The Social and Cultural Contributions of the Germans in Louisville from 1848 to 1855

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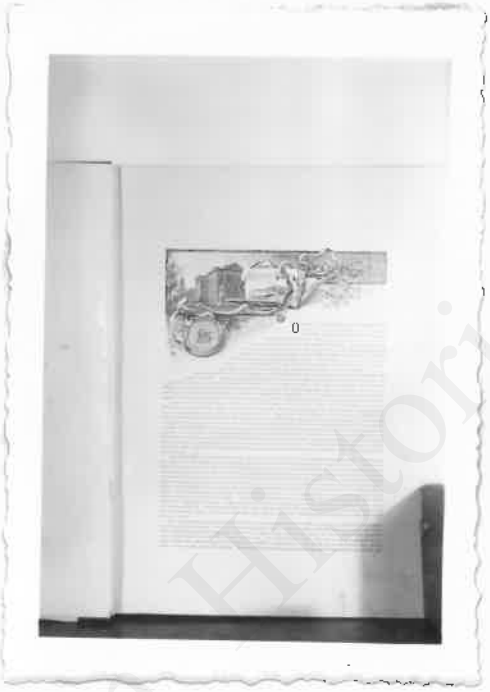

THE ORIGINAL PROGRESS SEAL

Photograph of the Original Progress Seal of Louisville Taken from Page 1 of The City of Louisville and a Glimpse of Kentucky, 1887

THESIS

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Graduate School
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THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE GERMANS IN LOUISVILLE FROM 1848-1855

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Kentucky

BY

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CHAPTER I

THE NUMBER AND TYPES OF GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE LOUISVILLE AREA

The second of three great German immigration waves came in the Forties.[1] By the middle of the nineteenth century this immigration surpassed any other European stock, even the Irish.[2] From 1831 to 1840 came 152,454, from 1841 to 1850 434,626, and from 1851 to 1860 951,667.[3] These included a large proportion of men of education and to their influence and example can be attributed most of the culture of the urban Germans today.[4] Albert B. Faust and Ernest Bruncken[5] have given rather detailed accounts of the German immigrants who settled in the northern states; but due to the slave competition with free labor, German immigrants

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1. "German Element in the United States," American Monthly Review of Reviews, May, 1907, XXXV, 603.

2. Faust, Albert.B. German Element in the United States, 2 Vols., Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York, 1909, I, 435.

3. Ibid., 582.

4. Steiner, Edward A. The German Immigrant in America Outlook, Jan. 31, 1903, LXXIII, 261.

5. Bruncken, Ernest. "German Political Refugees in the United States during the Period 1815-1860," Deutsche Amerikansche Geschichtsblaetter, April, 1903- October,1905.

rarely settled south of the Ohio River.

In the Ohio Valley, Cincinnati, located in free territory, became a mecca for the Germans; while the slave population of Kentucky acted as a deterrent to immigration in spite of its economic advantages. According to Shaler[1] the attractions of northern Kentucky seemed to lie in the fact that the Negroes were few in number and the land was cheap and suited to grape cultivation.[2]

The population of Louisville and Jefferson County, both free and slave, grew slowly until the second and third decades when it was materially increased by the improved health conditions - malaria had been checked by the drainage of ponds in 1822 - and the coming of the steamboat[3] and the Portland Canal. These improved health conditions attracted immigrants[4] although cholera was still a periodic scourge; and of the

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1. Shaler, N. S. Kentucky: A Pioneer Commonwealth. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1885, 222.

2. Shaler alone says that the land was "suitable for the growth of the grape." Nowhere else was such a statement put forward. Ibid., 222.

3. Pirtle, Alfred. Louisville up to 1830 (Sketch read before the staff of the Louisville Free Public Library, April 29, 1913), 17, 19.

4. Pauline Autenrieth Tafel, in her manuscript biography (in the possession of the Tafel family), tells about a similar scourge of cholera which was reported to her family while still in New York, and how those reports discouraged many of their fellow immigrants from coming west.

223 deaths of Germans in the state of Kentucky, 118 were due to that plague in the year between June, 1849, and June, 1850.[1] Since most of the Germans were in the Louisville Area, there seems to have been just cause for anxiety about the public health conditions.

By 1840 the total population of Jefferson County was 36,346[2] of which Louisville had 21,210.[3] The slave population amounted to 8,696 in Jefferson County divided: 3,430 in Louisville and 5,166 in the county.[4] After 1840 the population grew more rapidly: in 1843 it was 28,000;[5] in 1845 there were 33,602 whites, 560 free blacks, 4,056 slaves, aggregating 37,218;[6] in 1847 there were 40,000[7] - over 4,000 of which were slaves - and in 1848 41,116.[8] According

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1. Mortality Statistics of the 7th Census (1850) II, 95, 99.
2. Collins, Lewis: History of Kentucky, Collins and Co., Covington, Ky., 1882, II, 258.
3. Industries of Louisville, Ky. and New Albany, Ind., J. M. Elstner and Co., Publishers, Louisville, 1886, 13.
4. 6th Census, Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States, 281.
5. Collins, Lewis. Historical Sketches of Kentucky. Lewis Collins, Maysville, Kentucky, 1850, 358.
6. Jegli, John B. Louisville Directory, 1848-9: Population of Louisville, 1845, 1845, 11. (Collins' Historical Sketches gives aggregate as 3,200.)
7. Collins, Lewis. Historical Sketches of Kentucky, 358.
8. Jegli, J. B. Louisville Directory, 1848-9, 11.

to the United States census of 1850, Jefferson County had a total population of 59,831 of which 47,283 were whites, 1,637 free blacks, and 10,911 slaves.[1] Of the 43,194 people[2] in the city of Louisville that year 37,762 were free, and 5,432 were slave.[3] The German-born were 7,357 - more than half the total foreign born in the city - with only 25,079 native born.[4] Since the whole state of Kentucky had only 13,607 Germans in 1850,[5] this means that over half were concentrated in Louisville[6] for reasons which will be discussed later. By 1852, of the 51,726 people in Louisville no less than 18,000 were Germans, and the number was augmented daily according to Casseday.[7] Although a number of

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1. 7th Census Compendium 1850, part VI, 192.

2. Casseday, Ben. History of Louisville, 1852. Hull and Brother, Louisville, 1852, 247, gives the figure as 43,217; while the Mortality Statistics of 7th Census II, 41, accounts only for 37,540 of the white population.

3. Statistics of the United States, 1850, 612, Table II.

4. Mortality Statistics of the 7th Census (1850) II, 41.

5. Abstract of the 7th Census, 18.

6. Ibid., 41. Germans in the United States 573,225; 25.09% of all immigrants.

7. Casseday, History of Louisville, 247. There are no census reports of that year, but the History of the Ohio Falls Counties, published by L. A. Williams, 2 vols., Cleveland, Ohio, 1882, 301, with reference to Casseday's figures says, "This is specific, and seems to be the result of an actual enumeration, and not of an estimate."

Kentuckians had moved westward due to the desire for land, craze for gold, or fear of a repetition of the election riots of 1855, nevertheless the population of Jefferson County increased to 79,100 by 1860;[1] 77,093 being white, 2,007 free black, and 10,304 slave.[2] The total foreign born was 96,123. In Louisville the aggregate population was 68,003 with 61,213 white, 1,917 free black, and 4,903 slave.[3] Again the number of Germans, 13,347, is more than half the total foreign population of 22,948; their nearest competitor being the Irish with 6,653.[4]

This foreign element was for the most part a fairly recent addition to the entire state as well as to the city of Louisville and its environs. One of the chief reasons for the influx was the "sudden development of manufacturing interests along the Ohio border, principally in the towns of

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1. Population of United States in 1860, 8th Census, I, 184; Collins, History of Kentucky, II, 258, gives that figure as 89,404.

2. Population of the United States in 1860, 8th Census by J. B. Kennedy, I, 167.

3. Ibid., I, 182. The 8th Census of the United States 1860; Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics, VIII, 1, of the Introduction gives the population as American 38,265; foreign 22,948 which totals only 61,213.

4. 8th Census of the United States 1860; Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics 1, VIII, of the Introduction.

Louisville, Covington, and Newport, and to certain settlements of agriculturalist Germans in the counties forming the northern border of the state.[1] To the Germans in particular this region presented an especial attraction, and about 1850 they grew to be an important element in the population.[2]

Another main reason for the German concentration in the northern section of the state along the Ohio River was the comparative scarcity of Negro labor in that territory.[3] The state population (white) amounted to 919,484 in 1860 and the slaves 225,483, which made the slaves about a fourth of the whole;[4] while in Louisville the slaves were less than eight per cent of the population[5] and in Jefferson County about twelve per cent.[6]

Furthermore, immigrants had more accurate information about Kentucky and were no longer intimidated by wild and false tales which had dampened immigrant enthusiasm earlier in the century. E. Everett of the North American Review and

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1. Shaler. Kentucky: A Pioneer Commonwealth, 222.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Population of the United States, 1860. I, 182.
6. Ibid., I, 169.

Miscellaneous Journal, reviewing some correspondence of M. Von Fürstenwarther which had been published in 1818 as The Germans in North America, quotes this gem of misinformation:

> I have accidently made the acquaintance of a German who has long been an inhabitant of the state of Kentucky, and has established a sugar manufactory there. . . . . He assures me that this summer Germans have been engaged by speculators, and publicly sold at auction to the highest bidder, and, according to him, Dutch, or white slaves is there a common expression.[1]

The native population of Kentucky, between the founding of Harrodsburg (1774) and 1860, was drawn almost entirely - about ninety-five per cent - from Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland with almost all being of British stock.[2] Nevertheless, they welcomed the immigrants as valuable additions to the state up to about 1852 when their attitude underwent a rapid and thorough-going change.[3]

That the Germans were recognized as a superior type culturally and industrially cannot be doubted. The Whig-Nativist, George Prentice, stated that the emigration of the property-holding classes to America in hopes of augmenting

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1. Everett, E. "German Emigration to America," A Review of North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal, Boston, July, 1820, XI, 7.

2. Shaler. Kentucky: A Pioneer Commonwealth, 221.

3. Bruncken. Op. Cit., January, 1904, 38-40.

that property and at the same time enjoying the benefits of liberty was a source of agitation to Germany,[1] and many were forced to abandon the former to enjoy the latter, but they brought with them a rich heritage of practical education, industrial skill, and a love of personal liberty.[2] As early as 1844 the skill of their workmen in Louisville's manufacturing development was freely noticed.[3] By the time the Forty-eighters were driven from Germany by the political disturbances and began to filter into Louisville and the country, their presence was acknowledged as an impetus to the growth and prosperity of the region, and their ability as business men and market farmers was undeniably proved.[4] They were "one of the best classes of our population. They are careful, painstaking, and industrious people of quiet, unobtrusive and inoffensive manners; and are, in a majority of instances, men of some education and ability," stated

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1. Louisville Daily Journal, October 10, 1853.

2. Louisville: A Guide to the Falls City. Compiled by the Workers of the Writers Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Kentucky American Guide Series, M. Barrows and Co., New York, 1940, 26.

3. Haldeman's Picture of Louisville, Directory, and Business Advertizer for 1844-1845. Compiled by N. Peabody Poor, Printed and Published by W. H. Haldeman at Morning Courier Office, Louisville, 1844.

4. Johnston, J. Stoddard. Memorial History of Louisville, 2 vols., American Biographical Publishing Company, Chicago and New York, 1896, I, 92.

their contemporary, Ben Casseday.[1] Lest anyone think that, as a contemporary, Casseday "could not see the forest for the trees" his opinion was heartily endorsed, from a safe perspective of fifty-five years later, by Professor Hanno Deiler who calls the Forty-Eighters Germany's present of her life's blood to the United States.[2] He continues:

> . . . tens of thousands of her most intelligent and highly educated men: professors of universities, students of all faculties, editors, ministers, artists, and professional men, all men of high ideals, liberty loving men, who had taken part in the revolution of 1848. . . . (came to America) . . . These men became the leaders of Germans in this country, the founders and editors of their papers; they assisted in forming the Republican party, took a leading part in the events leading up to the Civil War, raised many German regiments, and carried the banner of the Union through many hotly contested battle fields.[3]

Small wonder that when the character of the immigration changed to predominantly Italian and Slavic these Germans were recalled with wistful regret as having formerly "furnished the most desirable additions which have been made from alien soils to our population."[4] Louisville would present a

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1. Casseday, History of Louisville, 248.

2. Lecture delivered before the Germanistic Society of Chicago by Professor F. Hanno Deiler on December 16, 1907, (at St. Meinrad Abbey Library), 5.

3. Ibid.

4. Bishop, J. B. "Quality of Our Latest Immigration," Nation. February 5, 1891, Vol. LII, 108.

sadly changed nien without the contributions of the Doern, the Ahrens, the Tafel, the Tomppert, the Von Barries, and a host of other families who came during that period.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT

The religious beliefs and certain social customs, such as the European observance of Sunday, not only modified the final welcome accorded victims of oppression but also caused dissension among the Germans themselves.[1]

The young, incautious Forty-Eighters were perhaps ethically not inferior to their critics; yet some few may have deserved the epithets of "impious, sensual, gross."[2] James B. Angell in the North American Review lamented the fact that liberty seemed to have a degrading effect on many immigrants who, formerly quiet citizens in Germany, now seemed to take delight in flouting the courtesies and hallowed customs of America.[3]

The influence of the radical element was out of proportion to the noise they made; since the German Catholics and conservative Lutherans refused to have anything to do with them or to participate with them in public affairs.[4]

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1. Bruncken. 40, 41.
2. Ibid., 39.
3. North American Review, LXXXII (1856), 266.
4. Bruncken. 42.

But the temperament, education, and ability of the Radicals, which made them the orators at the German festivities and leaders in the non-religious, non-political organizations, such as singing societies and social clubs as well as editors of most of the German newspapers, gave to the Forty-eighters an undeserved prominence.[1] This tinting of all Germans with the political color of the Radicals eventually led to the Nativist movement.

Many of the Forty-Eighters were avowed atheists. In the fatherland the church had been a mainstay of conservatism; and since it was state supported, it was often an instrument of state policy. Unable to discriminate between the state controlled churches of the Old World and the independent institutions of the New World, they heaped their scorn on both alike.[2] While sparing neither Protestant nor Catholic, their feeling was more intense against Catholicism only because it was better organized and more dangerous to liberty.[3] They took a determined stand against the English speaking Protestant churches, because they were the uphold-

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1. Bruncken. 42.

2. Ibid., 40 and North American Review, Jan. 1856, p. 226.

3. Bruncken, 41; also North American Review, January, 1856, LXXXII, 266.

ers of Sunday laws and of the temperance laws which the Radicals regarded as infringements of their personal liberty.[1]

Since the puritanical Americans regarded as total depravity the defiance of Sunday observances, open drinking with women and children, and avowal of atheism and infidelity, it is not surprising that the nativist feeling attacked German "infidel." The breaking up of peaceful German picnic parties by gangs of rowdies became more frequent and vicious.[2]

The same general attitude pervaded the Louisville populace with the same general results. On Sunday, April 24, 1853, a disturbance occurred between the Germans who were spending Sunday at the Woodland Garden. Band music enlivened the scene, and the Sabbath was passed in drinking and rioting according to the editor of the Daily Courier.[3] In 1852 the Fourth of July fell on a Sunday; certain Germans unwilling to postpone the celebration until Monday, published a call in the Anzeiger signed "Viele Deutsche" inviting all who wished to celebrate on Sunday to meet at a

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1. Bruncken, 41; also North American Review, January, 1856, LXXXII, 266.

