Valley of the Virginia and the frontier settlements of the Carolinas. Six of these formed the celebrated Dutch Mess. They messed together during the entire war and survived all their severe campaigns.

The first troops to arrive at the siege of Boston to assist the New Englanders in their revolt were Germans from Pennsylvania. They arrived there on the 18th day of July, 1775, only thirty-two days after Congress had called the citizens to arms. The first soldiers to go to New England from the South were Germans from Virginia. They marched to Boston, a distance of 600 miles, over rough roads in fifty-four days. These Pennsylvania and Virginia Germans were better armed than the New England citizen soldiers. When Washington saw them march into his camp in Cambridge he sprang from his horse to shake their hands, while tears of gratitude moistened his eyes.

It was the bravery of the Pennsylvania Riflemen, a German regiment commanded by John Peter Koechlin, that earned for the Battle of Long Island the name of the "Thermopylae of the American Revolution." "These men," writes an American historian, "stood their ground until as many as seventy-nine men in one company had been killed and the rest of the army had completed its retreat. Long Island was the Thermopylae of the Revolution, and the Pennsylvania Germans were the Spartans."

Of great financial aid to the revolutionary cause, was Arnold Henry Dohrmann, a German merchant located in Lisbon. He served as the patron of American sailors and frequently supported and befriended American privateersmen who were stranded on the Continent. By selling weapons and munitions of war to American cruisers, which he sometimes accomplished on the high seas by means of his own ships, he exposed himself to the hostility of the British government, who finally succeeded in inducing the court of Lisbon to banish Dohrmann from the country. Dohrmann was also instrumental in negotiating several loans for the United States from Dutch

bankers in Amsterdam, at a time when the Colonies were in sore need of money and found it hard to obtain credit anywhere.

Dohrmann was born in Hamburg. In 1787 he became a naturalized citizen of the United States and his great services were officially recognized by Congress.

Some whole regiments among the French auxiliary troops under Rochambeau also were composed entirely of German soldiers and officered by Germans. The regiment called the Royal Allemand de Deux Ponts, for instance, was the Royal German regiment of Zweibrücken. The colonel and commander of the regiment was Prince Christian of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld; the lieutenant-colonel was Prince William von Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld; the major was Freiherr Eberhard von Esebeck, and the captain's name was Haake. This regiment served in America from 1780 to 1783.

The name Zweibrücken literally means Two-Bridges, hence the French name of the town is Deux-Ponts. It gets its name from two beautiful bridges which span the river flowing through it.

It happens that many of the early settlers in Central Ohio, and especially in Columbus, where the author of this pamphlet now lives, came from this very town of Zweibrücken. I have often seen the picture of the town and its two bridges. And one bright old German lady, who is my near neighbor, who was born in Zweibrücken, and is now over eighty-eight years old, seventy-eight of which she has spent in Columbus, distinctly remembers having seen the above-mentioned Freiherr von Esebeck in his old age in Zweibrücken, and having had him pointed out to her as one of the German officers who fought in the war in America.

Some of the other regiments among these French auxiliary troops were composed either entirely or partly of German soldiers. Knowing which were the German regiments among the French troops, and which were the Germans in the Colonial Army, it becomes manifest that the German soldier also rendered conspicuous service in the final campaign which culminated in the siege and capture of Yorktown. The only sortie which was made during the siege, namely that of Tarleton at Gloucester, was beaten back by the legion of Armand; about 1,200 militia under the German-American general, Weedon, and the men under the Duke of Lauzun, altogether between three and four thousand men, most of whom must have been Germans. The enemy was defeated at all points and Tarleton escaped capture with difficulty.

When the second parallel of trenches was drawn about the city of Yorktown, two redoubts stood in the way. At the cap-

ture of one of these redoubts, according to a well-founded tradition, the military commands on both sides of the line were given in the German language. The attacking party consisted of the German soldiers in the French service, while the defenders were the Hessians in the English service. It was another case of Germans fighting against Germans, as unfortunately they have done only two often in history, previous to the founding of the modern German empire by Otto von Bismarck.

