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HISTORY

OF

THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN VIRGINIA.

BY

HERRMANN SCHURICHT

VOL. II.

THEO. KROH & SONS, PRINTERS, BALTIMORE, MD.
1900.

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HERRMANN SCHURICHT. †

Herrmann Schuricht was born February 13th, 1831, at Pirna, Saxony. He early showed a great love for study and after due course of schooling he entered upon university life at Leipsig, when by the death of his father he was abruptly forced to terminate his studies and assume control of his father's business. In this he was not successful and after many reverses he came to America in 1859. At Richmond, Virginia, he published a daily newspaper, "Die Virginische Zeitung." When the Civil War broke out he left the city, a member of the "Richmond Blues," was made sergeant of the Ordnance Department of the Wise Legion, later promoted captain of a German volunteer company. After the war he returned to his native city and filled the position of principal of the "Pirna'er Handels-Schule" and a young ladies' academy. He gained a large fortune by a successful land speculation, which was subsequently lost by the failure of a bank. Thereupon, in 1874, he returned to the United States and for four years he was principal of a school at Newark, N. J., and later at Boston, Mass. Forced to give up teaching, on account of a serious throat and eye trouble, he engaged with L. Prang & Co. of Boston, educational book publishers, to represent them in the West. This position he filled until 1886; at that time he settled on his farm "Idlewild," near Cobham, Virginia, where he resided up to his death, May 27th, 1899, with only a brief interruption, when he assumed editorial charge of "Der Sueden," a German weekly published at Richmond.

Mr. Schuricht was author of many educational essays and books, correspondent of several papers in this country and abroad, a good teacher and an accomplished speaker and journalist. He was for many years president of the "National German-American Teachers' Association" and an honorary member of leading social, scientific and historical societies. With him the Germans of the United States have lost one of the most devoted and faithful advocates of their cause. An American and a Republican by heart and conviction he was

ever active in the rights of his countrymen against a class of men who see in this nation nought but a colony of England. It was his aim, as a historian, to establish and perpetuate the claim for recognition of the merits of the vast mass of Germans, who helped to build up in time of peace and to defend in time of war this great land of their choice, — and as a teacher and writer furthermore to imbue upon their progeny and hold sacred that part of German character and life that would be most conducive to mould the growing nation. He was foremost and ever a German-American, free from all narrow-mindedness, of an amiable and ideal disposition, seeking to obviate all prejudice of factions in the one great task of building and fining a nation. He often met with disappointment, but he never wavered in his efforts to work the common good.

His last work, "The History of the German Element in Virginia," the second volume of which is herewith given to the public after the death of its author, will bear out proof of his struggle to establish a true record of German effort in Virginia, considered by many to have been an exclusively English settlement, — and it is to be hoped will instigate others to follow his example in other States.


PERIOD II.

German Life in Virginia During the 19th Century to the Beginning of the Spanish-American War.

CHAPTER XI.

RETROGRESSION OF THE GERMAN TYPE DURING THE FIRST THREE DECADES.

“With nations it is as with individuals: these have weak hours and those feeble periods.”—*Jahn*.

 HE German element of Virginia entered the new century much weakened. The Indian massacres, the long years of war, and the emigration to the West, had reduced it in number, and the anglicizing process had made rapid progress. During the War of Independence the relations of the two nationalities, the English and the German, had become more intimate, — the Germans had been obliged to adopt and use the English language, and after independence was gained, *they felt themselves as much Americans as the English descendants*. Immigration from Germany almost ceased when Napoleon I. involved the nations of the European continent into bloody wars, while that from Great Britain continued undiminished. The bitter feeling that the Anglo-Virginians entertained on account of the assistance

the German allied troops had rendered the British armies in the War of Independence, the German citizens most erroneously thought to conquer by timid submission and by surrendering their national peculiarities. The majority of the German-Virginians were not embellished with feelings of national pride, or pious attachment to the Fatherland. National self-esteem, which makes a language imperishable, — that honors and retains the noble character and worthy habits of the ancestors, — the national pride that is the most sacred feeling of the stranger in a foreign land, — this the German-Virginians were wanting, although they had materially helped to raise Virginia to what it was by their worthy ancestral qualities: industry, perseverance, economy and love of liberty. They had forgotten that a German who looks with veneration upon his Fatherland, adheres to its customs and language, esteems the inheritance of his fathers, becomes a most desirable citizen, for his energy will benefit his new home, his habits will refine those around him, just like the scion on a wild stock.

Friedrich von Schiller, — bitterly commenting on the unworthy position the Germans held at the beginning of the new century as compared with other nations, — gathered new hope from the precious treasures of the German language, that expresses everything: “The profoundest and the most volatile, the genius, the soul — and which is full of sense.” Only self-respect gives to the man manly vigor and secures to him, even far from his native land, recognition and influence. The firm adherence to the mother-tongue expresses this noble intention, but upon its surrender the mark of peculiarity, of self-confidence and self-dependence, is lost. The German poet Theodor Koerner expressed this sentiment as follows:

“Denn mit den fremden Worten auf der Zunge
 Kommt auch der fremde Geist in unsere Brust, —
 Und wie sich mancher, von dem Prunk geblendet,
 Der angebor'nen heiligen Sprache schämt
 Und lieber radebrechend seiner Zunge
 Zum Spott des Fremden fremde Fesseln aufzwingt, —
 So lernt er auch die deutsche Kraft verachten!”

The tie that binds the German-Virginians to this country will never be loosened by their pious attachment to the old Fatherland, — for being true to it, their patriotic devotion to America can all the more safely be relied on.

In Virginia the German clergy faithfully upheld the German tongue until about 1825. On May 28th, 1820, the German-Lutheran Tennessee Synod was organized and Reverends Jacob Zink, of Washington county, and Paul Henkel, of New-Market, Virginia, participated. It was resolved: *that all business and work should be transacted in German*, for reason that a conference in which both the German and English languages were used, the one or the other side would be dissatisfied. It was also deemed of the highest importance to use all possible diligence to acquaint the German children with all doctrines in faith and in the German language.¹⁵²⁾ But already on September 8th, 1826, the same Synod resolved that: "Both the German and English languages may be used in the proceedings of the Synod,"¹⁵³⁾ and this resolution was the first step, among the members of this influential body, towards the abolishment of German in their respective congregations.

The emigration of the German element to the "Far West" still continued, and the old mother colony lost many good and brave men. Colonel Luke Decker for instance is named with distinction in the history of Indiana.¹⁵⁴⁾ At the beginning of the 19th century he emigrated from western Virginia to southern Indiana, and in 1811, when the Indians threatened the white population of the new territory with annihilation, he was placed in command of part of the militia. In the decisive battle at Tippecanoe he helped to gain the victory and was badly wounded, — and the Legislature of the Territory meeting at Vincennes passed resolu-

152) "History of the Evang.-Luth. Tennessee Synod," by S. Henkel, D. D., p. 25. New-Market, Va., 1890.

153.) "History of the Evang.-Luth. Tennessee Synod," by S. Henkel, D. D., p. 29. New-Market, Va., 1890.

154.) "Geschichte des Deutsohthums in Indiana," pp. 12 and 13, by Dr. W. A. Fritsch. Published by E. Steiger & Co., New York, 1896.

tions of thanks acknowledging his bravery. He died, loved and esteemed by his fellow-citizens, on his farm near "Decker's Station," which derived its name from this German-Virginian patriot.

The U. S. Census of 1890 states that the population of Virginia — East and West — amounted in 1800 to 880,200 inhabitants, of whom 41.52 per cent. were negroes. It is a low estimate to fix the number of the white population at about 514,000, and the German-Virginians at 85,600. To verify this estimate, be it remembered that Richmond, — although Tidewater Virginia had at the beginning of the 19th century fewer German inhabitants than the Valley or the Piedmont district, — numbered in 1830 in all 16,060 inhabitants, of whom 10,025 were whites, — inclusive of about 3000 of German descent, — which is almost one-third of the white population of the city.

The German Jewish element, which now forms a very considerable part of the German population of Virginia, and particularly of the city of Richmond, commenced to increase about 1820. With reference to the German Jewish population of the United States Hon. Simon Wolf says¹⁵⁵): "The emigration of the German Jews remained altogether sporadic throughout the period of the Napoleonic wars, because of the almost insuperable obstacles which hindered their departure. The increase of the Jewish population in this country was thus limited mainly to the surplus of births over deaths, until some time after the close of the war of 1812. In the course of the reaction against the innovation of liberalism which ensued after 1820, the hardly gained political rights of the German Jews were gradually curtailed or entirely withdrawn, and at this time the Jews of the German maritime cities began to emigrate to the United States in increasing numbers." — This statement fully applies to and explains the causes of the Jewish immigration into Virginia.

Heinrich Foss, who sailed on the 13th of March, 1837,

155.) "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," by Simon Wolf, pp. 67 and 68. Philadelphia, 1895.

from Bremerhafen to Norfolk, Va., was employed for six months on the James river canal, but he emigrated to the West and died at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1879, an esteemed master-mason. He liked to speak about his travels through Virginia.¹⁵⁶⁾

On his way to Ohio he stopped at Lynchburg, Campbell county; Buchanan, Botetourt county; Staunton, Augusta county; Harrisonburg, Rockingham county; Woodstock and Strassburg, Shenandoah county; Winchester, Frederick county; Shepherdstown, Jefferson county, and Wheeling, Ohio county, and in all these towns he met with old German farmers who received him kindly. "*It was as like as if I was travelling in Germany,*" Mr. Foss used to say.

This simple narrative of a reliable man characterizes the condition of the German-Virginians at that time. The old folks still retained their German character, but their descendants were more and more anglicized. Jahn's sentence, quoted at the head of this chapter, proved true with the German settlers in Virginia.

The dark clouds of that period are however dispersed by some bright sunlight sparks, that kindle the heart of the German-Virginian historian. In the year 1783 Rev. Adolph Nuessmann, of Mecklenburg county in North Carolina, wrote¹⁵⁷⁾: "From Georgia to Maryland there is no German printing office, and in North Carolina even no English one." It is therefore a matter of great satisfaction to every German-Virginian, that at New-Market, in the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, or "Neu-Markt," as it was originally called, soon after the foundation of the Republic, a German printing office was established by a descendant of the first German clergyman in Virginia.¹⁵⁸⁾ He built the press with his own hands and undertook the publication of "German schoolbooks and religious works." This meritorious man was the Lutheran *Pastor Ambrosius Henkel*, of New-Market. In 1806 his

156.) "Der Deutsche Pionier," Vol. 11, p. 402. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1880.

157.) "Der Deutsche Pionier," Vol. 13, p. 316. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1880.

158.) "Der Süden," Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 4 and 5. Richmond, Va., 1891.

printing office was in the hands of his son, *Solomon Henkel*, and an "ABC Book," for use in the German school at New-Market, — and probably the first schoolbook ever printed in Virginia, — was published, with lines of poetry and illustrations for each letter of the alphabet, cut in wood by Rev. Henkel himself. A second edition of this book appeared in 1819, of which a copy is in possession of Charles E. Loehr of Richmond. The title of the book was: "The little ABC Book or first lessons for beginners, with beautiful pictures and their names arranged in alphabetic order, to facilitate the spelling to children. — By Ambrosius Henkel, New-Market, Shenandoah county, Virginia; printed in Solomon Henkel's printing office, 1819." — The poetry to each letter is written in a German dialect almost like "Pennsylvania Dutch;" it is not very fastidious in expression, but adapted to the perceptive faculty of children, as for instance:

B.—Der Biber had im Damm sein Haus,
 Bald is er drinn', bald ist er draus ;
 Da wohnt er drinn', so wie er's baut.
 Oft man ihn fang't, nimmt ihm die Haut.

G.—Der Geier friszt mit Ernst und Muth,
 Stinkt wohl das Fleisch doch schmeckts ihm gut,
 Er hackt mit Kopf und Fuess hinein,
 Und friszt es weg bis auf das Bein.

K.—Die beste Milch die giebt die Kuh,
 Gieb nur den Kindern Mosch dazu,
 Und auch ein gross Stueck Butterbrod,
 So stirbt dir keins an Hungersnoth.

R.—Der Rabe riecht das Aas von fern,
 Er kommt und friszt das Luder gern, —
 Der Dramm schmeckt manchem auch so wohl,
 Dass er sich saufet toll und voll.

The book closes with some morning and evening prayers, as:

"Nun will ich in die Schule geh'n
 Und lernen wie ich soll,
 Wird mir der liebe Gott beysteh'n
 So lern ich alles wohl."

“Nun dieser Tag ist wieder hin,
 Die fins'tre Nacht bricht ein,
 Dass ich noch an dem Leben bin.
 Des soll ich dankbar sein.”

In speaking of the printing-establishment at New-Market, Rev. G. D. Bernheim says¹⁵⁹): “The Lutheran Church in America has had its publication boards and societies in abundance, which doubtless accomplished a good work, *but the oldest establishment of the kind is the one in New-Market, Virginia*, which dates its existence as far back at least as 1810, for the minutes of the North Carolina Synod were printed there at that time. It was established by the Henkel family and has continued under their management to this day.”

One of the most prominent members of this illustrious family was Rev. Paulus Henkel, already mentioned. From a biographical sketch¹⁶⁰) we copy the following: “He was truly a man for the times; vigorous in mind and body. He labored unceasingly, willingly and cheerfully, undergoing trials, hardships, and sacrifices *for good, and not for gain*.”

“His parents were Jacob and Barbara Henkel, née Teters. He was born December 15, 1754, in Rowan county, North Carolina, near the present city of Salisbury, where he resided until 1760. The Indians becoming troublesome, the family removed to Loudoun county, Virginia; thence to Maryland; thence to Hampshire county, Virginia, where they remained not quite a year, having frequently to live in block-houses, for protection against the Indians. Then they moved to Mill Creek, Hardy county, Virginia, where the father of Paul Henkel died and was buried.

“At the age of about 22 Paul Henkel beginning to prepare for the ministry, placed himself under the instruction of Rev. Krug, pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran church,

159.) “History of the German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in the Carolinas,” by Rev. G. D. Bernheim, pp. 445 and 446.

160.) “Biographical Sketch of Rev. Paul Henkel,” compiled by his great-grandson Ambrose L. Henkel, New-Market, Va., 1890.

at Fredericktown, Maryland. After becoming proficient in German, Latin and Greek, and other studies, he was examined and licensed to preach by the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania and adjacent States,—the only Lutheran Synod at that time in America. He located at New-Market, Virginia, and at once became an active, earnest, zealous minister, laboring in Shenandoah, Rockingham, Frederick, Madison, Culpepper, Pendleton, Botetourt, Wythe, and many other counties in Virginia.

“On June 6th, 1792, he was solemnly set apart for the office of pastor in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the ordination being performed by Rev. John Frederick Schmidt. He labored at New-Market for a while, and then located at Staunton, Virginia, where he remained three years, when he returned to New-Market, Virginia. In 1800, he felt it to be his duty to accept a call to his native home in Rowan county, North Carolina, in which and adjoining counties he successfully labored.

“In 1805, owing to the malarious condition of the country, he returned to New-Market, Virginia, and became an independent missionary. He did not desire wealth or fame, but strove to do good. He made tours on horse-back and “gig” through Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, North and South Carolina, preaching and organizing congregations, catechising and confirming the young, and giving words of comfort and cheer to all. He underwent sore trials and severe privations without faltering. He kept a faithful diary of all his labors, which to us, at the present day, seem almost incredible. He often endured hunger, thirst, fatigue, and loss of rest, excessive heat and cold—every hardship and discomfiture incident to sparsely settled sections and dangerous frontier life.

“When the war of 1812 came, he went to Point Pleasant, Mason county, Virginia, where he organized several congregations.

“In 1809 he published a work on ‘Christian Baptism and the Lord’s Supper,’—‘Ueber die christliche Taufe und das

Abendmahl,' in German and afterwards in the English. He published a 'German Hymn-book' in 1810, then in 1816 another 'Hymn-book' in English, containing 476 hymns, many being of his own composition. In 1814 he published a German Catechism: 'Der christliche Catechismus, verfasst zum Unterricht der Jugend in der Erkenntniss der christlichen Religion; sammt Morgen- und Abend-Gebaete.' A second edition appeared in 1816, and soon after an 'English Catechism.'

"He was never idle, and though arduously engaged in traveling, preaching, catechising, and admonishing in private and public, he found time to write many books and letters. One of his books in rhyme: 'Gereimter Zeitvertreib,' (Pastime,) was a strong rebuke to fanaticism, superstition, corruption, and folly. It was full of sarcasm and created much friendly and unfriendly criticism. He was a man of indomitable energy in Church work, and his liberality was almost in excess of his means in such labors and works of charity. It is said, that more than a century ago he helped to fell the trees and build a 'log church' at New-Market, Virginia, his equally energetic wife cooking in an open field, in wash kettles, for the hardy men who came 'to the hewing and log-raising;'—and that he made a trip with a one-horse cart to Philadelphia, three-hundred miles distant, for glass and a bell, which some friends in that city gave him for the church.

"His first sermon was preached in Pendleton county, Virginia, in 1781, and his last one in New-Market, Virginia, Oct. 9th, 1825, a month prior to his death—having been actively engaged in the ministry for 44 years."

In the year 1807 the first German newspaper in Virginia: "*Der Virginische Volksberichter und New-Marketer Wochenschrift*"—edited by Ambrosius Henkel, and printed and published by Solomon Henkel, appeared. For the head of the paper Rev. Henkel had prepared a wood-cut representing a mounted postilion sounding his bugle-horn, with the devise:

"Ich bring das Neu's!
So gut ich's weiss!"

This newspaper was however discontinued after the lapse of a few years, not finding the necessary support.

School-matters had been in a deplorable condition since the foundation of the colony. It was not until 1779,¹⁶¹⁾ one hundred and seventy-two years after the settlement of Jamestown, that a bill providing for Public Education was introduced in the Assembly. It was framed by Thomas Jefferson, but it failed to pass, and not until 1797 did the main features of the bill become law. It was left to the option of the counties to enforce the act or not, and the number of the schools established is not given in any document. A second school-law was passed in 1818, but Gov. McDowell, in his message to the Legislature, Jan. 1843, said of the whole School-System, inaugurated under this law, "that after having existed for thirty years it gave only sixty days of tuition to one-half the 'indigent' children of the State *as its grand result*, and that it was therefore little more *than a costly and delusive nullity, which ought to be abolished, and another and better system adopted in its place.*" The census of 1840 states, that 58,787 white inhabitants of Virginia, over twenty-one years of age,—that is one-twelfth of the total white population of the State, could neither read nor write. However the Germans *had their parochial schools* since the time of Gov. Spotswood. In Richmond a Swiss or German established in the beginning of the century a large school, named after him: "Haller's Academy."¹⁶²⁾ It was an extensive establishment and located in a large and homely block of buildings on Carey street, near the head of the basin. Haller is represented as an adventurer of little learning, but he had judgment enough to enable him to select good teachers.

In 1825 the University of Virginia, at Charlottesville, which had been planned by Thomas Jefferson, and still retains the cosmopolitan and liberal character which he gave to it, was organized. It deserves special mention, that from

161.) "Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1876," p. 399. Washington, 1878.

162.) "Richmond in By-gone Days," p. 203, published by George M. West. Richmond, Va., 1856.

the very beginning the course of study embraced *German language and literature*. The first German professor on this State-institution was *Georg Blaettermann*,¹⁶³) a native of Germany and a graduate of the University of Goettingen. At the time of his appointment he was professor of Philology at Oxford, England,—and he occupied his professorial chair at Charlottesville until 1840. *He was the first teacher in America to introduce “comparative German-English instruction.”*

Professor Dr. M. D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania, and formerly of Baltimore, Md., in his lecture delivered before the National German-American Teachers' Association at Cincinnati, O., on July 8th, 1898, bestowed the following brilliant testimonial on the German immigrants¹⁶⁴): „The importance of the early German influence in America is still unappreciated by the Anglo-American writers of American history, the best accounts of it having been written either in the German language and thus made practically inaccessible to the Anglo-American public—and I blush to say it, to some of our most heralded Anglo-American historians—or if written in English, having been published more as special or local history, without being considered in its vital relations to the life of the American republic.” The same impartial scholastic also stated: “The first epoch of German influence in America was followed, after the Napoleonic wars, by a new and vastly more significant period which has witnessed the revolution of American thought and education *by the touch of German culture*. The German influence this time came through three different channels: (1) through the Anglo-American students who from 1815 on finished their studies at German universities; (2) through the indirect influence of German philosophy, science, and letters by way of England; and (3) through Germans who brought the new stimulus direct after 1825. From the American students in Germany we received the

163.) “Das deutsche Element in den Ver. Staaten,” p. 405, by Gustav Körner. Cincinnati, 1880.

164.) “Erziehungs-Blätter,” 28. Jahrgang, Heft 12, Seite 3 und 4. Milwaukee, Wisc., 1898.

new impulse in American education. . . . The turn of the first quarter of the present century brought a new generation of Germans to American shores. Germans this time not only from the shop and fields, but Germans of thought and heroism, graduates from the universities, etc."

Among the German-Virginian clergy *Rev. Louis Frederick Eichelberger*¹⁶⁵) was a prominent literary man. He was born in Frederick county Md., on the 25th of August 1803. At an early age he was placed in the school of Rev. Dr. Schaeffer at Frederick. Subsequently he was sent to Georgetown, D. C., where he attended the classical school of Dr. Carnahan, who afterward gained distinction as President of Princeton College. From Georgetown, Mr. Eichelberger went to Dickinson College, at Carlisle, Pa., where he graduated in 1826. From college he removed to the newly organized Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, and while a student Mr. Eichelberger was invited to become the pastor of the Lutheran church at Winchester, Va. In 1849 he was elected professor of Theology in the seminary at Lexington, S. C.; the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him by Princeton College,—and resigning his professorship in 1858, he immediately returned to Winchester, Va., warmly welcomed by many ardent friends. In addition to his labors as teacher and preacher, Dr. Eichelberger was the editor and proprietor of a weekly paper, "The Virginian," at Winchester. He also edited and published from 1833-35 a monthly periodical known as "The Evangelical Lutheran Preacher and Pastoral Messenger," which presented sermons and occasional articles on doctrinal and practical subjects by leading ministers of the Lutheran Church. Drs. Schaeffer, Miller, Hazellius, Baugher, Strobel, Endress and the editor were among the principal writers. His great work was "The History of the Lutheran Church," which however was never published. The author of this history regrets not to have been able to examine this valuable manuscript which is in possession of the library of the Lutheran College at Salem, Roanoke county. It covers seven hundred large and closely written

165.) "Some Items of Lutheran Church History," by Rev. J. E. Bushnell, Roanoke, Va.

pages. While negotiating for the publication of his favorite work, Mr. Eichelberger died. Although all his publications are in English, they are inspired by a genuine German spirit.

Rev. Samuel Simon Schmucker, at New-Market, Va., wrote several theological works: "Kurz gefasste Geschichte der christlichen Kirche auf Grundlage der Busch'schen Werke," "Portraiture of Lutheranism," and "The American Lutheran Church, Historically, Doctrinally and Practically delineated." The son of this learned minister, Samuel Mosheim Schmucker, or "Smucker," as he styled his name, was not less productive. He wrote biographical and historical works. His most important composition: "History of the American Civil War," remained unfinished on account of his death in 1863.

Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth,¹⁶⁶⁾ the most distinguished American advocate of the Lutheran faith, translated the "Augsburger Confession," and was the author of an important treatise contrasting the Romish and Evangelical Mass. He also wrote some religious articles in German.

Heinrich Boehm, in 1800, a journeying preacher of the Methodist Church, and previously a preacher of the "United Brethren in Christ," came to the Valley and preached the new dogma in German. His grandfather was a German-Swiss; his father, Martin Boehm, who was Bishop of the United Brethren, travelled with him. They presented the remarkable aspect of advocates of two different creeds, and yet lived in perfect harmony. The Germans of the Valley were much attracted by both of them; the United Brethren accepted much of the Methodist doctrine and may therefore properly be called "German Methodists." Church statistics of Virginia,¹⁶⁷⁾ dated 1870, enumerate 38 organizations with 7450 United Brethren, and say: "The population is of German origin where the German Reformed, Lutheran and United Brethren are found."

It has been stated that the Germans in Virginia did not

166.) "Virginia," a History of the People, by John Esten Cook, p. 494. Boston, 1884.

167.) "Virginia, a Geographical and Political Summary," p. 197; by the Board of Immigration, Richmond, Va., 1876.

take a very active part in State politics, and yet several German immigrants and descendants of same occupied very prominent positions in the Union, the State and the Army during the first decades of this century.

One of the most distinguished German-Virginians was *B. William Wirth*. His father immigrated from Switzerland to Maryland, and his mother was a native of Wuerttemberg. He gained a high reputation as a lawyer and statesman, and in 1819 was appointed by President Monroe Attorney-General of the United States. He retained this important office for twelve years, to the end of the presidential term of John Quincy Adams.

Wirth had also a reputation as an author. In 1803 he wrote, "Letters of the British Spy" for the "Virginia Argus," published in Richmond. These letters created quite a sensation, but the author remained unknown for a long time. He criticized, in a satirical manner, Virginian social life and the customs and eccentricities of the people. These letters furnished much to interest and amuse the public, and much enlarged the subscription lists of the "Argus;" but when the author became known, he earned the hatred of many of his neighbors. — Wirth's "Sketches of the Life of Patrick Henry," merit great credit as one of the most popular biographies in American literature. In the beginning of the fourth decade he published a series of letters of political and social character in the "Alte und neue Welt," printed at Philadelphia, under the pseudonym of "Kahldorf." These letters were dated from Florida, where Mr. Wirth organized a German colony that afterwards declined. The following ludicrous anecdote is related by Kennedy in his "Life of Wirth." It happened in 1803, when Mr. Wirth was awaiting Colonel Gamble's sanction to his marriage with Miss Gamble.

"Colonel Gamble had occasion on a summer morning to visit his future son-in-law's office. It unluckily happened that Wirth had the night before brought some young friends there, and they had had a merry time of it, which so beguiled the hours that even now, at sunrise, they had not separated. The

Colonel opened the door, little expecting to find any company there at that hour. His eyes fell on the strangest group! There stood Wirth with the poker in his right hand, the sheet-iron blower on his left arm, which was thrust through the handle; on his head was a tin wash-basin, and as to the rest of his dress, — it was hot weather and the hero of this grotesque scene had dispensed with as much of his trappings as comfort might require, substituting for them a light wrapper, that greatly aided the theatrical effect. There he stood, in this whimsical caparison, reciting with great gesticulation Falstaff's onset on the thieves, his back to the door. The opening of it attracted the attention of all. We may imagine the queer look of the anxious probationer as Colonel Gamble, with grave and mannerly silence, bowed and withdrew, closing the door behind him without the exchange of a word."

Another memorable personage was *Albert Gallatin*, who came to Virginia in 1779. He was born in Geneva, (Genf) Switzerland, and was a pupil of the celebrated Johannes von Mueller. The Elector of Hussia, who was a schoolmate of Gallatin, offered him a position in his cabinet, which he declined to accept. He came to Richmond, a young man, entrusted with the recovery of some claims, and although he could with difficulty express himself in English, his talents were very soon discovered by Patrick Henry and others. He boarded in the house of Mrs. Allegre, to whose daughter he became attached, and he asked the mother to sanction his addresses. The old Virginian lady was quite wroth at his presumption and, seizing a spit, threatened to transfix and baste him if he dare aspire to her daughter's hand. Finally she relented, the marriage took place and the old lady lived to see her son-in-law highly honored. It is said that Mr. Gallatin consulted Mr. Marshall, afterwards Chief-Justice, about studying law, but was advised to give his attention to statesmanship and finance. The result proved his correct estimate of Mr. Gallatin's talents. In 1780 he joined the Continental Army, and after the war he accepted the professorship of modern languages at Harvard University. In the year 1793 he was elected a member of the U. S. Senate; appointed 1801, under Jefferson and Madison, U. S. Secretary of

Treasury; negotiated 1813 at Gent with Quincy Adams the peace with England; was ambassador to France and England from 1815 to 1823, and retired to private life in 1826. He published, "Memoir on the North-Eastern Boundary," New York, 1843, and "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes in North America." With Thomas Jefferson he vigorously opposed the "Federalists," who aimed to give to the Republic a constitution after the British pattern and even inclined to change the confederacy of States to a constitutional monarchy. In the critical period of 1812 he framed the laws of taxation. He died August 12th, 1849, at Astoria, N. Y.

The Counties Gallatin in Kentucky and Illinois commemorate his name, and various townships and cities in New York, Mississippi, Tennessee and Missouri are named after him.

In the presidential election of 1824 a caucus was held and Mr. Gallatin nominated for Vice-President of the United States, — an honor which never again has been bestowed on a foreign-born citizen. But Mr. Gallatin withdrew.¹⁶⁸⁾

During his stay at Richmond, Va., he occupied a residence on a square between Leigh and Clay, and Seventh and Eighth streets. Death ended his distinguished career in New York city.

It is fairly probable that *Chief-Justice John Marshall* was of German descent, and that his name was originally spelled with "sch" instead of simply "sh." The fact that Mr. Marshall was born in the German settlement of Germantown, in Fauquier county, on the 24th of September, 1755, and that Dr. Louis Marschall,¹⁶⁹⁾ the first physician of Frankfort, Ky., and father of Humphrey Marshall, who anglicized his German name, came from Germantown, Va., too, speaks in favor of this conjecture. He was a general of the Colonial Army and the friend and biographer of George Washington. He married Miss Mary Willis Ambler, daughter of the Treasurer Jaquelin Ambler, in the year 1783, and he died in 1835. His residence

168.) "The North American Review," Vol. 131, No. 5, p. 406.

169.) "Compare Vol. I of this History, p. 159.

still stands in Richmond, on the street named in his honor, between Eighth and Ninth streets. Judge Marshall was a man of great merit, of unpretentious manner and true republican simplicity.

Daniel Sheffey of Staunton, Augusta county, was the son of German parents. He represented Virginia in Congress from 1809-17. Other German-Virginian members of Congress were *John Kerr* of Richmond, 1813-17, and *Isaac Leffler* from the Shenandoah Valley from 1827-29.¹⁷⁰) The biography of Daniel Sheffey is given by Andreas Simon¹⁷¹) as follows:

“*Daniel Sheffey* was born in the year 1770, in Frederick, Md. His father, a German shoemaker, introduced his son into the secrets of his trade, but he did not care to give him a good school-education. Daniel However was desirous of learning and used his leisure time to study astronomy and mathematics, for which he possessed a particular fancy. When he was of age he wandered up the Valley to Augusta county, and from there to Ablesville, Wythe county, where he received employment as shoemaker. His originality and wittiness soon attracted general attention, and finally he quitted his trade and studied law with lawyer Alexander Smyth. When admitted to the bar, and having proved his talent in several complicated law suits, he removed to Staunton, Va. There he was very successful. Mr. John Randolph, the well known statesman, once opposed him before court, and satirically remarked: ‘A shoemaker better remain at his bench,’ whereupon Sheffey answered: ‘Of course if you had been a shoemaker you would still be one.’ Although Sheffey spoke the English language with a strikingly German accent, he was elected in 1805 to the Senate of Virginia, 1809 to Congress and again in 1823 to the Legislature of Virginia. He died at Staunton in 1830.”

In 1812, during the second war of the Republic with Great Britain, *Major George Armistaedt* defended the harbor

170.) “Virginia and Virginians,” by Dr. R. A. Brock. Richmond, Va., 1856.

171.) “Lord Fairfax in Virginien,” von A. Simon in “Der Westen,” June 12th, 1892. Chicago, Ills,

of Baltimore against the fleet under Admiral Coekburn. He was born April 10th, 1780, at New-Market, Va., where his ancestors had immigrated from Hessen-Darmstadt. Five of his brothers served in the army during the war of 1812, three with the regulars and two with the militia. In 1813 George Armistaedt was promoted to Major of the 3rd Artillery Regiment. He distinguished himself at the capture of Fort George at the mouth of the Niagara river, and after his brilliant defence of Fort Henry near Baltimore he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Walter Keith Armistead, a brother of the aforementioned, was born in 1785 and died in 1845 at Upperville, Va. He, like his brother, was a brave soldier. From 1808—1811 he distinguished himself as engineer and superintendent of the fortifications of Norfolk, Va., and was appointed Brigadier-General.

The Armistead family is held among the most prominent in the old mother State. The mother of President John Tyler belonged to it. She was a daughter of Robert Armistead, whose grandfather had immigrated from Hessen-Darmstadt. From a petition of Mrs. Letitia Tyler Semple, addressed to Hon. George G. West, U. S. Senator of Missouri, and dated Louisenheim, Washington, D. C., April 20th, 1897, we learn the interesting fact: that the Armstädt or Armistead were relatives of *four Presidents* of the United States. Mrs. Semple, the daughter of President Tyler and during his term "first lady of the land," writes: "James Monroe, William Henry Harrison, John Tyler and Benjamin Harrison are cousins, being related with the Armisteads and Tylers of Virginia."