2. Ibid.

3. Louisville Daily Courier, April 25, 1853.

coffee house on Market Street.[1] The editor of the Journal denounced this as an outrage against not only the religious feelings of the community but also respectable Germans whom he urged to protest against the proposal lest they incur blame for it along with the infidel element.[2] The following Monday the Journal editor acknowledged a communication from some Germans who condemned the plan as he had requested.[3]

By 1853 there were about 18,000 Germans in Louisville divided into three religious divisions: about 10,000 Roman Catholics; 8,000 Protestants in three groups: 2 Methodist branches having 300 members; one Reformed and one Lutheran Church, both very small; 3 Evangelicals numbering 2,500; and about 500 self-styled infidels. The latter belonged to the Turner Society, the General Workmen's Association.[4] The leader of the Workmen's Association, a German revolutionist, Heinzer, had edited a New York paper but more recently edited the Herald of the West in Louisville through which he propagated his doctrines. A famous disciple of Thomas Paine Hassaureck of Cincinnati headed the Freemen's Associa-

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1. Louisville Daily Courier, April 25, 1853.
2. Louisville Daily Journal, July 5, 1852.
3. Ibid.
4. Louisville Daily Courier, October 8, 1853.

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1. Louisville Daily Courier, April 25, 1853.
2. Louisville Daily Journal, July 5, 1853.
3. Ibid.
4. Louisville Daily Courier, October 8, 1853.

tion which was numerically strong and in control of several presses of the city and two schools, one of which was flourishing. The students were taught to repeat the Pantheistic expression, "There is no God but nature." The ninety members of the Turner Society also denied the immortality of the soul. Along with their gymnastics they combined drinking, dancing, playing, marching, and other amusements. They were seemingly socialists aiming at the establishment of a Social Republic in Germany and the United States.[1]

The church membership, however, had been increasing steadily since 1848. The two Catholic Churches had a combined membership of 6,000 in 1848 and grew in five years to 10,000.[2] In 1848 the Evangelical Church pastors, Charles L. Daubert, Frederick Judt, and A. L. Gargas, reported memberships of 1,000, 40, and 30 respectively; the Lutheran, John Krak, listed 170.[3] The German Protestants rose from 2,240 to 8,000 by 1853, which was an even greater gain than

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1. Louisville Daily Courier, October 8, 1853; and Stierlin, L. The State of Kentucky and the City of Louisville with Special Reference to the German Element. Louisville Anzeiger, Louisville, 1873, 30.

2. Ibid.

3. Collins, Gabriel. Louisville and New Albany Directory and Annual Advertiser for 1848. Printed by G. H. Monsarrat and Co., 47 Wall Street, Louisville, Kentucky, 242.

the Catholics made.[1] The denunciation of about five hundred Germans as atheists caused a great clamor in the Protestant denominations, and an "inner mission" was ordered to convert the Germanic "heathen." A Presbyterian committee of pastors W. W. Hill, H. H. Camden, and J. D. Curtis issued a call to the Evangelical Churches to Christianize and Americanize these "benighted heathen," and they chose Dr. Sachse, for his German descent, to carry out the mission.[2] Since the mission was undertaken without a realization of the character and philosophy of the German views, it quite naturally came to nothing.[3]

It is evident that a large comfortable middle class group of Germans took a moderate position in the Controversies. While opposing extreme radicalism in politics, they sympathized with many social ideas of their program.[4] In 1850 the Museum Club was formed with a distinguished list of members who discussed every conceivable question and once each week put out a written and illustrated journal,

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1. Fathers Voll, Hortland, Boeswalt counted all who had been baptised in the church in their 1848 figures, while the Protestants counted Communicants above fourteen only.

2. Stierlin, 31.

3. Bruncken, 41.

4. Ibid., 42.

Der Eulenspiegel. The "red" Dr. Krauth called "Robespierre" because of his ultra radical ideas put out the following as the third of ten points which the Museum adopted: When the human race arrives by true culture at its goal, there can be neither states nor churches, neither politics nor religion. . . . both are crutches, on which broken humanity must limp; if once mental healing takes place they will throw the crutches away.[1] The famous Louisville Platform, February 18, 1854, had a plank on religion. It declared all religious coercion illegal, including Sunday laws, prayers in Congress and the legislatures, oaths on the Bible, Thanksgiving Day, exclusion of atheists from judicial acts. These violated human rights and should be abrogated. In another part this plank denounced the Catholics as subjects of the Pope, under his complete control, who would do harm to the country if he should order it.[2]

Although the Radicals formed the most vociferous part of the German population, they were few in number; and the organized Catholic and Protestant Churches were on a firm footing before the Forty-Eighters even arrived on American shores. The first German Catholic Church was begun under

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1. Stierlin, 10.

2. Ibid., 34.

the auspices of the Rt. Rev. Guy Chabrat, coadjutor of Bishop Flaget.[1] In December, 1836, Father Joseph Stahlschmidt was commissioned to organize a parish for the Germans of Louisville. Until the church was organized, the Germans used the St. Louis Church.[2] Father Stahlschmidt selected as a site a lot two hundred and ten feet by sixty feet on the north side of Green (now Fehr) Street between Hancock and Jackson in a section known as Preston's Enlargement.[3] The following year, he erected a brick church eighty by forty-five and died shortly after its completion.[4] On November 1, 1838 Coadjutor Bishop Chabrat dedicated the first German Catholic Church in Louisville;[5] and in January, 1839, the

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1. Johnson, E. Polk. History of Kentucky, 426; also The Record, Official Publication of the Diocese of Louisville (150 years of Catholicity in Kentucky, 1785-1935), 6.

2. Wuest, John B. O. F. M. One Hundred Years of St. Boniface Parish, Louisville, Kentucky, 1937, 17; Johnston, J. S. Memorial History of Louisville II, 119, has a chapter by Rt. Rev. W. G. McCloskey who said in 1833 Rev. James Joseph Ferneding was in charge of Louisville's German Catholics; but Webb, Ben J. Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky, Louisville, Charles A. Rogers 1884, 515, said Ferneding only visited the congregation 1838-9.

3. Wuest, 17-18; and Johnston, J. Stoddard, II, 119.

4. Johnston, J. Stoddard, II, 119. According to Stierlin, Op. Cit., 88, Stahlschmidt never returned from a money-collecting trip; rumor said he died in Mexico City.

5. Wuest, 17, 18.

second pastor,[1] Father Charles Blanc, took charge until his death in 1846. Between then and 1849, when Bishop Flaget invited the Franciscan Provincial of Cincinnati to take charge of the church,[2] there were four pastors: Fathers Charles Boeswold, Theodore Heimann, John Voll, Peter Hartlaub, and again John Voll.[3] By 1846, St. Boniface's parish was a well organized body entering upon a prosperous period.[4]

The year, 1849, marked the end of one period and the beginning of a new one for St. Boniface. Up to this time the priests had been secular; now the parish, which was in the diocese of Bishop Martin John Spalding, was put under the care of the Franciscan Fathers of Cincinnati.[5] Bishop Spalding chose the ablest of all the Tyrolese friars, Father Otto Jair, O. F. M., to be its first Franciscan pastor. He was consecrated, ordained, and installed on July 19, 1849, as the head of a rapidly growing parish of some 4,000 people.[6]

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1. Johnston, II, 119, and Wuest, 18, call Blanc the second pastor; Webb, 516, calls him the first pastor and spells his name Blank.

2. Johnston, J. S., II, 119.

3. Wuest, 18.

4. Ibid., 40.

5. Ibid., 41

6. Ibid.; also Stierlin, 88; J. S. Johnston, II, 119.

Father Otto immediately made plans to enlarge the church. The contract was given to Daniel Heybach for his bid, which was $4,660, and was signed on February 21, 1850.[1] The additions were seventy-five feet to the length of the building, and a transept sixty feet broad made by two lateral chapels, one on each side of the main altar. The building was in the form of a cross, and the old main entrance and the sanctuary changed places in the new structure.[2]

The dedication took place on Sunday, November 3, 1850. Bishop-Elect John McGill of the See of Richmond performed the rites which were followed by a Pontifical High Mass by Bishop Spalding who had succeeded Bishop Flaget on February 11, 1850. A big parade with music followed, and the German sermon was preached by Father William Unterthiver of Cincinnati; while the English sermon was by Bishop Spalding. In the afternoon the third discourse was given by Father Boeswold to celebrate the occasion.[3] By August 1, 1854, the parish had purchased a new altar and a new $2,000 organ; and a fifteen piece orchestra under the direction of William Pleto had volunteered their services, gratis, for the feast day services.

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1. Stierlin, 38; also Wuest, 41.
2. Catholic Telegraph and Advocate, February, 1850; also J. S. Johnston, II, 119.
3. Wuest, 46.

To accommodate the orchestra, the choir loft had to be altered.[1]

Toward the end of 1845 Bishop Flaget authorized the founding of a second German Catholic Church for those communicants residing below Third Street.[2] The edifice was located at Eighth and Grayson and was called the Church of the Immaculate Conception.[3] Its founder was Father Charles J. Boeswold who had recently arrived from Weinding, Bavaria.[4] The cornerstone was laid May 16, 1847,[5] and the church was dedicated on July 8, 1849.[6] Its congregation was composed of the aristocratic element of the early German Catholics;[7] and when a question of law arose between the stucco contractor, Longaker, and the trustees of the completed church, the church officials acted with the speed of assured success and had Longaker put in

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1. Wuest, 46-47.

2. Stierlin, 88; also Wuest, 47, gives the date as 1846.

3. Wuest, 47; also J. S. Johnston, II, 122; also Webb, 520. But Stierlin, 88, calls the church St. Mary's.

4. Wuest, 47; also Webb, 520; also Stierlin, 88, who calls him Carl Joseph Boeswold.

5. The Record, "150 Years of Catholicity in Kentucky," 8, also Johnston, II, 122, says the work was finished that year.

6. Webb, Ben, 520; also Stierlin, 5.

7. Johnston, J. S., II, 122.

jail. Since his scheme had been to nail up the church doors in order to bring the congregation to terms, his arrest turned the tables on him, and a speedy agreement opened the church and jail doors simultaneously.[1]

In spite of its enlarged building and the loss of members to the parish of the Immaculate Conception, by 1853 St. Boniface Church had become so large that the edifice could only accommodate half the congregation at any service, and Bishop Spalding assigned to Father Leaner Streber O. F. M. from Engelbrechtsmuenster, Bavaria, the duty of building St. Martin's Church on Shelby Street near Broadway.[2] The corner stone was laid on October 12, 1853, and the building was dedicated August 20, 1854. Even before the dedication, parish limits between St. Boniface and St. Martin's were announced; all those living "from Walnut Street south toward St. Martin's to Hancock Street; from Hancock to Madison, and from Madison to Preston Street belonged to the new German parish."[4] The high altar came from Munich,[5] and a $10,000

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1. Stierlin, 88.
2. Webb, 421; also Johnston, J. S., II, 123.
3. Wuest, 47; also Johnston, II, 123.
4. Ibid.
5. Stierlin, 89.

organ also came from that city.[1] A few years later the building was enlarged to 180 feet in length and to 80 feet in breadth at the transept, which made it one of the largest Louisville Catholic Churches.[2]

The rebellious attitude of the Forty-eighters against unquestioning obedience to the voice of authority was manifested even by the usually obedient Catholics. In 1851 the St. Boniface Benevolent Society (Bonifazius-Unterstuetzungsverein) had formed an organization and bought a piece of property for the purpose of burying poor Catholics without charge.[3] This land was outside the city limits of that time but still can be seen on South Preston Street near Rawlings Street.[4] Since the cholera epidemic of 1850 had caused 219 deaths in the parish, an unprecedented figure, there were many who could ill afford the six dollars necessary for a lot in the Catholic Cemetery near Portland. The Society held the deed in the name of Heinrich Kitzero and others as incorporators and wished to remain independent of ecclesiastical control, feeling that should they accede to the Bishop's demand that

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1. Johnston, II, 123.
2. Ibid.
3. Wuest, 48; also Stierlin, 13; also Louisville Daily Journal, January 2, 1852.
4. Wuest, 50.

they surrender the deed to him, it would mean the end of free burials.[1] Bishop Spalding and Father Otto Jair refused to consecrate the cemetery so long as the deed was withheld and threatened every Catholic with the ban who would bury a Catholic in unblessed ground.[2]

On the evening of September 12, 1851, a crowd of some six hundred German Catholics gathered in front of St. Boniface Church. Much of the wrath was directed against a dairy owner, Gaso, who had offered another, but moist, place[3] for half the price paid by the Society as a burial ground and was accused of inciting the Bishop against the Society which caused the congregation to split into two factions.[4] The members unanimously refused to hand over the deed to St. Stephen's Cemetery and were supported by the church wardens who had been appointed by the congregation of St. Boniface.[5]

Relieving the rebellious trustees of their duties, Bishop Spalding appointed others in their places thereby causing a

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1. Stierlin, 13; also Wuest, 48.
2. Stierlin, 13.
3. The present St. Michael's Cemetery.
4. Stierlin, 13; also Wuest, 49.
5. Stierlin, 14. Wuest, 49, says, "some of the trustees implyed that not all were sympathetic to the rebels."

bitter and acrimonious dispute between the two sets of wardens and their supporters.[1] Early in January, 1852, the Sunday following the new appointments, at the conclusion of the sermon by a Jesuit missionary, Father Weninger, words were exchanged between the two factions in the church itself.[2] The exacerbation increased until the result was violence which required the police to quell.[3] A suit was brought against the deposed trustees by the church in which the clergy were the principal witnesses for the prosecution.[4] The trial was held March 9, 1852, and the jury acquitted the defendants of the misdemeanor charge of disturbing divine worship.[5]

St. Stephen's Cemetery was placed under interdict and the Bishop threatened the faithful with ecclesiastical censure should they permit any Catholic to be buried there.[6] Nevertheless, on Sunday, October 19, 1851, a vast crowd of about 3,000 people including the Benevolent Society, all the military companies and a number of citizens, attended the

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1. Wuest, 49; also Stierlin, 14.
2. Ibid.
3. Louisville Daily Journal, January 3, 1852.
4. Ibid., March 10, 1852.
5. Ibid.
6. Wuest, 49; also Stierlin, 14.

first interment.[1] No Catholic priest would officiate, so the body of Peter N. Lorenz, a former St. Boniface school teacher, was solemnly buried by the president, Wilhelm Mueller, and the secretary, Julius Denver, of the St. Boniface Charitable Association.[2]

The St. Boniface Benevolent Society was officially banned on January 26, 1858, when a notice was published by order of Bishop Spalding stating that the Society would no longer be permitted to hold its meetings in the schoolhouse; since it was neither ecclesiastical nor Catholic. The order was signed by Father Otto Jair and the trustees, Joseph A. Woeber, secretary; John B. Spickermann; Ignatius Ohlmann; Nicolas Boess; Henry Pasalick; and Henry Wippe.[3]

The members of the society then issued a statement declaring that they were slandered by the Bishop; since it was neither unchristian nor uncatholic to purchase a cemetery from which the profit would go to the widows and orphans of

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1. Stierlin, 14.

2. Wuest, 49; also Stierlin, 14. It is Stierlin who calls the society the St. Boniface Charitable Association.

3. Wuest, 50. Stierlin, 20, gives the names: Johann Adam Woeber, secretary, John Peter Spickermann, Ignaz Ohlmann, Nikolaus Buss, Heinrich Passlick, Heinrick Wibben. This illustrates how easily and rapidly the change was in the spelling of German names.

the congregation.[1]

The society became known later as the St. Stephen's Cemetery Society; it had 140 members when it celebrated its first anniversary on October 17, 1852, by a pilgrimage to the interdicted burial grounds.[2] Twenty years later it was still in existence. The article in the Daily Journal of January 3, 1852, describing the St. Stephen's Cemetery trouble entirely missed the point of the controversy: namely, the retention of the deed by the Benevolent Society in defiance of the Bishop's orders. The Journal conveyed the impression that it was the burial of Lorenz against the Bishop's orders, and before he had blessed the ground which caused him to withhold his blessings permanently. The Bishop's retaliatory measure of forbidding Father Otto Jair of St. Boniface Church to say mass in the cemetery New Year's morning was given as the reason for the controversy in the church building the following day. The editor admitted he had heard several other versions of the affair.