The first man who entered the redoubt was Captain Henry Kalb, a cousin of the German-American general, John Kalb, who fell at the battle of Camden.

The important service rendered by General von Steuben at the siege of Yorktown has already been mentioned. His brigade occupied the post of honor in the trenches when the crisis came and Cornwallis made his first overtures looking towards surrender.

This brigade consisted of three regiments—Wayne's Pennsylvania regiment, Mühlenberg's Virginians and Gist's Marylanders. Two of the three colonels were Germans and most of the troops were Germans.

Thus we see that at the beginning of the Revolution the Germans in America were unanimously and enthusiastically in favor of independence. Two years before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed the German citizens of Pennsylvania began to advocate publicly the absolute and unconditional separation from England, and as British oppression became more and more intolerable, the Germans were the very first to rise in opposition. As the dissatisfaction grew, even the king of England asked to be informed as to two matters: First, whether the Germans in America favored an independent government; and second, if many of them had been soldiers before emigrating. Both questions were answered in the affirmative.

Wherever possible the Germans threw the whole weight of their influence against that of the Tory or Loyalist element, so strong in some of the Colonies, and in three instances at least, namely New York, Pennsylvania and Georgia, this was the deciding factor in determining the allegiance of the Colony in question.

During the progress of the war the Germans furnished their full quota, and more than their full quota of men and officers to the Revolutionary Army. They rendered valuable service to the cause in many ways and were ever among the most persevering and determined patriots.

And at the end of the war, the last resistance of the enemy was overcome, his last sortie was driven back and the last redoubt was taken by German troops, and the enemy's first over-

tures of surrender were made to a German general, to General von Steuben, the schoolmaster of the American army.

And according to John Fiske, the great news of the glorious victory at Yorktown was first announced in Philadelphia in this wise:

Early on a dark morning of the fourth week in October, an honest old German slowly pacing the streets of Philadelphia on his nightwatch, began shouting: "Basht dree o'gleck und Cornwallis ist gecaptured." Light sleepers sprang out of bed and threw open their windows. Washington's courier laid the dispatches before Congress in the forenoon of the same day, and after dinner a service of prayer and thanksgiving was held in the old German Lutheran Church of Philadelphia, then the largest auditorium in the city. What the program was I do not know, but all things considered, they could not have done anything more appropriate than to sing that grand old German choral: "Nun danket alle Gott."

"There might never have been a united colonial rebellion, nor any United States of America, but for the patriotism of the Germans of the Colonies," says one writer.

From one point of view at least, the triumph of the American Revolution may be considered as the first great victory of the German element over British influence in America.

NOTE—Crevecoeur, the celebrated traveler, himself a Frenchman, has left on record his impression of some of these pre-revolutionary Germans in his "Letters of an American Farmer." He says: "The honest Germans have been wiser in general, than almost all other Europeans. They hire themselves out to some of their wealthy landsmen, and in that apprenticeship learn everything that is necessary. They attentively consider the prosperous industry of others, which imprints in their minds a strong desire of possessing the same advantages. This forcible idea never quits them, they launch forth, and by dint of sobriety, rigid parsimony, and the most persevering industry, they commonly succeed. Their astonishment at their first arrival from Germany is very great—it is to them a dream; the contrast must be powerful indeed; they observe their countrymen flourishing in every place; they travel through whole counties where not a word of English is spoken; and in the names and the language of the people, they retrace Germany. They have been an useful acquisition to this continent, and to Pennsylvania in particular; to them it owes a large share of its prosperity; to their mechanical knowledge and patience it owes the finest mills in all America, the best teams of horses and many other advantages. Their recollection of their former poverty and slavery never leaves them as long as they live. From whence the difference arises I do not know, but out of every dozen families of emigrants of each country, generally seven Scotch will succeed, nine German, and four Irish."