* In 1794 Joseph Ruffner, a member of the before mentioned Ruffner family and a Shenandoah farmer, bought the Dickinson survey of Kanawha. He made no haste to visit his purchase, relates Dr. W. H. Ruffner,¹⁷²) but the next year, riding among the mountains in search of iron-ore, he

172.) "Historical Papers," No. 5, 1895, pp. 17—21. Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

saw a salt spring. When he had considered the fatness of those river bottoms, along which he had ridden for thirty-six miles; when he looked at that clear, placid, "river of the woods," alive with red-horse, white perch, buffalo and blue cats, something whispered, "It is good to be here." Joseph Ruffner bought the salt spring and a large tract of bottom land including the site of the present city of Charleston. He used the old fort for a residence and dying in 1803 he left the Dickiusion survey, as it is commonly called, to his sons David and Joseph, who soon went to drilling in the rock to get a larger supply of salt water. Joseph, Jr., became discouraged and sold out to his brother David, whilst he went down the Ohio and began to farm on land which, in time, he sold out in town lots to accommodate the incoming population of the town of Cincinnati. David remained on the Kanawha and went on disclosing the vast treasures in coal and salt—or with his "churning in the ground," as his incredulous neighbors jeeringly called his operations. Meanwhile, however, he kept his farm a-going. He invented many devices for boring wells that continue to be approved. In November 1808 he struck a good supply of brine at forty-four feet from the surface, and erected a large furnace, by means of which he promptly reduced the price of salt from five dollars a bushel to two dollars. When David died, Rev. Stuart Robinson, his pastor, wrote: "Colonel Ruffner was one of our first settlers; and by general acknowledgment has been our most useful citizen." He represented Kanawha in the Virginia Legislature in 1799, 1801 and 1802, 1804 and 1811. The Kanawha saltworks and the first coal mines, the chief industries of this district, were established by this energetic German-Virginian. Col. Ruffner died Feb. 1st, 1843.

Gen. Lewis Ruffner, the grandson of David Ruffner, occupied a high and enviable position as a business and public man. He was the first child born in what is now the capital of West Virginia, (Oct. 1st, 1797.) He received an excellent college education and then returned to Kanawha and taught school one year. In 1820 he commenced the manufacture of salt, built a furnace adapted to the use of

coal for fuel, and in 1823 he took possession of the property and salt business of his father Henry Ruffner. In 1825 he was elected to the Legislature of Virginia, and was re-elected in 1826, and again in 1828, and during the same year he was appointed Justice of the Peace.

High praise is due to other German-Virginians for their meritorious labours in various directions. In 1809¹⁷³) a number of gentlemen, interested in Agriculture, residing in Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia, organized the "Columbian Agricultural Society." As the germ of a national organization, embracing different States, and as the initiative of agricultural exhibitions, this society's operations are entitled to an honorable record, and were heartily endorsed by German farmers. At the second exhibition of the Society, held at Georgetown, eighteen premiums were offered for the best agricultural products and domestic manufactured goods, and to the German exhibitors William Steinberger of Shenandoah county, Va., and George M. Couradt of Frederickstown, Maryland, five premiums were awarded. The cattle exhibited by Mr. Steinberger attracted general notice, especially an extraordinary steer raised by him. This animal was believed to be the largest ever raised in Virginia. The steer was killed the next day at the slaughter-house of Mr. Krouse and weighed near two thousand pounds net beef.

In the year 1800 the population of Richmond was 5,300 white and colored inhabitants, and there were ten or twelve physicians. *Dr. Leiper* was esteemed as one of the favorite doctors. In his office W. H. Harrison, afterwards President of the United States, began the study of medicine. Contemporaries of *Dr. Leiper* were doctors *Warner* (Werner?) and *Wyman* (Wiemann?) whose names indicate their German origin. *W. F. Ast*, a Prussian by birth, established the first mutual Assurance Company against fire in Virginia; but in succession very extensive fires occurred in Norfolk, Richmond, Petersburg and Fredericksburg and the

173.) From an editorial article in the "Agricultural Museum," 1809, and the "U. S. Agricultural Report" of 1866.

first paid quota of premium was exhausted in a few years. When a second one was required, payment was refused in many cases and finally the company dissolved. *Joseph Darmstadt*, a Hessian, who came to this country as a sutler of the allied troops of Great Britain, established a business for country produce in Richmond. "He was a shrewd man," says the *Chronicler*,¹⁷⁴⁾ "and as the Valley beyond the Blue Ridge was settled by Germans, his knowledge of the language enabled him to attract the custom of the farmers, who drove their wagons to Richmond, laden with the products of the dairy, the mill, forest and the chase. The social disposition of Mr. Darmstadt brought him into society, even the best. His own entertainments were given daily. Almost all our citizens, in those days, went early to market to furnish their larders, and Mr. D. would have a large coffee pot before his fire-place, of the contents of which, prepared by himself, many of his friends, judges, lawyers, doctors and merchants, partook, whenever they were so inclined, particularly on wet and cold mornings; and here the chit-chat of the day was first heard and much news was circulated from this social house."

Another enterprising merchant of that time was *Joseph Marx*. The tobacco and tanners' trades were mostly in German hands, and so were the comparatively small number of inns throughout the State. The *Chronicler* of Richmond¹⁷⁵⁾ describes the primitive mode of transporting tobacco to market at the end of the last and the beginning of this century as follows: "The cask containing it was actually rolled to market on its own periphery, through mud and stream. A long wooden spike, driven into the centre of each end, and projecting a few inches beyond it, served for an axletree; a split sapling was fitted to it for shafts and extended in rear of the cask; they were there connected by a hickory withe; a few slabs were nailed to these, in front of the cask, forming a sort of foot board, or box, in which were stowed a middling or two of bacon, a bag of meal, a frying pan, a hoe, an axe, and a blanket

174.) "Richmond in By-gone Days," pp. 110 and 111. Richmond, Va., 1856.

175.) "Richmond in By-gone Days," pp. 270-272. Richmond, Va., 1856.

for the bipeds; the whole covered to some height with fodder for the quadrupeds. If the distance to market was moderate, the hogshead was rolled on its hoops, which were stout and numerous; but if fifty to a hundred miles or more were to be overcome, rough felloes were spiked on at each end, or quarter of the cask, and these rude tires served to protect it from being worn through. The *tobacco roller*, as the driver, (often the owner) was called, sought no roof for shelter during his journey, sometimes of a week's duration and severe toil; but at nightfall he kindled a fire in the woods by the road side, baked a hoe cake, fried some bacon, fed his team, (I omitted to mention the bag of corn,) rolled his blanket around him and slept by the fire under the lee of his cask. When he reached the warehouse, his tobacco was inspected, a note or receipt expressing the weight, etc., was handed to him, and he then sallied forth into the streets in search of a purchaser; calling out as he entered a store, 'Mister, do you buy tobacco.' When he had found the right 'Mister,' and obtained his money and a few articles to carry to his 'old woman,' he strapped the blanket on one of his horses and rode home. These men generally travelled in small parties, and if the weather and roads were good, had a merry time of it; if bad, they assisted each other when obstacles occurred. The journey from beyond Roanoke, the only section of the State where German farmers cultivated tobacco, consumed ten days going and returning. Tobacco rollers are now an extinct species."

In the year 1788 "*The Amicable Society*" was formed in Richmond, with the benevolent object of relieving strangers and wayfarers in distress, for whom the law makes no provision. The list of members contains many German names, as: Wm. Schermer, J. Kemp, Joseph Darmstadt, J. Kerr, A. Leiper, Samuel Myers, Jos. Marx, S. Jacob, B. Brand, W. Bibber, G. H. Backus, W. W. Henning, J. Boshier and D. W. Walthall.

At the beginning of the century a place called the "Rock Landing," near the mouth of Shockoe creek at Richmond, was the resort for oyster boats and small crafts. On the occasion of a severe ice-freshet a great deposit of drift-wood, soil and sand

formed a small island in James river. "A German¹⁷⁶⁾ named *Widewilt* procured a land warrant and located it on this new formed land, and to secure it against becoming a floating island, he drove stakes all around his slippery domain and wattled them so that future freshets might add further deposits; and thus 'Widewilt's Island' became a possession of some value as a fishery and sand-mart. The island remained above water longer than its owner did above ground; a similar accident to that which formed the island recurred and destroyed the work of its predecessor."—The courageous work of the German fisherman calls forth admiration and has surrounded his name with romance.¹⁷⁷⁾

In the year 1804 a German hunter *Bernard Wier* discovered in the magnesian limestone region of Augusta county, on the land of his countryman *Aymand*,¹⁷⁸⁾ the beautiful cave known as "Wier's Cave."

Immigration in the farming districts of the State had almost ceased, as has been mentioned, within the first decades of the nineteenth century. Only the country around Alexandria made an exception, as the farmers of that section found a ready sale for their farm products in the adjoining city of Washington. The farmers directed their attention mainly to fruit culture, market gardening and dairy farming. Dr. Julius Dienelt, of Alexandria, informed the author "that in the period of 1830-40 quite a number of Germans settled in the immediate vicinity of Alexandria, naming: Hartbauer, Hohenstein, Grillbortzer, Dietz, Petshold and others, and their descendants still own the land of their fathers, which has much increased in value."

The most convincing evidence of the importance, strength and propagation of the older German element in Virginia is furnished by the large number of German names in the lists of members of the "General Assembly of Virginia." From

176) "Richmond in By-gone Days," pp. 19 and 20. Richmond, Va., 1856.

177.) "Widewilt's versunkene Insel," Gedicht von H. Schuricht. "Der Süden," Vol. I, No. 10. Richmond, Va., 1891.

178.) "Virginia Almanac for 1816," Johnson & Warner. Richmond, Va.

the "Journals of the House of Delegates and of the Senate" the author obtained the following German names, not taking into consideration many doubtful ones like: Adam, Arnold, Baker, Christian, Cook, Fox, Friend, Hunter, Marshall, Martin, New, Thomas, Smith, Young, etc.

1777-1780: Starke, A. Hite, (Hampshire); W. Fleming, S. Hart, (Rockingham); Isaac Zane, (Shenandoah); S. Helm, George Skillering, (Botetourt); W. Drinkard, Th. Hite, (Berkeley).

1781-1783: Rucker, John Skinker, (King George); H. Fry, (Culpepper); Ch. Simms, (Fairfax); Thomas Helm, Francis Worman, Ebenezer Zane, (Ohio); J. Marks, J. Fry, (Albemarle); Th. Coleman, (Halifax).

1784-1786: W. Armistead, (New Kent); J. Reed (Pendleton); William Gerrard, (Stafford); J. Cropper, Wm. Gerrard, (Fayette); A. Hines, A. Stephan, (Berkeley); G. Stubblefield, (Spotsylvania); John Marr, R. Gregory, Gustavus Brown.

1787-1788: J. Turner, John Stringer, D. Fisher, B. Temple, (King William); John Broadhead, Joseph Swearingen, J. Trotter, Th. Kemp, (Princess Ann).

1790-1794: A. Waggoner, (Berkeley); Th. Edgar, Isaac Parsons, G. Stump, W. Nilms, A. D. Orr, Richard Hickman, (Clarke); Jacob Froman, (Mercer).

1795-1798: George Buckner, (Caroline); Th. Starke, (Hanover); Wm. Buckner, (Mathe); John Koontz, (Rockingham).

1805-1816: Daniel Sheffey, (Augusta); Noah Zane, (Ohio); Gorman Baker, (Cumberland); Wm. Starke, (Hanover); T. W. Swearingen, (Jefferson); Dr. Jos. De Graffenriedt, (Lunenburg).

1823-1828: L. T. Date, (Orange); George May, (Bath); F. G. L. Buhning, (Cabell); Jos. Holleman, (Isle of Wight); George Rust, (Loudoun); James Fisher, (Lunenburg); R. P. Fletcher, (Rockingham); Col. John Thom, (Fauquier); John Perringer, (Alleghany); Samuel Herdman, (Brooke); George Stillman, (Fluvanna); Ed. Sangeter, (Fairfax); Wm. Finks, (Madison); Dr. John Stanger, (White); John F. May, (Petersburg).

CHAPTER XII.

REVIVAL OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION AND LIFE TO 1860.

IN the fourth decade of the nineteenth century the German element of Virginia, particularly of Richmond, several country towns and the present State of West Virginia, received large additions of German immigrants. They came by way of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New Orleans. Representing nearly all of the German States, yet they principally came from Hessa and Saxony—particularly from the city of Marburg in Hessa. Mr. Nolting, a merchant whose descendants still live in Richmond, imported by sailing vessel direct from Bremen to Rockets, now Fulton, Va., a large number of German laborers and artisans, who were employed in building the James river or Kanawha canal. Numerous German Hebrews settled in the various county seats of Virginia, where they established stores. Mr. Julius Straus, the present president of the Beth Ahaba congregation, reported on Nov. 6, 1898, in a brief sketch of the Jews of Richmond: ¹⁷⁹⁾

“In the years 1837, 1838 and 1839 there arrived in this city from Bavaria several families which had been accustomed to the German mode of worship. In these years the Congregation Beth Shalome was the only Synagogue in Richmond, and the history of this congregation is, to some extent, the history of the Hebrews in Richmond. A minute-book, which perished in the flames of evacuation day, together with other valuable papers belonging to the synagogue, dated back to the year 1791, which is generally accepted as the date of organiza-

179.) “The Richmond Dispatch,” November 6th, 1898, p. 3.

tion of this congregation following the Portuguese form, which was strange to the German immigrants. About the year 1840 some twenty German families were organized into a society for religious purposes, and held services at the residence of Mr. Myer Angle. Then more German settlers arrived in the city, and a synagogue was built on Marshall, near Sixth street, and in 1848 the present synagogue, Beth Ahaba, on Eleventh street, near Marshall, was dedicated."

Mr. Jacob Ezekiel, who has written a very interesting pamphlet, entitled "The Jews of Richmond," says: "The first place of worship of the Beth Shalome congregation was a room in a three-story brick building on the west side of Nineteenth, between Franklin and Grace streets, in which one of the members resided. The next place of worship was a small brick building, erected on the west side of Nineteenth street, in the rear of what was known as the Union Hotel, on the southwest corner of Main and Nineteenth streets.

"After some years a lot of ground was purchased from Dr. Adams, on the east side of Mayo, above Franklin street, on which a commodious synagogue was erected, in which the congregation worshipped for upwards of three quarters of a century. On account of the decrease of membership by death and removal from the city this synagogue was recently sold to another congregation, the K. K. Sir Moses Montefiore, and the remnant of the congregation of Beth Shalome have worshipped since then in Lee Camp Hall, on Broad street, near Seventh, and in 1898 this oldest Jewish congregation united with the congregation of Beth Ahaba.

"The reading desk of this once flourishing Beth Shalome congregation has been filled from time to time by prominent Hazanim, who afterward occupied honorable positions in the most prominent congregations in the United States, among whom were the following Revs. with German names: Isaac H. Judah, Abraham H. Cohen, Isaac Leeser, Solomon Jacobs, Julius Eckman, Henry S. Jacobs, George Jacobs."

The history of Beth Ahaba will follow further on.

Senator Wm. Lovenstein of Richmond, in his English oration at the "German Day," 1890¹⁸⁰), mentioned the names of several Germans, who came to Richmond in 1835 and 1836, who are to be considered as pioneers of the later large immigration: B. Briel, C. Liewer, J. Knauf, J. Brauer, V. Hechler, Gottfr. Noelting, J. Rebman, Havermare, Mrs. P. Fahr, Georg Lentz, Mrs. G. Lentz, Mrs. H. A. Philips, Mrs. Kohlhäusen, P. Kepler, P. Schafer, C. Weber, H. Kracke, Joseph Myers, Mrs. Joseph Myers, G. Wilhelm, A. Bodecker, Scherer, George Schoenberger, J. Doerflinger, Pitz, W. Ewerts, W. Miller, F. Wittemaier, Beck, O. A. Strecker, Stein, Kruesman, John Maybus, William Menzing, Myer Angle, Moses Waterman and Isaac Solomon.

Richmond, the capital of the State, now became the nucleus of German life in Virginia. Here the celebrations of German national events took place. The first *public festival* or "Volksfest," was celebrated in 1840, in honor of *Guttenberg*, ¹⁸¹). It is to be deplored that no description of this festive event is left. On the 14th and 15th of September, 1857, a grand celebration in honor of General von Steuben: *Das Steubenfest*, was arranged. The entire affair was a triumph and every feature of it a success. The leaders in this festival, O. A. Strecker, Oswald Heinrich, Jul. Fischer, Weilbacher, Louis Rueger, Honneger, Marxhausen, Diacont, Meier, Morgenstern, Lehmann, Sturm, Schad, Harrold, and B. Hassel, hoped¹⁸²), that it would demonstrate to their countrymen the strength of the German element and impart to them more national self-confidence, while on the other hand the Anglo-American fellow-citizens would better learn to understand and to respect German customs; and these expectations were realized. The German Rifle Company, Saengerbund, Krankenverein, Schiller-Loge, Theaterverein, Turnverein and citizens belonging to none of these organizations assembled about noon on the 14th Sep-

180.) "The Richmond Dispatch," p. 2, October 7th, 1890.

181.) "Das deutsche Element in den Ver. Staaten," Seite 404, von Gustav Körner, Cincinnati, 1880.

182.) "Virginische Zeitung," Sonntagsblatt des Anzeigers. Richmond, Va., September 14th, 1890.

tember, 1852, in the Capitol Square, on the north side of the Capitol, formed in procession and marched to Bellville Place. There the formal ceremonies: prayer, speeches, music and singing, the unveiling of Gen. Steuben's bust, moulded by Mr. Hubert, were followed by social gaiety and games for children arranged by the ladies. The best order prevailed.

Oswald Julius Heinrich delivered the German oration, which was highly enjoyed and applauded. We quote in his own words and language from his brilliant speech the following remarks:

“Hat nicht der Fleiss der Deutschen, wenn nicht in höherem Maasse, doch sicher zu gleichen Theilen, die Gauen des neuen Vaterlandes in blühende Auen verwandelt? Ist nicht das Verdienst der Deutschen um Kunst, Literatur und allgemeine Kenntnisse von allen Denen anerkannt, welchen beschränkter Nationalstolz ein freies Urtheil nicht verkümmert? Kämpften nicht zu allen Zeiten und in allen Ländern die Deutschen für die Sache der Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit, für Wahrheit und Licht? Und zeigen auch einige schwarze Blätter der Geschichte, dass vereinzelte Schaaren sich verleiten liessen, aus gemeiner Gewinnsucht sich zu Gegnern derselben zu machen, gingen sie nicht früher oder später, von ihrem Unrecht überzeugt, in den rechten Pfad zurück? Und mannen sich nicht noch jetzt die Deutschen um die flatternde Fahne derjenigen Partei, welche die Grundsätze der Väter der Republik zu den ihrigen macht und die Freiheit und Gleichheit Aller gegen freche Uebergriffe und Monopole zu schützen sucht?” u. s. w.

Heinrich was born on the 2d April, 1828, at Dresden, Saxony, studied architecture and mining at the academies of Dresden and Freiberg, Saxony¹⁸³). Having participated in the revolution at Dresden in May, 1849, he was prosecuted and obliged to leave the land. In 1850 he came to America and worked as mason, carpenter, painter, teacher and engineer in Tennessee, South and North Carolina. In 1855 he moved

183.) Correspondence of the late Mr. Benno Heinrich (the brother of O. Heinrich.) Richmond, Va.

to Richmond, Va., and established himself as architect and teacher of mathematics and drawing. During the civil war Heinrich held a position in the Confederate mining office. Afterwards he was superintendent of the Lead Works at Austinville, Va., and still later of the Midlothian Coal Mines in Chesterfield county, Va. In 1878 he finally succeeded in obtaining an office fully complying to his wishes and eminent talents. Messrs. Cox Brothers' Co., proprietors of the coal mines at Drifton, Pa., invited him to organize a mining academy, and he remained the principal of it until February 4th, 1886, the day of his death. His corpse was cremated at New York and his ashes interred at Hollywood cemetery, Richmond, Va.

A similar success like the "Steuben Fest" was the "*Schillerfeier*," on November 10th, 1859. The entire German population of the city participated in honoring the favorite poet of all Germans: Friedrich von Schiller, at the 100th anniversary of his birthday. In order to make this celebration an impressive demonstration against the detestable "Know-nothing movement" prevailing at the time, Schiller's centennial festival was celebrated in a glorious style.

The liberal era in Germany and Austria, from 1848 to 1850, had ended in revolutions and the victory of reaction. Many political fugitives emigrated to the United States, and the Republic received during that period a most desirable influx of emigrants from Germany. The refugees were men of high education and noble character; they had sacrificed their homes and positions in life for the unity and liberty of their beloved Fatherland; and such elements were well qualified to give a new impulse to German life in America, and to successfully advocate not to give up the mother language and the accomplishments and good habits of the native land. Virginia received her share of this valuable immigration, although the greater number stayed in the cities of the East or went to the "Far West."

There were, unfortunately, among these refugees a number of enthusiasts, who cherished the idea to germanize America, or to establish at least a German State in the Union. The

number of these fanatics was *very small*, but their foolish agitation was the cause of great evil to the entire German element. Almost all German-Virginians were opposed to the movement, but the leaders of it selected the city of Wheeling, situated in the extreme north of Virginia before the division of the State, as the seat of a "*Congress of German Revolutionists*" to meet in September, 1852, and the Anglo-Americans attached to this convention more importance than it merited. *Only sixteen delegates* of nominally 1112 Revolutionary Associations (Revolutionsvereine) attended the so-called Congress; and most of them came from Eastern States. The participants were¹⁸⁴): Dr. Conradin Homburg, of Indianapolis, Ind., formerly practicing medicine at Fredericksburg, Va., president; E. Schlaeger, of Boston, Mass., secretary; Leonard Roos, of Newark, N. J., R. Fischer, of Wheeling, Va., C. Strobel, Wheeling, Va., L. Meyer, Boston Mass., I. N. Winkle, Wheeling, Va., W. Rothacker, of London, A. Gerwig, Cincinnati, O., J. Mueller, Cleveland, O., E. Goepp, Philadelphia, Pa., W. Rosenthal, Philadelphia, Pa., Lorenz Kirchner, Troy, N. Y., G. Baczko, Albany, N. Y., J. Roth, Pittsburg, Pa., and C. Hoffmann, Pittsburg, Pa. These eccentric persons traced out a program for the foundation of an "*Universal Republic*" (Welt-Republic). They proposed to organize an Alliance of the Nations of the New and the Old World, (einen Voelkerbund der neuen und alten Welt), and to accomplish "*the annexation of Europe to America.*" The German-American newspapers treated the resolutions of the Wheeling Congress with ridicule and contempt, but the Anglo-American press pretended to see in the proceedings of the convention an insolent interference with the political affairs of this country. Thus the "Wheeling Congress" offered to the so-called "natives" the welcome opportunity to false representations of the patriotic sentiment of the "foreigners," and particularly of the Germans. Another organization, "the Free German Society, (Freie Gemeinde), at Richmond," excited about 1850 suspicion and severe critique. The principles of radicals frightened the slaveholders and church-goers, although they include economic social and political questions which in our days have in part been realized or grown to importance.

184.) "Der deutsche Pionier," 8. Jahrgang, Seite 96, Cincinnati, Ohio,

Louis P. Hennighausen, in his interesting "Personal Reminiscences of the Political Life of the German-Americans in Baltimore during the decade of 1850-1860," reports¹⁸⁵): The Free German Society in Richmond, Va., demanded: 1, Universal suffrage; 2, The election of all officers by the people; 3, The abolition of the Presidency; 4, The abolition of the Senates, so that all Legislatures shall consist of one branch only; 5, The right of the people to recall their representatives at their pleasure; 6, The right of the people to change the Constitution when they like; 7, All law-suits to be conducted without expense; 8, A department of the Government to be set up for the purpose of protecting immigration; 9, A reduced term for immigrants to acquire citizenship.—*Reform in the Foreign Relations of the Government*: 1, Abolition of all neutrality; 2, Intervention in favor of every people struggling for liberty.—*Reform in what relates to religion*: 1, A more perfect development of the principle of personal freedom and liberty of conscience; consequently, (a) abolition of laws for the observance of the Sabbath; (b) abolition of prayers in Congress; (c) abolition of oath upon the Bible; (d) repeal of laws enacting a religious test before taking an office. 2, Taxation of church property; 3, A prohibition of incorporations of all church property in the name of ecclesiastics.—*Reform in Social Conditions*: 1, Abolition of all land monopoly; 2, Ad valorem taxation of property; 3, Amelioration of the condition of the working class, (a) by lessening the time of work to eight hours for grown persons and to five hours for children; (b) by incorporation of Mechanics' Associations and Protective Societies; (c) by granting a preference to mechanics before all other creditors; (d) by establishing, at public expense, an asylum for superannuated mechanics without means. 4, Education of poor children by the State; 5, Taking possession of railroads by the State; 6, The promotion of education, (a) by the introduction of free schools, with the power of enforcing parents to send their children to school, and prohibition of all clerical influence; (b) by instruction in the German language; (c) by establishing a German University. 7, The

185.) Eleventh and Twelfth Annual Reports of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland," 1897-1898, pp. 5 and 6; and "Political Text Book and Clopædia," by W. W. Cesky, pp. 220, etc. Philadelphia, 1860.

supporting of the slave emancipation exertions of Cassius M. Clay by Congressional laws; 8, Abolition of the Christian system of punishment and introduction of the humane amelioration system; 9, Abolition of capital punishment.

The "Freie Gemeinde" was however only an *ephemeral organization*; its membership was only twenty-two, and it was looked upon by the majority of the Germans of Richmond with almost hostile sentiments. The participation in such a society was full of dangers in a slave State, and in spite of its insignificance it gave the nativists sustenance for their animosity.

The recollection of this association has almost died out and it was only possible after manifold query to obtain some reliable information about it from the contemporaries of its time¹³⁶) still living in Richmond.

It was about 1850 when a certain Mr. Steinmetz came to Richmond and made energetic efforts to organize a "Freie Gemeinde." He was assisted by brewer Richter, of the Chimborazo Brewery, Mr. Kempe, Mr. A. Rick, two Mess. Teupel Mr. Steinlein, &c. Several meetings were held at Monticello Hotel, where Steinmetz addressed the members on the principles of Free-thinkers. A great deal of animosity was aroused, particularly among their countrymen, by the hoisting of a "red flag" over the meeting house, and this demonstration brought down on them the appellation of "Die Rothen," *i. e.*, "the Reds." In the early part of 1851 Steinmetz was advised to shake the dust of the city off his feet if he did not desire to be subjected to complications peculiarly disagreeable to himself, and he heeded the advice. With his disappearance the whole movement was wrecked.

Since the introduction of slavery the pro-slaverymen in Virginia had looked upon the Germans with hidden suspicion and antipathy, and now their animosity was shared by a very great portion of the entire English element, which made itself observable by paltry but inimical actions.

136.) Reminiscences furnished by Messrs. Louis Rueger, B. Hassel, C. R. M. Pohl and C. Wendlinger.

The success of the Germans in agricultural, industrial and commercial pursuits, and their love of the old Fatherland demonstrated by their great public festivals at Richmond, increased the ill-will of the Anglo-Virginians. The political, religious and social institutions of the United States, as: general and free elections, freedom of speech, printing, worship of God, public instruction, equal rights before court and in political and social competition, *all these very fundamental principles of republican life* were at that period in Virginia not carried out to the letter. The so-called natives knew very well that their German fellow-citizens, although silently and patiently suffering, fully recognized the state of oppression and that they longed to exercise their constitutional rights without restraint or fear of evil consequences to themselves. Some intimidated writers have glorified the good relations claimed by them to have existed between the Anglo- and German-Virginians at that period, but the historian has to *tell the truth* and not to gild dark clouds, and he must acknowledge that the Germans were politically and socially slighted. From 1854—56 the spiteful "*know-nothing movement*" prevailed, and the so-called "natives" threw off the mask and openly showed their animosity for the "foreigners." At first the Germans continued to silently bear all abuse and threat—some of them even forgot their self-respect and joined their enemies—and it was therefore the good luck of the oppressed that from among the Anglo-Virginians an eloquent and ardent defender pleaded their cause. *Henry A. Wise*, afterwards Governor of the State and General in the Confederate army, in an open letter and many speeches during the memorable Electoral campaign of 1854, defended the rights of the abused foreigners and foiled the know-nothing movement. At that time Governor Wise erected to himself a monument in the hearts of all German-Virginians that can never wither, *and he in truth made the relations between the English and the Germans in Virginia more harmonious and beneficial*, although the rivalry between the two nationalities continued for some time, as may be illustrated by the following incident:

On July 26th, 1856, the following appeal was published in the *Richmonder Anzeiger*:

AWAKE GERMANS!

The City Council, elected to protect the welfare and rights of the citizens, having resolved, on the 21st inst., to pay to each uniformed military company an annual allowance of 50 dollars—but upon motion of Mr. Gretter: with the exception of the German Rifle Company—all German citizens of Richmond and all who have taken their intention papers, are hereby invited to attend, on Monday next, July 28th, at eight o'clock, P. M.,

A GENERAL MASS-MEETING

at the St. Johannes Church, on Fifth street,
to discuss the following questions:

1. Is the City Council justified to ignore the rights of citizens and to expend the public funds with partiality?

2. Is the City Council entitled to tax the German citizens at equal rates as other citizens, without granting them equal privileges?

3. Is the City Council authorized to grant German citizens and taxpayers fewer benefits of public funds than citizens of other nationality?

4. And is the action of the City Council of the 21st inst. not to be termed an act of impudence and insult to the German Rifle Company, and also an offence against the Constitution of the country, and an outrage to the whole German population of the State of Virginia?

Every German who values the rights of citizens and German honor is expected to attend the meeting!

SEVERAL CITIZENS."

The author of this appeal was Mr. C. R. M. Pohle, and about 200 Germans attended the meeting in the German church. Mr. B. Hassel called the assembly to order and was appointed chairman, while Mr. J. Reinhardt was chosen secretary. Messrs. Pohle, Gronwald, Rev. Hoyer, Rick and others criticized the action of the City Council in the strongest terms, and *blamed it to be partial and to provoke discord and hatred among the citizens*. Finally resolutions were adopted and afterwards published in the leading English city papers: the "Enquirer," "Examiner" and "Dispatch," which neither lacked plainness nor energy; but the expected result did not

follow. The City Council justified its action by a most deplorable incident that happened at a target shooting on a picnic place called the "Hermitage." Although the shooting was arranged by the German Rifles, this military company had nothing to do with the occurrence. A young German butcher, who was no member of the company, had indulged in too much spirits and become quarrelsome. He insulted and attacked a corporal of the Rifle Company, who finally shot and wounded his offender fatally, so that he died in the hospital during the night. The corporal disappeared and was never heard of again; all German citizens of Richmond lamented the sad event, but no one considered the Company in any way responsible. The City Council took a contrary view. However, the German Rifle Company kept up its organization without the aid of public money, and at a later time, when the Civil War broke out and the Governor called on the citizens to defend the State, the members of the ill-treated company shouldered their rifles and took the field under the command of Capt. Florence Miller.

C. R. M. Pohle, who was the chief arranger of the above described mass-meeting, is a man of German sentiment and of ideal disposition. He was born on April 17th, 1821, at Delitsch, Prussia. He came to America in 1844, and lived in New York until 1849. At New York he accepted an engagement as actor in Palm's Opera House, a German theatre under the management of Mr. Schwan, and he gained the esteem of the public¹⁸⁷). In 1849 until 1852 he was a musician of the U. S. Navy Band, and afterwards he removed to Richmond, Va., where he received the appointment of Pro-Sector of the anatomical department of the Richmond Medical College. With a particular liking he filled the position of Drum-Major of the First Virginia Militia Regiment, and accompanied it in the war¹⁸⁸). Pohle also tried himself as author. He wrote two dramas: "Der Blitz" and "Maria, oder Leidenschaft und Liebe," and also many German poems, published in 1855 by B. Hassell, Richmond, Va. These pub-

187.) "New-York Staatszeitung," August 13th, 1845.

188.) "War History of the old First Virginia Infantry Regiment," by Charles T. Loehr. Richmond, Va., 1884.

lications were much criticized as being deficient in form and sometimes objectionable in expression, but they are not without poetical merit and full of devotional German patriotism. Mr. Pohle was for years solicitor of the "Virginia Staats Gazette;" he died an inmate of the Soldiers' Home at Richmond.

German newspapers, published in Richmond, have been already repeatedly mentioned, and now their history shall be supplemented.

In the year 1853 B. Hassel, a native of Cassel, Hessa, a compositor by occupation, founded the "Richmond Anzeiger." Many years Mr. Hassel had to compete with serious difficulties to keep up his paper; at times he combined the functions of editor, compositor, printer and distributor, and to the present time his wife and children have faithfully assisted him in his toilsome work. The perseverance of Mr. Hassel deserves great credit, and the "Anzeiger" has to-day the honor to be the second oldest of all the existing Richmond newspapers.

About the year 1858 Rev. Hoyer, pastor of the German Evangelical St. Johannes church, published the "Beobachter," a German weekly. The paper was well edited, but insufficiently supported, and existed but a short time.

In the beginning of 1859 Hermann Schuricht, the author of this history, came to Richmond and started with Henry Schott, born in Marburg, in Hessa, the daily "Virginische Zeitung" and a comic Sunday paper, "Die Wespe." These publications were favorably received by the public, but unfortunately the Civil War broke out soon after and injured the enterprise. In January, 1860, the proprietors accepted the proposition of the owners of the "Richmond Enquirer" to consolidate the "Virginische Zeitung" with their widely circulated paper. Henry Schott remained in charge of the German printing department and H. Schuricht continued as German editor. The "Enquirer" appeared hereafter until the war opened in April, 1860, its outer pages printed in German and the inner in English, edited by O. Jennings Wise, son of Governor Wise, and Col. N. Tyler. Editor Schu-

richt had stipulated, however, that he should not be obliged to write in favor of slavery, and that all contributions of the English editors to the German part of the paper were to be signed by them. After the close of the war Mr. Hassel undertook to publish the "Virginische Zeitung" as Sunday edition of the "Anzeiger," and it is so continued to the present day.