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1. Stierlin, 20.

2. Wuest, 50; also Laws of Kentucky (Acts) 1853-4, I, 336. An act to incorporate the St. Stephen's Benevolent Graveyard Society. Also House Journal. Kentucky. 1853-4, 119, 248, 252, 406; Senate Journal. Kentucky. 1853-4, 105, 129, 224, 351, 346.

In Germany there were two types of Protestant churches after the Reformation under Luther in the 1500's. The Protestants called themselves the Reformed Church, while their Catholic foes called them Lutherans in derision. Eventually two churches developed, the Lutheran and the Reformed which leaned to Calvinism. The Hohenzollerns were Reformed Church members. In 1817 the King of Prussia, Frederick William III, forced a union of the two churches, the result of which was called the Prussian Union Church in Germany.[1] This United (Unierte) Church was midway between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. In the United States this ecclesiastical body is referred to as the German Evangelical Synod of North America because of its German origin - it dates back to 1840 in America.[2]

The three Evangelical Churches of Louisville were originally Evangelical Lutheran and belonged to the Synod of the West. This Synod was organized in 1835 at Louisville included (and contained) Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, eastern Missouri, eastern Iowa, and western Ohio. This vast territory

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1. Johnston, J. S., II, 264; also Heft, Ivan - Interview, November 2, 1939. Mr. Heft is the Historian and Archivist of the Kentucky and Tennessee Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

2. Johnston, J. S., II, 264.

proved unwieldy and was later divided into four conferences with Kentucky and Tennessee forming the Southwest Conference. By the time that the four conferences became Synods in the early 1840's with Kentucky and Tennessee the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the Southwest, the Germans of Louisville were estranged from the national organization. All during the 1830's and 1840's, their requests for German pastors were denied; and finally, thoroughly exasperated, they dropped out of the Conference and struck the word, Lutheran, from their name. The attempt to merge the Evangelicals and the Lutherans failed, although a merger of the Evangelicals and the Reformed Church with its Calvinistic tinge was later effected.[1] The oldest German Protestant Church in the city, the parent church of the Louisville churches in the Synod, is St. Paul's. The congregation organized about 1830[2] and worshipped first at a building on Fourth and Green Streets and then on Hancock near Main before constructing the church on the corner of Preston and Green (later Fehr) Streets.[3] In 1842[4] the building there was first erected; it was rebuilt during the war in

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1. Heft, Interview.
2. Heft, Interview, says 1836.
3. Johnston, II, 265; also Heft, Interview.
4. Stierlin says the date was 1840.

1861-62[1] on the same lot and now is situated on Broadway between Brook and Floyd.[2] Carl Ludwig Daubert from Hirzenn in Hesse-Darmstadt was the pastor for thirty-seven years and was succeeded in 1874 by Fred Weygold.[3] Phil Tomppert of political fame was one of the nine trustees at the time of the founding of the church.[4]

In 1842 St. John's Church was organized, and the following year called its first regular pastor, Dr. Fischer.[5] The congregation worshipped in a rented building on Fifth between Green and Walnut Streets until 1848 when they built a church on Hancock between Market and Jefferson. By 1867 a new edifice had been erected and dedicated on Clay and Market Streets during the pastorate of Mr. Theodore Dressel who came from Altena in Westphalia in 1848 and became pastor in 1857.[6]

St. Peter's begun in 1847 at the instigation of Pastor Daubert of St. Paul's was not fully organized until 1849; in that year the church at Eleventh and Grayson was built. By

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1. Stierlin gives the date 1860.
2. Johnston, II, 265; also Heft, Interview.
3. Stierlin, 86; also Johnston, II, 265.
4. Stierlin, 86.
5. Johnston, II, 265; Stierlin, 86, gives Dr. Fischer the credit of organizing the church in 1840.
6. Stierlin, 86; also Johnston, II, 265.

1873, the congregation had grown to about 2,000 members. After the Civil War, during the twenty-six year pastorate of H. Waldman, the building was enlarged and redecorated.[1] The present St. Peter's is at Thirteenth and Jefferson.[2]

The bulwark of German nationalism in the United States is the German Church. More has been done for German nationalism by the Lutheran Church particularly than all the other unions and societies combined.[3] Although most of the Protestant Germans of Louisville are Lutherans by descent, there are but two German Churches officially connected with a Lutheran Synod. Mr. Charles L. Dambert, the spiritual leader of the Louisville Germans after 1840, was the instigator of an English Lutheran Church for the Anglicized Germans, but there were none until after the Civil War.[4]

In 1840 with five English Methodist Churches thriving in Louisville,[5] Peter Schumacher began a Methodist mission to the Germans. At first he preached on the streets in the

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1. Stierlin, 87; also Johnston, II, 265.
2. Heft, Interview.
3. American Monthly Review of Reviews, May, 1907, XXXV, 604.
4. Johnston, II, 262, 263.
5. Collins, Historical Sketches of Kentucky, 365.

east end,[1] then in the home of an American Methodist, and later in a small Presbyterian Church.[2] By 1841, he had ninety-three members and by the next year the congregation worshipped in a two-story brick church on the west side of Clay Street on the alley north of Jefferson. By 1843, it was the first German Methodist Church to be self-supporting,[3] and Mr. Schmucker was succeeded by Mr. Carl Bossennard from Reutlingin in Wurtemberg. Thirty years later it had grown to 350 members,[4] and by 1880 had built a $25,000 edifice on Market Street west of Clay Street.[5]

The Second Episcopal Methodist Church on Madison Street was organized in 1848 by Mr. Jacob Rothweiler and built a church in 1849.[6]

The first colony from the mother church of all the Baptists in Louisville, the Walnut Street Baptist Church, went

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1. Heft, Interview in which he says that the Germans lived around Green (Liberty), Fehr, Marshall, Jefferson, Jackson, Hancock, and Clay. Wenzel Street (named for King Wenceslaus of Bohemia) is into the Catholic region.
2. Johnston, II, 223.
3. Ibid.
4. Stierlin, 87.
5. Johnston, II, 223.
6. Stierlin, 87.

to the Germans in 1853.[1] In February, 1855, they were still using the Walnut Street Baptist Church for their immersions, although their own German pastor, Mr. Weller, conducted the rites.[2] In May, 1855, a campaign to collect funds to build a church at Broadway and Hancock Streets was begun,[3] and an appeal for help was made to the citizens of Louisville through the daily paper.[4]

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1. Johnston, II, 190.
2. Louisville Daily Journal, February 17, 1855.
3. Johnston, II, 198.
4. Louisville Daily Journal, May 25, 1855.

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2. Johnston, II, 223.
3. Ibid.
4. Stierlin, 87.
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6. Stierlin, 87.
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1. Johnston, II, 198.

2. Louisville Daily Journal, May 25, 1855.

CHAPTER III

CHARITIES

Although many of the Germans in Louisville and its environs were cultured and educated, most of them were far from being secure financially in the early 1850's. Nothing could afford better proof of their unselfish idealism than their prompt support of religious societies and charitable enterprises. Hospitals, old people's homes, and orphanages appeared simultaneously with the German immigrant.[1] By the close of the Civil War there were six German Evangelical and six German Catholic religious societies in Louisville; most of them originating in the early 1850's.[2] The results of their work are too obvious to leave any room for doubt that the societies' officers paid more than lip service to their duties.[3] The German Benevolent Society, for example, had a Sick Committee which had sub-committees working in each of the eight wards of the city.[4]

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1. American Review of Reviews, September, 1911, XLIV, 359.
2. American Cyclopaedia (Appleton's), X, 685.
3. Jegli, John B., Directory for 1851-2 of the City of Louisville, J. F. Brenner, Locomotive Printing Co., Louisville, 1851, 33, gives the list of club officers' names.
4. Jegli, Louisville Directory for 1851-2, 35.

Early in 1854 a boat load of 2,000 German immigrants were detained at Cairo by the freezing of the Mississippi River. They were in a pitiable state for lack of food and warm clothing. They were camping near Cairo, around fires, and one morning 106 were found dead in the bushes where they had crept for warmth.[1] As soon as their condition was reported, the Germans of Louisville held a meeting on Sunday, January 22, 1854, to devise relief measures. The Union Band gave a benefit concert in Woodland Gardens. About $200 in cash and a large quantity of provisions were collected. By Tuesday, January 24, Mr. Doern, one of the publishers of the Anzeiger, had started for Cairo with the contributions.[2]

The German Protestant Orphan Society was organized in 1851 at the suggestion of Mr. Daubert's congregation. The first meeting was held on September 29 at the courthouse with only twenty people present. They appointed a committee to draft a constitution which was accepted at their second meeting on October 16. The society was definitely organized on December 18 when the banker, Theodore Schwartz, was elected president, Rudolf Scheit, editor of the Beobachter, secretary, and Ludwig Rehm, treasurer.[3] In 1852, the

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1. Stierlin, 36.
2. Louisville Daily Journal, January 24, 1854.
3. Stierlin, 14.

building on Jefferson between Nineteenth and Twentieth Streets was bought,[1] and the charter granted January 9th.[2] On June 17, 1852, at a concert by the Louisville Musical Association and the Liederkranz to raise money to purchase an orphan's home, $1,200 was cleared.[3] On Sunday, July 18, the dedication of the German Protestant Orphan Home was celebrated with speeches not only by its president and two German pastors but also by the Episcopal Bishop, Smith. The collection for the orphans on that occasion amounted to $25.75. A boarding school was added to the institution after September 1.[4] For the first ten years, however, the Home was beset with financial difficulties, and at different times fairs were given for its support. In October, 1852, from Monday the 11th. through Saturday the 16th. a fair was held at Mozart Hall for the benefit of the Home. The tickets were twenty-five and fifty cents, the latter entitled the holder to a prize in the lottery. Refreshments were sold as well as the exhibited articles, and Arbogast's brass band

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1. History of the Ohio Falls Counties, I, 310.
2. Stierlin, 92.
3. Louisville Daily Journal, June 16, 1852; also Stierlin, 24.
4. Stierlin, 24.

was an additional attraction.[1] Both Germans and Americans patronized the fair liberally. Governor Powell of Kentucky attended and made generous contributions.[2] In December, 1855, another plea was made by the editor of the Journal for the citizens to support a similar fair for such a deserving cause.[3] On December 12 Signor Donetti, who had a monkey show, set aside the receipts from the three o'clock performance for the benefit of the school.[4] The financial difficulties were ultimately solved during the five year presidency of Mr. William Goepper who paid off the debts by arranging picnics. His successors used similar methods.[5]

In the summer of 1849 cholera had deprived so many children of their parents that the Catholic orphans presented a real problem. Father Charles Boeswald, with the help of Father Otto Jair, called a meeting of six members from St.

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1. Louisville Daily Journal, October 11, 1852, and October 16, 1852; also Stierlin, 24.
2. Stierlin, 24.
3. Louisville Daily Journal, December 19, 1855.
4. Ibid., December 12, 1855.
5. Stierlin, 92. For the incorporation of the German Protestant Benevolent Society see: Senate Journal. Kentucky. 1853-4, 229, 375, 508, 582; House Journal. Kentucky. 1853-4, 251, 277, 456, 542, 671.

Mary's and six from St. Boniface's parish in St. Mary's School in July.[1] They decided to found a society and to build a home for the German Catholic orphans of Louisville. Father Boeswold was president and Jacob Pfalzer, secretary of the preliminary society. At the second meeting in St. Boniface school, Father Otto presiding, a committee was appointed to draw up the constitution. By August 26 they were known as the St. Joseph's Orphan Society and had elected permanent officers.[2] The house adjoining St. Mary's Church on Eighth Street served as an orphanage from March, 1850, to 1854 with the shoemaker, Ferdinand Berg, as the director. A benefit fair netted the Society $1,294, and another in 1853 brought in $1,880.[3] That same year the Society was incorporated by an act of the General Assembly, and the title for the orphanage was transferred from the Committee to the Society.[4] The increase in the number of orphans made new quarters necessary, and in

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1. Wuest, 53; also Stierlin, 92. Stierlin gives the date as August 5; also Webb, 543.

2. Wuest, 53; also Stierlin, 92.

3. Stierlin, 93; also Wuest, 53.

4. House Journal. Kentucky. 1853-4. "Louisville Orphan Home Society," 250, 277, 456; also Laws of Kentucky (Acts) 1853-4. An act concerning Louisville Orphans Home Society, II, 118.

1858 the residence of Preston Rogers at the southeast corner of Green and Jackson Streets was purchased,[1] and the old orphanage sold to the congregation of St. Mary's Church - otherwise known as the Immaculate Conception. The membership of the Society which reached 165 by 1852 was further augmented by members from St. Martin's after 1854, and the initiation fee of a dollar plus the twenty-five cents per month dues made possible the purchase of the Rogers' home for $10,000.[2] This enabled the Society to secure the services of the sisters of Notre Dame to conduct the asylum. The proximity to St. Boniface's parish school made the education of the orphans a much simpler problem.[3] Not until 1886 were the children moved to the building at Frankfort Avenue, which in those days was called the Shelbyville Pike.[4]

Of all the "Aid" Societies formed for the purpose of mutual assistance in case of illness or death, only the St. Boniface Aid Society was organized before 1855. On October 8, 1848, the Society was founded and two of its most prominent members and first officers were Jacob Pfalzer and

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1. Stierlin, 94; also Wuest, 53, who says Fehr rather than Green and Jackson; also Webb, 544, who gives the date incorrectly as 1848 instead of 1858.

2. Webb, 544.

3. Ibid.

4. Wuest, 53; also Webb, 544.

Julius Denver[1] who were later to take opposite sides in the St. Stephen's Cemetery controversy.[2]

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1. Stierlin, 95.

2. See Chapter on Churches.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION

In 1840 only 388 pupils attended Louisville's fourteen common schools, while in the county 426 pupils attended twenty-three schools; but with regard to the secondary schools, the academies or grammar schools, Louisville had ten schools with 279 students while the county had but five schools and 183 students.[1] By 1850 the number attending school in Jefferson County had grown to 7,744 of whom 636 were foreign.[2] There were thirty-five public schools, forty teachers, and 1,343 pupils; the private schools numbered twelve with eighteen teachers and 258 pupils.[3] With the advent of the Forty-Eighters, a new type of education was introduced in the private schools bilingual in character which was the origin of the kindergarten in cities like New York, Milwaukee, and Detroit as well as Louisville.[4] The Directory of 1851-2

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1. Sixth Census, I, 281.

2. Statistics of United States, 1850, 621.

3. Ibid., 1021. The 7th Census Compendium, 1850, Part VI, 243, gives the private schools 2,055 pupils, the public schools 2,789 pupils. The contradiction between the two census reports may be due to the ambiguity of the term, Jefferson County.