The German Element in America During the Civil War

THE debt of America to the German element for services rendered during the Civil War is by no means slight. Just as in the Revolutionary War, the German element in America proved to be a very decisive factor, and helped to win the day for independence, so in our great Civil War, the German element was no slight factor in deciding the issue and thus helping preserve the Union.

This appears in the first place from the great number of Germans who enlisted in the Union armies. The limitations of space forbid me to give an analysis of the figures here, but the statement which has been often made, that over two hundred thousand Germans served in the Northern armies, is not at all exaggerated. This means counting only those who were born in Germany.

Were we to include among the number of Germans fighting for the Union, all those who were born in America of German parents, the number would swell to nearly three times that figure, or between five and six hundred thousand men.

But even this large number would not include the deseendants of the Germans who came to the United States in the eighteenth century or before. We must not lose sight of the fact that the first German immigration to the United States occurred in 1683.

In proportion to their numbers, as statistics show, American eitizens of German birth even furnished more than their fair share of volunteers. The Germans, proportionately speaking, surpassed both the native American as well as the Irish element, which justly enjoys such a high reputation for its martial spirit, in the number of volunteers they furnished during the Civil War. If this is a test, they were not only every whit as patriotic as the nativistic American element, but even more so.

It was the German element which held the great state of Missouri for the Union. If it had not been for the staunch loyalty and the determined stand taken by the Germans of the state, Missouri would probably have joined the ranks of secession.

This alone was a service of incalculable value. Missouri

was the largest of the border states. It had a population of nearly a million. Its population and its resources were greater by far than those of any of the Cotton States, who were the first to secede. It occupied a strategical position, giving to those who held it command and control of long stretches of the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers. If this great state had joined the Confederacy, who knows what a great influence this may have had upon other border states, and who knows whether the final outcome of the conflict might not have been other than it was. That it did not was due largely to its great German population.

A large per cent. of the native Americans of the state were Southern sympathizers. Some of them were outright Secessionists. Others took the ground that no state had the right to secede, but that if any states did secede, the federal government had no right to restore them to the Union by coercion, and if the Washington government did attempt this, then Missouri would fight side by side with her sister states of the South.

At the preceding presidential election, Lincoln had received in the entire state, barely seventeen thousand of the one hundred and seventy-five thousand votes that were cast, and these were mostly German votes.

In "The Crisis," by Winston Churchill, Col. Carvel speaks derisively of the Republican party as "The Black Republican party, made up of old fools and young anarchists, of Dutchmen and nigger-worshippers."

The state government was in the hands of the Secessionists. The newspapers of the state favored secession. The only loyal papers of influence were the Missouri Democrat, and the two German papers published in St. Louis, "Der Anzeiger des Westens" and "Die Westliche Post." The editor of one of the latter, Bernays by name, was entrusted by the loyal citizens of the state with a confidential mission to President Lincoln.

The United States arsenal in St. Louis had been well supplied with arms and ammunition of every kind, by Buchanan's secretary of war, a Southern sympathizer, expecting that the Secessionists would take them.

Such was the state of affairs in Missouri just before the war. But the German Turners all over the state organized bands of volunteers and military companies. At first these were called the "Wide Awakes," but afterwards the "Home Guards." One such company was called in German "Die Schwarze Jäger," which their opponents maliciously rendered into English by the word "Blackguards."

The Secessionists also organized and called themselves the

Minute Men. The regular state militia was already at the command of Jackson, the secessionist governor.

At this time the Germans numbered about one-half the population of St. Louis. They lived in South St. Louis, which was almost a German city in itself.

In Winston Churchill's "Crisis," the author makes the young German, Carl Richter, say to Stephen Brice: "A foreigner! Call me not a foreigner—we Germans will show whether or not we are foreigners, when the time comes. My friend, one-half of this city is German and it is they who will save it if danger arises. You must come with me one night to South St. Louis that you may know us. Then you will perhaps not think of us as foreign swill, but as patriots who love our new Vaterland even as you love it. You must come to our Turner Halls, where we are drilling against the time when the Union shall have need of us."