Several German-Virginians were contributors to these German Richmond newspapers, like: *G. A. Peple*, whose biographical sketch follows in chapter 13, and who for some time, towards the close of the war, edited the "Richmond Anzeiger." *Hugo Plaut* furnished the "Virginische Zeitung" with pretty poems. He was a native of Hessia and kept a trimming store on Main street. At the beginning of the Civil War he joined the Wise Legion, was afterward a manufacturer in New York city, and died in 1895. *Wilhelm H. Lotz*, born at Marburg, in Hessia, contributed several articles on technical questions to the "Virginische Zeitung." He died in 1894 at Chicago.

The "Virginische Staatszeitung" was published at Wheeling, before the separation of West Virginia.

A modest German citizen of Richmond also deserves mention, having joined in the intellectual endeavors of that period and who may, by comparison, properly be called: "the Hans Sachs of Virginia."—*Gottfried Lange*, born March 20th, 1809, at Erfurt, Prussia, was like the "Meistersinger of Nuremberg," a shoemaker and a poet. He came to Richmond in 1837 and worked for some time as a common laborer on the James river canal. After saving some money, he established himself as shoemaker, also pruned vines and finally opened a wine and beer saloon. Lange took great interest in public affairs, and in 1841 he prompted the organization of the "Deutsche Krankengesellschaft zu Richmond," which, in his presence, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on Oct. 19th, 1891. A song that Lange had composed at the time of the founding of the society, was printed and distributed at the festival. He also participated in the organization of the St. Johannes church and was esteemed by all who knew him. He died in 1893.

Among the physicians of Richmond *Dr. M. Rust* took a prominent place, and several of his medical publications were highly commended.

Karl Minnigerode, doctor of theology and rector of the St. Paul Episcopal church, was another German much esteemed in Anglo- and German-American circles¹⁸⁹). He was born August 6th, 1814, at Arensburg, in Westphalia, and studied jurisprudence at the university of Giesen. He then became an active member of the German "Burschenschaft" and took part in politics and the distribution of revolutionary publications. After several years of imprisonment he determined to emigrate, and on Dec. 1st, 1839, he came to America. He first went to Philadelphia as teacher of ancient languages and soon attracted the attention of Anglo-American scientific men. At that time he took part with enthusiasm in the cultural endeavors of his countrymen and at the "Guttenberg Celebration" at Philadelphia he was the German orator. In 1842 he followed a call to the professorship of classical literature on "William and Mary College," at Williamsburg, Va., and from that time forward the former German revolutionist adopted the cause of the Virginian slave-holders. In 1844 he joined the Episcopal church, which from the beginning of the colony had aimed to rule and to suppress all other creeds, and in 1848 he exchanged the professorship with the pulpit. His estrangement from his countrymen became more and more apparent, although occasionally, when requested, he performed nuptial and other ceremonies in German. His countrymen regretted that a man of such antecedent, eminent talent and knowledge disregarded them, when by his influence he might have assisted the German element to develop its importance and merit. During the War of Secession Rev. Minnigerode was the friend and confessor of Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, and after the capture and imprisonment of Mr. Davis at Fortress Monroe, Rev. Minnigerode obtained permission to visit the fallen statesman and to afford him his ecclesiastical consolation. Rev. Minni-

189.) Compare "Das deutsche Element in den Ver. Staaten," von G. Koerner. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1880.

gerode has been severely blamed by northern writers on account of this action, but it honors him not to have deserted his friend in the hour of need. In the presence of an officer and the guard he repeatedly administered the sacrament to the ex-president in his prison. Some religious publications in English originated from Dr. Minnigerode's pen. Dr. Minnigerode died in 1894.

In 1844 another German scholar *Maximilian Schele de Vere* was appointed Professor of modern languages and literature at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. After the death of Professor George Blaettermann, before mentioned, Dr. Med. Karl Kreutzer, a native of Saxony, had occupied the professorship, and he was succeeded by Dr. Max. Schele de Vere. The "Richmond Times" of June 14th, 1894, says in an editorial: "His career has been one of singular honor to himself and the institution with which his name is linked, and his services of learning, especially in the science of comparative philology, have been of very high order." He was born in 1820 in Pommerania. Maximilian Schele de Vere received an excellent college education; subsequently he visited the universities of Bonn and Berlin, and thanks to his commanding talents and favorable social position, he was very early a "Regierungs-Referendar" in the Prussian civil service and an attaché to the embassy at St. Petersburg. The sudden death of his father deprived the family of his large official income, and as the above two offices were "unpaid," he was compelled to abandon the career so hopefully begun. In 1842, at the age of twenty-two, he emigrated to the United States, and at once engaged in literary pursuits. He edited for some time "Die alte und neue Welt," published in Philadelphia. In 1843 he took an active part in the foundation of the "Deutsche Einwanderungs-Gesellschaft zu Philadelphia," and following an invitation of Dr. R. Wesselhoeft, he removed to Boston, where he established himself a teacher of modern languages and literature. His labors were noticed with approval and he soon secured the friendship of several learned men of influence. In the summer of 1844 Schele de Vere travelled through the States of the Union to extend his knowledge of the country and its people, and upon his return

to Boston was handed a call to be professor of modern languages at the University of Virginia, which he accepted. During the War of Secession Prof. Schele de Vere served for some time as an officer in the Confederate Army, and was afterwards appointed Commissioner to the various German States by the Confederate Government. Peace re-established, Professor Schele de Vere re-occupied his place at the University, and in 1894 he celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his affiliation to the University of Virginia. At this occasion the German-American Society of Virginia, at Richmond, conferred on him, as a mark of esteem, the honorary membership of the society. The professor was known as a productive author. The "Deutsche Pionier" and "Rattermann's Deutsch-Amerik. Magazin" of 1886 contain many valuable contributions written by him, and in 1891 Prof. Schele de Vere was one of the contributors of "Der Sueden," published in Richmond. Of his numerous English writings must be mentioned: Comparative Philology, Studies in English, Americanism, Leaves from the Book of Nature, The Myths of the Rhine, illustrated by Doré (edition de luxe, Scribner's Sons), Leaves from the Book of Nature, republished by Blackwood, London, The Romance of American History, Modern Magic, Problematic Characters, From Night to Light, The Hohensteins, (the last three publications are translations from Spielhagen), Wonders of the Deep, The Great Empress, Glimpses of Europe in 1848, etc. He also published several articles in the "Southern Literary Messenger," "Scribner's Magazine" and "Harper's Monthly."

Professor Schele de Vere was the recipient of acknowledgments by German and American scientific corporations. The University of Greifswald bestowed on him the degree of doctor of philosophy, and that of Berlin that of doctor of jurisprudence. He was also tendered several honorable positions by highly renowned academies, but he declined all for reason of his attachment to Virginia. He died in 1897 at Washington.

During the middle of this century the German language was more and more supplanted by the English, particularly in all the country towns and villages. This is especially true

of the German parishes. Besides at Richmond, only in the Lutheran churches at Charlottesville, Va., Wheeling and Martinsburg, W. Va., and in a few communities of Dunkards in Botetourt and Rappahannock counties, preaching in German was continued.

Rev. Socrates Henkel, since 1850 in charge of the Evangelical Lutheran church at New-Market, Va., in his "History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Tennessee,"¹⁹⁰) names the following Virginian Lutheran churches of German origin, omitting however some we have mentioned in Volume I, chapters 5 and 6, that did not belong to the Tennessee Synod:

Shenandoah county.—Emmanuel, New-Market; Mt. Zion, Solomon's; St. Mary's, (Pine) Powder Springs; St. Paul's, St. Jacob's; Zion, St. Matthew's, St. Stephen's, St. David's, Mt. Calvary, Morning Star, Orkney Springs.

Rockingham county.—Bithany, (St. Jacob's), McGaheysville; Trinity, St. Peter's, Rader; St. John's, Bethel; Phanaels, Philipps.

Augusta county.—Bethlehem, St. Paul's; Keinadt's or Koerner's, 12 miles from Staunton; St. John's, Waynesboro.

Madison county.—Mt. Nebo.

Prince William county.—Bethel.

Page county.—St. Paul's, St. William's, (Fairview); Grace, Mt. Calvary, Morning Star, St. Mark's, Cedar Point, Hawksbill, Luray, Alma, Stony Man.

Wythe county.—Valley church.

Washington county.—Church in the Fork.

Roanoke county.—Salem.

He states that Lutheran churches also exist or existed in the counties of Mason, Smyth, Frederick, Botetourt, Cul-

190.) "History of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod," by Socrates Henkel, D.D., page 270 and elsewhere. New-Market, Va., 1890.

pepper, Montgomery, and in West Virginia in Shepherdstown, Jefferson county, Zion; Mill Creek church, in Hardy county, and Probst church, in Pendleton county.

From Rev. A. Phillippi's interesting paper to the Lutheran Pastors' Association of Wythe county, published in "Wytheville Dispatch" of April 9th, 1897, we gather the following historical facts: "After the death of Rev. George Flohr, before mentioned, the Rev. Jacob Sherer took charge of St. John's church, near Wytheville, Va., until 1836. His successor was Rev. John T. Tabler. The four years during which Rev. Tabler was pastor was a very critical time in the life and history of the congregation. It was the time of the introduction and use of the English language in place of the German. In 1841 to 1854 Revs. J. J. Greever and J. A. Brown jointly took charge of the congregation, and from 1854 to 1862 Rev. J. A. Brown continued on in the pastorate. He was followed by Revs. Wm. D. Roedel and E. H. McDonald, and in 1866 by Rev. Alex. Phillippi. The old constitution, adopted in 1804, but lost sight of in the transition of the congregation in the use of the English in place of the German language in its public services, was hunted up, translated into English, revised in a few points and re-adopted amidst general and great rejoicing. Thus the congregation has preserved its German character to this day. Rev. Phillippi was succeeded by Rev. S. S. Rahn and Rev. Paul Sieg. The beautiful, stately Trinity church in Wytheville, and also St. Mark's and St. Luke's, are now holding honorable places among the working and growing churches of the Lutheran Synod of Southwest Virginia."

The oldest German Christian community in Richmond, which has never ceased to use the German language, is the *Lutheran St. Johannis church*. On Christmas day, 1844, the first divine service was celebrated by Rev. Hoyer in the old church, corner Jackson and Fifth streets. The old church was a plain brick building, and the basement was used as school-room. Unfortunately the pastor was not the right guardian of so sacred an office. He was a highly educated man and an excellent orator, but too fond of strong drink, and consequently he gave serious cause for disappointment.

In 1852 another Lutheran Evangelical community, the "*Bethlehemgemeinde*," was organized in the Capital. Reverends Schmogrow and Gross were the first pastors, and a good school was connected with the church, situated corner of Clay and Sixth streets.

Until 1849 only one Catholic church existed in Richmond, but at that time many German Catholics settled in the city and they rented a dwelling house on Marshall street, where they were organized in community by Rev. Father Braun. The following year Rev. Braun was superseded by Father Palhauber, and soon after the German parishioners bought the property on corner of Marshall and Fourth streets, where they built the *St. Mary's (St. Marien) German Catholic church*. The successor of Father Palhauber was Father Polk, under whose administration the community enlarged and prospered. He was followed by Rev. Mayer, a man of science and a member of the St. Benedict's Order. A flourishing parochial school and a classical high-school for boys and girls were organized by the last-named reverend and conducted by brethren and sisters of St. Benedict's Order.

Ahead of all in forming a German community in Richmond, as already mentioned, were the German Hebrews. As early as 1840 they founded the synagogue *Beth Ahaba* and elected M. G. Michelbacher rabbi. Moses Millhiser deserves the greatest credit for his devotion as president of this community, — exclusively composed of Germans and German-Virginians.

The Statutes of Virginia say¹⁹¹): "The *Lutherans* are numerous in portions of the Valley where the original population was of German origin. The *German Reformed Church* is found in the same localities, as is also the *United Brethren*, which, from resemblances, may be called the *German Methodist Church*."

The same official document gives the census returns in

191.) "Virginia," by the Board of Immigration and by Authority of Law, page 198. Richmond, Va., 1876.

Virginia of the following religious denominations in 1860: *Lutherans*, 69 churches, 24,675 members; *German Reformed Church*, 12 churches, 4,000 members; and in the year 1870 the *United Brethren* 38 churches and 7,450 members. These figures embraced some English congregations, but the great majority was originally undoubtedly German. The German element is also largely represented in the Methodist-Episcopal, the Baptist, Protestant-Episcopal, Roman-Catholic and Moravian orders. The Lutherans have two institutions of learning of advanced and higher grades: the Roanoke College, located at Salem, Roanoke county, and the Staunton Female Seminary at Staunton, Augusta county. The foundation of German parochial schools of elementary and higher grades, as for instance at Harper's Ferry, New-Market and Richmond, deserves acknowledgment, as the public education in the State was very deficient. The census of 1840 revealed the startling fact that there were in the commonwealth 58,747 white persons above the age of twenty years who could not read or write, being one-twelfth of the entire white population; and in 1850 the illiterate white adults numbered 77,005, besides 490,865 slaves living in ignorance. Governor McDowell (1843), always a friend of education, sought to advance its more general diffusion under the patronage of the State; "that every child in Virginia should be able to read for himself the confession of his faith and the constitution of his country." But he failed to carry out his wishes.

In 1840 the number of children in the State in attendance on the State schools was only 27,598, one-fifth of all the white children between eight and fifteen years of age.¹⁹²⁾ The other four-fifths were being educated by the more popular neighborhood, field, private and denominational methods, or — *not schooled at all*.

In the years 1859 to 1860 a German Israelite, whom the author knew personally, but whose name he cannot remem-

192.) Educational Report, 1895—96, page 274.

ber, established a "Commercial College". (Handelsschule) in Richmond.

The Medical Profession was at that time well represented by Germans, and particularly in the capital city by Doctors M. A. Rust, Wilhelm Grebe, Garwenzel, Th. Boldemann and Deutsch, and by the druggists O. A. Strecker, Julius Fischer, H. Bodecker, L. Wagner, J. Kindervater and Zaeckrisen, who, although a Swede by birth, associated with the Germans.

The development of the "Fine Arts" in Virginia had not yet passed the childhood state, but the little there was, was principally cultivated by the Germans. Music and the instruction in music rested in German hands. In Richmond Frederick and Karl Seibert from Ziegenhain in Hessia and Woller from Johann-Georgenstadt in Saxony were known as organists and piano-teachers. The first claim of artist among the musicians of Richmond is due to Charles W. Thilow of Leipzig, Saxony; he is a master of the cello. Other musicians of good repute were John Kussnich, Otto Mueller, John Baier and others. The landscape painter Baier, probably a Saxon, was the first to paint the most beautiful scenery and places in Virginia. These were lithographed and published as the "Album of Virginia" in Berlin and Dresden. Baier died an inmate of the lunatic asylum "Sonnenstein," Pirna, Kingdom of Saxony.—The largest lithographic establishment in the State was conducted by Hoyer & Ludwig.¹⁹³)

The Germans were no less distinguished in architecture, engineering and mining. *Oswald Heinrich* was already spoken of as mining engineer. By him was drawn the *first Geological Map of Virginia*. *Captain von Buchholz*, a native of Wuerttemberg, designed the *first accurate topographical map* of the State by order of Governor Henry A. Wise. Among the architects of Virginia *Captain Albert Leibrock* ranks very high. He was born January 11th, 1827, at St. Johann,

193.) During the period of the "Southern Confederacy" Hoyer & Ludwig printed the Confederate notes, bonds, etc.

Rhein-Provinz, and studied at the Polytechnic School at Karlsruhe. In 1850 he came to Richmond. The most important of his works are the Miller Labor School of Albemarle and the Custom House and Mozart Academy at Richmond. At the beginning of the Civil War he organized a German infantry company. He died at Richmond on his 59th birthday in 1886.¹⁹⁴) Karl Seibert, previously mentioned as pianist, was also a talented architect.

Horticulture was at that time hardly known in Virginia and the city of Richmond possessed only one small Public Park: the "Capitol Square;" but this park was in charge of the German horticulturist *E. G. Eggeling*, afterwards assistant park-commissioner in St. Louis, Mo., and during the Confederate period steward at the Jefferson Davis mansion.

In the development of industry and commerce the Germans have also taken a prominent part. In the manufacture, sale and export of Virginia's great staple: tobacco, the Germans have been leaders almost from the time of the settlement of the Colony. Several wholesale houses of Bremen sent their representatives to Richmond and the export of tobacco increased considerably the first half of the present century. Sailing vessels from Bremen and Hamburg anchored at Rockets and thousands of hogsheads were shipped to Europe. Sometimes six or eight German vessels were seen at a time in Richmond harbor. The Austro-Hungarian government entrusted German tobacco houses in Richmond (*E. W. de Voss & Co.* and *F. W. Hanewinkel & Co.*) with the purchase of its supplies, and the French, Italian and Portuguese governments also transacted most of their tobacco purchases through German-Virginian firms. At *Lynchburg* the German houses: *Holt, Schaefer & Co.*, *Guhling & Co.*, *John Katz*, etc., and at *Petersburg*: *H. Noltenius* and *Ferd. Schwenk & Co.* controlled the trade. *E. P. Whitlock* in Richmond, of German descent, became well known as manufacturer of "Old Virginia Cheroots," etc.¹⁹⁵)

194.) Correspondence of Oscar Cranz, Jr., son-in law of Capt. Leibrock. Richmond, Va.

195.) Correspondence of Christ. Droste, with L. Borchers & Co., Austrian Consulate, Richmond, Va.

The wholesale and retail trade in dress-goods was and is almost entirely in the hands of German Israelites. Many watchmakers, jewelers, milliners, dealers in musical instruments, artists' materials, frames and pictures, stationers and book-binders, tailors, shoemakers, hat and cap makers, furrers, dealers in coal and wood, building materials, paints, china and glassware, furniture manufacturers, tin and sheet-iron workers, grocers, bakers, butchers, wine and liquor dealers, coopers, etc., were Germans, and in any mechanical trade or workshop intelligent German artisans were to be found. Two breweries existed in Richmond before 1860: *Eduard Euker's* and the Chimberazo Hill Brewery of *Morris & Richter*, brewing lager-beer, and also one brewery making weiss-beer. A peculiar and unsuccessful undertaking was the construction of a *floating mill*, at the foot of James river falls, by *Siege Brothers* in the beginning of the sixth decade. Much money was sacrificed in the enterprise. The mill was twice destroyed before completed, first by high water and the second time by an incendiary.

In Volume I, Chapter I, it has been stated that the production of wine in Virginia was believed to be practicable and that the planting of vineyards had been already encouraged by the London Company at the earliest time of the Colony. The expectations were not realized, but the London Society persevered in its endeavors and in 1758 proposed the following premium for the wine itself¹⁹⁶): "As producing wines in our American colonies will be of great advantage to those colonies, and also to this kingdom, it is proposed to give to that planter in any of our said colonies who shall first produce within seven years of the date hereof from his own plantation five tons of white or red wine, made of grapes the produce of these colonies only, and such as in the opinion of competent judges, appointed by the society in London, shall be deemed deserving the reward — not less than one ton thereof to be imported at London — one hundred pounds." In 1762 the society announced: "A premium of two hun-

196.) "History of the Agriculture of the United States," by Ben Perley Poore, Agricultural Report for 1866, pp. 509—510. Washington, D. C.

dred pounds will be given for the greatest number, not less than five hundred, of the plants of the vines which produce these sorts of wines now consumed in Great Britain;" and this offer was raised in 1765 to two hundred and fifty pounds. Again the results did not correspond to the expectations. The memoirs of the society, published in 1769, say: "The first account of the success of the premiums for wines was in 1763, when Mr. Castor sent a dozen bottles of two kinds of wines from grapes which grew in vineyards of his own planting in Virginia. The one of these kinds was the product of vines brought from Europe, the other of the American wild vines. They were both approved as good wines and the society gave its gold medal to Mr. Carter." Probably Mr. Carter lived in Albemarle county and planted his vineyard on "Carter's Mountain" with the assistance of the grape-growers from the Palatinate, who were settled in the adjacent Madison county. These vineyards however never prospered and towards the close of the century¹⁹⁷⁾ Thomas Jefferson imported French vines — and Italian and Swiss vintagers — and planted quite extensively about Carter's Mountain, near his beloved Monticello. This too was a failure, for the European vines did not stand the climate. It was not until in the fifties of this century that the native Virginian vines — Catawba and Norton — were discovered and disseminated largely by Germans in Ohio and Missouri, that grape-culture at last succeeded in Virginia. In the environs of Richmond several Germans planted the Norton vine and manufactured red wine of excellent quality, but sufficient only to supply the home demand. Thus this new industry was finally started and has prospered ever since.

One of the brightest features of German life in Richmond that is less conspicuous, but exerted an exceedingly beneficial influence, was the social intercourse of the German inhabitants and the sensible and convivial spirit with which they enjoyed themselves. It has been already described how they celebrated historical events. There is a peculiar charm about their popular festivals, but above all the introduction

197.) "Albemarle," by Prof. W. H. Seamon, p. 52. Charlottesville, Va., 1888.

of the German Christmas-tree into America is worthy of comment. The happy disposition of the Germans, that touches the heart, has worn off the sharp edges of American everyday life, and their sincere and beneficent influence has finally secured harmonious relations between the Anglo-Saxon and the German settlers of Virginia, that were endangered by the spiteful know-nothing movement. The Germans of Virginia were peaceable, industrious citizens; they enjoyed considerable wealth and they contributed their share to the administration of the commonwealth. Their isolation in political affairs had at least one good effect: a most intimate consistence among themselves. There was, before 1860, no other city in the Union where the Germans lived in better harmony.

A publication: "Virginiens," by C. A. Geyer, Meissen and Leipzig, 1849, states: "Richmond has 24,000 inhabitants, whereof 5,100 are Germans," and in 1860 the city had 37,900 inhabitants, whereof 23,625 were whites, and 7,000 of these Germans. The balance of the population was made up by 2,576 free negroes and 11,699 slaves. The German element of the city therefore represented nineteen per cent. of the whole and nearly thirty per cent. of the white population.

The German social associations were mentioned before, but it is desirable to add a few words about the predominant ones: the vocal musical association *Virginia*, the *Theatrical Society* and the *Social Turnverein*.

The "*Gesangverein*" was organized July 1st, 1852, by O. Cranz, Sr., H. C. G. Timmermann, E. Behrend, B. Krausse, A. Schad, M. Mielke, C. Rittershaus, G. Koenig, F. Lehmkuhl, J. Keppler, D. Weimer, H. von Groening, F. Dollinger and C. Emminger, its first president. The following were the presidents of the society: A. Gipperich, O. Cranz, Dr. W. Grebe, H. Boehmer and J. C. Fischer. The "Virginia" soon took part in the singing festivals at Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York. It flourished especially from 1857 to 1860 under the leadership of Fred. Seibert. The meetings and festivals took place in the hall of the New Market Hotel and in that

very close locality harmless joy, pleasure and enthusiasm frequently reigned. Vocal and instrumental productions and theatrical performances were generally followed by dancing. Even comedies of local character, especially written up by members of the society, (G. Peple and H. Schuricht), were performed on the stage.

The "*Theaterverein*" assembled in Schad's Hall, Broad street, between 6th and 7th, and the performances were much admired and well attended. The leading personages and actors of the association were Mr. and Mrs. Hassel, C. Boettcher, Heinrich, Lehne, I. Hirsch, Mrs. Reith and Mrs. Doell.

The "*Social Turnverein*" had the largest membership; its meetings, concerts, balls, etc., were held in Steinlein's Monticello Hall, opposite Schad's Hall. The most ardent gymnasts and social managers were Ed. Kempe, H. Schott, O. Camman, H. Koppel, etc.

Thus Richmond had three German amateur theatres. The great majority of the members of the above spoken of societies were born Germans and at festive occasions German was almost exclusively spoken.

In the fall of 1860 the author of this book agitated the organization of a *Technical Society* (*Gewerbeverein*), and published in his paper, the "*Virginische Zeitung*," an invitation to meet at Schad's Hall. The meeting was well attended; H. L. Wiegand, a Saxon, presided, and the proposed society was formed. Only a few weeks later the first gun was fired at Fort Sumter, — the Civil War commenced, and the movement was swallowed up by the wild waves of general excitement.

Some other German associations like the "*German Society for the Relief of the Sick*" (*Krankenunterstützungsverein*), present president Valentine A. Halbleib, and the "*Schiller Lodge*" (*Odd Fellows*), aimed at charitable and social objects.

The news of the prosperity and the pleasant social life that the Germans in Virginia led, spread to their countrymen settled in the northern States and also to the old Fatherland,

and induced emigration to the old mother State of the Union. A large number of German Pennsylvanian farmers emigrated with their families about 1830 from western Pennsylvania to West Virginia, and they all prospered, raising principally cattle for the eastern markets. It is also reported that in the year 1845¹⁹⁸⁾ about one hundred and twenty families from northern States settled in Fairfax county and purchased 24,000 acres of land at a cost of about \$180,000. Among these settlers were several Germans and by their industry and skill they made money on the crops they raised. Within a few years the value of their land increased from twenty-five to one hundred per cent. There were about fifteen million acres of available land in the State — West Virginia not included — uncultivated or thrown out of any regular rotation of crops, and all could be bought very cheap. In Germany attention was called to the low-priced Virginia farms. The well-known “Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung” for instance said in 1848: “Virginia, which is about twice as large as the kingdom of Bavaria, is only inhabited by 1,300,000 people, of whom 400,000 are slaves. For several reasons she now desires to attract white settlers, — she recognizes the rapid growth of the western States, — that the comparatively rough Wisconsin is developing in a fabulous manner and that Ohio is outrivalling her mother State. Virginia however possesses a better climate than either of these States and other most favorable conditions, as several millions saleable acres of good soil, the best harbors on the Atlantic coast, numerous navigable rivers and excellent railroads. On James river good land is sold for four dollars an acre, and some settlers have gained within a few months double the amount of the purchase price by clearing the woods and selling the timber.” The German Zeitung furthermore reports: “That some years ago it had been projected in Wuerttemberg to settle Suavians in the mountain region of Virginia near the ‘springs,’” and it expressed regret that this plan was not carried out.

Endeavors were made about 1850 to colonize artisans, miners and farmers from Saxony in western Virginia. A pamphlet

198.) “U. S. Agricultural Report for the year 1864,” p. 20. Washington, D. C.

entitled: "Virginiën, physiko-geographische und statistische Beschreibung," — by C. A. Geyer, president of the emigration society at Meissen, Saxony, — with a colored map, was published at Meissen and Leipzig to induce Saxons to settle in West Virginia. The descriptions of the land, people, institutions and advantages of Virginia are pretty reliable. The names of the German-Virginians who advocated this enterprise, are of interest: A. W. Nolting, Richmond; Dr. A. O. Strecker, Richmond; H. Sheffey, Augusta county; Friedrich A. Mayo, Richmond; Fleischmann, Monroe county; Dehar, Parkersburg, W. Va.; W. F. Deakins, Preston county; H. Brown, Kanawha county; John B. Shrerer, Buchanan, Lewis county; John Sharff, Leetown, Berkeley county, and L. Ruffner, Kanawha county; — and also the statement that a German colony prospered in Dodridge county. A similar publication: "Forty years in Virginia, or emigrate to West Virginia," by Friedrich A. Mayo of Richmond, a native of Oederan, Saxony, was printed 1850 in Meissen, Saxony. Mr. Mayo, whose office was situated at the northern corner of the Exchange Hotel, Richmond, Va., relates in his little book his observations in Virginia during a stay of forty years without exaggeration, and he reports: that an Immigration Society was organized in Richmond to cooperate with the Emigration Society in Meissen, Saxony. He also states that the engineer Ernst Kurth, born at Koelln near Meissen, and residing in Richmond, had been authorized to give his countrymen all information they might ask about Virginia; that he had been employed upon the recommendation of Dr. Cabell by the Society for the Construction of Railways in Virginia and that the plan of the Danville railroad bridge across the James river near Richmond and other architectural works were drawn by Mr. Kurth. No visible traces however are left of any noteworthy results of this Saxon-Virginian colonization enterprise.

Loudoun county received several newcomers from Germany and they all did well. Commodore Maury states as an example¹⁹⁹⁾: Godfrey Schellhorn of Saxe-Coburg came to this county (Loudoun) in 1851 with his wife and a flour-barrel for

199.) "Physical Survey of Virginia," by M. F. Maury, p. 93. N. V. Randolph, Richmond, Va., 1878.

a trunk; he had nothing. He and she were striving, industrious people and lived scantily. He now, in 1878, owns a house worth \$1,200 and a farm of ninety-four acres that cost \$2,812; on this he owes \$1,000. He is a pretty good stone mason. Grape-vines planted by him are also bearing.

German farmers settled in Middle Virginia and the Tidewater belt during the period of 1840 to 1860. There were many gardeners among them and being saving, skilful and industrious they rarely failed to enrich themselves. The United States Agricultural Commission²⁰⁰⁾ gives for example among the names of successful farmers in Southhampton county the following German: Alfred Ricks, J. D. Massenburg and Dr. C. Bowers. Col. S. B. French of Whitby, Chesterfield county, says in a report: "Gardening vegetables pays handsomely. Perhaps there is but one wealthier man in this county than a German, who, when I first came into the county twenty-eight years ago (about 1850), was a gardener on the Fall Plantation (man on wages). He made his fortune gardening."

Several other experiments were made about 1850 to establish German settlements in Virginia, but unfortunately most of the enterprisers were selfish, unscrupulous or incapable men. One von Schulenburg attempted to settle a large number of Tyrolians in Lunenburg county, and a Saxon named Meisner aimed to induce Saxons to purchase land near Lewisburg in Greenbrier county; but both projects failed. Another grand plan to establish a German colony near Parkersburg, now in West Virginia, had the same unhappy fate; but prosperous German settlements were founded at "New Hessen" and "Helvetia," in what is now West Virginia, and German Hungarians and Poles bought land in Henrico county, Va., and built up the village "Hungary." In 1860 two German Israelites²⁰¹⁾ came to Richmond and secured land in Norfolk county, south of Portsmouth, on the Elizabeth river, for the foundation of a new town to be named "Virginia City." They advertised in the German and English newspapers and distributed a litho-

200.) U. S. Agricultural Report of 1851.

201.) "Virginische Zeitung," Richmond, Va., December 1860.

graphed plan of the projected town; but the speculation failed on account of the outbreak of the Civil War.

The total number of Germans and their descendants in Virginia at the end of the sixth decade is not absolutely ascertained. I. G. Rosengarten says²⁰²) in "Freiheit und Sklaverei unter dem Sternenbanner, oder Land und Leute in Amerika," by Theodore Griesinger, Stuttgart, 1862: "I find the statement that in Virginia were 250,000 of German birth and descent at the time of the Rebellion." — General G. Tochman, who in 1867 was appointed by the Virginian Governor "Agent for European Immigration," and who had the best opportunities for gathering information, stated in an article, "Der Staat Virginien"²⁰³): "The population of Virginia in 1860 consisted of 1,047,299 whites, 58,042 free colored, 490,865 slaves and 112 Indians, or 1,596,318 in all. Among the white inhabitants there were 35,058 foreigners, (adopted citizens), or 5,490 English and Scotch, 10,512 Germans, 16,501 Irish, 517 French, etc." — The German immigration amounted therefore to *one third* of the foreign population²⁰⁴) and was second in rank. Adding to it the posterity of the large German immigration since 1714, the estimate of Griesinger of the numerical strength of the German element in Virginia: to represent *the fourth part of the total white population of the State*, appears creditable. The large number of German names of members of the Legislature during the period of 1830 to 1860²⁰⁵) is also proof of the strength of the German element and of its distribution over the entire State.

1831-1834: Samuel Coffman, (Shenandoah); Wm. Armistead, Wm. D. Simms, (Halifax); Harman Hiner (Pendleton); Vincent Witcher, (Pittsylvania); Wm. P. Zinn, (Preston); John Keller, (Washington); J. Helms, (Floyd); J. J. Moorman, A. Waterman, (Rockingham.)

202.) "The German Soldier in the Wars of the U. S.," p. 191. Phila., Pa., 1890.

203.) "Virginische Staatszeitung," No. 17. Richmond, Va., January 25, 1868.

204.) "Virginia," by the Board of Immigration and by authority of Law, page 178. Richmond, Va., 1876.

205.) "Journals of the House of Delegates and of the Senate of Va. State Library," Richmond, Va.

1836: F. G. Buhring, (Cabell); T. H. Stegar, (Floyd); Major S. Wagener, (Mason); J. Conrad, (Rockingham); Abr. Rincker, (Shenandoah); Col. Edw. Lucas, (Berkeley.)

1838: Th. Shanks, (Botetourt); W. Castleman, (Clark); Edw. Lucas, jr., (Jefferson); H. E. Fisher, (Mason); Alexander Newman, (Marshall.)

1839: Edm. Broadus, (Culpeper); W. Hoffman, (Lewis); Alfred Leyburn, Ch. P. Dorman, (Rockbridge.)

1840: Wm. Lucas, (Morgan and Berkeley); Rob. Y. Conrad, (Frederick); Jos. Hannah, (Botetourt); C. G. Coleman, (Charles city.)

1846: Henry Bedinger, (Frederick); John D. Stringer, (Harrison); K. Martz, (Rockingham.)

1850-1851: W. A. Buckner, (Caroline); R. R. Flemming, (Halifax); W. Stump, (Hampshire); J. R. Heuser, (King and Queen); F. Warman, (Monongalia); H. Sturm, (Randolph); J. Horner, (Fauquier.)

1852-53: H. W. Sheffey, (Augusta); Albert G. Reger, (Upohur); W. Heveler, (Highland); M. D. Newman, (Madison); Andr. Keyser, (Page); J. Wellman (Wayne); S. Carpenter, (Alleghany); J. M. Newkirk, (Berkeley.)