4. Jenkins, Elizabeth. "Froebel's Disciples in America," The American German Review, March, 1937, 15.

mentions the Louisville Select English and Classical Institute conducted by Aemelius Guentz, LL. D., formerly of the University of Leipsic and lately principal of the Jersey City Institute located at 371 Green Street between First and Second Streets.[1] The influence of the Germans appears as early as 1851, when F. Lieb conducted the German Primary School on Fifth Street between Main and Water in the middle district of the public school system.[2] A few years after the close of the Civil War, the number of German teachers had grown to twenty-seven, and the entire system had gained an excellent rating.[3]

The Freie Buergerschule, whose official title was Deutsch-Amerikanische Buergerschule (German-American Citizens' School) was originated March 26, 1852. The meeting in Sachtleben's Hall agreed to found a creedless German school.[4] One hundred and thirty-six citizens organized a school association which numbered 245 members by 1854; some of them living in Jeffersonville and sending their children each day

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1. Jegli, 1851-2, 28.
2. Ibid., 29.
3. American Cyclopaedia, (Appleton's) X, 686.
4. Stierlin, 26. For act to incorporate the German-American School Society see House Journal, Kentucky, 1853-4, 423, 487.

across the river to school. Three schools were operated by the club in 1854 with 216 children and five teachers - one a woman. The teachers, Vordtriebe, Huft, and Miss Braun, were in charge of the original school on Floyd Street; while Pfaefflin conducted the branch on Ninth Street, and, after April, 1854, Knapp taught the Butchertown School. When Vordtriebe became editor of the Toledo Express, Wilhelm Mueller and Heinrich Knoefel took his place; later Funk and Siebel were appointed for the school.[1] The monthly fees for club members were seventy-five cents for one child and fifty cents for each additional one; non-members paid $1.20 and $1.00. The expenses of the club in 1853 amounted to $600 increasing to $2,600 in 1854. Of this sum $2,000 was paid as teacher's salaries and $490 for rent of buildings.[2]

In February, 1855, Professor N. W. Hailman - sometimes spelled Heilmann - advertised for pupils in the Ancient and Modern languages, especially Latin, French, German, Italian, and Spanish.[3] He was from Switzerland, and for two years previous to his arrival in Louisville had held a chair in the Henry Female College.[4] About the time of the Civil War he

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1. Stierlin, 26.
2. Ibid.
3. Louisville Daily Journal, February 15, 1855.
4. Ibid.

began his German and English Academy with the support of the wealthiest and most influential Germans in Louisville.[1] The Funke School, located on the east side of First Street between Chestnut and Walnut, was forced by lack of support to merge with the Hailman School.[2] None of the schools, which were begun by the Germans to preserve the language in their children, survived long after it was introduced into the public schools. Other teachers in the Hailman School were William Muellen, a graduate of Bonn University; Michells; Braun Dickeldey; and Fraulein Viedahl, the first kindergarten teacher in the city. She was one of those who introduced Froebel's ideas.[3] Justice Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court was a pupil in the Hailman School and an ardent admirer of Mr. Hailman.[4]

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1. Charles Shimpeler, Interview, February 4, 1940.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Justice Brandeis sent part of his personal library to the University of Louisville with the request to the librarian, Miss Evelyn Schneider, that she contact the former pupils of the Hailman School for the purpose of enlarging the collection. He wished it to be called the Hailman Collection in honor of his old schoolmaster. Miss Schneider, in collecting information, contacted Professor Hailman's daughter, Miss Elisabeth Hailman, in California, and asked her cooperation. Miss Hailman disliked the idea of her father's name being identified with the Germans and wrote the Justice to that effect. He then requested Miss Schneider to drop the whole project.

Only the church and private schools taught the German language prior to 1854. On the request of a number of respected citizens, Dr. Krak, a member of the school board, introduced German as a subject of instruction in the Second Ward School and employed a teacher, Mr. Karl Gross, who had been trained in Germany.[1] By 1855 three teachers for the First and Second Ward Schools were so employed,[2] and by 1872 the subject was introduced in most of the public ward schools as well as in the Boys and Girls High Schools with a committee, appointed each year by the president of the school board, to serve as a Board of Supervision for the German Department.[3] That a school board which in the middle 1850's was mostly "Know Nothing" in sympathy should introduce German in public ward schools was due mainly to the ardent efforts of Dr. Weatherford.[4]

The trustees of the German Protestant Orphan's Home announced on September 23, 1854, that the services of Mr. Lloyd as a teacher of the higher branches of English had been secured for the boarding school connected with the Home. The

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1. Stierlin, 90.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 91.
4. Ibid., 50.

school was classed as one of the best of its kind, the increasing number of pupils testifying to the satisfaction of the parents and guardians.[1]

One of the reasons for the founding of the Know-Nothing Party was the Irish[2] movement against the free school system.[3] Bishop Spalding, voicing the opinion of the Catholics, protested against antichristian philosophy of the non-sectarian school system which, he was convinced, should concern Protestant leaders as well as Catholic.[4] He proposed a plan whereby the schools would be supported by public taxes as the present system was, and the state would make certain regulations with which all such supported schools must comply. The state would retain supervision over those secular departments while allowing the Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and infidels to build their own schools and, so long as they conformed to the requirements of the law, receive a rated proportion of the public money.[5]

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1. Louisville Daily Journal, September 23, 1854.
2. Stierlin probably refers to their religion rather than their nationality here.
3. Stierlin, 32.
4. Spalding, J. L., Life of Archbishop Spalding. The Catholic Publication Society, New York, 1873, 212.
5. Spalding, 209.

This opinion brought on a controversy with George D. Prentice, editor of the Louisville Journal, in the spring of 1859,[1] but long before that date the popular conception, or misconception, of the Catholic stand on free schools had caused prejudice against the church.[2]

Whether publicly supported or not, however, the Bishop desired to see a parochial school in connection with every church;[3] and following this exhortation, St. Boniface founded its first school on August 29, 1839, barely eight months after the dedication of the church building.[4] An advertisement for a steady, capable teacher able to play the organ resulted in the employment of Jacob Rehm as sexton, teacher, and choir director. A building on the corner of Floyd and Jefferson Streets was rented for the school which was well attended; some students coming from New Albany. In 1842, Peter N. Lorenz took over the position of teacher in addition to the other tasks, and the school was soon moved to Floyd and Market Streets.[5]

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1. Spalding, 205.
2. Ibid., 205.
3. Ibid., 201.
4. Wuest, 34.
5. Ibid., 35.

On December 31, 1848, Lorens was "replaced by Mr. George Joseph Jutt, who declared himself willing to take the position of teacher, sacristan, and organist for $12. a month. Soon, however, he complained it was impossible to live on that amount."[1]

Up to 1848 the parish had been paying $220 a year rent for the priest's home and the school. On May 25, 1848, a special committee bought the priest's home which had a lot of sufficient size for a school from Mrs. Poppe for $1,900, the payments for which were to be made in four installments at six per cent interest. The contract to build a school was let for $1,400 to be paid in five installments. The building was a two story brick, forty-six by thirty feet; but payments, even for such a modest edifice, were slow, and by April 21, 1849, a debt of $1,110 remained to be paid on the school.[2]

The enrollment had so increased by 1849 that a second teacher was necessary, and beginning October 1, 1849, Brother Arsacius Wiesir, O. F. M. was employed at $200 a year.[3] By the beginning of 1850 there were 218 pupils, and an anonymous writer of the Catholic Telegraph and Advocate stated that he

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1. Wuest, 36.
2. Ibid., 37.
3. Ibid., 60.

was greatly impressed by the school and its progress, particularly in English and music.[1]

In 1851 a separate department for the girls was established and put in the charge of Clara and Frances Urich. Four years later there was a change in the teaching staff: Brother Arsacious went to the St. Martin's School, and Brothers of the Holy Cross from Notre Dame, Indiana, were engaged to teach the boys; while on January 3, 1855, Father Otto Jair and the trustees turned the entire girls' school over to Clara Urich, for which she received a salary of $24, which was later raised to $26, a month. In 1858 the old frame school was devoted exclusively to the education of the four hundred smaller children.[2] In 1860 the Sisters of Notre Dame from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, took charge of the girls; the Xaverian Brothers the boys. In 1865 a new three storied school was built costing $17,500.[3]

No group contributed more to the educational improve-

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1. Wuest, 61, quoting from the Catholic Telegraph and Advocate of February, 1850. The writer attended the school with the Bishop on examination day.

2. Wuest, 61.

3. Ibid.

nent of Louisville than the Germans. The three divisions of the Freie Duergerschule, the Hailman School, German Protestant Orphan's School, and St. Boniface School, all employed instructors who elevated the standards of both preparation and methods for the Louisville teaching profession. Their insistence that German be taught in the public schools opened up the fields of German culture not only to the German children but also to their American schoolmates.

CHAPTER V

FINE ARTS

One of the greatest contributions of the Germans to America was their love and appreciation of the fine arts, especially music. The first Gesangfest in the United States was held in 1849; and since then German music has spread over the whole country.[1] Within a few years there was an appreciable elevation in the musical taste of Americans due to German influence.[2]

Louisville had its first noteworthy concert in the auditorium of the Odd Fellows Hall on June 9, 1849, with Krollman and the cellist, Erick, as the artists. Also on the same program appeared the magnificent bass, Mr. Reutlinger, a political exile from Hanau, who made his debut in America that evening.[3] On July 17 Krollman and Erick gave a second concert at which the pianist, Ludwig Hast, a Forty-Eighter who had been teaching music in Bardstown, made his first public appearance in Louisville where he planned to teach

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1. American Review of Reviews, "Some German Pioneers in the United States," September, 1911, XLIV, 385-9.

2. North American Review, "German Emigration to America," January, 1856, LXXXII, 268.

3. Stierlin, 5.

piano and music.[1]

A concert for the relief of German refugees in Switzerland was given in the auditorium of the Odd Fellows Hall on September 20, 1849. The two singing societies, Liederkranz and Orpheus, performed; Reutlinger, Schaefer, and Wetzler rendered vocal solos; but the outstanding feature of the program was a duet of Knecken's Barcarole by Reutlinger and his friend, Dolfinger, a tenor, who, like Reutlinger, was a political refugee. Dolfinger later opened a glass and porcelain store.[2]

On May 18, 1850, the United German Singing Clubs of North America gave a concert in Louisville under the direction of Mr. Hoffman of the Liederkranz Society.[3] Three singing societies came from Cincinnati and one each from Memphis, St. Louis, Madison, and Indianapolis, which in all aggregated about two hundred persons from out of the state. On Saturday evening the concert was given in the Brook Street Methodist Church with two or three hundred voices participating with instrumental accompaniments.[4] On Monday, May 20, a steamboat

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1. Stierlin, 6.
2. Ibid.
3. Louisville Daily Journal, May 15, 1850.
4. Ibid., May 17, 1850.

took the singers to Harrods Creek, ten miles from the city, where the different societies sang in the open air and competed for two silver cups. In the evening more music was given in the city with a display of fireworks ending the festival.[1] The precision and success of the whole program reflected the highest credit on Mr. Hoffman.[2]

Mr. Gustave Krollman, the celebrated violinist, gave a recital at the Odd Fellows Hall on September 17, 1850, accompanied by Mr. Hoffman.[3] Another program by Krollman was given in the same place, November 8, 1850, at which he played his own composition, the Swedish Nightingale Waltz.[4]

Mr. Otto Ruppius, a refugee violinist from Berlin, and Bernard Plagge gave a concert in the spring of 1852 at which Plagge played the piano, Ruppius the violin, and Mrs. Ruppius sang. The concert was advertised in the English papers as a concert of "Prussian Refugees."[5] This trio performed on several occasions and in May of the same year organized among the German musicians of the city - a number of very

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1. Louisville Daily Journal, May 17, 1850.
2. Ibid., May 20, 1850.
3. Ibid., September 17, 1850.
4. Ibid., November 9, 1850.
5. Stierlin, 20.

good German musicians had but recently arrived - a Musical Association. Beginning May 28 they gave two promenade concerts each week, Tuesday and Friday, on Second Street between Walnut and Chestnut at the Caspari Water Cure Establishment.[1] This orchestra was particularly fortunate in its wind instruments, having two virtuosos, C. Buechel and Schuetz, on the trombone, and four French horn players, one of whom, Schultz, had been employed at the theater in Wiesbaden and was reputed to be superior to any musician in the Royal Court Opera in Berlin.[2] The Americans in the audience were so enthusiastic over the presentation of the Kreutzer quartet for horns by the French horn artists that they encored the number three times.[3]

From this Musical Association about twenty members branched off to form the Union Band which gave Sunday afternoon concerts at Elmtree Garden, later at Woodlawn Garden, and played for both funerals and parades.[4]

On August 23, 1852, the Musical Association assisted by Aldersberg and Mrs. Kenkel, two members of the Boetzow theater,

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1. Stierlin, 21.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., also Louisville Daily Journal, July 23, August 2, 1852.
4. Stierlin, 21.

gave a concert at the theatre in which C. Schuetz and J. Froehling gave fine performances on the French horn and the flute.[1] The Musical Association and the Liederkranz on the 17th of June gave a concert for the benefit of the German Protestant Orphans Home at Sachtleben's Hall.[2]

A Grand Donation Concert was given by the Union Musical Society on December 22, 1852, at Mozart Hall under the direction of Mr. F. Schultz. Tickets were a dollar; and the prizes, $800 worth of silverware, gold watches, and jewelry, which were to be presented to the audience, were displayed in advance at H. Hudson's store on Fourth near Main Street.[3] Mr. Pfaffenschlager performed with brickbats, and Mr. Munseng on the clarinet.

Unfortunately for Louisville, the Musical Association, the best orchestra ever organized in the city, was not destined to be permanent. One member after another left Louisville, and the orchestra soon dissolved. One of the flute players, a real virtuoso on his instrument, a Westphalian named Froehling, went to California where he became a wealthy vineyard owner. Plagge was engaged by the institu-

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1. Stierlin, 21.
2. Ibid.
3. Louisville Daily Journal, December 22, 1852.

tion in New Albany as a musician but disappeared about 1852.[1] Ruppius remained for a time as a popular teacher of music in Louisville,[2] but his quarrelsome disposition and tendency to drink made enemies; so he went to Milwaukee to edit the Hahn (Rooster) and finally toward the end of the 1850's returned to Berlin.[3]

No discussion of the German contribution to music in Louisville would be complete without mention of the musical family, Zoeller, from Prozellen in Lower Franconia. The father, Casper Joseph, who arrived first in the summer of 1852, was an excellent cellist and bass violist. In the fall came his two sons: George, a superlative pianist and organist, and Anton, a violin virtuoso. Next came the mother with two sons: Ernst, a piano virtuoso, and Edward; and finally the cellist, Max, came in 1855.[4] No concert was complete without the Zoellers; and after the death of the father and Anton, who directed the theater orchestra for years, the remaining brothers were still very much in demand. The eldest living son, George, practiced untiringly at the piano and was equal

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1. Louisville Daily Journal, June 12, 1852.
2. Stierlin, 22.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 26.

to the best performers in Berlin. He was never known to refuse his services for concerts for charity, and the entire city was indebted to him and his talented and generous family.[1]

Although the high peak in the development of German culture extends from 1852 to the riots of August, 1855,[2] the coming events cast their shadows ahead of them. The last mention in the Journal of German musical efforts was the performance of Joseph of Egypt by the German Opera Company at the Apollo Rooms on February 12, 1855.[3]

The famous Liederkranz (Wreath of Songs) began very modestly in 1846 with the formation of a quartet club by four song-loving men: Fritz Volkmar, a painter of frescoes; Walter, Adam, and Bernhard Denhard.[4] The director was a violinist, Kisten, who had a hotel on Market between Second and Third Streets.[5] This club was dissolved in a short time because of lack of time on the part of the director.[6] However, the

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1. Stierlin, 27.
2. Ibid., 1.
3. Louisville Daily Journal, February 12, 1855.
4. Johnston, J. S., II, 87; also Stierlin, 72. Johnston gives the names: Volkmar, Walter, Denhard, Bernhard.
5. Johnston, II, 87.
6. Johnston, II, 87; Stierlin, 72, says that disagreements with the director caused the dissolution.

club reorganized again in 1847 under the direction of the piano player, Krimms, but was again short lived.[1] Early in 1848 a musically educated man, Benzon, came from St. Louis to Louisville to work on the Beobachter Am Ohio (Observer on the Ohio), the only German paper then existing in the city. Learning from Mr. Volkmar that only the lack of a good director prevented there being a singing society, Benzon suggested for that position a friend, Schaefer, who had come to Louisville with him and who had directed a quartet in New York.[2] In consultation with Pastor Daubert and the members of the former club, Benzon and Schaefer published in the Beobachter Am Ohio a summons to all those interested in forming a singing-society to attend a meeting on February 12 at the schoolroom adjoining the church of Pastor A. Varegas at the corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets.[3] There were twenty-six present at that meeting,[4] and at the second gathering - three nights later - forty-five were present. They chose Schaefer as director[5] and decided on the name Liederkranz

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1. Johnson, II, 87; also Stierlin, 72.
2. Ibid.
3. Stierlin, 72; also Johnston, II, 87.
4. Stierlin, 72.
5. Johnston, II, 87.

which signified "that German song must be like a wreath, binding together the Germans of all classes."[1] Soon the music teacher, Weiss, succeeded Schaefer as director[2] of the enthusiastic young society which now held two rehearsals a week.