In the further course of the story, Richter's boast was justified and his prophecy was fullfilled by the Germans of St. Louis. Richter himself died in the battle of Wilson's Creek, where the brave Lyon fell.

But what is true in the story, was also true in history. The German Home Guards soon squelched and overawed the Minute Men. By command of General Lyon, they took possession of the U. S. arsenal, garrisoned it and prevented it from falling into the hands of the Secessionists. They also captured Camp Jackson, a militia and training camp which the Secessionists had formed just outside of St. Louis, and made prisoners of all the Minute Men who were encamped there. They marched on Jefferson City, the capital of the state, drove out the Secessionist state government, occupied the city, and put a sign over the door of the state capitol, which read: "Hier wird Deutsch gesprochen" (German spoken here). A harmless joke, which might well be permitted them in view of the invaluable service which they rendered to the Union cause.

After the garrisoning of the arsenal, five regiments of German troops were regularly formed. Four of the five colonels commanding these regiments were German. Their names were Börnstein, Sigel, Schüttner and Salomon. They all played a conspicuous part in the subsequent fighting by which Missouri was held for the Union.

To show the intense patriotism and determined spirit of these Germans of Missouri, I may mention here, that on the sixth day of February, following the election of Lincoln, the German Turners of St. Louis passed a series of resolutions to the effect: "That they would never depart from their rights and duties as citizens of the United States, and that neither the legislative convention, nor any other body, not even the

majority of the people of the state of Missouri, had the right to wrest from them their citizens' rights, nor to separate them from the Union."

They even resolved that, if the state of Missouri should secede, a provincial government should be erected for the county of St. Louis, which should remain faithful to the Union, and which should be defended by them with their property and their blood.

The Germans in America not only furnished their full quota and more than their full quota of men to the Union armies, but also many of the ablest officers who were needed to lead that great host.

Among the officers of higher rank during the Civil War, there were no less than eighteen men of German birth, who attained to the rank of a general officer, namely eleven brigadier generals and seven major generals. Here is the roll of honor:

General Adolf Engelmann died the death of a hero, fighting gloriously for the cause of his adopted country, at Shiloh.

General Ludwig Blenker protected the rear of the Union army in its flight from Bull Run, with his German troops. At the beginning of the war he organized a German regiment known as the 8th New York, whose colonel he became.

General Friedrich Hecker, the patriarch of Belleville, fought bravely in the East and in the West.

General Carl Eberhard Salomon, of whom we have already spoken, helped save Missouri for the Union. He was one of a remarkable family of three brothers, all born in Germany. One brother, Edward Salomon, was the war governor of Wisconsin. Another brother, Friedrich Salomon, organized the Ninth Wisconsin German regiment, and for distinguished service in Arkansas and the Southwest, against Generals Kirby Smith and Price, was made brigadier general and brevet major general.

General Alexander Schimmelpfennig served with distinction at Gettysburg and afterwards was destined to be the first Union officer to enter the city of Charleston, S. C., the original home of secession, at the head of his troops.

General Max Weber fell at the battle of Antietam, just as he seemed about to pierce the center of the rebel army, by conducting a brilliant and successful advance.

General Heinrich Bohlen, a man of wealth and great ability, had seen service in half a dozen wars. He sacrificed his life for the unity and future greatness of the United States of America, in the fighting along the Rappahannock in Virginia.

General August Moor won many laurels in the Shenandoah Valley.

General Hugo Wangelin fought victoriously at Pea Ridge, Atlanta, Ringgold and Lookout Mountain.

General Adolf von Steinwehr rendered important services at Gettysburg and Chattanooga.

Major General Franz Sigel, the victor of Pea Ridge, another of the men who helped save Missouri for the Union.

Major General Julius Stahel, the hero of Shiloh.

Major General Carl Schurz, statesman and soldier, well known to the general reading public by his brilliant reminiscences.

Major General Peter Joseph Osterhaus helped take Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Atlanta and Savannah.