1856: Wm. Bush, (Charles city); P. J. Eggborn, (Culpeper); J. M. Holman, (Fluvanna); J. L. Kemper, (Madison); J. Lantz, (Monongalia); J. Paul, (Ohio); M. Spitler, (Page); A. J. Bowman, (Wood); F. H. Mayo, (Botetourt.)

1860: Ferd. Wm. Coleman, (Caroline); F. G. L. Bouhring, (Cabell); M. R. Kaufman, (Frederick); J. S. Hoffman, (Harrison); W. W. Flemming, (Highland); Gust. A. Myers, (Richmond); W. M. Seibert, (Shenandoah); Arthur J. Boreman, (Wood), and many more doubtful names.

Among the members of the U. S. Congress we meet with the following names of German sound :

1841: Joseph Holleman (Isle of Wight), and 1860 Alex. R. Boteler (Loudoun). In 1863 Mr. Boteler was a member of the Congress of the Confederate States.

The number of German delegates was probably much larger, for the author had not the opportunity to examine all lists. The fact deserves notice that since 1777 the great majority of the counties of eastern and western Virginia were represented by German-Virginians in the Legislature.

The political horizon clouded at the end of the sixth decade; the slavery question had become more complicated by the conflicting opinions concerning the Territories. The North claimed all the Territories "as free States" and the South asked the right of ingress and protection of its slave-property in half of them. Furthermore "the free-trade interests of the Southern States" were seriously threatened by "the protective policy of the North," and in this question the German-Virginians agreed fully with their Anglo-American fellow-citizens. The merchants of the North reaped advantage from the South; they shared in the profits of every pound of cotton, tobacco or sugar which the southern planter raised. The northern manufacturer had the advantage of this great market, and the Germans recognized that the industrial and commercial interests of the North, protected from foreign competition by a high tariff, made every inhabitant of the South pay tribute to him on almost every article he purchased. The ills thus inflicted upon the southern people the Germans desired should be corrected.

The "Fugitive Slave Law" intensified the hostile feeling between the two sections of the Country and led to the passage of the "Personal Liberty Bills" in several of the free States. Finally in 1859 *John Brown* invaded Virginia with twenty-one followers to revolutionize and liberate the negro slaves, thereby endangering the life and property of the whites. All inhabitants of the State — those of German origin included — felt alarmed and asked: "Where will it lead to, if the hatred and the wild passions of the uncultivated negroes become unfettered? Shall we be exposed to similar horrors like the French

in St. Domingo in 1791?" The dangers may have been overestimated, but the safety of the white population was certainly threatened. John Brown seized upon the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, but was soon overpowered and hanged as a traitor. The wild design of John Brown aroused the southern feeling and the fanatics among the pro-slavery party represented his act as significant of the sentiments of the whole North. No doubt well meaning people in the North looked upon John Brown's deed as meritorious and humane, while many southern men, *no less noble-minded and feeling for the oppressed negroes, condemned it as madness.* Different surroundings and circumstances influence the opinions of men and produce different views of events and their consequences. The worst of it was that the hope to *abolish Slavery by legislative action*, vanished. Not only the German-Virginians, but also many Anglo-Americans were opposed to Slavery and anticipated that it would be the rock upon which the Union would split.

Thomas Jefferson, Virginia's noble son, proposed as early as 1776 a scheme of gradual emancipation, which was approved by the Convention framing the Constitution of Virginia.

The prevailing ideas entertained by him (Jefferson) and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the U. S. Constitution have been acknowledged in a speech at Savannah, Georgia, March 21st, 1861, by Alexander H. Stevens, at that time the Vice-President of the Confederacy.²⁰⁶) He said: "They were of the opinion that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time."

From 1820 to 1830 there were movements in Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky and Maryland for the gradual emancipation of their slaves. In Virginia the movement had nearly succeeded, *when it was the aggression of the northern abolition-*

206.) McPherson's "Political History of the Rebellion," 1860—1864, p. 103.

ists which arrested it in all these States. The German-Lutheran reverends in convention at St. James, Green county, Tennessee, *unanimously* resolved as early as 1822: "*That Slavery is to be regarded as a great evil in our land, and we desire the Government, if it be possible, to devise some way by which this evil can be removed.*" The Synod also advised every minister to admonish every master to treat his slaves properly.²⁰⁷) Rev. Paul Henkel was one of the Virginian delegates, and this resolution was probably the first move in that direction in the South on part of the Germans.

Dr. Henry Ruffner, a German-Virginian and president of the Washington and Lee University situated in Lexington, Va., also made *a most remarkable protest against the institution of Slavery* that defied the unanimity of sentiment that prevailed among the Anglo-Virginians before the Civil War. What was known as "*The Ruffner Pamphlet,*" advocating the gradual abolition of Slavery, was published in 1847 and excited much controversy.

Dr. Henry Ruffner was born in what is now Page county in the year 1790 on the old homestead of the Ruffner family and reared in Kanawha county. He was a pupil at the Lewisburg Academy, a graduate of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) and a student of theology. Ordained as minister in 1818, he organized the First Presbyterian Church of Charleston, Kanawha, in 1819; accepted a professorship in Washington College in 1819, was made president in 1836 and resigned in 1848.

Henry Ruffner was a profound scholar and a writer of ability. His most elaborate book entitled: "*The Father of the Desert,*" and his novel: "*Judith Bensadeli*" first appeared in the "*Southern Literary Messenger.*" He spent the last years of his life in Kanawha county and is there buried. He died in 1861.

In fact all representative Virginians and thoughtful southern men generally since Washington and Jefferson entertained

207.) "History of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod," by Socrates Henkel, D.D., p. 52. New-Market, Va., 1890.

similar views upon Slavery. Even Robert E. Lee, afterwards Commanding General of the Army of Northern Virginia, expressed these views very clearly in a letter addressed to Mrs. Lee, written December 1856. He said: "In this enlightened age there are few, I believe, but will acknowledge *that Slavery as an institution is a moral and political evil in any country.* It is useless to expatiate on its disadvantages. I think it however a greater evil to the white than to the black race, and while my feelings are strongly interested in behalf of the latter, my sympathies are stronger for the former. The blacks are immeasurably better off here than in Africa, morally, socially and physically. The painful discipline they are undergoing is necessary for their instruction as a race, and, I hope, will prepare and lead them to better things. How long their subjection may be necessary is known and ordered by a wise and merciful Providence. Their emancipation will sooner result from a mild and melting influence than the storms and contests of fiery controversy. This influence, though slow, is sure." — This letter shows that General Lee was an advocate of negro-emancipation. He favored however, like the German-Virginians, to see it abolished *in a lawful and peaceable manner*, and he was opposed to endangering the Union by a rash action. He once declared: "Both sides forget that we are all Americans;" and at another time he said: "If I owned the four million slaves, I would give them all for the Union!"

Unfortunately in February 1831 an unforeseen event: *an insurrection of negroes in Southampton county*²⁰⁸), excited the people of Virginia and induced even a German-Virginian member of the Legislature, Mr. Goode of Mecklenburg, to oppose "*the proposed emancipation of the slaves by some gradual scheme.*" The blacks in that section largely outnumbered the whites; there were no large towns in that region, only scattered here and there villages and hamlets. There was no arsenal for arms and ammunition nearer than Richmond, and no means of defence other than fancy fowling pieces for gentlemen's sport. The old Virginians of that day had no pistols under their pil-

208.) Compare "Historical Papers No. 5, 1895, of the Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.," pp. 77 to 97.

lows; in many cases no bars to their doors; no police making their rounds about the negro quarters in the dead hours of night, — the master sleeping among his slaves in peaceful security. There was indeed scarce any hindrance to prevent savage deeds of cruelty. Nat Turner, a slave on the plantation of a Mr. Travis of Southampton, was the leader in the insurrection, silently working upon the superstitions of the negroes about him and waiting for some supernatural sound or sight to call him to act. In February 1831 there came an eclipse of the sun, and accepting this as the long looked-for signal, he selected four of his immediate associates and on the morning of the 22d of August, while it was yet dark, crept into the house of his master with his band and in a few minutes killed five members of the family in their beds. They then hurried on, murdering all the whites they found, gaining recruits as they went to the number of fifty or sixty, all mounted on the horses and armed with the guns, swords, axes and clubs they had stolen from the houses of the dead. They were now a bloodthirsty gang. Early the next day the news of the wholesale massacre spread far and wide; squads of men and militia companies hastily gathered and the bloody mutiny was soon quelled, but not until the negroes had gone a distance of twenty miles and killed sixty-one white citizens. On the 11th of November Nat Turner was executed. But death put no extinguisher upon the excitement created by this rebellion of slaves. A suspicion that a Nat Turner might be in every colored family; that the same bloody deed might be acted over at any time and in any place, gained ground; — the husband would look to his weapon and the mother would shudder and weep over her cradle! It is not positively known how many German farmers were among the victims, but some documents show the following names of German sound: Mrs. T. Reese, Mrs. Turner, Mr. Levi Waller, a schoolmaster, his wife and ten children, etc. Naturally the Germans felt greatly alarmed and with few exceptions they advocated: *that the evil, that is, the institution of Slavery, be removed by legislative means.* They claimed that Slavery had ultimately to come to an end in the one way or the other, because it was impossible to reconcile the slave to his fate.

However the split between the North and the South became more and more evident, — not on account of Slavery alone, but for various reasons previously mentioned, — and when in 1860 Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, the candidate of the Republican party, was elected to the Presidency, the southern fanatic leaders regarded it as a menace to Slavery and advocated the doctrines of State rights and Secession. On December 20th, 1860, the people of South Carolina declared the connection with the Union abolished. The great majority of the Virginians *did not agree with this rash measure* and received it with distrust. Only the pro-slavery men and those doubtful elements that speculate on the ruin of others and seek to realize their selfish designs by the overthrow of law and order, applauded and praised the revolutionary Palmetto State. The German-Virginians particularly did not at that time believe in the outbreak of war, *but expected that some compromise would be agreed upon* and that Virginia would not separate from the Union. This trust was so firm with them that at the close of 1860 they still enjoyed life in their peculiar harmless manner. They celebrated a joyful Christmas and on New Year's Eve the "Gesangverein" at Richmond arranged an animated "Sylvesterfeier," for which occasion H. Schuricht had composed a dramatic scene, "Der Jahreswechsel."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE GERMAN-VIRGINIANS.

IN the beginning of 1861 the outlook for the future rapidly darkened; affairs steadily drifted towards hostilities between the North and the South, and finally the German-Virginians after a long struggle were drawn into the whirlpool of popular excitement. In the western part of the State they belonged in large numbers to the "Union Party," but in Middle and Southern Virginia the great majority sympathized with the South, whose constitutional rights they considered threatened. With all their devotion to the Union and pride of American citizenship, they felt in duty bound towards the State where they had become domiciled. Only a small number of Germans avowed the principles and programme of the Republican party and recommended *unconditional submission* to the Federal Government; but at this period of the great crisis *not one German-Virginian* — American or foreign born — was in favor of Secession. All German citizens in the State heartily endorsed a resolution of the Legislature to call a "Peace Congress" in order to avoid civil war. The Peace Congress assembled in Washington, D. C., on the 9th of February, 1861, and Ex-President John Tyler presided; but every proposal looking to a peaceful settlement was rejected by the extremists. Meanwhile the revolutionary example of South Carolina had been followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas. These seceded States formed on February 4th a new union under the title of "*the Confederate States of America.*" They organized an army to oppose intruders and seized forts, navy-yards and arsenals. This Southern Revolution would yet have remained hopeless of success and

never would have resulted in a long and bloody war without the assistance of the Border States. Efforts at conciliation on part of the North might have averted the conflict, but the pleadings of the peaceable Border States were in vain. Rev. R. C. Cave²⁰⁹) very rightly said in his oration at the unveiling of the Confederate soldiers' and sailors' monument at Richmond on May 30th, 1894, with reference to Virginia and the other Border States :

“Not as a passion-swept mob rising in mad rebellion against constituted authority, but as an intelligent and orderly people, acting in accordance with due forms of law and within the limit of what they believed to be their constitutional right, the men of the South withdrew from the Union in which they had lived for three-fourths of a century, and the welfare and glory of which they had ever been foremost in promoting. States which had been hesitating on the ground of expediency and hoping for a peaceable adjustment of issues, wheeled into line with the States which had already seceded. Virginia, mother of States and statesmen and warriors, who had given away an empire for the public good, whose pen had written the Declaration of Independence, whose sword had flashed in front of the American army in the War for Independence, and whose wisdom and patriotism had been chiefly instrumental in giving the Country the Constitution of the Union, — Virginia, foreseeing that her bosom would become the theatre of war with its attendant horrors, nobly chose to suffer.”

In justice to the memory of the Confederate dead, the distinguished orator protested at this occasion also against the aspersion *that they fought to uphold and perpetuate the Institution of Slavery*. He remarked: “Slavery was a *heritage* handed down to the South from a time *when the moral consciousness of mankind regarded it as a right*, — a time when even the pious sons of New England were slave-owners and deterred by no conscientious scruples from plying the *slave-trade* with proverbial Yankee enterprise. It became a peculiarly Southern Institu-

209.) “The Memorial Oration,” by Rev. R. C. Cave of St. Louis, Mo., the “Weekly Times,” p. 3, Richmond, Va., May 31st, 1894.

tion, not because the rights of others were dearer to the northern than to the southern heart, but because the condition of soil and climate made negro-labor *unprofitable in the northern States and led the northern slave-owner to sell his slaves down South.*"

These arguments are based on history!

We are not yet sufficiently removed from the strife to do impartial justice to the motives of its authors. Those who have not felt the bitterness of the then existing conditions ought not to judge the whites of the South too harshly. Let it be remembered that in no time or clime have the Caucasians ever consented to live with an inferior race *save as rulers*. To the present day the British in India, the French in Guiana, Madagascar and Tonking, the Dutch, Portuguese and Germans in Africa, the Spaniards in what is now left of their once extensive colonial possessions, and our own forefathers on this continent have abundantly demonstrated that the white man will not be governed by uncivilized races. Sentimentalists may deplore this spirit, but all sober thinkers must recognize the fact as an irreversible one.

Secession was a sudden movement on part of the Cotton States, but Virginia and the other Border States hesitated to approve and to join the Confederacy and they continued their efforts to effect a compromise. In fact it was at that time the common expectation of all thoughtful citizens, and particularly of the Germans, — North and South, — that there would be "*no coercion*" and "*no war*."

Mr. Lincoln had become President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1861. The inaugural address of the President was very considerate and conservative. He renewed the declaration he had made in previous speeches: *that he had no intention to interfere with the Institution of Slavery in the States where it existed*. "I shall take care," said he, "that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it is forced upon the National Authority."

But these truly moderate words were received by the fanatic leaders in the South as a declaration of war. Mr. Lincoln's promise, *not to interfere with Slavery where it existed*, did not satisfy them. Eight days after Mr. Lincoln's inauguration two southern commissaries called on him and applied for a *peaceable separation* of the southern States from the Union, demanding the evacuation of Fort Sumter in South Carolina and Fort Pickens in Florida. These demands he could not but refuse,—and the fall of the iron dice of war had to decide.

In the northern States there were two leading parties; one demanded an energetic action against the seceded States; they proclaimed that the Union was *an inseparable whole*, an American State, that secession was revolution and revolution equal to civil war. This party called itself "*Republican*," and its adherents were called "*Abolitionists*." Another powerful party was the "*Northern Democracy*" and "no coercion" was its watchword. Upon this party rested the hopes of the Germans in Virginia and of all friends of peace and unity, and some of the most influential newspapers of the North supported it. The "New York Tribune" opposed all measures to force seceding States to remain in the Union, and voices like this influenced many German-Virginians to declare in favor of a peaceable secession.

In the South the politicians were also divided into two parties: the "*Secessionists*" or *defendants of "State Rights*," who claimed that every State was a political unit and was entitled to enter into a Confederation of States as well as to withdraw therefrom, and the "*Union Men*," who persisted to uphold the Union of States. The first named did not give time to the latter to get organized; the demand to join the seceded States was urged, — even the personal safety of the Union men became endangered and many, being alarmed, left their southern homes fugitives.

About this time the German citizens of Richmond held a very well attended mass-meeting at Steinlein's Monticello Hall to consider what steps could be taken to secure peace. H. L. Wigand, an acknowledged Union man, was in the chair, and

among the speakers was Captain O. Jennings Wise, son of Ex-Governor Wise²¹⁰), who addressed the meeting in German. But no course was agreed upon, *as the majority considered it the duty of every adopted citizen to submit to the will of the people and to sacrifice their life and fortune, if necessary, in defence of the State.*

A very marked change was now taking place among the citizens. The Union party lost many adherents; the cry "to secede" found more supporters and the German-Virginians also yielded to the general current. *But they never embraced the southern cause in order to protect the interests of slaveholders; there were no pro-slavery men among the Germans except a few Hebrews; but they were ready to defend the political and commercial independence of the States.* Time was a great leveler of opinions as well as author of mighty issues in those days.

The Germans in the southern States have been harshly criticized by northern fanatics, and among them by many of their countrymen in the North, for taking up arms in defence of the South. It will readily be granted by every German-Virginian that these northern critics were aiming to carry out the noble design of emancipating the slaves, but they ignored the Constitution of Rights, interest and safety of the white population in the South. The northern accusers were carried astray by passion, *inclined to sacrifice a cultured part of the southern people to the terrorism of an uneducated and inferior race; and the Germans felt the wrong that the North, having sold its slaves to the South, attempted to compel the southern slaveholders to free their negroes without compensation.*

Suddenly the news reached Virginia: Fort Sumter has capitulated to the Confederate forces under General Beauregard on the 13th of April, 1861, — and the effect of this event was electrical. Virginia (April 17th), Arkansas, North Carolina

210.) O. Jennings Wise, Captain of the Richmond Light Infantry Blues and killed at the battle on Roanoke Island, had studied jurisprudence at the University at Goettingen in Germany and was for some time Attache to the U. S. Legation at Berlin, Prussia.

and Tennessee, which had hesitated, now joined the Confederacy. President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand troops on April 15th and on April 19th a regiment of Massachusetts troops, passing through Baltimore for the defence of Washington, was attacked. So the first blood was shed, but no one guessed at the time of the terror and the loss which were to follow.

With reference to the Secession of Virginia a remark of the historian Edward A. Pollard may here be repeated. Pollard says²¹¹): "Virginia did not secede in the circumstances or sense in which the Cotton States had separated themselves from the Union. She did not leave the Union with delusive prospects of peace to comfort and sustain her. She did not secede in the sense in which separation from the Union was the primary object of secession. Her act of secession was subordinate; her separation from the Union was necessary and became a painful formality which could not be dispensed with."

Virginia troops now seized the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry (April 18th) and the Navy Yard at Norfolk (April 21st.) All over the South the enthusiasm was spreading; the rich and the poor were alike eager to enter the army. Army and navy officers of the United States, natives of the South, resigned their charges and joined the Confederate service; and the majority of the German-Virginians within the present State limits entered military organizations.

It can be asserted that all the recently immigrated Germans, embracing the Confederate cause, did so with throbbing hearts, and in most cases only under the pressure of compulsory circumstances; but whether voluntarily or not, they have fulfilled their duty in the defence of the State with never faltering true German bravery.

About the middle of April, 1861, a "Legion of mounted men for border service" was organized by Col. Angus W. McDonald, Sr., of Winchester and among the captains of the com-

211.) "The Second Year of the War," by Edw. A. Pollard, pp. 45-46. West & Johnston, Richmond, Va., 1863.

mand were the following descendants of German pioneers: S. W. Myers, Shands, Jordan, Miller and Sheetz.²¹²⁾ With special pride every Virginian speaks of the "Stonewall Brigade" and this heroic command *was mostly composed of descendants of German settlers in the Shenandoah valley.* Nearly every other section of the State furnished German-Virginians to the army; there was hardly a company without some German members, but the largest number came from Richmond, where several entirely German companies were formed. The old "German Rifle Company," organized on the 1st of March, 1850, was attached to the First Virginia Infantry Regiment as Company "K." Charles T. Loehr, Sergeant of Company D of said regiment, gives the following names²¹³⁾:

Florence Miller, Captain, resigned 1861.
 F. W. Hagemeier, Capt. after Capt. Miller's resignation.
 C. Baumann, Lieutenant (first year.)
 H. Linkhauer, Lieutenant.
 F. W. E. Lohmann, Lieutenant, resigned 1861.
 Herman Paul, Lieutenant.
 Wm. Pfaff, Lieutenant.
 George F. Deckman, Sergeant.
 H. T. Elsasser, Sergeant.
 Gerhard Haake, Sergeant.
 Fred. Hebring, Sergeant.
 C. E. Gronwald, Quartermaster Sergeant.
 Henry Burkhard, Corporal.
 Aug. Weidenhahn, Corporal.

Julian Alluisi	L. Botzen
Charles Arzberger	John Braw
B. Bergmeier	C. Brissacher
Adam Bitzel	R. Brunner
G. Blenker	C. Buchenan
Julius Blenker	H. Buchenan
John W. Bornickel	W. E. Crec

212.) "The Second Year of the War," by Edw. A. Pollard, p. 50. Richmond, Va., 1863.

213.) "War History of the Old First Virginia Infantry Regiment," by Charles T. Loehr. Richmond, 1884.

C. W. Creedins	F. Lauterbach
D. DeBar	F. Lehmkul
C. P. Degenhart	Ch. Lindner
Adam Diacont	P. Lucke
Ph. Diacont	Tobias Merkel
Wolfgang Diacont	Felix Meyer
John T. Dick	Jos. Nagelmann
Joseph Dilger	David Nolte
Henry Dubel	Henry Nolte
John Emmenhauser	Herman Nolte
Aug. Fahrenbruch	Jos. Ocker
John Fink	Martin Oeters
H. Fleckenstein	George W. Paul
Joseph Gehring	Wm. H. Paul
L. Gelnhausen	L. Peters
J. W. Gentry	L. Raymann
F. J. Gerhardt	P. Reidt
George Gersdorf	Rob. Richter
George Glass	Jos. Rick
E. Grossman	John Rodins
Fred. Gutbier	J. A. Rommel
G. Habermehl	S. Shaddock
Fred. Hach	— Smith
John Hach	Ph. Staab
H. Haderman	M. Stadelhofer
H. Heinemann	Chr. Stephan
J. L. Helwick	G. Tolker
E. Herzog	John Viereck
A. Hoch	Jacob Wachter
J. P. Hoffman	John Wagner
Andrew Hatke	A. Werner
George Koch	J. Winter

Sergeant Charles T. Loehr mentions in his valuable book also the following officers with German names: Capt. F. B. Shaffer of Company F; Capt. W. E. Tysinger of Company H; Lieutenant F. M. Mann of Company B; Lieutenant M. Seagles of Company C and one hundred and two non-commissioned German-Virginian officers and privates, — all belonging to the First Regiment.

A new German Company, "The Marion Rifles," was mustered into service on May 1st, 1861, and ordered to the Peninsula on the 24th of the same month. The muster-roll²¹⁴⁾ contains the following names:

Alb. Leibrock, Captain.
 Aug. Schad, 1st Lieutenant.
 Heinrich Schnaebeler, 2nd Lieutenant.
 Edw. Euker, "
 Jul. Fischer, "

Ed. Bell	Coleman Hecht
Heinr. Beckman	John Hauk
Aug. Braun	A. Heuers
Chr. B. Braun	Theo. Krone
Fr. Bierschenik	J. Johnson
H. Buckelman	J. Keppler
Geo. Blantz	G. Klein
Phil. Briel	Chr. Krebs
W. Doell	Herm. Kroedel
Fr. Dill	John Kolbe
Ad. Drescher	W. Kempf
Charles Euker	H. Lehman
Wm. Eggeling	E. Lieberman
Chr. Eshernbusch	W. Linz
E. Fillman	Ed. Lies
A. Frank	L. Merkel
Aug. F. Fiedler	O. Meister
Aug. Faulhaber	John Miller
H. Grimmel	H. Miller
Chr. A. Hennighausen	R. Mear
A. v. Halem	John Marxhausen
E. v. Halem	D. Nenzel
H. v. Halem	— Nopwitz
Chas. Haase	Fr. Otto
Wm. Heidmueller	G. Paul
G. Hassenohr	Chas. Pflugfelder

214.) The author is obliged to Lieut. Chr. A. Hennighausen of Richmond for furnishing this list. Lieut. Hennighausen was a member of the "Marion Rifle Company."

Louis Reinhardt	J. Schmidt
C. Roeth	H. Schuerman
H. Reidt	Ch. Siemens
G. Runge	B. Siemon
C. Rungwitz	— Taunbold
Fr. Ries	J. Teske
Ph. Stecker	R. Tiele
Fr. Schneider	E. Wacker
H. Schneider	J. Walter
Fr. Saeger	L. Wuertenberger
John Sevin	Ch. Wagner
Jac. Schwartz	Ch. Volk
Valentin Schwartz	

Company H, 19th Regiment Virginia Militia, was first organized as follows²¹⁵):

Karl Siebert, Captain.

L. Friedlaender	Chr. Heise
M. Schaaf	F. Martin
H. Rosenstein	Anton Kretzmar
Ch. Funk	S. Bolz
P. Kraus	H. Winten
C. Stephan	Mich. Hanna
L. Nachman	Jos. Adelsdorfer
Fred. Scheiderer	Jac. Heiss
Ed. Senf	A. Fuchs
Jul. Wohlgemuth	T. Singer
H. Heineman	C. Calbé
R. Morgenstern	E. Asmus
Leopold Rind	C. L. Miller
L. Stein	J. Merkel
Herm. Broedel	Fred. Englert
J. Gessinghausen	Otto Huber
Jos. Stump	H. Rabe
M. Hurge	Dietrich Euker
J. Reinhardt	A. Drescher

215.) Reported by Lieut. Ch. A. Hennighausen, Richmond, Va.

Ph. Rapp	Chr. S. Schmidt
M. Stahl	Ch. Gardewein
F. Wollcher	J. Weckerly
A. Huebner	Geo. Zander
Constantin Hirt	H. Hahn
C. H. Northheim	— Bernstein
W. Kellner	F. Reine
G. Wolff	Aug. Israels
J. Minnis	Ph. Staub
F. Seibert	Lorenz Welzenberg

In October 1863 Company H was reorganized as "German Home Guard," serving in the field and guarding the prisons until April 2d, 1865. The roll gives the following names²¹⁶):

C. Baumann, Captain.	
G. Runge, 1st Lieutenant.	
Von der Hoehl, 2nd Lieut.	
Ch. A. Hennighausen, do., Jr.	
C. F. Fischer, Sergeant.	
V. Schwartz, "	
W. Schotchky, "	
J. Dinkel, "	
F. Clevesahl, Corporal.	
L. Morris, "	
R. Senf, "	
F. Holle, "	
E. Albers, "	
G. Aichele "	
M. Bottigheimer,	W. Behle
E. Boehme	G. Dietrich
R. v. Bueren	W. Doell
S. Bolz	Ch. Emmenhauser
Ph. Briel	— Ehmig
Ch. Braun	J. Feldner
W. Becker	C. Feldner
N. Becker	W. Flegenheimer
F. Busshaus	A. Frank
C. Berndt	W. Finke

216.) Reported by Lieut. Ch. A. Hennighausen, Richmond, Va.

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| A. Frick | J. Nagelsman |
| A. Frommhagen | G. D. Obitz |
| B. Fischer | L. Peter |
| A. Feldheimer | H. Propst |
| B. Gottlieb | L. Rammstedt |
| L. Goepphardt | A. Ruppert |
| — Goyer | J. V. Reif |
| Chas. Haase | Chas. Schmidt |
| Chr. Heise | P. Sorg |
| H. Holzhauer | B. Schaaf |
| Chr. Holzbach | J. Schumacher |
| P. Huebner | Jac. Schneider |
| R. Heusler | John Schneider |
| W. H. Heinz | Ch. Schoenleber |
| E. Herzog | F. Schulte |
| J. Hauser | Ph. Staab |
| M. Hentze | L. Stern |
| A. Hopp | Ph. Stecker |
| G. Hirsch | A. Spies |
| P. Keil | Ch. Siemens |
| N. Kestner | Ch. Schoenborn |
| H. Koppel | A. Schmidt |
| H. Knorr | A. Schmus |
| W. Krug | J. Steinman |
| A. Kolbe | R. Thiele |
| E. Kuh | Ch. Wiemer |
| F. Lemggut | G. Wolff |
| N. Lieberman | L. Welsenberger |
| H. Meier | R. Werne |
| C. Mueller | L. Wagener |
| C. Meister | J. Wolfram |
| P. Martin | L. Walter |
| W. Miller | F. Witte |
| G. Mueller | — Weiner |
| J. Meier | Jac. Wolff |
| R. Merkel | W. Zimmerman |
| N. Nussbaum | |

Towards the end of the year 1863 the condition of his health had obliged the author of this history to resign as 1st Lieutenant of Comp. D, 14th Virginia Cavalry, C. S. A., but by request of Governor W. Smith of Virginia he organized a German company for home defence: Comp. M, 19th Virginia Militia. The Company was composed as follows²¹⁷):

Herrmann Schuricht, Captain.
 Friedr. Seibert, 1st Lieut.
 J. Kindervater, 2nd Lieut.
 Henry Wenzel, Orderly Sergt.
 G. F. Paul, 1st Sergt.
 H. Grimmel, 2nd Sergt.
 P. Ruhl, 3d Sergt.
 F. Schneider, 4th Sergt.
 G. A. Krieger, 1st Corporal.
 Georg Klein, 2nd " "
 G. Koenig, 3d " "
 P. Rosmary, 4th " "

E. F. Baetjer	— Grote
— Beck	H. Gundlach
C. Bernstein	J. Guggenheimer
L. Binda	Ch. Haas
Ch. Brown	H. Klein
C. Buckenthal	D. Klein
E. Crehen	A. Krezmarcz
H. Demler	Wilh. Loeffler
C. W. Dow	B. Momonthy
O. Ericson	J. D. Nauk
— Feldner	H. Rodenkirchen
G. Freitenstein	— Robert
Emil Fischer	Henry Schott
J. Fritz	D. Schoenfeldt
E. A. Flemhardt	C. Schulze
L. Gallmeyer	Julius Schultz
J. C. Ganter	John J. Spilling
J. Grom	Chs. Spott

217.) From a "muster-roll" in possession of the author.

M. Stoll
 C. W. Thilow
 F. Verspohl
 F. Warnicke

H. Wenton
 John Werner
 J. Wittman

Capt. J. Herbig, formerly a Lieutenant in the Bavarian army, recruited a German "Infirmarium or Sanitary Company," but the muster-roll of this troop is lost.

Several German-Virginians occupied very prominent positions in the Confederate army, as :

James L. Kemper, Brig. General of Pickett's Division.

Louis A. Armistead, do

D. C. Kemper, Brig. General Confederate Artillery.

J. N. Adenbousch, Col. of 2nd Virginia Infantry, Stonewall Brigade.

D. A. Weisiger, Col. of 12th Va. Inf. Regiment, Mahon's Brigade.

John S. Hoffman, Col. of 31st Va. Inf. Regiment, Smith's Brigade.

— Neff, Col. of 33d Va. Inf. Regiment.

— Harper, and later J. H. S. Funk, Col. of 5th Va. Inf. Regiment, Stonewall Brigade.

Capt. Buckner, commanding 44th Va. Inf. Regiment, Jones' Brigade.

Col. Harman, of 52nd Va. Inf. Regmt., Gen. Stonewall Jackson's Corps.

Col. Rust, of Gen. Stonewall Jackson's Corps.

V. D. Groner, Col. of 61st Va. Inf. Regmt., Mahone's Brigade.

Maj. John Harman, Chief Quartermaster of Stonewall Brigade.

— Sheetz, Capt. of Independent Troop of Horse, Gen. Jackson's Corps.

Cpts. Schumaker and Carpenter, commanding batteries, Gen. Stonewall Jackson's Corps.

Heros von Borke, Col. and Chief of Staff of Gen. Stuart's Cavalry Corps.

Captain — Schubert, Engineer Officer in General Rob't E. Lee's staff.

Gustav Adolph Schwarzmamm, Colonel and Adjutant-General of Gen. Albert Pike.

G. A. Peple, Major and Professor at Conf. Navy School.

E. von Buchholz, Captain of Ordinance, Wise Legion.

Dr. Max Roemer, Major of Wise Legion.

— Tucker, Captain and Aide-de-Camp of Gen. Fitzhugh Lee.

— von Massow, Aide-de-Camp of Gen. Mosby; and although not a native of Germany or Virginia, but of German descent.

Carl Friedrich Henningsen, Brig. General and second in command of Wise Legion.

The following biographies of these officers include all reliable information that could be procured.

James Lawson Kemper, whose family history has been given in Vol. I, Chapter 4, studied law. In the year 1847 President Polk appointed him Captain of Volunteers, and he took part with honor in the Mexican War. After his return he represented his native county in the Legislature, and the Virginia Convention appointed him Colonel of the 7th Virginia Infantry Regmt. after the secession of the State. He was commissioned Brig. General after the battle of Williamsburg, May 5th, 1862, and fought with distinction in many bloody engagements. On the second day of the battle of Gettysburg Pickett's division had its grand day of honor and death, and Gen. Kemper was one of the victims of the struggle; he was carried from the field badly wounded. On May 1st, 1864, he was appointed Major-General and placed in command of the forces for the defence of Richmond. The army of Northern Virginia having surrendered at Appomattox Court House, General Kemper returned to his law office in Madison county and issued a farewell address to his old brigade. "It is the most painful duty of my life," he said in that paper, "to sever the relations which for three years have harmoniously united us; which have carried us together through memorable and fiery trials, and have bound you to my heart with ties stronger than hooks of steel." From 1873-'78 Gen. Kemper was Governor of the State, and then he retired with his family to Orange Court House, honored and loved by his fellow citizens. He died in 1895.