In May, 1848, the society took the first step toward founding the Saengerbund by establishing friendly relations with a Cincinnati society[3] and, the same month, gave an open air festival in Preston Woods. Their first public concert was given early in 1849 for the benefit of the family of Robert Blum who had been executed by the Hapsburgs.[4] A second concert in May of that year raised the funds to send the society to Cincinnati to take part in the first Saengerfest.[5] The only other public appearance of the society that year was at the laying of the cornerstone of St. Peter's Church.[6] The membership in the Liederkranz was increased by the union of several smaller societies, such as the Frohsin and the Teutonia, until at one time it numbered a thousand mem-

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1. Johnston, II, 87.
2. Stierlin, 72.
3. Johnston, II, 87-88.
4. Stierlin, 73.
5. Johnston, II, 88.
6. Ibid.

bers.[1]

An important event in the history of the society was the holding of the second Saengerfest in Louisville in 1850. Since the second local singing-society, the Orpheus, refused its cooperation, the credit for the outstanding success of the festival belonged to Mr. Richard Hoffman, the director of the Liederkranz.[2] The concert was given in a church on Brook Street, the picnic on Harrods Creek, and the ball at the Odd Fellows Hall. The great success of the Liederkranz on this occasion assured its future.[3] Some of the prominent men who succeeded Hoffman as director were Jacob Dolfinger, the teacher; Funke; Mr. Plato; Mr. Bott; George Zoeller; and Berner. Paul Eitel was director in 1872,[4] and in 1940 Mr. Fred O. Nuetzel became the head of the society,[5] although now only the

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1. Johnston, II, 88.

2. Stierlin, 14. On October 6, 1851, Mr. Hoffman drowned himself in the Ohio River. He was a pianist and music teacher who had immigrated from Bavaria about two years previously. After his directorship of the Liederkranz, he had a permanent position in an institution in New Albany. His suicide note, found in the City Hotel, declared he had missed the purpose of his life - he had great plans of reforms for music, and musical instruction which he had been unable to put into operation.

3. Johnston, II, 88.

4. Stierlin, 73.

5. Statement by Mr. Rudolf Heckel.

officers contime to meet. The last concert to date was in the spring of 1939 at St. Paul's Church. Former concerts were given at Male High School and the Brown Hotel.[1]

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3. Stierlin, 75.

4. Ibid., 76.

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officers continue to meet. The last concert to date was in the spring of 1939 at St. Paul's Church. Former concerts were given at Male High School and the Brown Hotel.[1]

After the festival many outstanding and respected Germans joined the Liederkranz, including A. Guenther, Dr. Caspari, and Dr. Krauth.[2] At the same time some German saloonkeepers sued the Liederkranz for selling drinks without a license during the festival. The society's fine of $40 was remitted by the governor after he was informed of the circumstances.[3]

About fifteen months after the founding of the Liederkranz a second singing-society, the Orpheus, was organized June 8, 1849. Since there were some well trained men and excellent singers like Dolfinger and Reutlinger among the twenty-seven charter members, the society was able to give a concert on October 15 of that year. The program was repeated October 22 in the Odd Fellows Hall.[4] However, when Mr. Carl

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1. Nuetzel, Fred O., Interview, August 12, 1940.

2. Since Pastor Daubert, the spiritual head of the Protestant Germans since 1840, had been one of the earliest members, and Dr. Krauth was one of the most radical of the forty-eighters, singing societies as well as politics sometimes make strange bed fellows.

3. Stierlin, 73.

4. Ibid., 76.

Prox, the first director, left Louisville in 1850, the meetings stopped but were continued again in 1853 under the directorship of Mr. L. Hast. George Zoeller of the famous Zoeller family was the assistant director and the meetings were held at the home of Mr. Schad on Market between Third and Fourth Streets.[1] These rehearsals were not well attended until Mr. Ernst Guenter was appointed director in the winter of 1854 and 1855. He aroused such an interest in the members and raised the quality of the singing to such an extent that the society won first prize at the singing festival held in Cincinnati in 1856.[2] The first public masked ball, given by the Orpheus on March 7, 1856, was such a financial success that it became an annual affair for several years.[3] Like the Liederkranz, the Orpheus was discontinued during the Civil War.[4]

The Catholic singing-society, the Concordia, was not organized, until 1856. Its purpose was to improve and support the Catholic Church singing and social entertainments.[5]

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1. Stierlin, 76.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 74, 76.
5. Ibid., 78.

Although music held the lion's share of the German interest in the fine arts; nevertheless, the theater was not neglected in Louisville. In 1850 the Liederkranz sent a Mr. Hermann to Cincinnati to negotiate for the services of Mr. Julius Boetzow who had just lost his position with the German theater of Cincinnati, but Hermann failed in his mission. However, he obtained the services of Mr. Strasser who came to Louisville with his two gifted daughters, one of whom was Mrs. Magius. The auditorium on the second floor of Washington Hall on Fifth Street between Market and Jefferson was selected for the performances.[1] The season opened in the fall with Birchpfeiffer's drama, Johannes Gutenberg, and gave performances every Wednesday and Saturday evening.[2] The company was well patronized, and Mr. Strasser's enunciation and pronunciation were so excellent that the Journal recommended that American students of German listen to his readings.[3]

Because there were many amateurs assisting in the performances, the manager was adversely criticized and left for St. Louis in 1851.[4] In the following fall Boetzow came to

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1. Stierlin, 9.
2. Louisville Daily Journal, November 26, 1850.
3. Ibid.
4. Stierlin, 9.

Louisville, and under his management the theater prospered. Actors, such as Mrs. Magius, Kenkel, Benrodt, Stein, Boetzow, and Aldersberg, were engaged; and the theater reopened October 4 in Washington Hall but was transferred January 17, 1852, to Apollo Hall.[1] Mr. Boetzow also introduced the Sunday coffee parties which added much to the social life of the Germans.[2] The first party was held January 11, 1852, members of the theater company and amateurs performed, and comical songs were sung, sometimes assisted by the Liederkranz.[3]

In the summer of 1852 a rival theater was opened at the Washington Hall by Mr. Kunz and his daughter, Mrs. Thielemann, from Indianapolis. The company included Mr. and Mrs. Schlesinger, Mr. Hafner, and a few amateurs. This rival company seriously injured the Boetzow theater, but the Kunz company did not last long, and left Boetzow again in sole possession.[4]

The first time a theatrical production was given in the open air was on July 11, 1853, at Jacob's Woods. Schiller's Raeuber which was performed with the entire cast - including two actresses - on horseback, was the greatest success of the

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1. Stierlin, 16.
2. Ibid., 17.
3. Ibid., 18.
4. Ibid., 24.

year.[1]

The social and intellectual life of the Germans reached its peak in 1854. This season for the theater which opened September 20 was its greatest: twenty-six dramatic pieces, twenty-six comedies, and thirty-eight light operas were given to capacity houses.[2] On the 18th of January, 1854, the Louisville Gymnastic Society presented to Mrs. Albertine Kenkel, the leading actress of the German Theatrical Company, a miniature canteen of silk velvet bound in silver hoops as a token of their esteem for her great talent and professional acquirements.[3] The dramatic season like the month of March, "came in like a lion and went out like a lamb" - a slaughtered lamb. The Know-Nothing outrages drove the muses from their temple, and the loss was as keenly felt by the Americans who had formed a large part of the audiences as by the Germans.[4]

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1. Stierlin, 29.
2. Ibid., 16, 23.
3. Louisville Daily Journal, January 21, 1854.
4. Stierlin, 36.

CHAPTER VI

THE TURNVEREIN MOVEMENT

A Turner Society was founded in 1850 by men who had left Germany for political reasons and brought to America the teachings of Father Jahn. As the Turners became the founders of physical training in the United States, the Turngemeinde played a prominent part in Louisville's educational program.

The local society was organized September 2, 1850, at an hotel belonging to Mrs. Freihofer, who donated $149 for equipping a gymnasium.[1] The first Hall was on Market between Third and Fourth Streets;[2] the opening ceremony was held March 24, 1851, by the seven charter members.[3] Its membership must have increased rapidly,[4] for before Easter, 1851, there were usually seventy-two active members enrolled for class work; they comprised six teams or "Riegen."

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1. The Turner, Souvenir Number, October, 1917, II, No. 8. Anzeiger Printing Co., Louisville, 3.
2. Ibid.
3. Stierlin, 12.
4. The Turner, 3, says that minutes of the society show the fight for existence was uphill work.

The "Turnfahrten" or Sunday meetings were frequently interrupted by fights with the Know-Nothings, at which the Turners generally were victorious over the hecktoring rabble.[1] The first "Turnfahrt" or "Turntag" was held in Cincinnati in the spring of 1851 with the Louisville group participating. In the first Turnfest held September 23, 1852, William Vogt of Louisville won the first prize, a silver "Trinkhorn" which was filled with Catawba wine. This cup became a trophy of the Louisville society.

From 1852 through the early part of 1853, the Turner's Hall was frequently changed; first to Bullitt and Market Streets, then to the Washington Hall, the site of the old Rufer Hotel on Fifth Street, then to Dr. Edward Caspari's gymnasium on Chestnut between Second and Third Streets.[2] Dr. Caspari, although busy with the reopening of his Hydropathic Institute, generously built and equipped a gymnasium at his own expense. Subscriptions were six dollars a year, and a number had already subscribed at the date of its opening, May 20, 1852.[3]

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1. Turner, 3.
2. Ibid., also Louisville Daily Journal, February 6, 1852.
3. Louisville Daily Journal, March 17, 1852; May 20, 1852; May 25, 1852; also Stierlin, 22.

The first Turnfest took place in Louisville, May 30, 1852, at the Stein and Zink farm on the Salt River Road two miles from the city.[1] Turners from Cincinnati and Madison took part in the "Preisturnen," while other local German societies participated in the program. The parade out to the Festplatz (festival place) was headed by the "Union Band" followed by the National Guard Legion under Captain Schweitzer, the Cincinnati turners, the local turners, the Liederkranz, and the sharpshooters under Captain Hilger. The ladies presented each turner from Cincinnati with a bouquet of flowers before they began their journey home.[2] Many intercity visits between the local turners and the turners of Cincinnati and Madison took place.

On May 1, 1853, the local turners celebrated with the newly organized New Albany Society at Frank's Farm.[3] This new group of turners joined with the Cincinnati and Madison groups in the next Turnfest held May 29-31, 1853, as usual, at the farm of Stein and Zink. Addresses were made by the turner Juengst and the editors, Dietsch and Fenneberg; and

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1. Louisville Daily Journal, May 30, 1852; Stierlin, 23, says June 28, 1852.

2. Louisville Daily Journal, May 31, 1852; Stierlin, 23; also Turner, 3.

3. Stierlin, 28.

the picnic receipts, at ten cents per person, were $350.40, and the dance receipts were $65.[1]

In 1853 on June 10 the Turngemeinde resolved to buy a lot and build their own Turnhalle. They planned the total cost to be $7,000, the capital to be raised by issuing and selling shares of five, ten, and twenty-five dollars, paying six per cent.[2] Their efforts were successful, and in 1854 the Turngemeinde moved into its three story building on the west side of Floyd Street between Market and Jefferson.[3]

The turners gave a concert and gymnastic exhibition at the Apollo Hall, September 26, 1853, for the benefit of the New Orleans turner brothers who were suffering from Yellow Fever.[4]

The most critical period of the history of the Turngemeinde was the year, 1855. The Know-Nothings, flushed with political victory, on August 6th of that year, threatened to burn the Turnhalle. They were prevented, but the

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1. Stierlin, 28-29.

2. Stierlin, 28.

3. Turners, 3. For the act to incorporate the German Gymnastic Association of Louisville, see Senate Journal. Kentucky, 1853-4, 88, 106, 375, 508, 582; also House Journal. Kentucky, 1853-4, 128, 175, 464, 542, 671.

4. Stierlin, 29.

departure of many terrified Germans from the city was a greater menace to the existence of the Turngemeinde. Its continuance was due to the steadfastness and fearlessness of its leaders.

CHAPTER VII

THE GERMAN PRESS

The Anzeiger was founded by George Phillip Doern and Otto Scheefer as a biweekly German paper on February 28, 1849.[1] After the 8th of May it was published as a daily, because the revolutionary troubles in Germany made its readers more anxious for the daily news. It began with 280 subscribers at ten cents a week.[2] The first daily contained advertisements of beer taverns, since they played an important part in German life and politics.[3] When L. Stierlin arrived in Louisville on February 10, 1851, he was offered the editorship of the Anzeiger the next morning through the influence of Mr. Krenkling. When he called at the office of the paper and asked the editor the time he could begin, he was told to go to work at once. Editor Scheeffer was anxious to yield to someone else in view of attacks by Eichoff, Dr. Krauth, Wilhelm Stengel, and others who were far better masters of the pen.[4] Although Stierlin protested he knew nothing of local affairs,

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1. Stierlin, 2; also Industries of Louisville and New Albany, 64, spells the name Schaefer.
2. History of the Ohio Falls Counties, I, 300.
3. Stierlin, 2.
4. Ibid., 11.

Scheefer put him to work on recent political and social movements in Europe, especially Germany and France.

The Beobachter Am Ohio was another German paper and was the rallying point for the most radical of the Forty-Eighters. Its lack of moderation was most strikingly illustrated by an article published May 12, 1851, criticizing the communist, Weitling, and his paper, Republik der Arbeiter (Republic of Workers), for desiring to abolish only private property and not private matrimony.[1] The article concluded with a profession of the "Philosophy of the guillotine and the gallows." This "gallows philosophy" shocked many and was acquiesced in by few; yet those few were the most vociferous.[2]

The German press in Louisville after August, 1851, was used for propaganda for the rival revolutionary clubs which had their centers in London. One faction, whose leader was Gottfried Kinkel, wished to assist the revolutions in Germany by means of arms and money; the other faction, commonly referred to as the Agitation Club, was headed by the Hungarian, Goegg, and Boernstein of St. Louis. The latter group maintained that the peoples of Europe "should be educated to the point of desiring and then setting up repub-

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1. Stierlin, 11.
2. Ibid.

lican institutions of their own motion."[1]

Kinkel, on the first of August, 1851, wrote the Anzeiger that he, or his friends, would send an article every week or two to further the sympathy and support of the Germans of Louisville who favored the revolution in Germany.[2] Scarcely had this communication been received from the group which was raising money for direct intervention in Germany, when the opposing faction headed by Karl Tausenau of Vienna, Amand Goegg from Baden, and others asked the Anzeiger for support for their non-interventionist Agitation Club.[3] Both clubs then sent their representatives to Louisville to influence the Germans by personal appeals, first Kinkel,[4] then Goegg.[5] Karl Heinzen, Kinkel's bitterest rival in the United States and editor of the New York Schnellpost, had most of the local sympathy. Later Heinzen came to Louisville and assisted in formulating the famous Louisville Platform.[6] Although the

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1. Bruncken, January, 1904, 36.