Major General August Kautz advanced from the rank of a private soldier to that of a major general and was one of the most brilliant cavalry leaders in the Union Army.

Major General Gottfried Weitzel commanded the army of the James and was the first Union general to enter the conquered Confederate capital of Richmond.

General August Willich, the victor of Bowling Green, helped save Kentucky for the Union. Willich was born in Braunsberg in Prussia, and as a young man had served as an officer in the Prussia army. Although he participated in the revolutionary movements of 1848, there was a tradition that he was himself a scion of the royal family of Prussia; that the blood of the Hohenzollern flowed in his veins and revealed itself in his features, which showed a striking resemblance to the Hohenzollern physiognomy. His military bearing and skill as a leader and organizer lent credit to the tradition.

Willich organized the Ninth Ohio regiment. It was composed entirely of Germans. It was recruited in Cincinnati, though many Germans from Columbus and other places enlisted in it. All the officers, except the colonel, at first, were Germans. The military commands were given in the German language. The regiment was organized on the Prussian model, adopting the discipline, drill and regulations in vogue in the Prussian army at that time. Willich's business partner, McCook, was chosen as colonel. This was done because the regiment expected to receive more favors and greater opportunities of service with an American colonel, than with a German colonel.

The only other regiment on exactly the same footing as this was the 32d Indiana.

After the war Willich lived at St. Marys, a German town in northwestern Ohio, and there he died and lies buried.

These are the eighteen men of German birth who rose to the rank of generals in the Union Army. They rose by hard

and patient service, and sometimes by brilliant achievements, in the face of much opposition and prejudice, for there was much nativistic prejudice against foreigners in the land, especially against the Dutchmen.

They served from a sense of duty, without hope or expectation of reward. They received little appreciation and often met with rank ingratitude. If they rendered notable service to their adopted country or gained a victory, it was taken as a matter of course, or ascribed to a fortunate accident. If their best efforts met with failure and defeat, they were not only subjected to harsh, severe and unjust criticism, but the yellow press of the country heaped ridicule and contumely upon them, and fairly gloated over the defeat of the "Dutchmen," as if it were not at the same time a defeat of the common cause.

But these great-hearted men were not fighting for praise or reward or the applause of their fellowmen, but for the approval of their conscience, and for a great cause, a principle, an ideal. So they let others do the talking and the reviling and just kept on fighting to save the Union.

Three out of the eighteen died on the field of battle.

To these must be added a great number of officers of German birth, who were of lesser rank, but who nevertheless rendered brilliant and important services to the Union cause.

There was J. C. Raith, colonel of the 43d Illinois regiment, who fell at the battle of Shiloh. He succeeded Engelman in the command of this regiment, which had been organized by Gustave Koerner, the German lieutenant-governor of Illinois, another ardent and influential supporter of the Union cause.

Franz Hassendeubel is another of these. He had already served through the Mexican War and had gone back to Germany, but when the Civil War broke out, he returned to the United States and became lieutenant-colonel of Sigel's Third German Missouri regiment. He constructed the plans for the defense of St. Louis, was mortally wounded during the siege of Vicksburg, and died July 16, 1863.

There was Col. Buschbeck, of the 27th Pennsylvania regiment, who stood like a stone wall at Chancellorville, when almost everyone else was taking to flight. Nor must we forget Von Schrader, colonel of the 74th Ohio regiment; Knobelsdorff and Küfner, of Illinois regiments; Von Gilsa and Von Amsberg, each commanding a New York regiment, and many others who might be mentioned.

We must remember that all these men were born in Germany. But when we speak of the German element we mean all those who have German blood in their veins, to whatever stratum of German immigration they may belong.

It would be impossible, within the limits of this paper, to give even so much as the names of those officers of the Union Army who were of German parentage or ancestry.

The first officer of the regular army killed in the war was Lieutenant John T. Greble, of the Second Artillery. He was a graduate of West Point, German by descent, born in Philadelphia. He was killed in action at Big Bethel, Va., in June, 1861, another of the numerous German heroes who willingly laid their lives upon the altar of their country. He sacrified his life for the safety of a company of soldiers imperilled by an overwhelming force.