Gen. David A. Weisiger, a veteran of two wars, the hero of the battle of the Crater and a successful business man, was born Dec. 23d, 1818, at "The Grove," the ancestral home in Chesterfield county. His paternal grandfather was Samuel Weisiger, who came from Germany of a family prominent for military achievements; he was a relative of Colonel William Smith, of Revolutionary fame, and of the ancient Mayo family of Richmond. He was partner in the firm Rowlett, Weisiger & Tanner, at Petersburg, when the Mexican War began, and soon became second lieutenant of Company E, First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers. While in Mexico Weisiger was appointed adjutant of his regiment, and he made a proud record during the war. On his return home he connected himself again with the commission business, and when the Civil War commenced he enlisted at once, was elected Major of the Fourth Virginia Battalion organized at Petersburg, and promoted Colonel of the Twelfth Virginia. After the battle of the Crater, July 30th, 1864, in which he commanded Mahone's Brigade, of which the Twelfth Regiment was a part, he was commissioned Brigadier-General. Gen. Weisiger was one of the most gallant officers of the Confederate army, of great dash and approved courage. He commanded his regiment and also his brigade in many of the leading battles and was wounded several times. After the war he entered in Richmond in business and died there February 22nd, 1899.

General Louis A. Armistead was born at Newbern, N. C., on the 18th of February, 1817. In 1839 he was commissioned an officer in the U. S. Army. He distinguished himself in the Mexican War, and at the time Virginia seceded he entered the Confederate service. Gen. Armistead commanded a brigade of Pickett's famous division, was mortally wounded at Gettysburg and died a prisoner of war. His personal courage was of the truest temper. He descended of a German family, which has previously been mentioned with distinction, and has always enjoyed high esteem in Virginia.

General D. C. Kemper, a cousin of Gov. Kemper, was in charge of artillery. He resides now at Alexandria, Va.

Col. J. N. Adenbousch commanded the second regiment of Virginia Volunteers from September 16th, 1862, accredited to the immortal "Stonewall Brigade." He was a descendant of a German settler in the Shenandoah valley.

Capt. — Sheetz was only a comely youth, says Gen. Dabney in his "Life of Lieut.-General Jackson," when he left his father's farm to join the army. However, very soon he showed himself a man of no common mark. Collecting a company of youths like himself in the valleys of Hampshire, he had armed them wholly from the spoils of the enemy, and without any other military knowledge than the intuitions of his own good sense, had drilled and organized them into an efficient body. He speedily became a famous partisan and scout, the terror of the invaders and the right hand of Colonel Ashby. Sheetz was ever next the enemy; if pursuing, in command of the advanced guard; or if retreating, closing the rear; and Gen. Stonewall Jackson had learned to rely implicitly upon his intelligence; for his courage, enterprise, sobriety of mind and honesty assured the authenticity of all his reports. He was killed May 23d, 1862, in a skirmish near Buckton, between Front Royal and Strasbourg.

Col. Heros von Borke, born in Silesia, was a Prussian cavalry officer. At the beginning of the Civil War he took furlough, came to America, offered his services to the Confederate Government and was attached to Gen. J. E. B. Stuart's staff. He was a thorough soldier, and as a model officer soon became the friend and advisor of his brave General. The position of Chief of Staff of Gen. Stuart, with rank of Lieut.-Colonel was conferred on him. In an engagement near Upperville, Fauquier county, Aug. 19th, 1863, v. Borke was shot through the wind-pipe, and while still convalescent his friend and general was mortally wounded at Yellow Tavern, Hannover county. General Stuart on his death bed wished the promotion of v. Borke to his successorship, but the Confederate Government did not comply to the desire of the dying hero. The Congress of the Confederate States however voted resolutions of thanks for Col. v. Borke's services, acknowledging his military talents and bravery.

The author met von Borke at that time in the Spottswood Hotel in Richmond, and he received the impression that the wounded Colonel was not yet qualified to endure the exposures, hardships and excitement incident to the position as Commander of the Cavalry Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia. Von Borke returned to Germany and served as Major of Dragoons (die Schwed'schen Dragoner) in the war of 1866, but his old wound forced him soon after to retire. In 1886 he revisited Virginia and was received with due honors. "His once robust constitution appeared much affected by the ball he still carried in his right lung, but his jovial, impulsive, warm-hearted nature had not forsaken him"²¹⁸). During his stay at Richmond his sword, which he had brought from his Fatherland to Virginia, and worn when a Confederate officer, was returned to him. Von Borke presented this relic to the State and the Legislature accepted it with the following resolution :

"Resolved by the General Assembly: That the State of Virginia, appreciating the high manly qualities and virtues of Lieut.-Colonel Heros von Borke, accept the sword, and hereby directs the Secretary of the Commonwealth to place it among the relics preserved in the Public Library."

Von Borke published in German and English a book: "Zwei Jahre im Sattel," a description of his military life as a Confederate officer, and lately he wrote in conjunction with Major Scheibert: "The Great Cavalry Battle near Brandy Station."

*Captain — Scheibert*²¹⁹), of the Prussian Engineers, detailed by his government as an observer, but taking an active part as a combatant, was attached to Gen. Robert E. Lee's headquarters. His interest in the southern cause did not end with the war; on returning to Germany, where he was appointed Major in the Prussian Engineers, he corresponded with the editor of the "Southern Historical Society's Papers," and he wrote a book:

218.) "Southern Bivouac Magazine," p. 515. Louisville, Ky., February 1886.

219.) "The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States," by J. G. Rosengarten, pp. 179 and 180. Philadelphia, Pa., 1890.

“Sieben Monate in den Rebellen-Staaten,” published in Stettin, in 1868, characterized by its southern tone. In 1883 Major Scheibert published a German translation of Allan’s: “History of the Valley Campaign;” and in a letter of October 13th, 1881, dated Hirschberg, Silesia, Prussia, he says that he has translated and printed in German: Early’s “Gettysburg;” Stuart’s and Lee’s “Report;” Hubbard’s “Chancellorville;” Patton’s “Jackson;” McClellan’s “Jeb Stuart;” Stuart’s “Gettysburg;” and biographies of Lee, Jackson, Stuart and Mosby. His “Buergerkrieg in den Vereinigten Staaten” has been translated into the French and Spanish.

*Colonel Gustav Adolph Schwarzmann*²²⁰) was born at Stuttgart, Wuerttemberg, March 17th, 1815, and received a thorough and complete education. A young man of eighteen he came to Baltimore and received a situation as clerk in a commercial house. At the time of the Seminole War, 1835-’42, he enlisted in the U. S. Army and owing to his superior education he was soon promoted to a lieutenantship of the 4th Artillery Regiment. Schwarzmann was wounded several times and after the close of the war he was appointed superintendent of the U. S. Arsenal at Fayetteville, N. C., and later on to a position in the General Postoffice at Washington city. Sympathizing with the South he went to Richmond at the beginning of the Civil War, and he was at once appointed to the General Postoffice of the Confederacy; but this civil service was not what he longed for, and he soon joined the Confederate army. He was commissioned Colonel and Adjutant-General to Gen. Albert Pike; participated in numerous engagements and battles and again distinguished himself by his bravery. After the termination of the war Colonel Schwarzmann went to Baltimore and established himself as notary-public. His many friends in Richmond tried in vain to induce him to take up his abode there. A serious disease of the eyes, a result of exposures during the war, darkened the remainder of his life, and after twelve years of suffering he died on the 20th of February, 1882.

Col. David Lewis Ruffner, son of Dr. Henry Ruffner, was

220.) From “Der Deutsche Correspondent,” February 22nd, 1882. Baltimore, Md.

born in Lexington, Va., and was a graduate of Washington College, now the Washington and Lee University. He was in the Confederate army as Captain of "Kanawha Riflemen" until he received an injury and was placed in the Quartermaster's department of Gen. Williams' Brigade, and later on staff duty in the field. He was commissioned Colonel Aide de Camp by Gov. Jackson of West Virginia in 1861.

G. A. Peple was born at Henry-Chapelle, in the "Rhine-provinz," Kingdom of Prussia, in 1828, and received a normal school education to fit him for the profession of teacher. After his graduation a predilection for the mechanic arts induced him to visit the polytechnical schools at Geneva and Vevay in Switzerland. About 1850 he emigrated to America, where he for years engaged in educational pursuits and was favorably known as a successful teacher. In 1859 he came to Richmond, Va., and during the Civil War he acted at first as topographical engineer, later as Commissary Sergeant at Buchanan, Botetourt county, and finally he received the appointment as professor of history and modern languages at the Confederate Marine School on board the school-ship "Patrick Henry," stationed in the harbor at Rockets, Richmond, Va. In this position he ranked as "acting master" or "Major of the army." Towards the close of the war he also edited for some time the "Richmond Anzeiger," which the Confederate government had purchased, and after the conclusion of peace he took charge of the "Cotton and Woolen Mills" at Manchester, opposite Richmond, Va. Thus he turned his pedagogical and technical education to good account. *G. A. Peple* was up to his death, October 24th, 1895, the superintendent of the above named mills. He took an active part in the political and German social life of Richmond, and for a long time he was the stirring spirit among his countrymen. He composed a pretty comedy entitled: "Frau Lipps," which was enacted on the stage of the Virginia Gesangverein at Richmond, and upon several occasions he delivered the official festive oration. As a member of the Board of Education at Manchester he gained general admiration for his talents as an organizer and by his pedagogical experience.

Captain E. von Buchholz, a native of the Kingdom of Wuerttemberg, was the son of the chief ranger von Buchholz and served as cavalry and artillery officer in the Royal army. About 1850 he emigrated with his family to America, located first in Washington, D. C., and afterwards removed to Richmond, Va. Gov. Henry A. Wise, recognizing his capacity, engaged him to survey the State and to draw an accurate topographical map of the same. In the fall of 1859 a hostile invasion of Virginia, known as "John Brown's Raid," occurred at Harper's Ferry, and Capt. von Buchholz accompanied Gov. Wise to Jefferson county as a member of his staff. At the breaking out of the Civil War Ex-Governor Gen. Henry A. Wise was ordered to Kanawha valley in West Virginia and von Buchholz was commissioned to organize the artillery of his brigade. Soon after he was placed in charge of the Ordinance stores of the brigade and in the spring of 1862 was again transferred to the Virginia Ordinance Department at Richmond. After the end of the war there were no funds in the State treasury for the completion of the survey of Virginia and its map, and Capt. Buchholz went to San Francisco as superintendent of a factory for the manufacture of explosives. There he died in 1892.

Major Mac Roemer, who claimed to be a German-Hungarian, belonged to the Wise Legion during its western campaign. After the war he settled in St. Louis, Mo., where he is practicing as a well-to-do physician.

Capt. — Tucker was born in Holstein, the son of Jewish parents. Some months before the war broke out he came from Memphis, Tenn., to Richmond, and when hostilities commenced he joined Capt. Caskey's Cavalry Company, which was attached to the Wise Legion. At Gauley Bridge Sergt. Tucker was detailed as messenger to headquarters and shared the tent with the writer. The opinion of all his superiors and companions in arms was an unanimous approval of his ability and courage. He was a splendid horseman and very ambitious. For some time Capt. Tucker was in command of a company of cavalry, and during the Pennsylvania campaign in 1863 he was one of Gen. Fitzhugh Lee's aides. At a very lively engagement at

Shepperdstown, Va., the author met Capt. Tucker for the last time and admired his boldness and sangfroid in the midst of the fight.

Von Massow was a Prussian cavalry officer and came to Richmond in 1861 to enter the Confederate service from eager desire for war. Not successful in securing a commission he joined Gen. Mosly's independent troop and acted as one of his aides. At a skirmish near Upperville, Va., he was shot through the breast and left on the field for dead. Von Massow recovered, returned to Germany and in 1866 fought as Lieut. of Dragoons under Gen. Vogel von Falkenstein.

Carl Friedrich Henningson, one of the most picturesque figures, an excellent soldier and well-known military author, was born in England, of German parents (from Hanover) in 1816. He received a superior German education, spoke several languages and was a highly gifted man and amiable companion. But he was inclined to seek adventures and for that reason never enjoyed a quiet and prosperous life. A lad of hardly sixteen years of age he volunteered in the army of the Carlists in Spain. For his gallantry he was appointed Captain of the body-guard of Don Carlos. Afterwards he rose to the position of Colonel of cavalry and received the decoration of the order of St. Ferdinand. After his return home he wrote a "History of the Spanish War," which secured him the favor and protection of Wellington and Soult. In 1842 he went to Russia and took part in the Circassian War, and his publication: "Recollections of Russia," created quite a sensation. In 1849 he joined the Hungarian army. He delineated the plan of campaign, which was confirmed by Gen. Guyon, and he received the appointment of military governor of Komorn. After the downfall of the Hungarian Revolution Col. Henningson embarked for America, where he worked jointly with Kossuth for the Hungarian cause and also engaged in literary work. Some of his publications of this period are: "The Twelve Months Campaign under Zamalacarregen;" "The White Slave," a novel, "Eastern Europe Sixty Years Ago," a novel, and "Analogies and Contrasts." At the beginning of the "Filibuster War" in Nicaragua he took command of the invading

force and defended "Granada" heroically with about 300 against 4,000 men. He repulsed the besieging army several times, and on the 24th of November, 1859, cut his way to the sea-coast through the overwhelming forces of his enemies. He burnt Granada before evacuating it and erected a spear on its ruins to which he nailed a placard bearing the inscription: "Aquí fué Granada," that is: "here stood Granada." At the outbreak of the Civil War he accepted the position of military adviser to Gen. Henry A. Wise, and was appointed second in command of the Wise Legion. After the battle on Roanoke island Gen. Henningson commanded at Currituck bridge the fragments of the legion and there the author acted for a few days as his adjutant. Gen. Henningson did not find proper opportunity to display his military genius during the War of Secession. The cause was that Gen. Wise was no favorite of President Davis and his legion was constantly ordered to untenable or lost positions. Referring to Mr. Davis' partiality Ed. A. Pollard says: "No man was ever more sovereign in his likes and dislikes"²²¹).

General V. D. Groner, of Norfolk, and Gen. A. L. Long, of Charlottesville, who are said to be descendants of German families, are also named with distinction. There was another officer in the Confederate army who must be numbered with the German element: *Count B. Estván*; but the German-Virginians would gladly disclaim all relation to him. The so-called "Count" came to Richmond some years before the Confederate episode. Estván lived there upon the earnings of his two ladies, his wife and his sister-in-law, who gave lessons and were acknowledged to be very highly educated. He himself was a very good-looking jovial man and knew how to perform the part of an upright Austrian country nobleman to perfection. When the Civil War commenced he pretended to have recruited in North Carolina a regiment of Lancers and was authorized to draw from the Ordinance Department the necessary equipage. He took all accoutrements received: saddles, bridles, blankets, etc., to North Carolina, sold the articles

221.) "The Second Year of the War," by Edw. A. Pollard, p. 302. Richmond, Va., 1863.

at any price and disappeared. Estván went to Washington city in full uniform of a Confederate Colonel and claimed to have deserted in sympathy with the Union. He was received with distinction, introduced to President Lincoln and the best society of the Union capital. From Washington he went to England and Germany, and assisted by his ladies, wrote a book: "Kriegsbilder aus Amerika," first published in English at London and later in German by F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1864. Finally Estván ventured to revisit his old Fatherland, Austria, and at Vienna he was arrested and prosecuted as a criminal.

In the Union army were many Germans and also some German-Virginians. Gen. Robert E. Lee gave these German soldiers in the Union army a very brilliant testimonial. At the time when the southern cause was rapidly falling away he angrily exclaimed: "Take out the Dutch and we will whip the Yankees easily."

*Gen. Jacob Ammen*²²²), distinguished during the rebellion, was a native of Virginia, a graduate of West Point in 1831, had resigned to engage in teaching and engineering, and when the war broke out he re-entered the service as Colonel of the 24th Ohio; later as Brigadier-General he served with great bravery in the West.

Gen. Hugo Dilger, born in Baden, enjoyed the reputation of one of the boldest officers of the Northern army. During the war he learned to know and admire the Shenandoah valley and its German population, and after the close of the hostilities he concluded to live among the "Sesesh." He purchased a farm near Front Royal and is a very popular man among his Virginian neighbors.

Gen. Lewis Ruffner, of Charleston, Kanawha county, before mentioned, participated in the establishment of the separation of West Virginia. Against the wishes of most of his relatives²²³) and many of his warmest personal friends he declared for

222.) "The German Soldier in the Wars of the U. S.," by J. G. Rosengarten, p. 166. Philadelphia, 1890.

223.) "Historical Papers, No. 5, 1895, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.," pp. 21-23.

the Union and stood for it with the courage of inflexible conviction. He was twice elected as a member of the Legislature of West Virginia. In 1863 he was one of the delegates to the Wheeling Convention, which framed a constitution for the new State, and in the same year he was appointed by the Legislature a Major-General of militia for the State. He was also about that time tendered the position of Colonel of a regiment in the Federal army, which he declined on account of the large business interests he represented and which were continually in peril. His public life closed with the war and he died in 1883 at his home.

The contents of these biographies have run in advance of the historical reports given and we return to the events in the first year of the war.

On May 20th, 1861, the seat of the Confederate Government was transferred from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, and on the 29th of the same month President Jefferson Davis was received in the new capital. The face of the city at once became altered, — it was overrun by wild fanatics, speculative adventurers, office seekers, gamblers and discreditable women,—the respectable inhabitants soon retired, alarmed and disgusted, from publicity. In the beginning of the war the Confederate armies had been victorious, but victory was followed by disaster: the enthusiasm and valor of the people cooled down and the volunteer soldiers felt desirous to return home. The exigency was very critical and the government was forced to resort to conscription. In April and again in September, 1862, acts of conscription were passed by Congress and generally cheerfully acquiesced in. New disasters on the Mississippi frontier, the evacuation of Norfolk, Va., and the destruction of the "Virginia" or "Merrimac," caused great distress and public alarm in the old mother State. The destruction of the "Merrimac" left the James river and Richmond almost unprotected, and there appeared unmistakable signs of the intention of the Confederate Government to remove to some safer place than the capital of the Old Dominion. The sound of the guns of the Federal gunboats at Drewry's Bluff and the thunder of the cannons during the battles around

Richmond were heard in the streets of the city. Many prepared to leave and there were cries of treason and disloyalty. The foreign born inhabitants and especially such that kept away from the army were objects of suspicion and all possible influence was urged to force them into service. The Germans in Richmond who were not citizens and therefore claimed exemption from military duty were in a difficult situation. No powerful German Empire then existed to protect and shield them, only the "Free City of Bremen" was represented in Richmond by a Consul appointed to take care of her commercial interests. To this Consul, Edw. W. de Voss, all those alarmed and suspected Germans hastened to seek protection. Upon oath that they had not obtained American citizenship and paying a fee of one dollar they received a certificate worded as follows:

Consulate of the Free City of Bremen, Richmond, Va.

I, — E. W. de Voss, Consul of the free City of Bremen, declare and certify that the bearer, ———, has taken oath that he is a native of ———, Germany, and that he has never taken the oath of allegiance to the United States or the Confederate States of America, or to any other foreign nation.

Given under my hand and seal of office, ———

EDW. W. DE VOSS, Consul.

For some time these certificates were respected by the Confederate police and military authorities, but they also intensified the ill-feeling towards the foreigners.

The close of the summer of 1862 found the soil of Virginia again almost cleared of the invading enemy, who had been defeated around Richmond, at Cedar mountain, at Manassas and in Kentucky. These victories and the battle of Sharpsburg or Antietam had cost great loss of life. Maryland and Kentucky failed to come to the support of the Confederate armies. Disastrous events followed then in the Southwest: the defeat of Corinth, the capture of Galveston, etc., and on the 22nd of September, 1862, President Lincoln issued his proclamation of the *Emancipation of the Slaves*. The scarcity of all supplies, the enormous prices and the depreciation of the

Confederate currency seriously added to the calamities and disheartened the people. In fact the depreciation of the Confederate currency did more to demoralize the South than anything else. The advance in prices was enhanced by greedy speculation. Although it was no secret that *southern planters* were eager to smuggle and sell cotton, sugar and tobacco to the North, the animosity of the natives *accused the German Jews and foreign adventurers* to speculate on the misfortunes of the South. However the truth was occasionally acknowledged. Edw. A. Pollard for instance says in his book²²⁴), written at the time: "Whatever diminution of spirit there may have been in the South since the commencement of the struggle it has been on the part of those pretentious classes of the wealthy, who in peace were at once the most zealous 'secessionists' and the best customers of the Yankees, and who now in war are naturally the sneaks and tools of the enemy. The cotton and sugar planters of the extreme South who prior to the war were loudest for secession, were at the same time known to buy every article of their consumption in Yankee markets and to cherish an ambition of shining in the society of northern hotels. It is not surprising that many of these affected patriots have found congenial occupation in this war in planting in co-partnership with the enemy or in smuggling cotton into his lines." This criticism certainly is to some extent too severe in its general form of expression. The devotion of the southern people to their cause is too well known to be discredited, but it is equally unjust to accuse the Jews and foreigners without distinction to have been corrupt and unpatriotic. The large number of Germans who served in the southern army and dared their lives on the battle fields are strong proof against such spiteful accusation.

"In the South, during the dark and trying days of the Confederacy," says Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington city²²⁵), "the Jewish citizens of that section displayed to the full their devotion to the cause which they held at heart. The Jewish South-

224.) "The Second Year of the War," by Edw. A. Pollard, p. 303. Richmond, Va., 1863.

225.) "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," by Simon Wolf, p. 429. Philadelphia, Pa.

erners were as zealous in their efforts as were their neighbors all about them, and however mistaken was their contention they adhered to it tenaciously. A Jew, it is said, fired the first gun against Fort Sumter, and another Jew gave the last shelter to the fleeing President and Cabinet of the fallen Confederacy."

It cannot be disputed that Jews have been foremost among the foreign-born population of Virginia in advocating the secession-movement, — being interested in the "Negro trade." The largest auction-house in Richmond for the sale of slaves was owned by a Jew. Although slaves were considered a necessity by the planters and slave property being legitimate, the Negro-trader was looked upon with contempt, and therefore it reflected to a disadvantage on the Jews that several of them were engaged in this detested trade. However, the cheerful alacrity with which they entered the Confederate service in the hour of need, is evidence of their devotion to the southern cause. In a number of southern Jewish families all the male members able to bear arms were enrolled in the southern army. In Virginia three brothers: Leopold, Samson and Solomon Levy enlisted, and the last-named died of wounds received in battle.

Hon. Simon Wolf gives in his interesting history: "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," *the following German-Virginian names of Jewish officers and soldiers in the Confederate army* :

- Adler, Henry, Company E, 1st and 14th Inf. Regmt.
- Abrams, Isaac, Company G, 1st Inf. Regmt.
- Angle, Meyer, Company D, 12th Inf. Regmt.
- Angle, M., Company E, 46th Inf. Regmt.
- Angle, B., Company —, 46th Inf. Regmt.
- Angle, Joseph, Company E, 59th Inf. Regmt.
- Adler, A., Company A, 1st Artillery.
- Bear, Alexander, Lieutenant and subsequently, Surgeon Company D, 4th Infantry.
- Bacharach, M.
- Bacarach S.
- Baach, Siegmund, Longstreet's Corps.
- Baach, Seligman, do.

Baach, Solomon H, Longstreet's Corps.
 Bernheim, Samuel, Sergt.-Major, City Battalion.
 Cohen, Jacob, Company B, 12th Infantry.
 Cohen, David, Richmond Hussars.
 Cohen, M., do.
 Dogen, Samuel, Company A, 19th Infantry.
 Dreyfus, Leon, Company A, 10th Cavalry.
 Deichs, Wm., Norfolk Blues.
 Ezekiel, E. M., Company A, 1st Infantry.
 Ezekiel, Joseph K., Company B, 46th Infantry.
 Eiseman, Louis, Wise's Brigade.
 Ezekiel, Jacob, 1st Militia.
 Ezekiel, Moses, Lieutenant of Cadets Va. Institute.
 Frankenthal, Simon, Company B, 46th Infantry.
 Friedenwald, Isaac, " A, 53d "
 Friedland, A., Richmond Light Inf. Blues.
 Goldstein, B., Company E, 46th Infantry.
 Guggenheim, Simon, Company E, 46th Infantry.
 Gunst, Michael, " E, 46th "
 Goldstein, J., " E, 46th "
 Gunst, Henry, " E, — Cavalry.
 Gersberg, Henry.
 Hirschberg, Joseph, " A, 1st Infantry.
 Hutzler, Siegmund L., " A, 1st "
 Hexter, Simon, " E, 1st "
 Hessburg, Julius, " 3d "
 Heilbronner, Henry, " H, 27th "
 Hesser, S., " E, 46th "
 Hirsch, Herman, " A, 1st Cavalry.
 Hessburg, M., "
 Isaacs, Abrh., " E, 46th Infantry.
 Kuh, E. L., " H, 8th "
 Kull, M. E., " A, 12th "
 Kadden, A., " A, 10th Cavalry.
 Kalten, Aaron, Wise's Legion.
 Lichtenstein, Isidore, Company H, 1st Infantry.
 Lowenstein, William, Richmond Light Infantry Blues.
 Levy, Lewis, Company A, 12th Infantry.
 Lowenstein, Isidore, " A, 12th "

Lorsch, Henry, Company A, 19th Infantry.
 Levy, Ezekiel, " E, 46th "
 Levy, Isaac J., " E, 46th "
 Levy, Alexander H., " E, 46th "
 Levy, Alexander, Lieutenant, Staff of General Magruder.
 Levy, Joseph, Company E, 46th Infantry.
 Levy, Emanuel G., " E, 46th "
 Levy, Leopold, } " G, 1st Cavalry.
 Levy, Sampson, } " G, 1st "
 Levy, Solomon, } brothers. 23d Infantry.
 Levy, E., Captain, Richmond Light Infantry Blues.
 Lichtenstein, K., 19th Reserves.
 Lowenstein, I., Richmond Grays.
 Litterman, Simeon, Young's Battery.
 Myers, Wm., Company A, 1st Infantry.
 Myers, Marks, 12th "
 Myer, Max, " B, 12th "
 Middendorfer, Chas, " E, 12th "
 Myers, A., " — 17th "
 Myers, Solomon, " — 18th "
 Moses, J. C., " E, 46th "
 Myers, C., " E, 46th "
 Myers, Lewis, " — 46th "
 Myers, Herman, " — 1st Cavalry.
 Myers, Benjamin, " C, Wise's Legion.
 Middendorfer, Max, Fayette Artillery.
 Newman, Joseph, Company K, 20th Infantry.
 Newman, Isaac, 46th "
 Newman, Jacob, 59th "
 Obermayer, H., 2nd "
 Oethenger, David, Company B, 18th "
 Oberndorfer, B., Young's Battery.
 Plaut, Hugo, Sergeant on General Henry A. Wise's Staff.
 Rosenberg, M., Company G, 6th Infantry.
 Rosenfeld, Simon, " A, 12th "
 Reinach, A. S., " B, 12th "
 Reinach, Isidore, " B, 12th "
 Rosenheim, Henry, " E, 46th "
 Rosenberg, Michael, Norfolk Blues Infantry.

Reinach, M., Petersburg Grays.
 Seldner, Isaac, Lieutenant, 6th Infantry.
 Schwartz, —, 17th Infantry.
 Semon, Jacob S., Company E, 46th Infantry.
 Schoenthal, Joseph, Company E, 46th Infantry.
 Strauss, David, 7th Cavalry.
 Simon, Isaac, Richmond Hussars.
 Simon, Nathan, Richmond Hussars.
 Smith, Henry, Otoy's Battery.
 Seligman, H., Petersburg Grays.
 Triesdorfer, G., Company B, 14th Infantry.
 Tucker, — Lieutenant, Caskey's Riders.
 Unstadter, M., Company A, 6th Infantry.
 Whitlock, P., " A, 12th "
 Wilzinsky, L., " H, 12th "
 Wolf, W. M., Lieutenant 25th Infantry.
 Wasseman, Levy, Company E, 46th Infantry.
 Wamback, Leopold, Norfolk Blues Infantry, and several
 uncertain names.

The losses of the Confederate armies had to be repaired in some way and the conscription laws were now carried out with extreme rigor. The Confederate government took the police authority from the State of Virginia and appointed *Gen. J. Winder* "*provost marshal of Virginia.*"

He originated from Baltimore, had been a Colonel in the Union army and was promoted by the Confederate government to the rank of Brigadier-General. It probably was his intention and orders to enforce the law and to guard the safety of the city, but he did so in an almost savage manner. He organized a secret police force of men, who for the most part ought rather to have been put under police control, and a detestable system of espionage and denunciation was inaugurated. A reign of terror began in Richmond. Arrests upon the charge of political disloyalty or secret connection with the enemy were daily occurrences. Several respectable German citizens who were known to have opposed secession—like H. L. Wiegand—were imprisoned in the ill-famed "Castle Thunder," and frequently had to wait there several months before

the charge against them was investigated. Armed patrols marched the streets of Richmond and arrested anyone who had no passport of Gen. Winder to show. If the prisoner could not give other satisfactory legitimation he was sent to the army.

However an Englishman, a correspondent of the "Cornhill Magazine," contrasting the rival capitals, sketched Gen. Winder rather favorably as follows²²⁶): "Gen. Winder, the provost marshal, every sojourner in the city knows full well. Gen. Butler would rejoice in the possession of so vigilant an officer. While Washington is overrun with the intriguing and the disappointed, Richmond has ears for every whisper, and there can come no stranger to the city whose movements are not watched and his mission understood. To Gen. Winder the whole government of the city is entrusted. Offenders are marched singly before the provost; he sits absolute and imperturbable, erect, prompt and positive. He has small searching eyes, a beaked nose and white bristly hair, which suggests the unapproachable porcupine. He adopts a harsh voice with prisoners of war and with his justice may blend just a little retaliation; for his brother has long been shut up in Fort Warren by Federal gaolers."

Not any less embarrassing was the situation of foreigners or foreign-born citizens in other cities and towns, but particularly of those living isolated in the country. Bands of masked and armed men harassed foreigners and tried to compel them to leave the country.

The depot agent at Trevillians, Louisa county, Mr. Hancock, related to the author the following incident, sounding almost like a romance:

"Some years before the war a German and his wife, relatives of the Rueger and Loehr families in Richmond, settled at Trevillian and opened a store. The industrious couple prospered and thereby they awakened the envy of several less successful neighbors. After the outbreak of hostilities they were by these persons accused to be "Abolitionists" and to

226.) "The Record," p. 42, July 16th, 1863, publ. by West & Johnston, Richmond, Va.

have sold merchandise to negroes, thereby offending against the Virginia code. In consequence of these incitements a band of masked men on horseback, headed by one of the spiteful neighbors, approached their house in nighttime and ordered them: "to leave the country within three days or their house would be burnt." In the third following night the horsemen reappeared to carry out their threat, but the brave wife of the German stood at the door of her dwelling armed with a gun and told them that she would shoot anyone who dared to destroy her husband's property. The disguised men hesitated and held a short consultation, and finally they turned their backs to the house and disappeared in the darkness. The German storekeeper and his wife, in dread of further molestations hereafter, removed to Richmond until the reestablishment of peace and order. Although successful in their undertakings in the city, they returned to Trevillians and reopened their store. Their son and the daughter of the leader of their assailants visited the same little country school, became attached to each other and after years they were married. At present the son of the German and the daughter of the "Ku-Klux" are a happy couple and the proprietors of a much enlarged storehouse."

In spite of distrust and sufferings the Germans, and even those who seriously regretted the separation from the Union, competed with the Anglo-Americans in the endurance of severe trials. The long war had entangled by its consequences all the different parties; all had finally but one material interest and entertained but one hope: victory and peace. Defeat appeared to every inhabitant of Virginia, suffering most of all the Confederate States and liable to undergo dreadful hardships in case of being vanquished, as identical with ruin.

This sentiment, especially felt by the descendants of the German pioneers, is closely shown in "Virginia!" a battle song, composed by Mrs. C. J. M. Jordan²²⁷). The song closes:

227.) "War Songs of the South," p. 216, Richmond, Va., West & Johnston, 1862.

“ Hark, hark ! o'er mountain, vale and glen
 The distant thunders rattle ;
 The foe, the foe is at our door,
 Up, brothers, to the battle!
 He comes, — above our native hills
 His flaunting banners wave ;—
 Up, brothers, to a Victor's palm
 Or to a Freeman's grave.

CHORUS :

Up, noble Queen, the brave, the free,
 Thou'ld bow thee to none other ;
 God will thy shield and buckler be,
 Virginia, oh, my mother ! ”

There was now one great danger threatening the Confederacy. The army suffered heavy losses sustained and *by absentees*. Already in 1862 Gen. (Stonewall) Jackson complained about the absence of officers and men from the ranks without leave²²⁸). One of his brigades reported at that time twelve hundred absentees. This state of affairs naturally began to disgust the men doing faithful service, the armies grew feeble and in a great measure disorganized.

The death of Gen. Jackson on May 10th, 1863, was also very discouraging to the soldiers as well as to all the people. The entire South was in mourning and the Germans looked upon this sad event as the foreshadow of subjugation.

“ Other countries and ages,” said R. L. Dabney²²⁹), may have witnessed such a national sorrow, but the men of this generation never saw so profound and universal grief as that which throbbed in the heart of the Confederate people at the death of Jackson. Men were everywhere speculating with solemn anxiety upon the meaning of his death. They asked themselves: “ has God taken the good man away from the evil to come ? ”

The fall of Vicksburg and the result of the battle of Gettysburg in the beginning of July, 1863, were fatal and

²²⁸ and ²²⁹.) “ Life and Campaigns of Lieutenant General (Stonewall) Jackson,” pp. 633-624 and 726-727, by R. L. Dabney.

considered as a reverse in the general fortunes of the contest. The news of these disasters reached Richmond on the same day and despair took the place of the hope of an early peace. Dissatisfaction, distrust, want of discipline and desertion steadily increased.