2. Stierlin, 12.

3. Ibid.

4. Bruncken, January, 1904, 35; also Louisville Daily Journal, February 5, 1852, February 16 and 18, 1852.

5. Stierlin, 13; also Louisville Daily Journal, March 31, 1852, and April 2, 1852.

6. Stierlin, 13.

Louisville German party took its stand against Kinkel, on March 12, 1852, he again issued, through the German newspapers, a special call to the German women of Louisville to cooperate in creating a German republic.[1]

In the midst of the controversy between Kinkel and his opponents, the Beobachter Am Ohio passed into the hands of Stierlin and Hoek,[2] the former as editor, the latter as manager. They were so inefficient that by October, 1852, they were forced to sell the paper.[4] In June of that year the saloon keepers tried to force all their members to cancel their subscriptions, because the owners belonged to a discussion club which, as a private club, sold drinks to the members without the formality of a license. This boycott of the Beobachter might have been even more serious but for Mr. Sinclair, a rug weaver, who managed to settle the matter amicably.[5]

On August 15, 1852, a Saxony refugee became editor of the Anzeiger, and barely four days later the first issue of

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1. Stierlin, 19.
2. Louisville Daily Journal, January 19, 1852.
3. Stierlin, 26, spells it Hock.
4. Ibid., 25.
5. Ibid., 22 and 23.

Der Adler (the Eagle) was published. As the stockholders were Catholic, the editor, Newman, tried to counteract the "destructive" influence of the Forty-Eighters through his editorials.[1] The Eagle's flight was swift, in this instance; it only survived one year.

The sale of the Beobachter in October, 1852, to a saloon keeper, John J. Felker, was unpopular with most of the Germans; since it changed from an independent paper to an organ of the Whig party.[2] The new editor, Conrad Schroeder, was lavishly praised by the other Whig paper which piously rejoiced that the long standing need for a German Whig paper to counteract the lies of the Democrats had at last been filled.[3]

Near the end of 1852, a third daily newspaper, the Freie Zeitung (Free newspaper), appeared. It was first published December 28 and had a very brief existence. Its motto was: Free soil, free work, free education, free men.[4]

After the Beobachter became a Whig paper, the free thinking German element decided to organize and publish its own paper; although Dr. C. Schmidt, the editor of the Cincin-

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1. Stierlin, 24.
2. Ibid., 25.
3. Louisville Daily Journal, October 11, 1852.
4. Stierlin, 26.

nati German Republican, warned them against the undertaking. Mr. Hollocher, a saloon keeper on upper Market Street, was made publisher, and a former Austrian officer, Fenner von Fenneberg, a political refugee, became editor of the Herald des Westens (Herald of the West). The three German papers, the Democratic Anzeiger, the Whig Beobachter, and the Herald continually attacked one another. Fenneberg, satisfactory in his editorial-writing capacity, was otherwise careless and reckless. The lack of harmony between Hollocher and Fenneberg increased, until the editor pushed the publisher bodily from his office. Fenneberg resigned July 24, 1853, and Karl Heinzen in New York was approached for the editorship.[1] August 29th Heinzen wrote that he would break his determination never to live in a slave state and accept the position. However, there was dissension between Hollacher and Heinzen almost immediately; since Heinzen would allow no criticism, and shortly the office of the Herald was destroyed by fire. Heinzen then organized his Pioneer which he later moved first to Cincinnati then to Boston.[2]

The German Radicals of this period were much perplexed as to where to place their political allegiance. Their

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1. Stierlin, 27.

2. Ibid., 29.

former champion, the Democratic Party, was now openly pro-slave. The Whigs, always nativist in tendency, had gone over to the ephemeral, but powerful, Know-Nothing Party. The infant Republican Party was so impregnated with the Puritanism so distasteful to German Radicals that even the Abolitionist plank could not alone hold their loyalty.[1] After some vacillation the Radicals, deciding to form a party of their own, in 1853 at Louisville organized the Bund Freier Manner which spread through a large part of the west. During the summer of 1853, state conventions were held in Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Texas.[2] The platform adopted was similar to the Wheeling convention of 1852 except that less prominence was given to radical constitutional changes and more to the struggle against slavery. Karl Heinzen headed the committee which drew up the platform.[3] It was accepted in a meeting held February 19, 1854, at Apollo Hall, and later, under the title of the "Louisville Platform," by Germans of similar persuasion in other cities.[4] Heinzen, as editor of the German Pioneer, sent a copy to

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1. Bruncken, 44 ff; also Faust, II, 130.

2. Bruncken, 44.

3. For provisions of Louisville Platform, see Stierlin, 33 ff., or Appendix A, 116.

4. Stierlin, 33.

the editor of the Journal, who, in calling it "extremely radical on most points," echoed the general native sentiments.[1]

The German reaction to the Kansas-Nebraska bill was almost unanimously hostile;[2] since it seemed to favor slavery. According to the list of German newspapers drawn up by the Cincinnati Gazette in the spring of 1854, eighty papers were against the bill; while only eight favored it.[3]

After the disconcerting victory of the Know-Nothing Party in the state elections of August 8, 1854, the Germans, in a desperate effort to preserve their principles for the 1856 election, attempted to establish an English newspaper to speak for them. Seventy-three Germans signed their willingness to contribute to the expenses of such a paper, but the plans never matured.[4]

The Beobachter, a strictly Whig paper, always in financial misery, was sold to Karl Doern early in 1855. He published it but for a few months as an independent paper before

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1. Louisville Daily Journal, April 7, 1854.
2. Bruncken, 45; also Faust, II, 126 ff.
3. Von Holst, Dr. H. E. (translated by John L. Lalor). The Constitutional and Political History of the United States. Chicago, Callaghan and Co., 1885, IV, 429.
4. Stierlin, 36.

it collapsed.[1]

The period preceding the election riots was the halcyon era for the Radical German press.[2] After the riots many of the group from which editors and publishers were drawn migrated to the west.

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1. Stierlin, 36.

2. North American Review, January, 1856, LXXXII, 267; also American Cyclopaedia (Appleton's), X, 265.

CHAPTER VIII

EVENTS PRECEDING BLOODY MONDAY

The rise of the Native American Party after 1845, with its basic principles of opposition to foreigners and foreign churches, was a phenomenon of the immigration movement. Opposition to aliens, known as Nativism, was aided by the disruption of political parties over the question of slavery. This new party was a "secret, oath-bound fraternity whose name is said to have been The Sons of '76, or The Order of the Star Spangled Banner."[1] Only its highest ranking members knew its real name and purposes; the others, on questioning, always answered, "I don't know"; hence their popular title, "Know-Nothing." To meet this peculiar attitude the Germans devised their own answer - Sag-Nichts - or Say Nothing.

Among other tendencies and attitudes, the hostility to the Roman Church was noteworthy. By 1854 this feeling was so strong that in Louisville it flared up on the occasion of the visit of a distinguished prelate, Archbishop Bedini. The visit of the Archbishop to the United States was the occasion for Know-Nothing uprising in almost every large

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1. Bodley, Temple and Wilson, Samuel M. History of Kentucky, 4 vols. S. J. Clark Publishing Co., Chicago-Louisville, 1928, II, 218.

city on his itinerary.[1] On his way to Brazil as papal nuncio, Bedini was in the United States from June, 1853, to January, 1854. The Radicals and Know-Nothings, particularly in Pittsburg, Louisville, and Cincinnati, organized turbulent demonstrations against all Catholics at the time of his visit.[2] The Archbishop, a former governor of Bologna, was accused of the greatest cruelties against Roman revolutionaries in Italy which made his name anathema to all Forty-Eighters.[3] The feeling against him was fanned into a flame by the fiery speeches of the former Catholic priest, Gavazzi; and the biographical sketch published in the "Hochwaechter" (High Guardian) by a former Bremen school teacher, Friedrich Hobelmann, called on the "free men" to demonstrate against the "blood-hound of Bologna."[4]

While the Archbishop was in Louisville in December, 1853, there was a demonstration against him. A crowd, gathering at the market place, marched to the intersection of Floyd and Market Streets, and there burned him in effigy. This, however, did not prevent his celebrating Solemn High

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1. Wuest, 62.
2. Catholic Encyclopedia, II, 387.
3. Stierlin, 381.
4. Ibid.

Mass at the Cathedral on the morning of December 18th and conducting Vespers at St. Boniface Church at three o'clock that same afternoon. He was escorted by various church societies and welcomed at the church by an immense throng of people.[1]

Early in April, 1855, the Whig-Nativist Journal published an announcement of the success of the Know-Nothing Party in the St. Louis charter election[2] and lamented its defeat in Cincinnati citing the Cincinnati Gazette as its source and blaming the Germans and Irish for combining against the Americans.[3] The following day the Journal gave an account, based upon the Cincinnati papers, of the mob's attack on a German saloon keeper, Jacob Knight. The mob drank beer at Knight's; and when he took no offense at their refusal to pay, broke up the furniture, beat Knight, insulted his wife, whipped his children, knocked down three German bystanders, and stabbed a fourth. Not content, they attacked the house with boulders, breaking the windows and driving the family from the premises. The next morning the attack was renewed on the house, and six shots were fired at

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1. Wuest, 52.
2. Louisville Daily Journal, April 5, 1855.
3. Ibid., April 6, 1855.

the bar-keeper who miraculously escaped injury. In the same issue with this account of gallant Know-Nothing defense of the American way of living was an announcement of that party's victory in the local election in Elizabethtown.[1]

From the Chicago Tribune of April 23, 1855, the Journal copied an account of the Germans, who crowded to hear Judge Ricker's decision upholding the city ordinance to close Lager Beer Halls on Sunday. The editor waxed eloquent on the subject of these aliens who dared resent what they called infringements on their "rights."[2]

At the same time in Louisville, intimidation was beginning in the local elections. The First and Third Wards (predominantly German) elected only one of the two councilmen from each ward who were German, Emig and Laval.[3] A clash occurred on April 6 over the naturalization of a large number of foreigners just before election day. The returns of that election showed a victory for the Know-Nothings in every ward except the First, although a few fights were reported in the Second and Eighth wards.[4]

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1. Louisville Daily Journal, April 7, 1855.
2. Ibid., April 25, 1855.
3. Ibid., April 3, 1855; Stierlin, 36, miscalled the elected men "aldermen."
4. Louisville Daily Journal, April 7, 1855, and April 9, 1855.

On April 12, 1855, an editorial in the Journal met the accusation that the Know-Nothings were Abolitionists by saying that since almost all immigrants were such, the Know-Nothing treatment of the foreigners was their best proof of their anti-Abolitionist opinion.[1] The following day the Journal quoted a squib from the Democratic Times which wondered how Know-Nothing policies would color the United States in the eyes of the civilized world; and with rapier-like sarcasm, editor Prentice lamented the disgrace of the United States before the monarchies of Europe and Asia who were so generous to American citizens.[2]

On April 30, 1855, the anti-American meeting in the upper wards nominated Philip Tomppert and a Mr. Beman for justices of the peace.[3] On election day, May 5, - the election was state-wide for Justices of the peace and constables - all the American (Know-Nothing) Party candidates won, although the vote was small.[4] There was rioting all day in the First District consisting of the First and Second

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1. Louisville Daily Journal, April 12, 1855.
2. Ibid., April 13, 1855.
3. Ibid., May 1, 1855.
4. Ibid., May 7, 1855.

Wards.[1] The foreigners, having recently formed Sag-Nicht (Say-Nothing) Societies to combat the Know-Nothing influence, came early to cast their votes. Although the Know-Nothing Journal stated that the foreigners were armed with knives and pistols, it later admitted that they were beaten, some driven from the grounds, and others deterred from depositing their votes. William Gray was reported to have threatened that he and other Sag-Nichts would take the polls by force; yet subsequent events proved that while he fired several harmless shots, there was a dispute over his vote, and he was pursued and hit in the body by two bullets while other bullets struck his clothes and hat. About an hour later, a German, seeing some of his country-men pursued with brickbats, twice fired his revolver, loaded with squirrel-shot, and wounded several people. Fleeing into his own coffee-house for refuge, he was caught, beaten, and his establishment demolished. The Journal virtuously condemned all lawlessness and illegal violence; yet dwelt on the extenuating circumstances of Americans "threatened and bullied on their own soil."[2] However, the Know-Nothing candidates won by 350 majority in the district in which even the Journal admits that the Anti-American

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1. See Appendix E for territory included in these wards.

2. Louisville Daily Journal, May 7, 1855.

Party was numerically the strongest!"[1] Fifteen or twenty of the rioters were indicted on June 1, 1855; their political affiliation went unremarked in the Journal, which, unless the courts were as prejudiced as Prentice, would leave one to imagine that the culprits were Know-Nothing adherents.[2]

Apparently some American citizens did not approve of the methods used by the Know-Nothings to protect their rights against the "foreign encroachments," for, at the mass meeting held at Preston's Woods on June 9 to celebrate the victory of the Democrats in Virginia, only half of the 300 present were German and Irish.[3]

On July 16, 1855, the Sag-Nichts held a meeting at Frankfort to nominate for the State Senate. Coleman Daniel was chosen as the candidate for the first six wards of Louisville.[4] Three weeks later came the election riots of "Bloody Monday"; after the local reign of terror it was significant to find no further mention of the Sag-Nichts or foreigners in the Journal for the remainder of the year, other than a derisive description of a general anti-Know-Nothing meeting

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1. Louisville Daily Journal, May 7, 1855.
2. Ibid., May 7, 1855.
3. Ibid., June 11, 1855.
4. Ibid., July 17, 1855.

held at Lexington on October 5. Of the five or six hundred present, only a few were mentioned by name or insulting epithet. Douglas of Illinois was called the "very little giant," Preston was referred to as "the late gallant leader of Sag-Nichtism in the Seventh Ward" (Louisville), and Lieutenant Governor Willard was described as "loud-voiced."[1]

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1. Louisville Daily Journal, October 8, 1855.

CHAPTER IX

THE AUGUST ELECTION, 1855

To understand the outrages of "Bloody Monday" one must visualize the conditions of the city and the customs of the times. An open display of pistols and bowie knives was not an uncommon practice. The policemen of those days wore no uniforms and were called watchmen. The streets were all unpaved, excepting Main from Brook to Twelfth. At times the mud and slush were ankle deep; this slowed the traffic to such an extent that vehicles and riders were easy targets. The infamous Chapel Street, the scene of the election riots of August 6, 1855, ran from the middle of the north side of the market house (on Market between Tenth and Eleventh Streets) to Main. It took its name in 1832 from a Roman Catholic Chapel at the northern end of the street which was built in 1811.[1]

While a part of the Germans, the Forty-eighters, were not entirely without fault, flaunting their radical, communistic, and revolutionary ideas in their adopted country;

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1. Seymour, Charles B. Reminescences of Louisville of Jefferson Street Between Third and Twelvth Streets. Spring of 1851 to Autumn of 1854. A handwritten manuscript of the Filson Club dated October 1, 1917.

nevertheless, the lion's share of the blame for Bloody Monday undoubtedly rests on the Native American Party.[1] The ostensible objectives of the party were three-fold: to check the increasing power and sinister designs of the Roman Catholic Church in America, the influx of revolutionary exiles from Europe, and "the alleged greed and incapacity of naturalized citizens for public office."[2] Its cardinal principle was "Americans must rule America." Its favorite countersign, a mythical order of Washington on some unspecified occasion, was "Put none but Americans on guard tonight."[3]

The dispute between Speed and Barbee over the mayoralty of Louisville in April, 1855, resulted in victory for the Know-Nothing candidate, Barbee. Immediately his influence was felt; Captain Schroeder, who had been interpreter at the city court for three years, was replaced by Peter Silar who could neither read nor write, and no foreign-born nor Catholic was appointed to a teaching position for the next year.[4]

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1. Wuest, 50.