General George A. Custer, a fearless and dashing cavalry leader, an even more popular figure than General Kautz, was also German by descent. The original form of his name was Küster. This, of course, is not a mere guess, but the undoubted historic truth.

Among the many West Point graduates of German descent who served with distinction in the Civil War, Generals Heintzelmann and Rosecrans deserve to be mentioned as the most distinguished.

Numerous regiments composed of Germans and commanded by Germans, were organized all over the country to serve in the war. The famous Eleventh Army Corps, commanded by Schurz and Schimmelpfennig, was composed largely of Germans. The Second Army Corps, which bore the brunt of Pickett's charge at the battle of Gettysburg, was composed very largely of Germans by descent, as can easily be seen by studying the composition of the regiments constituting that corps.

The historian of the Civil War, J. F. Rhodes, exclaims after his description of the battle of Gettysburg and of Pickett's famous charge: "Decry war as we may and ought, 'breathes there a man with soul so dead,' who would not thrill with emotion for his countrymen, the men who made that charge and the men who met it."

The German-Americans can claim many of the men who met that tremendous onslaught and successfully withstood it, as belonging to them by ties of race and blood, as we have just seen in speaking of the Second Army Corps.

Of the men who made that daring, dashing, death-defying charge, two of their ablest officers, General Armistead and General Kemper, were German in name and blood.

Let me group together a few interesting facts in closing. It was the Germans who saved the great state of Missouri for the Union. The first troops that came from the North for the protection of Washington were German troops from New York. The first regular army officer to be killed in the war

was a German. A German was the first Union officer to enter the captured city of Charleston, the real birthplace of secession. The first Union army officer to enter Richmond, the abandoned Confederate capital, was also a German. As Washington's bodyguard during the Revolutionary War was composed of Germans, so Lincoln's guard of honor at his inauguration was composed of Germans who were members of the 8th Battalion D. C. German Volunteers. A German general, Peter Joseph Osterhaus, then serving as chief of staff to General Canby, negotiated the capitulation of the last Confederate Army under Kirby Smith, in 1865. And at the end of the war, Mrs. Jefferson Davis declared that the North would never have won if it had not been for the Germans.

These facts may not be specially significant. They may be simply interesting and curious coincidents. But to me they seem to symbolize the fact, that whenever Columbia has been in distress, whenever our country has been in danger or in need of help, the German-American has always been ready to answer to the call He has always been right there on the spot, willing to do whatever the situation might require; to do or to die; to spend his strength, his treasure or his blood, without stint, for his country. He has never been surpassed by any in loyalty to his country or in real patriotism.

An interesting phenomenon in connection with our general subject is the attitude of Germany towards America during the Civil War. German sympathy was everywhere wholeheartedly on the Northern side. Sentiment, based on the abhorrence of slavery, was no doubt of moment in deciding Germany's position.

On his visit to Europe at the time, Andrew D. White found friends among all classes of Germans: "Germans everywhere recognized the real question at issue in the American struggle. Everywhere on German soil was a deep detestation of human bondage. Frankfort-on-the-Main became a most beneficial centre of financial influence and from first to last Germany stood firmly by us."

We are reminded by these words of the assistance which August Dohrman gave to the Colonies in the Revolutionary War.

It was not so everywhere in European countries. The same distinguished author, in speaking of England, says: "In that time of our direst need, when among the leaders in England, D'Israeli was indifferent, Palmerston jaunty, Earl Russell only too happy to let out the Confederate cruisers to annihilate our commerce, and when Gladstone was satisfied that Jefferson Davis had made a nation, there was one who recognized the wickedness of siding with the slave power, and that

man a German, the Prince Consort Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha."