The author is still in possession of a diary he kept in those days, and an extract from it may find room here to illustrate the low spirit prevalent in the army.

“Near Brandy Station, Va., August 5th, 1863.—After our victorious fight of yesterday we passed the night in readiness to march. Everyone tied the bridle of his horse to his wrist and laid down in the grass. Now we are ordered to relieve the picket line on Miller’s Hill, near Brandy Station, and I remain in command of Companies D and H, (14th Va. Cavalry). My wounded men from yesterday are doing well and are to be taken to Culpeper. Men and horses suffer for want of rations and I am almost broken down by rendering constant service. The dispositions from headquarters of our brigade frequently appear to be rash and thoughtless. Want of military knowledge and experience cause the troops many useless exertions and hardships and create therefore much complaint. Desertion is increasing, every night the gaps in our reduced brigade are widened. Yesterday the first desertion occurred from our regiment, hitherto honorably exempted. Unfortunately even officers listen, ignoring duty and honor, to the peevish conversation of their men about the capitulation of Vicksburg, our retreat from Maryland, our gloomy prospects, etc., and likewise to quite unconcealed provocations to desert the army. Such indifference is almost equal to sanctioning treason, and such occurrences are very alarming. It is true that the deserters do not join the enemy, but hide in the woods and mountains near their homes, but every one of them reduces our number and leaves a vacancy in his company which cannot be filled.”

The Governor of Virginia now ordered 8,000 militia under arms for home defence and in order to relieve the regulars from guarding the prisoners. All foreigners still exempted from service were called upon to join. The Confederate gov-

ernment also organized a Brigade of Officials and Mechanics, employed in the offices and workshops, for like purposes. The Virginian forces were placed under command of Governor Gen. W. Smith and the Confederate brigade in charge of Gen. C. Lee. The 19th Regiment of Va. Reserved Forces was chiefly composed of foreigners: Germans (Companies H and M), Frenchmen, Italians, etc. Very soon these forces were also ordered to the field about Richmond, but the members enjoyed the privilege of following their occupation if not on duty and to draw rations from the government magazine for their families at government prices. This permission was the more valuable as all supplies commanded enormous prices, for instance: One barrel flour, \$300 to \$600; one dozen eggs, \$10; one glass whisky \$5; one cigar, \$5; board per month, \$450-\$500; a furnished room per month, \$100-\$125, etc. However the above mentioned measure to strengthen the army was ruinous, it demonstrated: *that the South was exhausted*. One Richmond regiment of the Confederate brigade under Gen. C. Lee was called with harsh sarcasm the: "Silver Grays," the men being aged and with gray sprinkled hair. By these desperate circumstances the North was much encouraged and the Union armies were at the same time heavily reinforced. The Federal Government gave the order *to employ all liberated slaves* to work on fortifications or to be enrolled in separate regiments. In the beginning of 1864 the Northern armies numbered about 500,000 men and 65,000 negro troops, and the United States Navy was very strong. The Confederacy had only 150,000 to 200,000 soldiers left and the best part of the Southern Navy was captured by Admiral Farragut on August 5th, 1864, in the Bay of Mobile. Disaster followed disaster, many important places were taken by the Union army and on November 12th Gen. Sherman commenced his famous march through Georgia to the Atlantic coast, cutting the Confederacy in two, while Gen. Grant with his mighty army of the Potomac obliged Gen. Lee to fall back upon Richmond, bravely contesting foot by foot the advance on the capital of the Confederate States. Lee defeated Grant once more at Cold Harbor, a few miles from the city, and Grant transferred his army to the south side of James river and besieged Petersburg. Gen. Early, after an unsuc-

cessful invasion of Maryland, was obliged to give up the Shenandoah valley to Gen. Sheridan. Sherman invaded the Carolinas and Wilmington, N. C., was captured. *The Confederates could no longer offer effectual resistance*; they were losing their strongholds one after the other, and the end of the bloody drama was drawing near. On the other side the reelection of Lincoln to the presidency of the United States and the call for 300,000 men to strengthen the Union armies, increased the confidence and determination of the North to finally overwhelm the South.

The Confederate government, impressed by the imminent danger of the situation, in March, 1865, *resolved to arm the slaves*, but this last hope failed. Fate outran the realization of this scheme. After several bloody battles around Petersburg, Gen. Lee was obliged to evacuate Petersburg and Richmond, still hoping to be able to force his way through the lines of the Union army and to unite with Gen. Johnson in North Carolina. But the odds surrounding him were too great. Not conquered but overwhelmed, he surrendered April 9th, 1865, near Appomattox Court House with the remnant of the army of Northern Virginia, numbering only 28,355 men, and the other Confederate Generals, Johnson, Dick Taylor and Kirby Smith soon followed his example.

The evacuation of Richmond was accompanied by circumstances that deprived many German citizens of all they owned and for the moment placed them in a desperate position; but by diligent labor they quickly succeeded to regain prosperity and wealth.

On Sunday forenoon, April 2nd, President Davis, while attending Divine service at St. Paul's Church, received a message from Gen. Robert E. Lee, informing him: "that he could no longer hold Petersburg and Richmond." The news of the impending evacuation spread like wild fire and the streets were soon filled with fugitives. The night came, but no one rested. The militia companies received orders to maintain quiet and order, but only few members of these organizations responded. About midnight several hundred barrels of whisky and brandy

were rolled into the streets and emptied. A number of stragglers from the Confederate army and negro-lurkers possessed themselves of part of the intoxicating contents, and from that moment law and order were disregarded. Gen. Ewell, before leaving the city, gave order to set fire to the Confederate store-houses, and very soon the conflagration was beyond control. Everything was in confusion; there were not sufficient means of transportation to save the endangered property. Plunderers and thieves were at work, taking advantage of the calamity, and for some time it seemed as if the whole city would be destroyed. The terror of the scene was increased by the explosions of ammunition in the Confederate magazines and the blowing up of the gunboats. But early the next morning the U. S. Gen. *Gottfried Weitzel*, born November 1st, 1835, at Winzlen, Rhineprovince, Germany, took possession of the doomed city and at once restored order. Energetic measures were taken by his command to subdue the conflagration and save the endangered property. Col. Benjamin S. Ewell says :

“To the credit of this officer, Gen. Weitzel, it ought to be known that when his command, consisting of two divisions, one white, the other colored troops, the latter being in front, approached the city, he changed the order of his march and put the white soldiers in front when he saw the fire, as being less likely to commit excesses, and being more skilled and experienced in extinguishing fires.”

Nearly all the cities and towns throughout Virginia can tell a story of sufferings; only those occupied by the Union forces soon after the outbreak of hostilities made an exception. *Alexandria*²³⁰) received at the beginning of the war a large influx of Germans and a very busy time began. Musical and singing societies were organized, and although there were many adventurers and tramps among the new comers the majority was made up of able and useful men. Even a German newspaper: “*Der Spassvogel*,” was started, but the publisher was a queer fellow and his paper enjoyed only a short existence. A social club: “*Die Eintracht*,” was founded and it owned its

230.) “Correspondence of Dr. Julius Dienelt, Alexandria, Va., April 3d, 1892,

club-building, bar and restaurant. The club rooms were opened every evening and twice a week dances and stage performances took place. All branches of business prospered, in short it was a time still cherished in the memory of the few survivors. At that time too an effort was made to organize a German church, and the endeavor was supported by Rev. Butler, chaplain of the House of Representatives at Washington. The intention was to have an English sermon in the forenoon and a German one in the evening, but for want of concord the project failed. However, the religious spirit was live amid the German Israelites and they erected a pretty and large synagogue on the principal street of the city. Rev. Loewensohn, a highly educated and noble-spirited man, was elected rabbi, and under his leadership the first German school was established in Alexandria, attended by children of every faith. Before closing this important chapter the names of some German-Virginians who occupied conspicuous Confederate offices must be mentioned.

Christoph Gustav Memminger²³¹⁾, born at Mergentheim in Wuerttemberg, came to Charleston, S. C., in 1806, when a little boy. His parents died soon after and he was taken to the Orphan Asylum. His talents awakened the sympathy of Governor Bennet, who took him into his family and enabled him to study law at the University of South Carolina. In 1822 Memminger graduated and in 1825 he was admitted to the bar. He married Governor Bennet's daughter and soon became a prominent figure in political and financial circles. He was a member of the State Legislature from 1836 to 1860, and took great interest in the organization of public schools at Charleston. In 1860 he was appointed Treasurer of South Carolina and elected to the first Confederate Congress. In February, 1861, President Davis called on him to be Secretary of Treasury. He accepted and removed to Richmond, Va. Mr. Memminger has been severely criticized for endorsing the illimitable issues of treasury notes. Edw. A. Pollard for instance accused him of "ignorance"²³²⁾, but contradicting himself says: "When

231.) "Das deutsche Element in den Ver. Staaten," von Gustav Koerner. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1880.

232.) "The Second Year of the War," by Edw. A. Pollard, p. 303 Richmond, Va., 1863.

gold was quoted (at the close of 1862) in New York at twenty-five per cent. premium, it was selling in Richmond at nine hundred per cent. premium. Such have been the results of the financial wisdom of the Confederacy, *dictated by the President.*" In June 1864 Mr. Memminger resigned this sorrowful position and after the close of the war he returned to Charleston to practice there as attorney. He died on the 7th of March, 1888.

The list of members of the Confederate States Congress presents the following German-Virginian names²³³):

Ch. M. Conrad, born in Winchester, Va., 2nd district of Louisiana.

C. C. Herbert, born in Winchester, Va., 2nd district of Texas.

John Goode, Liberty, Bedford Co., Va., 6th district of Virginia.

A. R. Boteler, Shepherdstown, Jefferson Co., Va., 10th district of Virginia.

Samuel A. Miller, Shenandoah Co., Va., 14th district of Virginia.

233.) "The Record," p. 241, by West & Johnston, Richmond, Va., December 10th, 1863.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NEW STATE, WEST VIRGINIA.

GERMANS, and especially Pennsylvania-Germans, largely participated in the settlement of the western mountain region of Virginia, now known as "West Virginia," the "Little Mountain State," or "the Daughter of the Old Dominion." Portions of West Virginia adjoining the Ohio, Potomac, Kanawha and New river show to this day many traces of an early German immigration, reinforced at the close of the last century by the numerous colonization of German prisoners of war. It has already been stated that Gen. Washington valued the Germans as desirable colonists, and donated in 1770 by the English government with 10,000 acres of land south of the Ohio, and by purchase the owner of large estates on the Kanawha and Greenbrier rivers, he intended to colonize these with German settlers. The realization of his plan was delayed by the Revolutionary War; but after its close he invited the German prisoners of war to stay in the New World, and a very large number of them accepted his favorable proposal and built their cabins in Greenbrier, Pocahontas, Nicholas, Fayette and Kanawha counties.

The very first German immigration to the wild and romantic valleys of the Alleghanies occurred about the middle of the last century. The oppression of the English High Church and large land owners had driven them from their homesteads in Pennsylvania and Eastern Virginia. Separated from the civilized world, exposed to the attacks of the treacherous Indians, they became a hardy, independent and even rough people. In the first part of this history it is stated that the

counties Hardy and Pendleton were settled by a part of the early German immigration to the Shenandoah valley, and part of the following reports has also been previously mentioned. In what is now Jefferson county, Robert Harper, a German, located in 1734, and his name is given in Harper's Ferry. Jacob Hite founded *Legtown* and Thomas Shepherd became the founder of *Mecklenburg*, now *Shepherdstown*. In Berkeley county the Waggeners and Faulkners, who distinguished themselves during the French and Indian War and the War of Independence, counted to the pioneer settlers. The two brothers Andrew and Edward Waggener came from Culpeper to Berkeley in 1750 and settled at *Bunker's Hill*, and later on General Adam Stephan (Stephens) and Colonel W. Darke also made Berkeley their home. With the first white inhabitants of Morgan county Thomas Hite, van Swearinger and others are numbered, and still more numerous were the German pioneers in Hampshire county. Among the founders of *Watson Town* in 1787 were Jacob Hoover, V. Swisher, R. Bumgardner, Isaac Zahn and other Germans. During the French and Indian War the German settlers of this section had to fight for their homes and families. Bowers and Furman were killed and H. Newkirk wounded. In Pendleton county the horrible massacre at *Fort Seybert* by the Indians in May 1758 tells of the early settlement of Germans. Among the first white inhabitants of Pocahontas county were Peter Lightner, H. Harper, W. Hartman and J. Wolfenbarger, the Jordans, Tallmans, etc. The name "Knapp's Creek" reminds of the German pioneers. In 1754 David Tygar and Files came to Randolph county. The nationality of these pioneers is not known, but in 1790, on the land of Jacob Westfall, the county-seat *Beverly* was laid out and the Germans J. Westfall, Th. Phillips, H. Rosecrouts and V. Stalmaker were appointed trustees. Tucker county was settled by Germans in 1776, but all pioneer colonists were murdered by the savages. In 1758 Thomas Decker was the first white man who entered the territory of Preston and Monongalia counties. He established a settlement on *Decker's creek*, but he and his comrades were also slain by the Delaware and Mingoe Indians. The same evil fate in 1779 befell an-

other German settlement on *Dunkart's creek*. At the time when the county of Preston was formed by a division of Monongalia, the following Germans were among the first county officers: F. Hara, W. Sigler, Jacob Funk, etc. The counties Grant, Mineral, Marion, Harrison, Barbour, Lewis, Upshur, Webster, Braxton, Gilmor, Ritchie, Doddridge, Taylor, Tyler, Pleasants, Calhoun, Rean, Logan, Mason, Putnam, Cabell, Wayne, Lincoln, Wyoming, McDowell, Mercer, Raleigh and Boone are of later creation and are but little populated, but in all of them the German element is more or less represented. The historian V. A. Lewis relates as a remarkable circumstance: "A Mr. Gordon, an American-German, had had by two wives twenty-eight children." — *Weston* or formerly *Flesherville*, the county-seat of Lewis county, was laid out on the land of David Stringer; the same land had in 1784 belonged to Henry Flesher. *Hacker's creek* also derives its name from a German settler. The German element of *Wirt county* can boast of several well-known men, as: A. G. Stringer, first County Clerk; W. E. Lockhart, Commissioner in Chancery; Arthur L. Boreman, first Governor of the new State and later U. S. Senator; John G. Stringer, State Attorney, etc. In the counties Wetzell, Marshall, Ohio, Brook and Hancock, forming a long and narrow strip of land, the so-called "Panhandle," and which are situated between Pennsylvania and Ohio, the first attempts at a settlement were principally made by Germans. William Boner came to Burke county in 1774, Moses Decker about 1787, etc., but the settlements in Brooke and Hancock counties suffered heavily from the savages, and the last white men killed by the Indians in that part of the Panhandle were the Germans Captain von Buskirk and John Decker. No less endangered were the lives of the German colonists in Ohio county and their courageous tenacity deserves exemplary credit. — *West Liberty* was established by legislative enactment November 29th, 1787, on the lands of R. Foreman and others, and in 1793 *Wheeling* was first laid out in town lots by Colonel Ebenezer Zane.—Marshall county, formerly part of the county of Ohio, was first settled in 1769 by John Wetzell and family, who were soon followed by the Siverts and Earlywines. In 1777 Nathan Master (Meister),

James and Jonathan Riggs found homes within the limits of Marshall county. During the struggles with the Indians Captain Foreman (1777), Captain John Baker (1778), and Colonel Beeler (1780) fought with distinction; they and their men and also the Tusch family were slain by the savages. The counties Wood, Jackson and Mason near the Ohio river also owe their present flourishing condition to German diligence. The German Christopher Gist or Geist, whom the historian of West Virginia, V. A. Lewis, erroneously represents to have been an Englishman, was in 1750 by order of the Ohio Land Company the first explorer of this region. George Washington, George Muse, Andrew Waggener and others were donated by the English government with extensive land tracts in Mason county in recognition of their eminent services during the French and Indian War, and they desired, as has been previously mentioned, to draw German farmers to their estates. Traces of an early German immigration are found to this day in the counties of Kanawha, Fayette, Greenbrier, Summers, Monroe and Nicholas. With the first white men who reached this part of the country came the Hugharts, Rader, Moss, Hyde, Carpenter or Zimmermann, Strickland, etc., and the last victims of Indian treachery were a German family by name of Straud (Stroud) as previously stated, who lived near the junction of Gauley and Kanawha rivers, respectively the Gauley and New river.

With the enlarged settlement of the country the manners of the mountaineers were gradually refined, but they retained their independent and energetic character. Within the first half of the present century the Germans participated in several demonstrations against *the infringement on vital interests and fair claims of Western Virginia* on part of the State government and against *the unequal representation* of the two great sections of the State — the West and the East — in the General Assembly. The unjust representation gave to the East virtual sovereignty and rendered the western section almost powerless in all matters of State legislation.

224.) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, pp. 320—321. Philadelphia, Pa., 1839.

"In the Assembly in 1820²³⁴) the former had one hundred and twenty-four members, while the latter had but eighty. The result was that the East secured to itself nearly everything in the character of internal improvements. The public buildings, with a single exception, the 'Western Lunatic Asylum at Staunton,' were all east of the Blue Ridge. But that which produced the greatest dissatisfaction and caused deepest displeasure was the restriction of the right of suffrage. Its exercise depended on a property qualification and was restricted exclusively to the freeholders of the State. The doctrine: 'that all men are born free and independent,' was declared in the first clause of the 'Bill of Rights,' but while it was claimed to be true in theory, it was declared to be dangerous in application.

The system of taxation²³⁵) was also unequal, discriminating against the free mountain section, taxing lightly those interests which the West did not possess, while expensive internal improvements, adding greatly to real property values, were only undertaken in the East. Railroads of greatest feasibility and utility, surveyed and brought into notice by public-spirited individuals, were procrastinated and killed by the same determination to override the interests of this region.

The eminent value of this country was intentionally or unintentionally ignored by the oligarchy of the southeast of Virginia. For the variety and fertility of its soil, mineral and forest resources, abundant waterpower, numerous mineral springs possessed of sanitive character, a delightful and healthful climate, etc., invited immigration, but the slave-owners of the East feared the influx of an intelligent and progressive population, as is generally concentrated in industrial districts, and they endeavored *to reduce to a minimum the means of communication and traffic*, like railroads, canals and good roads, necessary to the development of the rich resources of Western Virginia. Before the War of Secession the road sys-

235.) "West Virginia," by J. R. Dodge, U. S. Agricultural Report, 1863, page 46. Washington, 1863.

tem of West Virginia consisted only of the stage-road from Guyandotte and Charlestown, by way of Gauley Bridge and White Sulphur Springs, to Jackson River Depot, now Clifton Forge, which was at that time the terminus of the Virginia Central Railroad, now the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, and of the turnpike route from Parkersburg to Staunton and Winchester. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was the only railroad that touched West Virginia. Thus the interests of East and West Virginia seriously conflicted; but the most potent cause of the ill-feeling between the two sections was *the institution of Slavery*. Statistical reports estimate the number of slaves in the West, as stated previously, at seven per cent. of the entire population, and in the East at more than fifty per cent. Especially in the northern counties of the present State of West Virginia slavery and slave-labor were discredited. Free labor was valued more profitable and honorable than servile, yielding more comely social results and sweeter moral fruit, and more successfully advancing the national well-being and the progress of intellect. The Germans of the lower Shenandoah valley in the counties of Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, Hardy and Pendleton and of the "Panhandle" joined in these humane aspirations. They were in constant commercial and social intercourse with the people of the adjoining northern colonies or free States, and it is but natural that they adopted their views and manners.

"It was evident," says Virgil A. Lewis,²³⁶ "that a redress of grievances never could be secured under the existing constitution, and as early as 1815 the question of a constitutional convention to revise that instrument began to be agitated."

In 1828 the people's vote was taken in regard to the call of a convention and the proposition was carried by 21,896 assenting against 16,646 dissenting votes, showing that even in the East many voters recognized the necessity of reforms. In 1829 and again in 1850 conventions were held at Richmond to revise the constitution in favor of West Virginia, but none of the re-

236.) "History of Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, p. 322. Philadelphia, Pa., 1889.

forms sought were secured in 1829. Among the members of the convention of 1850 several western delegates bear German names. A redress of many grievances was secured; the right of suffrage was extended, taxation rendered more equitable and the basis of representation so remodeled as to secure to the West greater equality in the halls of legislature. But the Civil War again created disharmony between the two sections; the East favored secession, while the West remained faithful to the Union.

On May 13th, 1861, or twenty-four days after the Richmond convention had passed the ordinance of Secession, the delegates of twenty-five western counties assembled at Wheeling and declared unqualified opposition to Secession and that in the event of the ratification of the ordinance of Secession by the people the counties represented *would separate from the eastern part of the State and form a government of their own*, and a general convention should meet on June 11th at Wheeling.

A list of the members of the "First Wheeling Convention" contains the following German names:

Hancock county. — Wm. B. Freeman, J. L. Freeman, R. Breneman, Sam. Freeman.

Brooke county. — Adam Kuhn, Joseph Gist, John G. Jacob.

Ohio county. — J. R. Stefel, G. L. Cramner, A. F. Ross, John Stiner, J. M. Bickel, J. Paull, John C. Hoffman, Jacob Berger, J. C. Orr.

Marshall county. — H. C. Kemple, Dr. Marshman, J. W. Boner, Ch. Snediker, J. S. Riggs, Alex. Kemple.

Wetzel county. — A. W. Lauck, B. T. Bowers, Geo. W. Bier, W. D. Welker.

Tyler county. — W. B. Kerr.

Harrison county. — S. S. Fleming, Felix S. Sturm.

Pleasants county. — R. A. Cramer.

Wood county. — S. L. A. Burche, W. Vroman, J. Burche, Peter Dils, H. Rider.

Monongalia. — L. Kramer, H. Deering, E. D. Fogle, J. D. Hess, Ch. H. Burgess, J. T. M. Bly, J. Miller.

Preston county. — D. A. Letzinger, W. B. Zinn.

Jackson county. — A. Flesher, G. Leonard.

Marion county. — J. Holman, John Chisler.

Mason county. — W. E. Wetzel, L. Harpold, W. W. Harper, Wm. Harpold, Sam. Yeager, Ch. H. Bumgarten, Ch. B. Waggener.

Wirt county. — H. Neuman.

Hampshire county. — George W. Sheets, G. W. Rizer.

Berkeley county. — J. S. Bowers.

Roane county. — I. C. Stump.

and many others of doubtful origin like Smith, Young, Winters, Conrad, Brown, King, Fish, Hunter, Baker, Snyder, Cook, Walker, Marshall, etc. Wm. B. Zinn of Preston county was made temporary president and Ch. B. Waggener was one of the secretaries.

On the 23d of May the vote on the ordinance of Secession was taken and while the eastern portion of Virginia was almost unanimously in favor of Secession, in the western counties of the 44,000 votes cast 40,000 *were against the ordinance*.

On the 4th of June the delegates to the "Second Wheeling Convention" were chosen and assembled with the senators and representatives elected in May at the general election to membership of the General Assembly of Virginia on June 11th at Wheeling. The German element was again largely represented in this memorable assemblage in which forty counties of the old mother State took action. The convention resolved²³⁷⁾: "We, the delegates here assembled in convention to devise such measures and take such action as the safety and welfare of the loyal citizens of Virginia may demand, have maturely considered the premises, and viewing with great concern the deplorable condition to which this once happy commonwealth must be reduced unless some regular adequate measure is speedily adopted, and appealing to the Supreme Ruler of the universe for the rectitude of our intentions, do hereby, in the name and

237.) Compare "A Declaration of the People of Virginia represented in Convention at the City of Wheeling, Thursday, June 13th, 1861."

on behalf of the good people of Virginia, solemnly declare that the preservation of their dearest rights and liberties, and their security in person and property, imperatively demand the reorganization of the Government of the Commonwealth, and that all the acts of said convention (that is, the Richmond convention which passed the ordinance of Secession) and executive tending to separate this Commonwealth from the United States, or to levy and carry on war against them, are without authority and void; and that the offices of all who adhere to said convention and executive, whether legislative, executive or judicial, are vacated."

Thus the Wheeling convention had proclaimed an interregnum in the State government and already the following day began the work of reorganization. Arthur J. Boreman of Wood county was president of the convention and G. L. Cramner secretary. The new government of Virginia was acknowledged by the United States authorities as the legal government of Virginia. On the first day of July the General Assembly organized at Wheeling and elected senators and representatives to the National Congress at Washington, who were admitted to seats in the respective houses.

"Having reorganized the government²³⁸) and elected a chief executive officer, Francis H. Pierpont of Marion county, Governor of Virginia, and provided for the election of all other officers, civil and military, the labors of the convention were evidently drawing to a close. Nothing had been done that appeared to directly inaugurate the popular movement for the formation of a new State. In reality however the true theory had been adopted and the only legitimate mode of arriving at the most desirable result had been conceived and acted upon by the convention. If the government, thus restored, was acknowledged by the Federal authorities as the only government in Virginia, then the legislative branch of it could give its assent to the formation of a new State, as provided for by the Constitution of the United States." August 6th, 1861, the convention reassembled at Wheeling and adopted an ordinance *to provide for the formation of a new State*, and on the 24th of October the

238.) J. H. Pagan's First West Virginia Report, p. 63.

people of the respective counties sanctioned this resolution. On the 26th of November a Constitutional Convention assembled again at Wheeling, the first capital of the new State, to frame the first Constitution of West Virginia. The following German names are among those of the delegates who performed this important labor: R. W. Lauck of Wetzel county, Rob't Hager of Borne, Henry Dering of Monongalia, Harmon Sinsel of Taylor, J. A. Dille of Preston, G. W. Sheets of Hampshire, Louis Ruffner of Kanawha, etc. On the 3d day of May, 1862, the Constitution was confirmed by a general vote of the people, and on the 9th of the same month a State convention assembled at Parkersburg elected the German-Virginian Arthur L. Boreman Governor of West Virginia, while Governor Pierpont of Virginia moved the archives of the restored government to Alexandria, which continued to be the rallying centre of Unionism in Virginia until the 25th of May, 1865, when the Pierpont government removed to Richmond.

In the meanwhile Federal and Confederate armies had entered the mountain region of Old Virginia and on the 7th of July, 1861, the first blood was shed in the battle at Scary creek. General Henry A. Wise, in command of the Confederate forces sent into the Kanawha valley, was victorious in this first engagement, but the Federals under General Cox being in strong force, the Confederates were in danger of being cut off and retreated to Meadow Bluff, north of Lewisburg, Greenbrier county. "The disaster at Rich mountain, the surrender of Pegram's force, and the retreat northward of Garnett's army," says A. Pollard,²³⁹) "had withdrawn all support from the right flank and indeed from the rear of General Wise."

The campaign of the Confederate troops in West Virginia, thus quite unsuccessful, the Legislature of Old Virginia on the 13th of May, 1862, proposed to acknowledge the formation of the new State of West Virginia, *but only within the jurisdiction of Virginia*. The waves of the conflict rolled over this attempt to bring about a reconciliation, and on December 31st, 1862, President Lincoln confirmed the resolution of the United States

239.) "The Lost Cause," by Edw. A. Pollard, p. 169. New York, 1866,

Congress to admit West Virginia as a State in the Union, with fifty counties of 24,000 square miles and 376,688 inhabitants.

There was a feeling of relief among the friends of the Union as from an irksome and heavy burden in the separation from the Old Dominion, the influence of which had long rested like a nightmare upon the western section; but there were still many adherents to the old Government in the new State. The Germans and German descendants were mostly Union men. For instance, in Preston county the German citizens demonstrated and agitated already in January 1861 against the secession movement.²⁴⁰) "A county convention appointed a committee of which S. W. Snider, J. Wolf, I. Startzman, G. Hildenberger, Ch. Bischoff, etc., were members, and elected delegates to the 'People's Convention,' to assemble at Richmond, Va., the 13th of February, 1861. On the same day about 150 citizens of the German settlement met, electing Ch. Hooton chairman and G. H. Schaffer secretary, and the meeting passed resolutions disapproving the course of the extreme southern States and deprecating the doctrine of secession. Other meetings were held at the Gladesville schoolhouse and at Pleasant Valley church; patriotic songs were sung and even the women expressed their attachment to the Union."

When the crisis came and war broke out, the German descendants promptly responded to the call for troops to join the Federal army. Preston county for example showed on its muster-rolls the German names of the following officers: Sam'l Snyder, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 16th West Virginia Regiment; Captain W. M. Paul, 15th West Virginia Regiment; Captain M. M. Snyder, 17th West Virginia Regiment; Captain D. A. Letzinger, 3d Regiment West Virginia Cavalry; Captain J. S. Hyde, 3d Regiment West Virginia Infantry; Captain W. A. Falkenstine, joined 3d Maryland Volunteers; Jacob Stemple, Major of Militia; Captain Peter Zinn, etc. The number of Germans from West Virginia on the Confederate side was comparatively small. The census of 1860, which does not consider the older German immigration, but simply anglicizes it, num-

240.) "History of Preston county, W. Va.," by S. T. Wiley, p. 96, Kingswood, W. Va., 1882.

bers the German population of the new State at 10,512 and states: that 869 engaged in the war. However these figures *are much too low*. According to the report of the Adjutant-General of the State for the year 1865 it appears, that West Virginia furnished in all 36,530 troops to the Federal army, and in proportion to the strength of the German element — Germans and their descendants — it must at least have supplied one-third, or 12,200 men. No official data exist to show the number, that went from West Virginia into the Confederate army. The historian Virgil A. Lewis²⁴¹) estimates the number at about 7,000, and the author, who was an officer of General Jenkin's Cavalry Brigade, which was principally recruited in West Virginia, from his observations would appraise the Germans and German descendants among them at not more than 3,000—4,000. Of Confederate officers from West Virginia and of German descent Colonel J. S. Witcher, 3d Virginia Cavalry; Captain Wm. H. Haffner, Company E, Edgar's Battalion; Captain Wm. Keiter, who commanded a Tennessee Artillery Company; Lieutenant Hawer, Company D, 14th Virginia Cavalry; Chaplain Brillkart, 8th Virginia Cavalry; Lieutenant Henry A. Wolf, 3d Virginia Cavalry, and Captain Peter Carpenter are known. "Shriver (Schreiber?) Greys," a handful of exiles from Wheeling, only thirty strong, are mentioned in Confederate reports as a gallant band.²⁴²)

During the late war the German districts of the new State had chiefly suffered, especially the lower Shenandoah valley and the counties on Greenbrier, New and Kanawha rivers, but by the energy and industry of the population they soon regained their former wealth. The development of West Virginia since its separation from Old Virginia is surprising and is a conciliating moment of the dismemberment of the Mother-State of the Union. Astonishing activity has characterized the construction of railroads; the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers were made navigable for steamboats; a thorough and stringent law was enacted relative to the construction and working of

241.) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, p. 423. Philadelphia, 1869.

242.) "The Life of Stonewall Jackson," by a Virginian, p. 78. Ayres & Wade, Richmond, Va., 1863,

roads; the hidden treasures of the earth: coal, iron, lead, copper, silver, antimony, nickel, borax, soda, alum, salt, lime, petroleum, etc., have been mined and developed; the mineral springs of remarkable variety and of high reputation are rapidly attaining celebrity among the most noted and elegant watering places of the northern States and even of the Old World; agriculture and rural enterprise, fruit growing, wine making, dairying, and the production of wool are progressive and the value of real estate is constantly advancing. In consequence of the last named progress many German farmers have gained great wealth. Before, during and after the late war several Germans have been entrusted with surveying the land and with exploring and analyzing the mineral resources. The first topographical map of the two Virginias was drawn, as already mentioned, by order of Gov. Henry A. Wise, by Capt. v. Buchholtz, a native of Wuerttemberg and a resident of Richmond; Oswald Heinrich, a Saxon, explored the mineral wealth of the Alleghanies by order of the Confederate government and he has drawn the first geological map of West and East Virginia; General L. Ruffner, a member of the well known Ruffner family originating from the kingdom of Hannover, was the superintendent of the celebrated Kanawha Salines,—and Dr. Heinrich Froehling, chemist of Richmond, collected and analyzed samples of ore, etc.

Among the names of the high officials of the new State, as was already stated, are several German ones, like: Arthur I. Boreman, Governor from 1863—1869; Daniel Polsley, Congressman, Judge and Lieutenant-Governor, born at Palatine, Marion county, Va., and of German descent^{2 4 3}), and H. A. G. Ziegler, State School Superintendent from 1869—1870.

Previous to 1861 the public education was as much neglected in West Virginia as in East Virginia, but already in 1872 of 170,035 boys and girls of school age 85,765 were enrolled in 2,479 public schools, and in 1882—1883 the total enrollment amounted to 155,544. The German language was taught in almost every high-school and college.