2. Bodley-Wilson, II, 218-219; Kerr, II, 845, says that the phenomenal growth of the party was due to the fact that "it offered a refuge for people who tired of sectional hatred (slavery), and wanted to think more of their united country."

3. Bodley-Wilson, II, 219.

4. Stierlin, 37.

Various incidents of the early summer of 1855 indicated a growing tension. The election of May 5th for justices of the peace was won by the Know-Nothings by the simple method of preventing the Germans from voting.[1]

The volunteer American Fire Companies on May 12 sounded a false alarm; and when the German Hook and Ladder Company came rushing on its errand of mercy, they attacked the members at Main and Eighth Streets, demolished their wagon, and threw it into the river.[2]

On July 6th a mob terrorized the inmates in houses adjoining the Catholic Church on Fifth Street for several hours on the pretext that the Irish had secreted weapons in the church.[3]

Many citizens professed fear of the German military companies. These were, therefore, disbanded; and the captains of the Washington and Sharpshooter Companies, Harig and Hirschbuchl, surrendered their arms to state, not local, authorities.[4]

Further to repress the Germans, the city council

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1. Stierlin, 37.
2. Ibid., 38.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

refused to sell liquor and beer licenses. This became such an involved court case that the Know-Nothing Governor, Morehead, himself settled the dispute and rescinded the fines of the tavern keepers.[1]

But these are minor events which introduce the reign of terror which prevailed on Monday, August 6, 1855, at the congressional election involving Morehead and Preston. William Preston, a lieutenant-colonel in the Mexican War and afterward a general in the Civil War, displayed the courage of his Anti-Know-Nothing convictions by risking his life many times on "Bloody Monday" to protect the foreigners.[2] Twenty-two persons were killed outright or died of wounds,[3] and a number of houses were burned.[4] The First and Eighth Wards were the main battle grounds; but even the central

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1. Stierlin, 38.

2. Johnston, 276.

3. Perrin, W. H.; Battle, J. H.; Kniffen, G. C., Kentucky: A History of the State. F. A. Battey and Co., Louisville, 1888, 329; also Webb, 484, said nearly a hundred Germans and Irish were butchered or burned; also Spalding, 184.

4. Collins, Lewis. Annals of Kentucky by Years. 2 vols. Collins and Co., Covington, Ky., 1882, I, 75; also Smith, Z. F. History of Kentucky. Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., Louisville, 1886, 588, said "Irish" instead of "foreigners." This excluded the Germans.

districts, inhabited mainly by Americans, did not escape unscathed.

The most damage was done between seven and one o'clock in the evening, but it began as early as nine o'clock in the morning. A cabinet maker, Berg, was killed near Hancock Street,[1] and a former waiter at the Galt House was badly beaten.[2] By ten o'clock the city was in the hands of a mob of bullies.[3] The first serious fight took place at eleven o'clock in the First Ward at Shelby and Green Streets,[4] where Germans, Irish, and Americans participated; the foreigners were worsted and fled. The Americans pursued them up Shelby to Green, where the Americans were greeted by gun shot and the fight was on. The foreigners were defeated, and the blood-thirsty mob turned its attention to non-combatants for vengeance. It first wrecked Christian Meier's property on the corner of Shelby and Green breaking windows, doors, and furniture, and firing at the innocent boarders. News of the fight spread, and the mob was swelled contin-

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1. Collins, Annals of Kentucky, I, 75.
2. Louisville Daily Journal, August 7, 1855, said an American, George Burge was the first victim slain on Jackson Street between Jefferson and Green Streets.
3. Stierlin, 39.
4. Ibid.

nously by armed men from all over the city. The Lafayette and Kentucky engine house members seemed to be its nucleus.[1] Next they went to Konrad Kitsler's (also spelled Kissler) at the corner of Walnut and Shelby; and, though he had not left the house all day, demolished his property and threatened his family.[2] Three groceries, owned by Klotter, Bassler, and Berghold were destroyed, and the owners - as well as any Germans in the vicinity - mistreated. This was typical of what happened in all the groceries and saloons in that section.[3] In a street fight, about the same time of day, a German living at the corner of Shelby and Madison was killed, and others were wounded, including E. M. Saatkamp, a German baker who was stabbed several times in the head.[4] Curtis' grocery at Madison and Shelby was burned, Francis Muney's grocery at Campbell and Marshall was demolished, and Johann Felder,[5] a German, was stabbed seven times while trying to protect an

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1. Louisville Daily Courier, August 7, 1855; also Stierlin, 39.
2. Ibid.
3. Stierlin, 40.
4. Ibid.; also Louisville Daily Courier, August 7, 1855.
5. Louisville Daily Journal, August 8, 1855; spelled the name John Feller.

Irishman who was murdered.[1] A report that six Americans were lying wounded at Dr. Pyle's office[2] caused a fresh wave of fury. The mob moved to St. Martin's Church on Shelby Street with the intention of burning it; when John Barbee, the mayor, arrived and persuaded them to wait until he searched the church.[3] When nothing in the nature of weapons was found, Mayor Barbee persuaded them to withdraw under the command of Captain Rousseau, at the same time assuring them that their candidates had been elected.[4] Later in the afternoon threats were made to attack the cathedral. Again the mayor and two councilmen, T. W. Reilly and J. A. Gillis, asked Bishop Spalding's permission, and after searching the cathedral published a statement in the Journal of August 8th that they found neither men nor arms in the building and that the keys were in the hands of the city authorities.[5]

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1. Stierlin, 40; also Louisville Daily Journal, August 8, 1855.

2. Greenley, Dr. T. B., Reminiscences in the Lives and Characters of Some of the Old Physicians of Louisville. A handwritten manuscript read before the Filson Club probably in 1900.

3. Wuest, 52.

4. Spalding, 184; also Louisville Daily Courier, August 7, 1855.

5. Spalding, 185; also Louisville Daily Journal, August 8, 1855; see Appendix C.

Peace had barely been restored in the First Ward when a team drawing a cannon and followed by fifty armed men under Captain D. C. Stone came up Main to Jefferson Street.[1] On the pretext that shots had been fired (on a mob chasing a German) from Armbruster's brewery and from houses on Shelby near Madison, Stone and his men fired the brewery and mistreated the workers. A driver, Saddler, was wounded, and his wife chased across the Beargrass Creek bridge where she vainly sought refuge in the homes there. The houses from which the shots were fired and their contents were demolished, but three attempts to fire Adolph Peter's brewery failed.[2] In succession the following establishments were burned, stoned, or wrecked: Daniel Schmuck's confectionary and home, Karl Becker's house and bakery, the home of Karl Heybach, the cooper shops of Edward Prim and Theodore Garrety, Karl Drout's barber shop, Fred Burghold's grocery, and Joseph Hook's shoe store.[3] Johann Vogt, who lived in Clay near Madison Street, was killed; and his wife, holding her baby in her arms, was stabbed so that the child also was wounded. A German, Kaiser, who lived on Marshall Street, was killed;

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1. Stierlin, 40; also Perrin, Battle, Kniffin, 329.
2. Courier, August 7, 1855; also Journal, August 8, 1855.
3. Stierlin, 40 and 41; also Courier, August 7, 1855.

and Hein, a German ropemaker, was beaten fatally.[1] An Irishman, Patrick Murphy, was chased by the bloodhounds and shot down.[2]

The mob seemed to be working westward as the afternoon progressed. In the Third Ward a cabinet maker, Hudson, was shot in the head; and an Irishman, Allison, was killed.[3] In the Fifth Ward Henry Smith was attacked and saved only by his wife flinging herself between him and his assassins.[4] In the Sixth Ward an Irishman, passing the Courthouse, was beaten, pierced with a pitchfork, and thrown into jail, the assassin with dripping pitchfork leading the crowd.[5]

In the downtown area the trouble began about five in the evening at Chapel and Main Streets. On Main near Eleventh Street a certain Rhodes,[6] pursuing an Irishman who ran into the grocery of another Irishman, Kennedy, in Quinn's Row, was shot. His companion, Dougherty, was also wounded, as

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1. Stierlin, 41; also Journal, August 8, 1855.
2. Journal, August 8, 1855; also Stierlin, 41, who gives the name as Walter Murphy.
3. Stierlin, 41.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., also Courier, August 7, 1855.
6. Sometimes spelled Rhoades. According to rumor, he was a well-known Know-Nothing river captain.

well as William Graham, a foundryman, who went to Rhodes' assistance.[1] The Irishman, Barrett, who shot Graham, was caught by the mob, riddled with bullets, hung, but cut down before he was dead, and thrown into the jail where he expired.[2] The frightened inhabitants of the houses on the north side of Main near Eleventh Street, known as Quinn's Row (because they belonged to Francis Quinn, the brother of the priest, Father Quinn), fired into the streets in a frantic effort to defend themselves against the gathering rabble.[3] The cannon, earlier used in the First Ward, was brought down Main Street to help in the contemplated destruction.[4] It was first used to bombard Lang's peddlar shop which caught fire and began the holocaust; only one of Lang's three sons escaped from the flames.[5] The fire spread rapidly, even though the houses were brick, because not the slightest effort was made to check

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1. Journal, August 7-8, 1855; also Courier, August 7, 1855.

2. Stierlin, 41; also Courier, August 7, 1855. The Journal August 7, 1855, said that ten Irishmen fired the shots, and Hobson, a friend of Rhodes, was also wounded.

3. Journal, August 7, 1855.

4. Stierlin, 41.

5. Ibid.; the Journal, August 7, 1855, stated that the fire was begun to drive out the armed Irishmen from Quinn's Row, and in the same sentence declared that no one knew whether the fire started from the inside or the outside. One could guess.

its progress; indeed many of the volunteer fire department members were in the incendiary mob.[1] From Lang's the fire spread to D. Riordan's food store, then to Charles Ryan's boarding house and the two adjacent vacant houses. Next to burn were the homes of the cigar maker, McKinney, and of Patrick Flynn which housed several families. Several other buildings were partially consumed while two houses on Eleventh Street were totally destroyed as were the homes of John Fitzgerald and Mrs. Trainer on the other side of Main Street.[2] The owner of the demolished property, Patrick Quinn,[3] was shot, trampled, and left to die in the flames.[4] The most atrocious aspect of the entire affair was the relentless slaughter of frenzied people who, seeking to escape the flames, often ran into the bullets. The victims, as they emerged from the exits, were shot down by determined foes. Many, wounded and mutilated, crept back into the burning houses to avoid falling into the hands of the inhuman mob.[5] One old German, George Hubert, was shot returning from his

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1. Stierlin, 42.

2. Ibid., also Callahan, J. E. My Earliest Recollections of Louisville. An amateurishly typed manuscript in the Filson Club material.

3. The Journal, August 8, 1855, gave his name as Francis Quinn.

4. Stierlin, 42.

5. Ibid.

store in Portland, although he pleaded for his life. Another old German on Portland Avenue, who had crept under his bed at the outbreak of the tumult, was dragged out and shot through the heart.[1] The riot continued so far into the night that many feared the total destruction of the city.[2] This catastrophe was only prevented by the exertions of the mayor and influential citizens.[3]

Although the worst of the rioting was over with the passing of election day, there were disturbances for some days following. The mayor's proclamation requesting parents and masters to keep their sons and apprentices off the streets was not issued until August 9, indicating that the trouble had not ended.[4] On the night of August 10, a German citizen passing along Jefferson Street was assaulted at the corner of Seventh and fatally beaten. His assailants, three men employed in Miller Wingate and Company's Agricultural Works, were jailed.[5] A message from Bishop Spalding refuted

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1. Stierlin, 42.

2. Perrin, Battle, Kniffin, 329.

3. Ibid.; also see Appendix B for Mayor's Proclamation of August 8, 1855 in the Journal of that date.

4. Journal, August 8, 1855; see Appendix B.

5. Courier, August 13, 1855.

Prentice's thinly veiled attempts to put the blame for "Bloody Monday's" outrages on the Catholic clergy[1] as well as the foreigners and urged all to stay quietly at home and "keep away from excited assemblies."[2]

The Journal of August 7 flatly and in contradition to all facts in the case accused the anti-Know-Nothing Party for "inciting" the foreigners with incendiary appeals and stated "the riots were occasioned by indiscriminate and murderous assaults committed by foreigners. . . . upon inoffensive citizens peaceably attending to their own business at some distance from any of the voting places."[3]

This prevarication was accepted in its entirety by the credulous readers of the Journal, and another threat to burn the cathedral was the result.[4] The committee appointed by the Common Council made the ingenious discovery that the whole blame for the riots should be laid at the door of "foreigners, papists, and infidels"[5] whose houses were said to be arsenals from which inoffensive and unoffending Ameri-

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1. Journal, August 7, 1855.
2. Spalding, 186-7.
3. Journal, August 7, 1855.
4. Spalding, 185.
5. Bruncken, 48.

cans had been fired on.[1] The Journal unblushingly declared that one wretch - presumably a foreigner - rescued by the heroic Captain Stone confessed that in Quinn's Row were thirteen kegs of powder provided especially for election day but failed to state why the ammunition wasn't used for defense.[2] The following day's Journal stated:

> We have the names of over thirty witnesses by whom it can be proven that, in every act of violence, which tended to produce these riots, foreigners were the aggressors, and peaceable, unarmed Americans were the first victims.[3]

Strangely enough, the names were never published. The anti-Know-Nothing Courier acknowledged that in a few isolated instances shots were fired at unarmed Americans by terrified foreigners but declared, "Whatever may have been the provocation of one man in any one house, there can be no excuse, no palliation for the indiscriminate burning and plundering of houses in no wise connected with the property of said-to-be aggressing parties."[4]

The City Council ordered a report drawn up by a committee, headed by J. C. Gillis, on the riots and their causes.

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1. Bruncken, 48; also Journal, August 7, 1855.
2. Journal, August 7, 1855.
3. Ibid., August 8, 1855.
4. Courier, August 7, 1855.

This report was submitted to the council August 17, 1855, and was a rather malicious resume of the opinions already stated in detail by the Journal. The conclusions advanced by the committee were that "all disturbances on election day were caused by foreigners and by adherents of the pope of Rome, and that Americans who, in the moment of excitement, felt the inclination of retaliation, were not to be blamed."[1] Street inspector, L. William Griffey, Councilman Beatty, and the evidence given in the Journal were all given as proof of this masterpiece of infamous lies and absurdities.[2] The riots and results brought much discredit to the Know-Nothing Party from many conservative citizens who had formerly been somewhat sympathetic to it; the outrages contributed in no small degree to the party's ultimate defeat in Kentucky.[3]

The effects of "Bloody Monday" were far reaching and detrimental. Trade and commerce, according to the Courier, stopped completely;[4] and after the wholesale emigration of Germans and Irish, real estate values dropped sharply. More

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1. Stierlin, 45.
2. Ibid.
3. Perrin, Battle, Kniffin, 329.
4. Stierlin, 43; also Courier, August 8, 1855.

than a year after the riots, there were eleven closed stores[1] in one block in the business area.