Germany gave not only her sympathy but her gold in defense of the Union, and the purchase of United States bonds in German financial centres contributed very materially towards sustaining the Union in the long struggle which the government was forced to wage against the powerful Southern Confederacy. At the same time W. E. Gladstone in England was boasting of his purchase of Confederate bonds.

Since England desired the success of the Confederacy and gave it material aid, may it not be said, in view of all the facts, that the preservation of the Union was the second great triumph of the German element over British influence in America?

CONCLUSION.

According to a conservative estimate there are now about twenty million people in the United States who have German blood in their veins—enough to make a mighty nation, greater by far than Servia or Belgium, for instance, especially when we take not only the numbers, but the intelligence, industry and vigor of the people of this racial stock into consideration.

The presence of the German element in America is not a recent thing, but goes back to the very beginnings of our history. Americans of German descent may claim to have their Pilgrim Fathers as well as those of Anglo-Saxon ancestry. And these German Pilgrim Fathers came to these shores, in 1683, for exactly the same reasons, high and ideal motives, as those English Pilgrims who came in 1620.

Germantown, Pa., now an integral part of the city of Philadelphia, is the German Plymouth. The good ship Concord was the German Mayflower. There would be just as good reason for organizing a Society of Concord Descendants, as there is for organizing a Society of Mayflower Descendents. Franz Daniel Pastorius may be called the German Elder Brewster. October 6 is the German Forefathers' Day. And though these German Pilgrims did not draw up any instrument like the Mayflower compact on board the Concord, their descendants might well be proud of the fact that these "German Quakers" of Pennsylvania made the first public protest against Negro slavery in America, and this protest proved prophetic of the attitude to be taken by the Germans in America on that same question later on.

Germans have fought in every war in which Americans have ever engaged, from the French and Indian Wars down

to the present day and their part in the two great crises of 1776 and 1861 has been especially important, as we have just seen. They have also made great and important contributions to the industrial development, as well as to the intellectual, artistic and religious life of America.

Among these twenty millions, there are an untold number, who have fully as much right as any of Anglo-Saxon descent, to think and sing of America as "the land where our fathers died," or to sing in the words of Frederick Lucian Hosmer: "O Beautiful, Our Country, round thee in love we draw. For thee our fathers suffered; for thee they toiled and prayed: upon thy holy altars their willing lives they laid."

It follows therefore:

1. That this great nation can in no sense be called an Anglo-Saxon nation. Whenever we think or talk or act as if it were, we do an injustice to the great German element in America, and to people of other racial stocks, such as the French, the Dutch, the Irish, the Scandinavians, which have entered into the composition of the nation. Hosmer hits it exactly right here again when he sings in the hymn already quoted: "Thine is no common birthright, grand memories on thee shine, the blood of pilgrim nations commingled flows in thine."

2. It follows that England can no longer, in any true sense of the word, be called or considered our mother-country. England certainly is no mother to the twenty million Americans of German descent. The mother-country of America is not England, but Europe.

3. It follows that anything like an alliance of America with England, as against Germany, would be strongly resented, and of right ought to be resented, by twenty million Americans of German descent.

NOTE.

At the first inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, one battalion under Col. Tait guarded the position where the president took the oath of office and made his inaugural address. District of Columbia Volunteers, under Captain S. N. Owens, guarded the carriage in which the two presidents rode. The 8th Battalion, District of Columbia German Volunteers, Major A. Balbach; captain Ernest Loeffler; and Company A, German Turner Rifles, Captain Kreyanowski (?), marched beside and behind the carriage as guards of honor.

These facts, obtained from a surviving member of the 8th Battalion D. C. German Volunteers, form the basis for the statement contained in the foregoing essay, that German troops formed the escort and guard of honor at Lincoln's first inauguration.

The 8th Battalion D. C. German Volunteers was mustered into active service on April 11, 1861. It performed guard duty, guarding public buildings, property, and bridges and roads leading into Washington. It formed the advance guard in the first movement into Virginia, when Alexandria was captured, and was afterwards stationed at Great Falls on the Potomac to protect the water supply of the city of Washington.