Another evidence of the important part the Germans have had in the settlement and development of West Virginia is furnished by the following names of counties, cities, villages, rivers, etc.: *Wetzel county*, named after the Indian hunter Ludwig Wetzel; *Wirt county*, after the lawyer and statesman B. W. Wirt; and in the counties: *Barbour*: Hackersville, Huffman, Burnersville, Galls; *Berkeley*: Martinsburg, Gerrards Town, Flaggs, Darkesville; *Boone*: Coon's (Kuhn's) Mills, Hager; *Braxton*: German, Cutlip's (Gottlieb's); *Brooke*: Steubenville, Herrmann Creek, Bowman; *Fayette*: Ansted, Nuttallburg, Leblong, Crickmer, Deitz, Frederick; *Gilmer*: DeKalb, Tanners; *Greenbrier*: Frankford, Hughart, Lewisburg; *Grant*: Lahmansville, Keyser, Kerms, Kelterman, Jordan's Run; *Hampshire*: Frankfort, Hainesville, Ruckman; *Hardy*: Moorfield (formerly Mohrfeld), Doman, Baker's Run; *Harrison*: Hessville, Hacker's Creek; *Jackson*: Wiseburg, New Geneva, Muse's Bottom, Lockhart's, Fisher's Point; *Jefferson*: Shepherdstown (formerly Mecklenburg), Harper's Ferry, Charlestown, Snyder's Mills, Lectown (founded by Jacob Hite); *Kanawha*: Winifreds, Sissonville, Copenhaver's Mills, Jordan; *Lewis*: Freemansburg, Berlin, Hacker's Creek, Fink's Creek; *Logan*: Burch; *Marion*: Palatine, Metz, Meyers, Sturm's Mill; *Marshall*: Becler's Station; *Mason*: Cologne, Grimm's Landing; *Mercer*: Duhring; *Mineral*: Frankfort, Hartmonsville, Schelle, Keysertown; *McDowell*: Jaeger; *Monongalia*: Statler's Run, Decker's Creek; *Monroe*: Lindside, Peterstown; *Morgan*: Unger's Store, Statler's Cross Road; *Nicholas*: Kessler's Cross Lanes; *Ohio*: Wheeling, Zane's Island; *Pendleton*: Macksville, Fort Seybert, Kline's Cross Roads; *Pleasants*: Schultz; *Preston*: Kyer's Run, Newburg Town, Gussman, Amblersburg, and also founded by Germans: Kingwood, Franklin and Fellowsville; *Putnam*: Carpenter's; *Pocahontas*: Knapp's Creek; *Raleigh*: Launa; *Randolph*: Helvetia; *Ritchie*: Rusk; *Roane*: Linden, Schilling, Harper's District; *Summers*: Mohlers, Barger's Springs, Foss; *Taylor*: Westermans, Fetterman Town, Astor, Forman's Ford; *Tucker*: Hannah's Ville; *Upshur*: Hinklesville, Hinkle's Mill, Tallmansville, Lorentz, Peck's Run; *Wayne*: Krout's Creek; *Webster*: Hacker's Valley, Stroud's Knob, Boughman's; *Wetzel*: Lowman, Steinersville, Cline's Mill; *Wirt*: Shertzville;

Wood: Luebeck, Vienna, Boreman, Lockhart's Run; *Wyoming*: Saulsville. — Many other places settled by Germans or with their aid bear English names, and also in some counties not mentioned above the German element is strongly represented, as for instance the St. Clara Colony in Doodridge county.

Wheeling in Ohio county has the largest German population of the West-Virginian cities. The U. S. Census of 1890 numbers the total population of Wheeling at 34,552, and the German element at 9,612. Ohio county, in which Wheeling is located, is in a high state of cultivation and among its farming population are many Germans. The grapevine has been cultivated by them with gratifying results. On the island at Wheeling, known as "Zane's Island" and owned by the descendants of the original German owner, the pioneer of that name planted a large vineyard. C. L. Zane, one of the proprietors, claims²⁴⁴) an average product of 500 (?) gallons of wine to the acre. In Wheeling itself, which was first laid out in town-lots by Colonel Ebenezer Zane in 1793, many of the leading manufacturers and merchants are of German nationality. German churches, schools, societies, lodges and several German newspapers have been founded in that city. Education has always had ardent supporters among the German citizens. The liberal and humane tendency of progressive pedagogical science possesses many warm advocates in their circles. When in 1837 a "German Convention" at Pittsburgh, Pa., discussed the means for the maintenance of German customs and language, Virginia was represented by Andreas Schwarz of Wheeling. He was one of the vice-presidents of the convention and took a prominent part in the foundation of the first American Independent *Teachers' Seminary* at Philipsburg, Pa.²⁴⁵)

After the separation of West Virginia an excellent public school system was established and an important concession was made to the Germans of Wheeling by the organization of a

244.) "U. S. Agricultural Report of 1833," p. 60. Washington, 1863.

245.) Compare "Geschichte der deutschen Schulbestrebungen in Amerika," von H. Schuricht, Seite 41—42 und 47—48, Leipzig, 1881, und "Deutsches Magazin," von H. A. Rattermann, Seite 594—613. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1866.

"*German Department in the Public Schools of the city.*" Six teachers for instruction in German were appointed,²⁴⁶⁾ and in 1875 the German classes numbered 482 pupils, besides several German private and parochial schools with about 300 pupils. This concession to the German element was made in recognition of their patriotism displayed during the struggle for the independence of West Virginia and the war against the Confederacy. The German citizens of Wheeling organized an entirely German company, "First West Virginia Artillery," under the command of Captain Fuerst, which joined the Union forces. But in 1877 know-nothing intrigues succeeded in limiting the instruction in German to the higher classes of the public schools, and consequently the list of the enrollment of the German department was reduced to 166 pupils. In the Spring of 1865 a German Educational Society for mutual instruction in educational matters was formed by Prof. C. A. Schaefer, superintendent of the German department, and everything indicated a sound spirit for the cultivation of mind among the German inhabitants. The culture of music rested, like in other American cities, almost exclusively in German hands. A lady vocalist of eminent talent lived in Wheeling about 1860: Louise Gubert, born 1837 in Philadelphia of German parents²⁴⁷⁾; but her sonorous melodious voice and efficiency never benefitted the great world. She was content as music teacher at the De Chantal Seminary. Celebrated artists, composers and managers repeatedly tried to secure her talent to publicity; Max Strakosch offered her fifty thousand dollars for a concert tour of six months, and Rubinstein was put in ecstasy by her truly phenomenal voice; but nothing could induce her to resign her conventual privacy.

During the stirring time of war Johann G. Eberhard²⁴⁸⁾ was chosen Pastor of the free Protestant church, which he administered until 1867. He was editor of the "Protestantische Familienblatt," the author of "Onkel Biesebrecht's deutsch-

246.) "U. S. Report of Commissioner of Education for 1871," p. 366. Washington, D. C., 1872.

247.) "Der deutsche Pionier," 14. Jahrgang, Seite 259—261. Cincinnati, Ohio.

248.) "Deutsch in Amerika," by Dr. G. A. Zimmermann, p. 229. Chicago, 1894.

amerik. Volkserzählungen" and published a number of pretty poems.

Only once, as mentioned previously, a small number of German fanatics, who dreamed of Germanizing America, endangered the friendly relations of the Anglo and German elements of the city. In September 1852 a "Congress of German Revolutionists" assembled at Wheeling²⁴⁹⁾ and issued a program for the formation of a "Universal Republic." The attendance was very small, only sixteen delegates participating, of whom only three were German inhabitants of Wheeling; but this so-called Congress created an angry feeling among the Anglo-Americans, exciting suspicions, and gave, as stated before, an impulse to the unjust and hateful know-nothing movement which disturbed the harmony of Virginia from 1854 to 1856.

Next to Wheeling, Martinsburg in Berkeley county and Parkersburg in Wood county have many German inhabitants. The influence of the German element of *Parkersburg* is demonstrated by the appointment of Prof. W. M. Strauss to the office of superintendent of the public schools.²⁵⁰⁾ *Martinsburg* was made a town by legislative enactment in October 1778, on the lands of a German: General Adam Stephan, anglicized to Stephen or Stevens, and its first inhabitants were Pennsylvania-Germans, Germans and Dutch. At present²⁵¹⁾ the German element amounts to about one-fourth of the population, numbering in 1880 in round figures 8000 inhabitants. The descendants of several of the German pioneers are still residents of the town, as the families Seibert, Noll, Rentsch, Kuschwa, Doll, Diefendoerfer, Schaefer, Klein, Schmal (now Small), Bentz, Martin, Blessing, Homrich, Schobe, etc. Most of them are farmers, but some of them are engaged in commercial and industrial pursuits and all are esteemed as good citizens.

Shortly after the foundation of Martinsburg a Lutheran

249.) "Das deutsche Element in den Ver. Staaten," von Gustav Koerner, Seite 122. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1880.

250.) "U. S. Educational Report of 1888—1889," Vol. I, p. 274.

251.) Correspondence of Mr. C. P. Matthaei at Martinsburg, W. Va.

and Reformed church were built, but the divine service was conducted in English. The first German church was erected in 1858 by the influence of Rev. Cast, a native of Baden; but during the late war it was burned down (1863.) After the war Rev. Prof. Gehrhardt of Lebanon, Pa., became pastor of the German community and he was also elected superintendent of the public schools. In the year 1868 a German private school, a Turnverein and a German lodge were organized, but at present they only have a bare existence.


Charlestown, the county-seat of Jefferson county, gained historic fame by the execution of John Brown; it is also one of the early German settlements in Shenandoah valley. A native of Germany, Mr. Gustav Braun, was for years, up to 1897, Mayor of the town.

Charleston, in Kanawha county, now the capital of West Virginia, has 7,500 inhabitants and several of its prominent merchants and manufacturers are Germans.

The new State of West Virginia has rapidly increased in population and wealth. In 1870 the population amounted to 442,014 inhabitants, in 1880 to 618,457 and in 1890 to 762,794, and the German immigration can claim to have added largely to this progress.

CHAPTER XV.

GERMAN IMMIGRATION AND RURAL LIFE IN VIRGINIA AFTER THE WAR.

ORE than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the army of Northern Virginia grounded their arms at Appomattox Court House and the soldiers returned to the plough and harrow to restitute the devastated land. The progress of building up the waste places however has been slow. During the war farming was brought to a partial standstill and for some years thereafter it was in a state of extreme depression. The determination and physical endurance of the planters and the former slave-owners appeared seriously broken; only in those sections of the State which were settled by Germans, especially the Valley, the farmers went to work with renewed energy and enterprise. The Anglo-American land-owners, disheartened and in a state of dejection, were almost helpless. Burdened with debt, without money to pay wages or taxes, their houses, farm implements and stock reduced or demolished; unaccustomed to work and also too proud to sell a part of their large estates in order to procure the necessary means for repairs and improvements, no progress in tilling the soil was made and their fields and meadows turned into a state of wilderness. Very singular circumstances resulted. The formerly wealthy slave- and land-owners were drifting into poverty, the amount of unpaid taxes was increased to exorbitant amounts, and finally the large estates of many were sued by the executive officers and offered at public sale. Very frequently no purchaser able to pay appeared, and consequently the indebted estates were left in the hands of the old

owner. The lands were then taxed to the utmost capacity of production and their fertility was rapidly exhausted, for the soil was not fertilized, but scantily tilled; there was no change of seed and the same crops were grown successively year after year. The forests were laid waste without consideration, but only in order to make money for the most urgent needs. Similar uncongenial conditions existed among the small Anglo-American farmers. Slavery always and everywhere degrades labor; this degradation is positive in the South. The small white farmers have adopted during the time of slavery the example of the rich planters: to look upon manual labor *as disgracing a "white gentleman."* They are possessed of presumption which strongly contrasts with their poverty and their want of learning. The wife of a neighbor of the author once complained to a lady-relation of his: "You cannot imagine how poor we are!" — "Why," replied the lady, "you have three grown daughters and four strong boys able to work, who can hire out. Female and male help are much in demand and high wages are offered."—"How can you propose that we shall become servants," she was interrupted by one of the daughters, "if we should work for other people, *we would no more be received in society.*"—This occurrence illustrates the notions prevalent among this class of Virginian farmers. The "society" of which the girl spoke, consists of people just as presumptuous and as poor and ignorant as herself; people who are even called by the negroes with disregard: "poor white trash."—Labor for a fair remuneration, whether mental or physical, should be the glory of all Virginians, as it is among the German-Virginians. There is true dignity in labor, especially in the tilling of the soil; there is also success in labor, as is demonstrated by many German-Virginian farms; but it has been distasteful to the Anglo-Virginian element and considered degrading by them. The result has been violation of wise economy and the State has been retarded in its progress. Another peculiar symptom is, that after the war many of the old masters became the debtors of their former slaves. They frequently lacked the ready money to pay the labor of the blacks; the claims of the latter accumulated and finally the negro received in payment a tract of land or some cattle. In this way negroes came to be the present neighbors of their former masters.

It would however be unjust to hold the Virginian people alone responsible that the wealth and prosperity of the State are slowly augmenting. After the war the Virginians, with but few exceptions, were zealous to reestablish good relations with the victorious Union. The fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, abolishing slavery and giving citizen-rights to all persons born in the Republic, was ratified by the required majority, and General Grant, who was sent to Virginia to investigate the feeling of the people toward the Union Government, stated in his report: "That the inhabitants had submitted to the results of the late war and that the two chief differences — secession and emancipation of the slaves — had been definitely disposed of." The North did not however assist, as had been hoped, to heal the bleeding wounds and to make the southern land again a source of national wealth.

"When the Confederacy fell," says Edw. Ingle in his book, "Southern Sidelights," "the whites of the South were relieved of an enormous incubus — slavery — but were at the same time deprived of the means to turn the relief to their immediate advantage. The blacks had freedom without the capacity to undertake the responsibility of freedom, and presently were, through partisan politics, surrounded by influences that would, for a generation at least, stand in the way of their development."

The Northerners boast of the forbearance and clemency towards the conquered "rebels," but on the other hand it cannot be denied, that the Government at Washington has with partiality considered the Eastern and Western lands and that the South was the neglected drudge of the Union. If a proportionate share of the enormous sums which have been spent to develop the Northwest had been invested in the South; if the spirit of enterprise, which constructed a network of railroads in the unpopulated prairies, would have been induced to restore and enlarge the roads of travel and traffic in the Southern States; and if efforts had been made to direct the stream of an industrious and wealthy immigration to the South as well as to the West, the traces of imperfect negro labor and poor tillage and of all the devastations of the war would have dis-

appeared years ago. Beladen Virginia was left to herself; she could not make liberal venture to attract immigration of intelligent white laborers. In 1866 the Legislature passed an act to encourage and increase immigration to Virginia; a Board of Immigration was organized and General G. Tochmann and Mr. B. Barbour were appointed agents of immigration to Germany and England, *but without any obligation on the part of the State to pay the expenses.* Only insignificant results could be expected of such illiberal policy. Colonel Frank Schaller²⁵²) was authorized by General Tochmann to travel to Germany and to visit first his native State of Saxony, to draw immigrants to the Old Dominion. But the success was very trifling. However full credit must be given General Tochmann for his endeavors and good will. He was a native of Poland and had participated in the campaigns of 1830 and 1831 as major in the Polish army. During the period of 1832 to 1834 Tochmann was vice-president of the Polish Revolutionary Committee at Avignon in France, and in 1837 he came to America and visited the principal cities to awake sympathy for his suppressed fatherland. In 1845 he was admitted to the bar as a lawyer and since 1852 he settled in Virginia, where he lived and associated principally with the Germans. Henry G. Miller of Richmond was his secretary. After the failure as agent of immigration he left the State in disgust.

During the summer of 1868 Rev. I. A. Reichenbach came to Richmond, Va., with the intention to organize German colonies in the South. On July 21st a public meeting was arranged in front of the City Hall to hear the propositions of the pastor, and a committee was elected to examine his plan. The committee consisted of the following highly respected citizens: Peple, Hoffbauer, Tiedemann, Gimmi, Leybrock, Dr. Strecker and Dr. Grebe. But the project was soon abandoned for want of confidence in the propositions and the person of the reverend.

German settlements promising good results were started in the counties Chesterfield, Prince George, Louisa, Lunenburg and Mecklenburg. Wm. Grossmann of Petersburg, Va., a native

252.) "Virginische Staatszeitung," January 25th, 1868. B. Hassel, Richmond, Va.

of Silesia, and in the old country professor at a German college, but now real-estate agent, has done very much to develop the German settlement at Port Walthall in Dinwiddie county, near the city of Petersburg. In Chesterfield county at Granite Station, not far from the city of Manchester, is a prosperous settlement of German Catholics. In Lunenburg²⁵³) Ch. Rickers and O. Jansen from Schleswig-Holstein and A. and G. Petzold from Saxony are successful farmers, and the same may be said of E. Williams (Wilhelm?) of Prussia, in Prince George county. In the southwestern part of Louisa county in 1868 two German villages, Frederickshall and Buckner, stations on the C. & O. R. R., were started by Heselenius, Frosh, Mauker, Lieb, Goering, Stolz, Schrader, Lorey and others. Some of these settlers have removed to other parts of the country, but the majority still remain and are doing well. In the northwestern corner of the same county the author purchased in 1886 a farm and planted a large vineyard, known as "Idlewild Vineyards." The reports of the State Commissioner of Agriculture mention, that in 1888 to 1892 several Pennsylvania-Germans came to Botetourt. Into Albemarle and Orange Germans immigrated from Illinois, Wisconsin, Dakota, Nebraska and Ohio; in Prince George a number of Germans from Russia and Bohemia purchased farms, and in Goochland many families from the northeastern States, and among them some Germans, settled since the war and are well pleased. Other official documents show that the counties Henry, Norfolk, Warwick, Roanoke, Alleghany and Taxwell increased in population from 126 to 195 per cent. and that a large number of the newcomers are Germans. The old German settlements on Opequan, Shenandoah, Rapidan, Rappahannock, Dan, New and Roanoke rivers also received some additions from the Northeast and direct from Germany. The status of Virginia for the year 1870 says (page 178): "Of the foreign population of Virginia Ireland furnished nearly one-half, *Germany one-third*, England one-sixth and Scotland one-twentieth. Over 49 per cent. of the foreign-born population were found in tide-water, where they are located in the seaport cities. Over 29 per cent. lived in the middle country and nearly 8 per cent. in Piedmont, while the Valley had over 11 per cent."

253.) Correspondence of Mr. Wm. Groszmann, Petersburg, Va.

During the last two decades there was a slight increase in immigration, owing to efforts made by some of the railroad companies. They had pamphlets printed explaining the advantages in Virginia for capital and labor, and these papers were liberally distributed. The conclusion had gained ground that it be better to seek immigrants from other States of the Union, especially from the Northwest, rather than to repeat the efforts to invite a stream of promiscuous population from abroad, — and immigration from the northwestern States has actually set in. The German element being very strong in the West, it is also well represented among these newcomers. All of these are desirous to escape the rigorous winters of the inhospitable western climate; to get nearer to the markets and to again enjoy society and those home-like comforts which charm life and which are wanting upon the borders of civilization. Immigrants going to the cities and into some professional or mercantile occupation did not succeed, on an average, as well as those engaged in farming. The statistics show that something like 90 per cent. of all those who go into mercantile pursuits in the United States either become bankrupt or have to make arrangements with their creditors, while of the remaining 10 per cent. not more than half succeed in making more than a bare living.²⁵⁴⁾

Among the number of successful merchants in Virginia the Germans are largely represented. Virginia is also a good field for German medical men speaking the English language. German musicians are predominating and German mechanics are much in demand; but surest of success, we repeat, are those engaging in farming. They at least secure a good livelihood; they produce on their farms sufficient of nearly all the necessities of life and many of its luxuries, and above all the farmer *if not rich, is at least independent*. It is surprising that the direct immigration of farmers from Germany is not taking larger proportions. The settler will find in Virginia a lovely climate, neither too hot in summer nor too cold in winter, for regular work all the year round. Its proximity to the ocean on the

²⁵⁴⁾ "Virginia," a Synopsis published by the State Board of Agriculture, p. 81, Richmond, Va., 1889.

East and the range of mountains on the West modify the climate and make it most healthful, enjoyable and suited for outdoor life. The farms, and in many cases with dwellings and outhouses, can be bought at very low prices and will, with intelligent working and proper manuring, produce as good crops as anywhere else. The taxes on the lands are light and the produce can be sold readily. Why then does the great mass of Germans seek the far West in preference to Virginia? At the annual meeting of the State Board of Agriculture on October 31st, 1888, the Committee on Immigration made the following statement in its report²⁵⁵): "Virginia needs population; it needs more good men, women and children. It has thousands of acres of broad, fertile, unoccupied lands awaiting the tiller's toil; it has thousands of acres of timber awaiting the woodman's axe and thousands of veins of most valuable ore and coal, only awaiting capital." — In fact every Virginian asserts: "What we want is good working people." But in truth it is not foreign labor, but *foreign money* they are looking for; and the selfish and unkind tendency is felt and keeps immigrants and especially the sensitive Germans away. A correspondence in "Der Sueden,"²⁵⁶) written by a highly respected German citizen of Charlottesville, Va., gives a good illustration of this assertion. The correspondent wrote: "It is easily explained why Virginians give preference to English immigration. In the period from 1870 to 1876 a large number of Englishmen came to Albemarle, Orange and Nelson counties and bought farms. Most of these newcomers were young gentlemen from London and other large cities in England and possessed little or no experience in farming. They generally paid one-third cash of the price of their lands and, anticipating large profits, they agreed to settle the balance in one, two or three years. They invested the balance in costly improvements on their farms and when the restitute payments became due, there was in many cases no money on hand, and the former owners were well pleased to foreclose the indebted property; for they received their farms back with costly improvements made upon them

255) "Der Sueden," Jahrgang I, p. 60, No. 6. Richmond, Va., Feb. 8th, 1891.

256.) "Virginia," a Synopsis published by the State Board of Agriculture, p. 111, Richmond, Va., 1889.

and gained besides the money already paid. With few exceptions the unfortunate Englishmen returned to England, while the German settlers, who came at the same time, still remain here and have paid for and improved their farms. The former had come with the idea to lead the life of English country gentlemen, but the latter were determined to work and persevere. The sales made to the English thus proved more profitable to the Virginians than those made to Germans, whom they envy on account of their success." — The opinion expressed in this correspondence appears severe, but is correct. However a new era is at hand and it brings a change of people and conditions. The old Virginian planters, who would rather starve than sell an acre of their neglected and indebted lands to a hard-working foreigner, are gradually dying out and their heirs are less determined not to part with some of their surplus lands. Besides, the example given by the foreigners already settled in the State, is now stimulating the native element to renewed efforts and revives their dormant energy.

There are other causes that impede German immigration and particularly that of German laborers. Since the first settlement of the colony tobacco has been considered one of the staples of Virginia, but the Germans have not become acquainted to any extent with its cultivation here. This is a surprising fact, as the German farmers in other countries — in southern Germany and in the German colonies in Africa — are very successful in its growth, and as the export of Virginian leaf principally rests in German hands. There is but one explanation for the small part they take in cultivating the plant and that is, that formerly the work in the tobacco-fields was exclusively done by negro slaves, and that the Germans did not desire to concur with them; while at the present time farm labor is scarce and wages much too high compared with the prices of farm products, tobacco included. The competition of the former slaves is the main cause in keeping white laborers at a distance, combined with the methods of the planters to treat them as they do their colored hands. We are not disposed to be placed on the same level as negroes, to be fed like them on corn-bread and

bacon and to work for low negro-wages. These are the reasons given by white laboring men for their antipathy towards the South. The negroes know very well that the farmers depend on their labor, and it pleases them to let the white folks feel *that they are now independent, free citizens, who can work or be lazy, just as they like.* Very frequently the farmers are left deserted when help is most needed; the crops cannot be gathered in time and consequently suffer a partial or complete loss. "The negro is gregarious,"²⁵⁷) says the standing committee of the State Board of Agriculture, "and prefers gang work on a railroad, or as a stevedore, or in a tobacco factory, rather than the quiet, monotonous labor of the farm." This unreliability of the colored farm-hands explains why at present the German farmers do not grow tobacco, and at the same time why the German immigration is not as numerous as desired.

Grape culture is most successfully carried on by Germans. In the vicinity of Charlottesville and Cobham, Albemarle and Louisa counties; near Front Royal in Warren county; near Afton in Nelson county; at Haymarket in Prince William county; around Richmond in Henrico county and also in the counties Fairfax, Madison, Goochland, Appomattox, Brunswick, Greenville, Hanover, Lunenburg, Middlesex, Spottsylvania and Surrey vineyards have been planted by Germans or with the aid of German vintagers who are experienced in viticulture. The first large and prosperous vineyard was planted at the suggestion of an old Swiss, Sol. Seiler, in 1866 at Pen Park near Charlottesville by Wilhelm Hotopp.²⁵⁸) Mr. Hotopp was born at Celle in Hannover and came to America when a boy of eighteen years. He was for years a successful manufacturer in New Jersey, settled in Virginia after the conclusion of the Civil War and purchased the farm "Pen Park" near Charlottesville, once owned by the well-known statesman B. William Wirth. There he planted his vineyard, and after years of prosperity he died May 4th, 1898.

257.) "Report of the State Board of Agriculture of Va.," p. 135. Rich., Va., 1838.

258.) "Albemarle," by W. H. Scamon, p. 55. Charlottesville, Va., 1888.

Several Germans, who had settled in Albemarle, eagerly grasping for something more remunerative than corn, oats or tobacco, planted vineyards, and Englishmen and Americans followed soon after. In 1888 about three thousand acres had already been planted in Albemarle county. In the fall of 1870 Mr. Hotopp began to make his grapes into wine — red and white, — and finding a ready sale, some other growers in the vicinity of Charlottesville in 1873 resolved on cooperation and formed the “Monticello Wine Company” under the successful management of Mr. Adolph Russow, a native of Holstein. Other German establishments are: F. Peters’ Mill Parks Wine Company at Haymarket, Prince William county; Idlewild Vineyards of H. Schuricht & Son, near Cobham in Louisa county, and Fritz Baier, Nelson county. Their wines are of the very best.

In fact the Germans are known to be successful in every branch of farming. They are excellent stock raisers; the German dairies are remarkable for their neatness, and their gardens and orchards are kept clean of weeds and in model order.

At a mass-meeting of prominent farmers and truckers at Norfolk, Va., on February 21st, 1889, for the purpose of securing a sub-experimental station for Eastern Virginia²⁵⁹), a committee of eighteen was elected and among them we meet with the following German names: J. A. Whetsel (Wetzel?) James Wagner, C. Miller, Walter Jordan, A. C. Herbert, etc. And only lately the present Governor, J. H. Tyler, has paid a flattering compliment to the German-Virginian farmers of the Valley by the appointment of Mr. George W. Koiner of Augusta county to be Commissioner of Agriculture. To a “Dispatch” reporter²⁶⁰) the Governor remarked:

“I do not think I could have gone to a more appropriate section of the State for a Commissioner of Agriculture than the Great Valley of Virginia and the county of Au-

259.) Report of the State Board of Agriculture of Va., p. 39. Richmond, Va., 1888
260.) “Weekly Dispatch,” Richmond, Va., Dec. 6th, 1898.

gusta. I have been on the splendidly-tilled farm of Mr. Koiner. I was farmer enough to see he knew his business. He will get all the practical good possible out of the department."

George W. Koiner, a member of the well-known Koiner family, is a little upwards of forty years of age — a live, energetic, up-to-date farmer. He represented Augusta county in the House of Delegates for two terms.

Absalom Koiner of Fishersville, Augusta county, is another member of the distinguished Koiner family. He was for several years a member of the State Board of Agriculture and in 1888 president of this body.²⁶¹⁾

Dr. W. H. Ruffner, the first State Superintendent of Public Education in Virginia, wrote to the author of this history, referring especially to the Germans in the Valley: "There are and have been a great many interesting and some important characters among the Germans of Shenandoah and Rockingham, and much worthy of notice in their way. They are certainly the thriftiest people now in Virginia and they are the leaders in popular education. They have in fact a great future before them."


In the neighborhood of Richmond the farms of the late Major Lewis Ginter and C. L. Miller are known as model stock farms.

In conclusion it may be said, that the frugal and industrious German farmer may today prosper here as well as did the German pioneer who settled in Virginia a century and a half ago.

261.) "Report of the State Board of Agriculture," pp. 1 and 5, Richmond, Va., 1888.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GERMAN CITIZENS OF RICHMOND AFTER THE WAR.

 HE German population of Richmond was already previous to the war the nucleus of the entire German element of the State, and it has ever since retained the leadership. After the fall of the Confederacy the German merchants and mechanics were in a state of numbness, the first effect of forlorn hopes and destructive blows. Many had lost all and momentarily despaired of future prosperity, but very soon they roused themselves and by diligence, enterprise and perseverance they gained new wealth. They lost no time in repining, but addressed themselves immediately to the work of rebuilding upon the ruins, and in their success made a record that is unparalleled. The task before them was a herculean one, but they accomplished it in an incredibly short time. Several of those who left Virginia at the outbreak of hostilities returned. After the great victories of the German armies in Austria and France in 1866, 1870 and 1871; upon the establishment of the North German Confederation, and most of all by the foundation of the powerful German Empire, the Germans and German-Virginians were inspired with feelings of self-consciousness and pride and with an admiration of their people and Fatherland heretofore unknown. This feeling of national self-respect soon found expression in a more active participation in political affairs. However this newly aroused enthusiastic admiration of the dear old Fatherland possessed nothing anti-American, but on the contrary instigated only to advance the condition of Virginia with truly German loyalty and piety.

The devotion of the Germans to the State was manifest during the struggle for readmission to the Union. The Republican party desired to control the vote of Virginia with the militia, the apparatus of the State government, and the vote of the freed men, and for this purpose they tried to impede the right of election of the white democratic citizens. In other words, the question was put: "If the intelligence and wealth, or the organized carpet-bagger and African ignorance should control the State?" and the German voters held the decisive vote.

No doubt this was cause for anxiety; the unequal distribution of illiterates throughout the Union might be a source of national peril. The following table, compiled from the census of 1870, will sufficiently disclose this fact:

Voting population of the United States . . .	7,623,000
" " " former slave States . . .	2,775,000
Illiterate male adults in United States . . .	1,580,000
" " " former slave States . . .	1,123,000
Per cent. illiterate voters in U. S. to entire vote,	20
" " " slave States . . .	45
" " " States not slave . . .	9
" " " South Carolina . . .	59
Illiterate voters in Southern States (white) . . .	304,000
" " " " (colored) . . .	819,000

This table will make apparent that forty-five per cent. of the voters of the Southern States were unable to read their ballots and that the illiterate vote involved great danger. It threatened the white population of the South with an unbearable terrorism of ignorance.

The majority of the German citizens of Richmond counted to the moderate Democrats. They had accepted the final result of the war and faithfully submitted to the laws of the Union. Their leader was Prof. G. A. Peple. A comparatively small number of Germans was connected with the Republicans and their leader was Hermann L. Wiegand.

On June 5th, 1868, a *German mass-meeting* was held at Dueringer's Park to discuss the new Constitution of the State and the elections on hand. Prof. Peple addressed the assemblage and several resolutions were adopted, condemning *the military rule since 1864 and the unlimited favors bestowed on the negro element*. Although *not one in the large assembly was an advocate of slavery, it was resolved*:

"We are proud to be of German descent and we reject with indignation as an insult to be placed on equal political and social footing with the negroes just extracted from the mire of slavery. We consider it as sacrificing the nation, to force the white population of the South under the rule of a half-civilized and inferior race."

This resolution was *unanimously* adopted; even the German Republicans voted for it. All of them adhered to the opinion of the "Declaration of Independence," which is the Magna Charta of American liberty, stating: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." But they considered *as a crime against civilization* to expose them to the danger of negro rule and they predicted that negro suffrage would break down American reverence for the ballot-box and lead to bribery and fraud in conducting elections. This peril was also recognized by Anglo-Americans and even by leaders of the Republican party. It was clearly apparent to the mind of General Grant, when he recommended: "to exclude all illiterates from the right of suffrage by constitutional amendment." President Hayes also revealed his conviction of the danger in several of his messages to Congress.

The result of the elections in 1868 was, in consequence of the German vote, a decided victory for the democratic candidates. Mr. Lovenstein was elected member of the Legislature, — after Prof. Peple had declined to be a candidate, — and until his death he represented the district either in the House of Delegates or in the Senate. The Germans also voted against the Clause 4, Sect. 1, Art. 3, and against Sect.

6, Art. 3, "test oath" or "iron oath," as it was called, by which those should be deprived of the right to vote, who had served in the Confederate army, or who had in any way, *even only by business transactions*, been connected with the Confederate government.

The German citizens of Richmond again took a very active part in the elections of 1870. Two Germans were candidates for the office of Commissioner of Revenue: Isaac Hutzler and Julius Fischer, and the latter was elected by a majority of twenty-five votes. A. Bodecker represented the city in the Legislature and within the last twenty-five years the following German-Virginians were members of the Board of Aldermen and City Council: Laube, Lohman, Louis Wagner, A. Bodecker, Eduard Euker, H. Metzger, F. Brauer, C. E. Brauer, G. Klein, Christian Zimmer, Chris. Thon, O. Grasser, H. Bodecker, Spangenberg, Lauer, Strauss, Charles H. Philips, S. L. Bloomberg, Jos. Wallerstein, Wm. Zimmermann and F. C. Ebel. In 1894 Ch. Philips was chosen city treasurer and he was reelected without opposition in 1897.

The Germans and German descendants have also greatly assisted in the establishment and administration of the public schools. The good results of these efforts are shown by the fact, that in 1860, before the outbreak of the war, the total number of pupils in all the schools of the State was only 67,024,²⁶²) but in 1895—1896 the pupils enrolled in the public schools alone had increased to 360,133.²⁶³) *Dr. Wm. H. Ruffner* was elected the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1870 and he continued in this important office for twelve years. In reply to an inquiry of the author in regard to his descent, he answered: "I take pleasure in saying that my father was of pure German stock, though American born.²⁶⁴) And his son, A. H. Ruffner, wrote: "The first Ruffner ancestor who came to America, is

262.) International Exhibition 1876, by Francis A. Walker, p. 90. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phila., 1878.