Meanwhile a Kansas Colonization Association, formed some months previously in Cincinnati, sent a committee to the Kansas territory to select a site of some 3,840 acres, in fifty acre lots, to be called Humboldt City. This committee on its way to Kansas passed through Louisville in March and explained its mission.[2] After the riots some two hundred persons, mainly Germans, assembled on August 14 in the "Capitol" on Third and Green Streets to deliberate about a common emigration. An organization called the "American Emigration Association in Louisville" was formed. Gabriel Collins was elected chairman, and Heinrich Knoefel, secretary; Mr. Armstrong, an English ale brewer, was a prominent member.[3] They decided to send a committee to Kansas to select a site for settlement before the beginning of winter, the committee consisting of J. A. Eisert, F. Wagner, and an American, Webster. The plans were abandoned temporarily because the reports of abolitionist border warfare alarmed the influential

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1. Stierlin, 43.
2. Ibid., 44.
3. Ibid., 43, 44.

members.[1] The majority of Germans who left Louisville, especially the Forty-Eighters, went to Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Louis, and other western cities.[2]

The immediate exodus of over an hundred German families, some with their furniture and goods, others leaving their damaged remnants of property in auction stores for sale, deeply affected the city's prosperity and persisted for several years.[3]

Another exodus of an hundred German families occurred about June 1, 1856. Further attacks on New Years eve, 1856, by rowdies resulted in the death of a twenty-one year old shoemaker, Engelbert Weber, and his companion, Schmidtberger, because Weber refused to cry, "Hurrah for Uncle Sam." The 13th of January a "German Emigration Association" with J. A. Eisert as chairman was formed. It later changed its name to "Kansas Association" with Pastor Gustav Koch as its leader. The decisive victory of the Know-Nothings April 7, 1856, spurred the association to action. This group moved to Prairie City, Kansas, a site on the Santa Fe Road seventy-five miles from the Missouri River.[4]

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1. Stierlin, 43, 44.
2. Stierlin, 44.
3. Courier, August 8, 1855.
4. Stierlin, 46.

Not only did some of Louisville's most industrious and best educated population leave the city, but the unenviable reputation acquired by the rioting prevented others, who might have filled their places from imperiling their families and their future.[1]

The City of Louisville was eventually the loser in actual money, as well as potential wealth, for the damage done on Bloody Monday. An act of the General Assembly, approved February 29, 1860, authorized taxes levied for the purpose of paying for the damage, plus the interest on the loss, since August 6, 1855, as agreed on by the court, provided the petitioner had not by his own or his ancestor's act precipitated nor instigated that loss.[2]

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1. Johnston, I, 100.

2. Ibid.; also Acts of the General Assembly of Kentucky, 1859-1860, II, 475. Listed as an Act for the benefit of the City of Louisville for damage done August 6, 1855. Also Senate Journal, Kentucky, 1859-60, 484, 491, 699, 789, 820; also House Journal Kentucky 1859-60, 510, 566, 854, 898, 926, 1008.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The very reasons why the Germans emigrated from Germany after 1848 made them, on the whole, most desirable as immigrants. Educated and cultured people who would uproot their families and sacrifice their possessions and professions for an ideal of political liberty certainly had much to contribute to an adopted home. Although a small vocal minority of them were atheists, a large majority swelled the church-supporting population of Louisville. New churches and charitable organizations were formed simultaneously with the coming of the immigrants. The fact that the personnel and methods of their school curriculum was absorbed into the public system is proof of their efficiency. In the fine arts, especially music, both singing and instrumental, programs were superior. The classic goal of a "sound mind in a sound body" was the motto of the Turners, and to them the nation is indebted for the introduction of physical training and a wide-spread development of gymnasiums. It would be difficult to estimate the advantages to the youth, both native as well as immigrant, of Louisville brought by the disciples of Father Jahn.

Confronted by a new society and language, many of these cultured, professional men sought new fields, and many became journalists. If their theories of governmental reforms were too impractical or their ideas of social change too radical, they were at least thought-provoking. Their views of personal liberty and equality before the law, regardless of sex or race, have since been incorporated into the Constitution of the United States. Like most reformers who are ahead of their age, they were misunderstood and persecuted; had they lived three-quarters of a century later their opinions would not have created surprise nor dissent. Their bold, outspoken opposition to slavery involved them in difficulties, but their support of the Republican Party helped its candidate, Lincoln. What ever contributions one may assign to the "Great Emancipator" are due, in a small degree, to the Germans. To the same extent their influence as anti-slave adherents must have been important to the state of Kentucky and especially to the City of Louisville in that decade before the Civil War.

Their grim struggle against the rise of their arch-enemy, the Know-Nothing Party and their subsequent defeat and retreat to more sympathetic environments lost to Louisville a nucleus of culture and intelligent industry which might have been of untold benefit to its own development.

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APPENDIX

Point 4 concerning questions of constitution demands the following changes and additions for the Federal constitution and those of the states.

1. All elections without exception proceed directly from the people.

2. Each eligible citizen of each state can be elected by the citizens of each other state as member of Congress and also each eligible citizen of each county by the citizens of each other county as member of the state legislature.

3. Each representative can be recalled by the majority of his electors at any time and substituted by another.

Point 5 demands free trade.

Point 6 demands the performance of all public plants and works, as for instance the railroad to the Pacific Ocean, out of national resources.

Point 7 concerns the foreign policy and demands the giving up of the neutrality policy and energetic preservation of the rights of American citizens and such immigrants who have declared their intention to become American citizens, the more as every American appears to the princely governments as a representative of the revolution against despotism and the republic has to consider this attitude as the only worthy and justified one.

Point 8, "Women rights," demands the equalization of the women with men, because the declaration of independence is speaking of all human beings as equal born and gifted with inalienable rights and the women belong to "all human beings."

Point 9 demands the equalization of all free colored with all others.

Point 10 declares that all penal laws can have only the purpose of correction not of punishment and therefore the death punishment is destitute of reason and barbaric.

APPENDIX A

Extract from the Louisville Platform, translated and condensed by Rudolf Heckel from Stierlin's The State of Kentucky and the City of Louisville with Special Reference to the German Element.

Point 1 demands the abolishment of slavery.

Point 2 refers to questions of religion and is very long. It declares every religious coercion as illegal, that includes the Sunday laws, the thanksgiving days, the prayers in congress and the legislatures, the oath on the Bible, the introduction of the Bible into free schools, the exclusion of atheists from judicial acts, etc., which are called a violation of the human rights and the constitution, and demands their abrogation. Then the recognition of the Roman hierarchy standing under a foreign potentate is declared anti-republic and very dangerous for its existence. It is asserted, that every Roman priest and every Catholic obeying them is a subject of the Pope and that the Pope, "this murder of the republic republic" must be a natural enemy of the American and that every Catholic is obligated at the salvation of his soul, to overthrow the constitution of the United States, if the Pope orders it.

Point 3 refers to "measures for the welfare of the people." As such measures are demanded for the release of public lands to cultivators and support of poor colonists for the first settling out of national resources, promotion of immigration and creation of a special department of colonization and immigration, facilitating the getting of citizenship, liberation of "the working power from the money interests, gaining from it, whereby the state must eventually function as arbitrator of all colliding interests. The worktime should never last longer than ten hours. Since the work is the creator of property, the law of inheritance must be modified in such a way that a not-working money or land aristocracy becomes impossible."

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Point 11, "military law," demands abrogation of military justice, at least for the time of peace, since the soldier of a republic is only a citizen armed for the protection of the country.

Point 12, "limits of legislation," declares the interference of the law into the sphere of the individual, as far as this doesn't collide with another one, as an unjustified transgression, for instance the temperance laws.

APPENDIX B

Mayor Barbee's Proclamation from the Louisville Daily Journal of August 8, 1855:

> I, John Barbee, Mayor of the City of Louisville, do make this my proclamation requiring all good citizens to aid in preserving the peace of the city by personal assistance to the police when called on by any of them for that purpose under the penalty prescribed by law for refusal.
>
> I do further forewarn all viciously disposed persons from assembling for the purpose of doing mischief to persons or property and notify them that a sufficient force will be organized to put down all unlawful violence, with authority, in accordance with law, to use weapons, if necessary.
>
> I further recommend all parents and masters to keep their sons or apprentices out of the streets, especially after dark, and enjoin the police to arrest all boys found in the streets violating and making a noise.

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APPENDIX C

The Report of the Cathedral Inspection Committee from the Louisville Daily Journal, August 8, 1855:

To The Public

We, the undersigned, have in person carefully examined the Cathedral, and do assure the community that there are neither men nor arms concealed therein; and further that the keys of said Cathedral, on 5th Street, are in the hands of the city authorities.

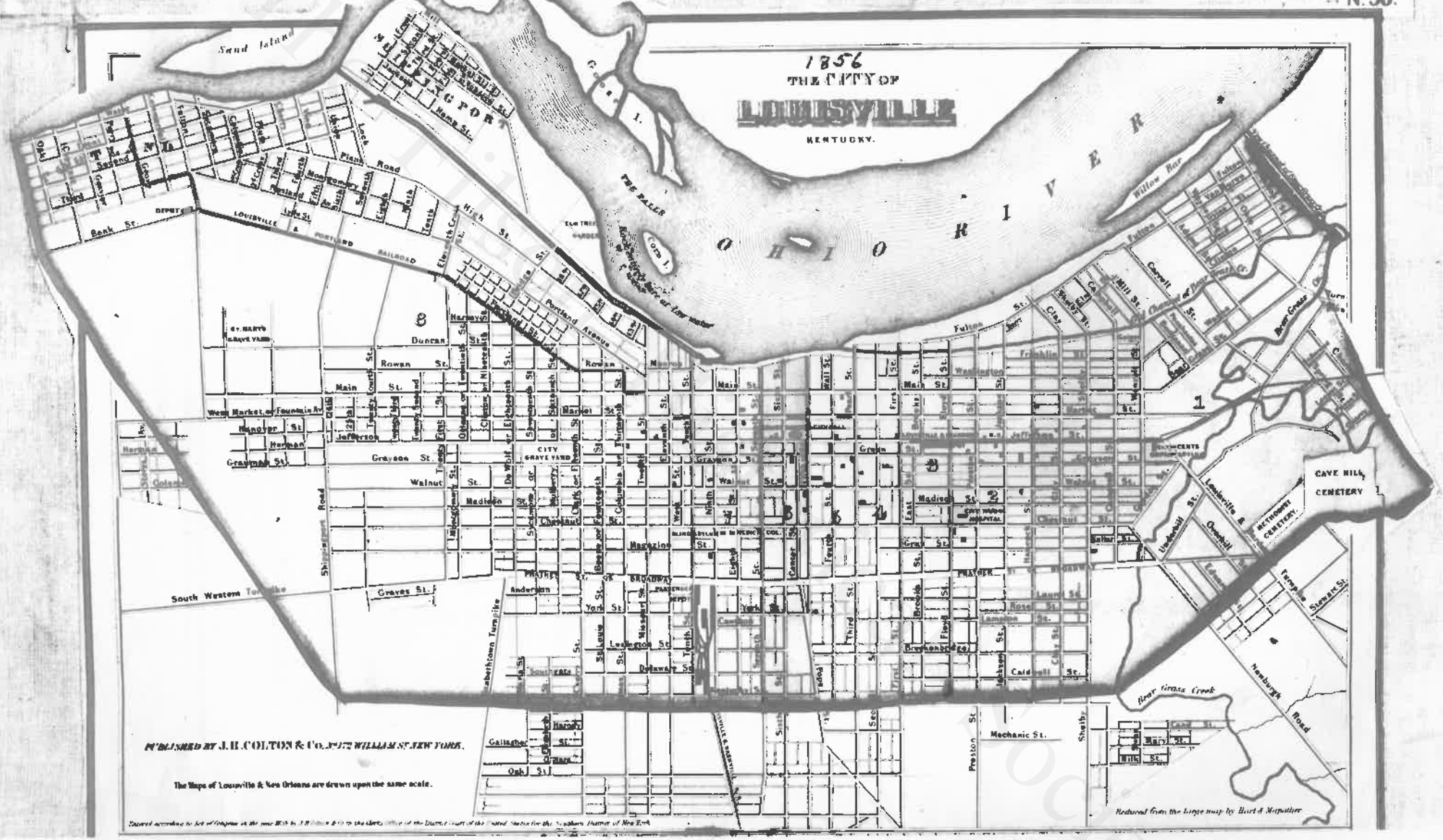
John Barbee, Mayor
T. W. Riley, Councilman
J. S. Gilless, Councilman

APPENDIX D

List of Fatalities of the August 6th Riots reported from the Louisville Daily Journal, August 8, 1855:

The Coroner has held inquests on the following bodies:

1. Wm. Graham - American, foundery man, shot in stomach by Irishman.
2. Theodore Rhoads, - American, age 30, shot and stabbed in 8th Ward, leaves family.
3. Powell Rothhaupt, - a German wagonmaker, stabbed at Schardein's precinct, leaves family.
4. Joseph Allison, - Irish Protestant, shot corner of Market and Chapel.
5. Frances Dunn, - Irish, shot.
6. Bodies of men and women, burned.
7. In hospital 1 man dead - 2 dying.
8. In jail, 1 Irishman dead.
9. German, Jacob, - not expected to recover.
10. Pat Murphy, - dead near burned brewery.



Map of the Wards of Louisville, 1856

APPENDIX F

Print from Original Seal of Louisville now in the possession of Dr. Charles C. Russman, whose mother was sister-in-law to the designer, Henry Miller[1]

In Mayor Head's administration, 1910, the Seal was changed from Miller's old Progress Seal to the present one. Dr. Russman was president pro tempore of the Board of Councilmen that evening and signed the bill authorizing the change. Knowing the relationship of Dr. Russman to the originator of the old Seal, Head gave the original Seal to the Doctor who is now turning it over to Mr. Rothert of the Filson Club.

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1. Henry Miller was a Forty-eighter.

APPENDIX G

A copy of the Ordinance changing the official Seal of Louisville from the Old Progress Seal to the current one.[1]

No. 363

Seal for the City of Louisville

An Ordinance providing a new public seal for the City of Louisville

Be it ordained by the General Council of the City of Louisville:

§ 1. That the seal for the City of Louisville shall; from and after the passage of this act, be the device presented by R. Bauscher, and recommended by a committee composed of Mayor W. O. Head, Comptroller Sam M. Wilhite, and F. W. Keisker, president of the Publicity League. The main features of said device are a woman symbolizing said city, holding aloft a banner bearing the motto "Progress", and having an over-flowing cornicopia in one hand, a train of cars to her right and a steamboat to her left, both under way, the whole surmounted with the inscription, "The Nation's Thoroughfare."

§ 2. That the ordinance approved May 8, 1867, entitled, "An Ordinance establishing a public seal for the city," be and it is hereby repealed and the seal therein provided for be and it is hereby declared to be no longer the seal of said city.

§ 3. This ordinance shall become effective in 10 days after the date of its approval (Approval December 21, 1910).

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1. Taken from 1936 Compilation of General Ordinances of the City of Louisville (through December 31, 1935). Published by the Authority of a Resolution of the Board of Alderman of the City of Louisville, Approved July 15, 1936 By Pat Green and L. L. Wehner of the Department of Law, Neville Miller, Mayor, Mark Beauchamp, Director of Law. p. 1001.

FACSIMILE OF THE SEAL OF LOUISVILLE

The facsimile of the Seal of Louisville is taken from The City of Louisville and a Glimpse of Kentucky, 1887. Printed under the direction of the Committee on Industrial and Commercial Improvement of the Louisville Board of Trade, 1887.

BIOGRAPHY

The writer was born in Louisville, Kentucky, on July 17, 1909, and attended the elementary school, Gavin H. Cochran, and the Louisville Girls High School. Her A. B. Degree was received from Randolph-Macon Women's College at Lynchburg, Virginia, in June, 1931. She attended the summer and fall sessions of the University of Louisville and began teaching in Eastern Junior High School, Louisville, in February, 1932. She began work on her Master's Degree June, 1936, at the University of Kentucky.

Elsie Rowell

June, 1941