263.) Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1895—1896, Vol. I, p. lxi. Washington, 1897.

264.) Correspondence of Dr. W. H. Ruffner, Lexington, Va., October 2, 1890.

said by our family history to have been the son of a German baron, who lived in Hanover, Germany. He came to Virginia about one hundred and fifty years ago and owned a large tract of land on the Hawksbill creek near Luray. Father is the author of the Virginia School Law. Geology is now his profession. He is the son of Dr. Henry Ruffner, for many years President of Washington and Lee University in Lexington. Father has always taken great interest in Germans and Germany, so much so that his family often laughs and tells him, that he shows himself a true son of the Fatherland."²⁶⁵) Dr. W. H. Ruffner was born at Lexington and received his excellent scientific education at Washington and Lee University. He afterwards studied theology at the Union and Princeton Seminary and for some years officiated as preacher in Philadelphia. Dr. Ruffner wrote several essays on social and political questions and after 1870 devoted himself to education. By numerous lectures and articles published in the newspapers he materially aided to arouse the interest of the public for public instruction. Dr. Ruffner was editor of the "Educational Journal of Virginia" and associate editor of the "New England Journal of Education." The Ruffner family certainly numbers among the most prominent of the State. We copy from the U. S. Educational Report of 1895—1896, Vol. I, page 270, the following right creditable, well deserved and highly interesting statements:

"While this college (the Washington and Lee University), never contributed to the cause of popular education, yet through its president, Dr. Henry Ruffner, it made *a most remarkable protest against the institution of slavery*, that defied the unanimity of sentiment that prevailed before the Civil War. His son, Dr. William H. Ruffner, was the first State Superintendent of Education of Virginia; still *the most notable southern educator* of late enlisted in the cause of the people's school, the Horace Mann of the South."

The introduction of German instruction into the public schools of Richmond has repeatedly been agitated, but not suc-

265.) Correspondence of A. H. Ruffner, Lexington, Va., October 3, 1890.

cessfully. German is only taught in the High School, but not in the Grammar or lower grades. The German press of Richmond has repeatedly urged its introduction in the lower grades, where it would benefit the mass of the pupils. An excellent article published in "Der Richmond Patriot," July 23d, 1869, entitled "The Public Schools and the Germans," (Die öffentlichen Schulen und die Deutschen), and signed Dr. A. S. B., deserves special comment. In the fall of 1886 the author of this history lectured in "Saeugerhall" under the auspices of the Gesangverein "Virginia," and advocated the support of the National German-American Teachers' Seminary at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, recommending also the organization of an *Educational Association*, the aim of which should be the introduction of German instruction into the public schools; the support of German private and parochial schools and the establishment of German Kindergartens. "The more you do to keep alive the German spirit, the more inviting our State will be to German immigrants; they will feel at home where their native tongue is spoken," he argued.²⁶⁶) A committee composed of Hermann Schmidt, Henry Wenzel, G. A. Peple, H. C. Böschen, H. L. Wiegand, R. Wendenburg and B. Heinrich was appointed and authorized to take action, but nothing was achieved.

Again, in his oration at the German-Day celebration, 1896, the same orator advocated²⁶⁷): "Not to cultivate unfair German notions, but to enable German parents to educate their children with the assistance of the mother tongue, which they naturally command better than any other idiom; that they may become intelligent and faithful Americans! For this noble aim we must not cease to demand: that the German language be taught in our public schools wherever the German element is sufficiently numerous to justify this measure, as for instance in our Richmond. Our Anglo-American fellow-citizens must take into consideration *how helpless their wives would be* in their educational task, if left to influence the mind and heart of their children only through the medium of a foreign language."

266.) "Virginische Staats Gazette," Richmond, Va., Dec. 22, 1886.

267.) "The Times," Richmond, Va., September 16, 1896.

German church life has prospered in the city of Richmond during the last three decades, and the statement of the New York historian, Anton Eickhoff²⁶⁸): "In the German church in Richmond the English language is used," is unfounded. There are also, instead of one German church, two Protestant and one Catholic church, and also a synagogue of German Israelites in the city; and the statutes of the *German Evangelical St. Johannis Community* expressly state:

"§ 5. In all the regular divine services on Sundays and holidays, in the meetings of the community and the presbitery, in all records and the parish register, the German language shall be exclusively used."²⁶⁹)

Reverend Hoyer, previously mentioned in Chapter XII, was succeeded in office as pastor of this congregation by Reverends Schwarz, Blenner, W. Ide, Dr. Carl Scholz, Eduard Huber, R. A. John and, since 1886, Dr. Paul L. Menzel. During the pastorate of Rev. Huber the new church building corner Eighth and Marshall streets was erected and the community joined the German Evangelical Synod of North America. About three hundred families are embraced in this community. A school was established and children of all creeds admitted. During the pastorate of Rev. John a pretty schoolhouse was built on Eighth street, between Broad and Marshall. The number of pupils exceeded one hundred, and a German teacher, assisted by two lady associates, was employed; but in 1888, on account of ill-luck with the teachers and discord among the members of the community, the school was discontinued. In place of it a Saturday school, principally for tuition in German and singing, was instituted, which is attended by about sixty pupils, instructed by the pastor. A Sunday School is also connected with the church and is frequented by about three hundred pupils. An association of the ladies of the church, the "Frauen-Verein," has contributed large sums of money for charitable purposes and about twelve thousand dollars for expenses of the parish and the payment of building debts. Another association

268.) "In der Neuen Heimath," von A. Eickhoff, p. 203. New York, 1884.

269.) Statuten der Deutschen St. Johannis Gemeinde zu Richmond, 1889.

of young ladies, "Der Tabea Verein," has like purposes for its object and its contributions have amounted to about four thousand dollars. The reestablishment of the day school is not altogether abandoned. § 69 of the statutes of 1889 says: "to maintain and to cultivate the German language and German customs, to educate the youths to become respectable members of the community and to make secure thereby its continued existence, a day school shall be kept if possible." A great honor was conferred upon this community and its pastor in 1898. The Emperor of Germany invited the Evangelical Synod of North America to designate one of its members to participate in the consecration of the Protestant church (Erlöser-Kirche) at Jerusalem, as his Majesty's guest. The Synod elected Dr. Paul L. Menzel delegate.

The German Evangelical Lutheran Bethlehem Community has also prospered. The Reverends L. Lochmer and F. Dreyer officiated within the last decades and at present Rev. C. I. Oelschlager is pastor. The new church building, Sixth street near Clay, was finished in 1868 and the old church adjoining the new building was converted into a schoolhouse. Previous to the opening of the public schools the enrollment was from eighty to one hundred pupils, but since then it has decreased to thirty or forty. The instruction is given by the pastor and a lady teacher. In 1889 a Sunday school was organized, which is visited by eighty or ninety pupils. A ladies' association (Frauen-Verein) has contributed large sums for charitable works and the support of the parish, and in conjunction with the community at large it furnishes the means for the theological and pedagogical education of one of the members' sons of the community. Two pastors and two teachers educated at the expense of the association and church are already in office. *Rev. Christian Jonathan Celschlager*, the present pastor, is a German-American. His parents came from Wuerttemberg and he was born 1849 in Pennsylvania; he graduated at Columbus, Ohio, and holds his present office since 1883.

St. Mary's (Marien) German Catholic Community, to which nearly all the German Catholics of Richmond and the adjoining

ing counties belong, numbers²⁷⁰) 225 families with a total membership of 1200. To these are to be added eight families at Buckner's Station, Louisa county, who have a pretty chapel of their own and are visited every month by one of the fathers of St. Mary's church. *Rev. Willibald Baumgartner*, a native of Bavaria, is the Pastor Prior. The following schools are connected with St. Mary's church: Boys' Highschool, *Rev. F. Edward Meyer*, O. S. B. Principal, 16 pupils; Boys' Parish School, I. Section, *Prof. C. F. Mutter*, teacher, 33 pupils; II. Section, 40 pupils; Girls' Parish School, I. Section, 58 pupils; II. Section, 22 pupils; Girls' Highschool, 120 pupils. The schools for girls are managed by sisters of St. Mary's Benedictine Institute under the supervision of the pastor. Another school connected with St. Mary's church is kept in Chesterfield county, near Granite Station. A lady teacher is in charge of it and the pupils number twenty. The total enrollment of the various schools amounted at the close of 1890 to 309. The pupils, assisted by an excellent choir under the leadership of *Prof. Mutter*, perform the ecclesiastical singing in German, English and Latin. The following German Catholic societies are also connected with the church:²⁷¹)

St. Joseph's Beneficent Society (Unterstützungs-Verein) 101 members.

St. Benedict's Society (Unterstützungs-Verein) 60 members.

St. Mary's Social and Beneficent Society, 102 members.

St. Anna Ladies' Society (Frauenverein) 210 members.

Society of the Living Rosary (Verein des lebendigen Rosenkranzes) 225 members.

St. Mary's Sodality for Young Men and Ladies, 240 members.

Society for the Poor of St. Mary's church.

The voluntary subscription is very liberal and is dispensed among the poor by the officials of the society. St. Mary's church, Priory and school buildings are located corner Fourth and E. Marshall streets.

270.) "Der Sueden," I, No. 3, p. 10, January 1891. Richmond, Va.

271.) "Der Sueden," I, No. 5, p. 11, February 1891. Richmond, Va.

The Beth Ahaba Synagogue, Eleventh street between Marshall and Clay, is one of the prettiest buildings in the city. The membership is constantly increasing. The Rabbis who succeeded Rev. M. G. Michelbacher, already mentioned, are Wechsler, Dettelheim, Hoffmann, Dr. Abraham Harris, born in England by German parents, and at present Ed. N. Calish. Moses Millhiser was president of this German-Jewish community ever since its organization to his death in 1892, and Hon. Wm. Lovenstein was for years its secretary. The present officers are: Julius Strauss, president; Charles Hutzler, vice-president; Henry S. Hutzler, secretary; L. Z. Morris, treasurer; Isaac Held, financial secretary; Greentree, sexton. Board of Managers: Messrs. E. Gerst, Isaac Strauss, E. Bottigheimer, I. Thalhimer, E. Raab, and Sol. Bloomberg. With the synagogue is connected "*The Society of the Home for the Enfeebled by Age and for the Sick*," which has over 300 members. Henry S. Hutzler is president of this charitable institution. The "*Hebrew Benevolent Association of Richmond*" elected the following officers: President, S. Stern; Vice-President, B. Jacob; Secretary, H. E. Hirshberg; Treasurer, Harry Marks. The "*Congregation Keneseth Israel*," Rev. Dr. L. Harfeld, Rabbi, elected the following officers: President, Harris Jacob; Vice-President, P. Hirshberg; Secretary, H. E. Hirshberg; Treasurer, M. Meyer. The congregation of "*Beth Shalome*" has lately combined with "*Beth Ahaba*."

The *Protestant Episcopal Church Home*, 517 North Fourth street, was the gift of the late German Consul Friedr. W. Hahnwinkel and can therefore be termed a German foundation. It is a retreat for gentlewomen,²⁷²) those ladies in Virginia destitute of friends and fortune and unable to support themselves; but it is designed for members of the Episcopal Church exclusively. It is presided over by the bishop, but no German-Virginian is at present in the Board of Managers.

Scientific and artistic efforts had until the middle of the nineteenth century not attained a very prominent degree in Virginia; however the Anglo- and German-American citizens

272.) "The Richmond Dispatch," January 1, 1898.

of Richmond have always participated in every attempt to promote them. The *Richmond Microscopical Society*, chartered in 1880, consisted entirely of Germans. The founders were Dr. Wm. A. Weissiger of Manchester, Rev. Ed. Huber and G. A. Peple. Membership was limited to active workers with the microscope. Regular meetings were held the first Friday of each month and the society had a reference library and subscribed to microscopical journals. Meetings were held at Dr. Henry Froehling's office, corner of Twelfth and Cary streets. Members had the use of Dr. Froehling's chemical laboratory for research. In 1889 Dr. H. Froehling was president, G. A. Peple secretary, Thomas Christian treasurer and Dr. Wm. Grebe librarian.²⁷³) Dr. Henry Froehling is analytical and consulting chemist for the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad, R. & A. and M. & O. Central railroad and Banking Co. of Georgia. Dr. M. A. Burt, who by accident was killed at his residence on March 20th, 1890, was vice-president of the Richmond Medical and Surgical Society; and the German-Virginian Dr. C. L. Cudlipp (according to his own explanation this name was derived from Gottlieb) was secretary. Another German-Virginian, Dr. W. T. Oppenheimer, is president of the Board of Health and professor at the Richmond Medical College. The "*Jeffersonian Literary and Social Circle*," owning a library of 1250 volumes, and the "*Mercantile Club*," with elegant reading rooms, are composed mostly of German-Virginian Hebrews, and their object is the cultivation of social and literary relations. L. Hutzler, J. S. Levy, Charles Hutzler, M. S. Block, Myer Heller, D. Mitteldorfer, Wm. Lovenstein, E. Raab, F. S. Myers, Wm. Heller, Moses May, Sol. Sycle, Israel I. and Jacob I. Cohen, N. Ezekiel, M. Rosenbaum, J. Thalheimer, L. and Joseph Wallerstein, W. and J. Gans, H. S. Binswanger, Ch. Strauss and others are among the leading men and former presidents of the clubs. The literary activity of the Germans reawakened after Richmond rose out of the ashes of the evacuation fire in 1865. The "*Richmond Anzeiger*" was the only German newspaper that survived the terrors of the war, but it did not satisfy all liberal Germans and consequently a new German weekly, "*Der Richmond Patriot*," was published.

273.) Richmond Directory, p. 26. 1889—1890.

The paper was well edited and the management rested in the hands of Isaac Hutzler and Wm. Lovenstein. On July 20th, 1870, the "Patriot" was transferred to the "*Virginia Deutsche Publishing Co.*," which had started on April 11th, 1870. The daily "*Virginia Staats Gazette*" continues to this day. Editors of the "Gazette" were in succession: Paul Ketterlinus, Jacob Rosenfeld, Heinrich Pein, (born at Altona, Holstein, died at Richmond June 7th, 1886), and Moritz Friedrich Richter, (born at Grossschoenau near Leipzig, Saxony.) In 1890, after the successful celebration of the first "German Day," the *German News Company of Virginia* was organized: G. A. Peple, president; Christian Droste, secretary; Joseph Wallerstein, vice-president, and Hermann Schmidt, Fritz Sitterding, Carl Ruehrmund, H. G. Miller, directors. Herrmann Schuricht of Louisa county was chosen editor of a new German weekly, "*Der Sueden*." The principal object of the promoters of this paper was to secure through a large circulation in the United States as well as in Germany and wherever the German tongue is spoken, the influx of German settlers into Virginia and the other southern States. To make "Der Sueden" instructive as well as attractive, its columns were filled with descriptions of all the features of German-American life in the southern States, the topics of the day discussed, the different branches of agriculture, commerce, science, art and literature represented, and the cooperation of eminent professional men and well known distinguished writers was secured. The first number appeared on January 4th, 1891, and the paper was very favorably spoken of by the leading German and English journals of the Union; but in October 1891 Mr. Schuricht resigned the editorship on account of his impaired health. Mr. B. Hassel was elected his successor and a few weeks later the News Co. sold "Der Sueden" to the publishers of the "Staats Gazette," who still continue it as their Sunday publication, but changed in shape and contents. Of the originals written by German-Virginians and published in "Der Sueden" during the time of its independent appearance are to be mentioned: Novels and poems by Christian Droste under the nom-de-plume of "R. Helge;" educational and popular articles by Prof. G. A. Peple; poems and two novels by H. Schuricht, and by the same author: "Peda-

gological Letters to a German-American Mother." Dr. William Grebe wrote different articles for English papers on medical questions and he also translated and published in 1893 in English: "Gesunde und kranke Nerven," by Dr. Freiherr R. von Kraft-Ebings.

Several German-Virginian artists have gained well-merited recognition. The sculptor *Edward V. Valentine*, who is said to be of German descent and a pupil of Professor Aelquoit Kiss of Berlin, enjoys a national reputation. His exhibition gallery, 801 E. Leigh street, is open to visitors from 10 to 11 o'clock on Saturdays, but strangers are usually admitted on other days upon presenting their cards. Besides his recumbent statue of General Lee at Lexington, Va., Mr. Valentine produced other important art works, among them the Stonewall Jackson statue at Lexington and the Jefferson statue in the court of the Jefferson Hotel at Richmond. The sculptor's brother, the late Mann S. Valentine, left a bequest of \$125,000 for a permanent Museum and Library under the name: "The Valentine Museum." The purposes of the museum are: to preserve the relics illustrative of the civilization of Virginia and the United States, from the discovery of America to the present time, and more especially to secure from destruction portraits, manuscripts, etc., the products of southern labor; to preserve the archaeological remains of Virginia and the South, and so arrange them as to show the habits and customs among the aborigines; to acquire, classify and exhibit the natural products, botanical and mineral, of Virginia, for the purpose of developing further knowledge of the State's resources among Virginians and prospectors; to acquire collections exhibiting raw materials, and the processes of manufacture of the same into finished products; to acquire and classify specimens of art and its allied industries in order that students may derive practical benefit from them; to acquire a complete reference library on the above subjects and to make this library of practical value to earnest investigators. The treasures of the Valentine Museum are known in all the leading scientific circles throughout America and Europe, and they are housed in a beautiful old Virginia home corner of Eleventh and Clay streets. The very large number of valuable and in-

interesting German manuscripts, autographs, books and engravings is really surprising. The most notable and rare collections were thrown open to the public on November 21st, 1898, and will for ever commemorate the name of Valentine.

Moses Ezekiel, a native of Richmond, Va., and of German-Jewish extraction, sculptured in Rome "The Statue of Religious Liberty," exhibited and much admired at the Centennial Celebration, 1876. It is in the form of a group of statuary in Carrara marble. An eminent and thoughtful foreigner, a statesman of world-wide fame, passing through Fairmount Park (Philadelphia Exhibition Grounds), earnestly gazed at the marble group and exclaimed: "If the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 resulted in this work of art and nothing else, the American people should be satisfied. I, the subject of a monarch, salute the nation that makes this creation possible."²⁷⁴)

Caspar Buberl, a native of Eger in Bohemia, now a resident of New York City, has only temporarily resided in Virginia, but his name is inseparably connected with some of Virginia's proudest monuments. He came to America forty years ago, aged twenty-two. Since his arrival in this country he has been an active, busy man and has executed many decorative pieces of sculpture North and South. The sculptor, in a letter dated May 1894, says: "My last piece of modelling, *the Confederate for the Richmond Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument*, will, I hope, be liked by the public, as I did this work with a feeling of thanks for all the kindness I have received from the generous people of the South." Mr. Buberl has modelled this monument and also the *A. P. Hill* monument and the *Howitzer* monument, both at Richmond, after designs by Mr. W. S. Sheppard. The bronze statue of *the Confederate Soldier* at Alexandria, Va., is another piece of his work.

Alfred H. Raynal, an engineer of superior qualifications and talent, and highly regarded, was superintendent of the Richmond Locomotive and Machine Works. In 1891 he retired from office and accepted a position in New Jersey.

274.) "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," by Simon Wolf, pp. 65 and 66. Philadelphia, 1895.

The most important lithographing establishment in Richmond is the well known firm of *A. Hoehn & Co.* on Bank street.

Of German architects and builders *Capt. Leibrock* and *Carl Seibert* have already been mentioned. The last named built the new St. Johannis church. *Fritz Sitterding*, a very enterprising and successful business man, has built many churches and residences in all parts of the State. The large Exhibition Building, with its ingenious roof-work, but now taken down, was erected by him. *Carl Ruehrmund* is another excellent architect and draughtsman. His biography follows later.

It is also a matter of pride with the Germans of Richmond, that many of the principal buildings there, are from designs of German architects; that the plan of the new and magnificent City Hall was drawn by a German architect, Myer of Detroit, Mich., and that the designs of the Masonic Temple are also the work of a German.

Friedrich Roeth is spoken of in the local papers of 1870 as a superior fresco painter, and it is a matter of regret, that the son of the late A. Hottes, who had studied at the art schools of Muenchen and was looked upon as a very promising talent, died soon after his return to Richmond.

Music was again cultivated by the German citizens of Richmond after the thunder of the cannon around its hills had ceased. In speaking hereafter of the public festivals of the Germans, occasion will be found, to point to the charming effects of music and its inspiring influence, and it is therefore sufficient for the present to name the various organizations devoted to its culture.

The "*Gesangverein Virginia*" survived the war and gained reputation by the performances of the operas "*Stradella*," April 15th and 19th, and "*Der Freischuetz*," April 16th and 20th, 1875. These performances were universally appreciated and were *the first rendering of opera by home talent* in the South. The society was from that time on very popular and the whole city showed its interest for it at the celebration of

the 25th and 40th anniversaries of its foundation on September 24th, 1877 and July 1st, 1892. At the 25th anniversary "*Saengerhall*" was dedicated and for the occasion a poem, "*Weihe-Gesang*" (Dedication Song) by G. A. Peple, set to music by the musical leader *C. L. Siegel*, was sung. In honor of the 40th anniversary *H. Schuricht* composed and dedicated a festive play, "*Huldigung dem deutschen Liede.*"

In 1870 two other similar societies were formed: the "*Germania Maennerchor*," *Krause*, leader, and "*Richmond Philharmonic Association.*" On April 20th, 1876, the "*Richmond Mozart Association*" was organized and received the hearty support of the wealthy Germans. *E. A. Hoen* and *Samuel Hirsch* were members of the board of directors, while *Prof. Jacob Reinhard* was for several seasons the musical leader. German ladies and gentlemen took active part in the performances.

The *Arion Society of Richmond*, a singing society for the promotion of vocal musical study, was organized June 17th, 1887; *Joseph W. Laube*, president, and *Jacob Reinhard*, director. It was not a German society, but listed many members of German descent.

The *Richmond Musical Protective Society* was organized January 1st, 1886, and consists of professional musicians only. Its membership numbers 38. Its objects are social intercourse, interchange of views on all things pertaining to the musical profession and the protection of its interests generally. To its members counted: *H. F. Laube*, *John Baseler*, *John Reintz*, *J. T. Pulling*, *C. B. Baseler*, *G. A. Thilow*, *J. C. Reinhardt*, *Richard Wagener*, *A. J. Leiss*, *Jacob Beier*, *Geo. Voelker* and *H. J. Tremer*. These names indicate that the society was composed chiefly of Germans.

There are several German lodges in the city and others in which the German element is heavily represented. On September 13th, 1870, the *Germania Lodge of Knights of Pythias*, previously mentioned, was established by *Ch. T. Loehr*, *Otto Morgenstern*, *J. Hutzler*, *A. Blenner*, *F. Fischer*, *O. F. Cammann*,

C. Dunker, L. Gimmi, H. Metzger, G. Habermehl, I. Marxhausen, L. Michel and G. W. Robinson.²⁷⁵) After an existence of twenty-four years the lodge numbered about two hundred members and the total receipts amounted to about \$16,000, of which sum more than \$9,000 have been paid for benefits, funerals and endowments. Several of the *Hebrew orders* have a decided German character and to their most prominent members are counted: M. Hepburg, Ch. Hutzler, Julius Strauss, H. S. Hutzler, W. Lovenstein, L. Hexter, A. Levy, M. C. Block, H. Fisher, C. Goldenberg, J. Baer, J. Hirschberg, I. Held, A. Cohen, N. Nachman, E. Bettingheimer, J. Thalheimer, P. Hellstern, A. Gunst, S. Binswanger, W. Flegenheimer, M. J. Rosendorf, M. Kaufman, M. Myer, J. Lewit, E. A. Ezekiel, M. Cohen, E. Solomonsky, E. Ullmann, etc.

The German military organizations were dissolved at the end of the Civil War and since that time no entirely German company has been formed. However the *Stuart Horse Guard* is almost a German troop. It was commanded until October 1892 by Captain Carl Euker, afterwards Colonel of the First Virginia Cavalry Regiment, and his successor in command of the Company was Captain Edward Euker, his nephew. Chas. Euker, Jr., the son of Colonel Euker, was elected one of the lieutenants. Other Germans or German descendants have held high positions in other military corporations, like Captain Chas. Gasser of Company D, First Virginia Volunteers, Captain Chas. H. Philips and Lieutenant Werne, Lieutenant Armin Heinrich of Richmond Light Infantry Blues; Lieutenant-Colonel Stern, Inspector-General; Captain P. T. Conrad, Quartermaster of First Virginia Regiment; Lieutenant H. D. Messler of Company B; Captain A. A. Spitzer, Adjutant-General of Grand Camp Confederate Veterans; Dr. R. B. Stover, Surgeon-General of the same Camp; Charles T. Loehr, Commander of Picket's Camp Confederate Veterans, and Captain John Trusheim of the Petersburg Artillery.

It is further proof of the influence and respect the Germans of Richmond enjoy, that foreign States have appointed

275.) Nebengesetze und Ordensregeln der Germania Loge. Printed by Va. Staats Gazette, Richmond, 1889.

several of them their commercial representatives. *Friedrich Hanewinkel*, *Heinrich Boehmer* and *Adolph Osterloh* officiated as *Consuls of the German Empire*, respectively of the North German Confederacy; *Emil O Nolting*, *Belgian Consul*, *Charles L. Ludwig*, *Consul of the United Kingdoms of Norway and Sweden*, and *Louis Borchers*, succeeded A. Osterloh, *Consul of the Austrian Empire*.

In the development of industry and commerce the Germans have taken active part. In *the manufacture, purchase and export of tobacco*, Virginia's great staple, they are still much engaged. After the restoration of peace the export of tobacco underwent a great change. Steamers took the place of the sailing craft, so that for many years gone by no merchant ship has sailed from Rockets with a full cargo to the rivers Weser and Elbe. All tobacco is at the present time shipped by railroad to Baltimore or New York and forwarded from there by steamer. The purchases for the Austro-Hungarian Government have been made by the German firms of Fr. Wm. Hanewinkel & Sons, H. Boehmer, Osterloh & Co., A. Osterloh & Co., and L. Borchers & Co. These firms have also supplied most of the demand of the French, Italian and Portuguese Governments, and the German tobacco houses: Schaer, Koetter & Co., E. O. Nolting & Co., Nolting & Koetter, E. R. Victor & Co., and Williams & Rehling, have successfully participated in this export. Major Lewis Ginter, of German descent, one of the most meritorious men of Richmond, was partner of the firm of Allen & Ginter, manufacturers of tobacco and cigarettes. The firm has been changed to Allen & Ginter Branch of the American Tobacco Company.

In 1891 a *very valuable invention* was made by Prof. G. A. Peple for the drying and assorting of leaf tobacco, to dispense with steam and impure air. The invention is now the property of "The Mayo Tobacco Drying and Ordering Company," of which G. A. Peple was up to his death vice-president. The apparatus has been adopted by the American Tobacco Company and by other large tobacco houses.

Major Lewis Ginter, above named, was born in New York.

His great grandfather had emigrated from Germany and settled there. When a young man he came to Richmond and at the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the Confederate forces and was promoted to the rank of major. After the war Major Ginter went North, but a few years later he returned to Richmond and engaged in the tobacco trade with astonishing success. He was the first to use the light colored tobacco of Virginia and North Carolina in place of Turkish tobacco for the manufacture of cigarettes. The firm of Allen & Ginter gained a widespread reputation under his management, and finally Major Ginter accepted the presidency of the Allen & Ginter Branch of the American Tobacco Company. Important as were the business talents of Major Ginter to the interest of the city, of still greater value was the delight he took in the beauty of nature, his desire to beautify by all manner of improvements the picturesque environs of Richmond and to further in this way the prosperity of the city. West of the Capital, where the Confederates had thrown up earthworks on sandy hills, Maj. Ginter purchased large tracts of land, built elegant avenues and boulevards, laid out parks and invested much money to secure a beautiful landscape. The city of Richmond is greatly indebted to the sense of beauty, the enterprise and the noble spirit of this German-Virginian. No man could have made better use of the wealth he gained by diligence and intelligence. Greatly beloved by all Richmond, he died October 2nd, 1897.


In the period of 1889—1890 Ashton Starke, another German descendant, was president of the Virginia State Agricultural and Mechanical Society.

German business men engaged in the management of banks, insurance companies and building associations. The cedar works and several other manufacturing interests are controlled by Germans and their descendants. Two large breweries, *The Richmond Brewery* of Kersten and von Rosenegk, now *Rosenegk's Brewing Company*, and the *Peter Stumpf Brewing Company*, Peter Stumpf late president, are in successful operation since 1891, after *Euker's Brewery*, Edw. Euker, proprietor, and the *James River Brewery* of Baier, Juengling & Betz had

been discontinued. In all branches of the wholesale and retail trade the Germans are engaged. The sale of dress-goods is almost the exclusive domain of the German Israelite citizens. The sole furrier of importance in the South is Charles Haase. German artisans are employed with preference in all the various factories.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CELEBRATION OF GERMAN PUBLIC FESTIVALS IN RICHMOND AND BIOGRAPHIES OF GERMAN, VIRGINIAN PROMINENT CITIZENS.

 HE historical facts mentioned in previous chapters show that the Germans have contributed very materially to the wealth and progress of the city of Richmond and the entire State. They have helped in a great measure to bear the burden and expenses of the community and commonwealth. It is asserted that the German-Virginian population of Richmond pays about *one-third* of the whole amount of the city's taxes.

More and still better than by anything else, the true moral value and influence of the German-Virginian element and its love and admiration for the native land and people of the forefathers, are illustrated by their *public festivals*.

On the 14th of September, 1869, the German associations celebrated the *Centennial Anniversary* of the eminent German naturalist, philosopher and explorer, *Alexander von Humboldt*. The German societies: Schiller Lodge, Gesangverein Virginia, Turnverein, the Druids, the Redmen, and the Society for the Relief of the Sick, with banners floating, formed in procession in front of the City Hall under the direction of their marshalls: Charles Klein, Carl Euker, Christian Unkel, A. Blenner, Otto Camman and H. Dabble. They paraded the principal streets to the theatre, where a large number of ladies and gentlemen had already assembled. The stage was handsomely decorated and after the orchestra had performed an overture the curtain

was drawn and the singing societies, under the leadership of C. L. Siegel, sang Mohr's grand hymn. Next followed the unveiling of a fine plaster bust of Humboldt, cast by E. Valentine. Surrounding the bust, globes, maps, telescopes and other emblems of science were scattered. Dr. Boldeman recited a prologue, followed by Prof. G. A. Peple, the German orator of the day; Patrick Henry Aylett delivered the English oration. The speakers were heartily applauded and the singing societies intoned the "German Song of Victory," by F. Abt. Resolutions were read and adopted, which had been prepared especially in acknowledgment of the anticipated large participation and the hearty sympathy of the Anglo-American citizens by a committee composed of G. A. Peple, Herman Koppel, Alors Rick, A. Osterloh, G. Klein, Otto Meister, Ch. Simmons, Hermann Boschen, H. Burchard, H. Diebel, H. Willers, A. Blenner, Christ. Meckel, Henry Demler, F. Thomas, F. Laube and F. Dush.

Although the American population had *not* taken part in honoring the memory of the great explorer and writer of the American continent in such measure as had been expected, yet the resolutions were unanimously adopted.²⁷⁶⁾ The proceedings were closed by a "Volksfest" at Hattorf's Garden. The houses and business places of the Germans generally were decorated with flowers and evergreens, and the Stars and Stripes and the emblem of the North German Confederation waved from many of them.

A few months previous to the Humboldt Centennial Celebration, and as a kind of continuation of the great "*Singing Festival*" at Baltimore, Md., several singing societies of New York city visited Richmond as the guests of the Gesangverein Virginia.²⁷⁷⁾ They were members of "Socialer Maennerchor," "Teutonia" and "Liederkrantz," and on July 16th, 1869, a grand concert of the combined visiting and home societies was given at the Richmond Theatre. Hon. George Chahoon and Prof. G. A. Peple welcomed the New York singers in short but appro-

276.) "The Daily State Journal" of Sept. 14, 1869, Vol. I, No. 275. Richmond, Va.

277.) "Richmond Patriot," July 23, 1869. Richmond, Va.

priate speeches. On the next day the visitors were shown the city and its environs and on July 18th a picnic at Hattorf's Garden closed the festivities.

Another "*Singing Festival*"²⁷⁸) of still more elaborate character was arranged September 28th to 30th, 1873. The following societies took part: "Germania Maennerchor," Baltimore, Md., "Maennerchor," Philadelphia, Pa., "Saengerbund," Washington, D. C., "Gesangverein Virginia," "Germania Maennerchor," and "Richmond Philharmonic Association," Richmond, Va. A grand concert, assisted by *Kessnick's* double orchestra, under the leadership of Prof. Carl Lenschow, at Assembly Hall, excited the admiration of a large audience. It was followed by a "Commers" at Monticello Hall, where Prof. Peple, Mr. Wolf of Washington and Oswald Heinrich of Richmond delivered addresses. I. H. Pein recited a poem, "Gruss an die Saenger," composed by him. On September 30th the festival closed with a picnic at the Fair Grounds, where several mass choirs were chanted.

A deep and proud feeling came to the heart of every German-Virginian, when the news of the brilliant victories of the German armies in France reached America. On August 13th, 1870, an appeal was published to meet on the evening of August 15th at Monticello Hall, in order to make arrangements for the collection of funds for the relief of the wounded German soldiers. This appeal was signed by Carl Seibeft, secretary, and the highest enthusiasm prevailed at the meeting. It was largely attended and a "*Deutscher patriotischer Unterstuetzungsverein*," (German Patriotic Beneficial Society) was organized. A committee was elected for the collection of money, consisting of Eduard Euker, J. E. Fischer, William Euker, W. Wild, C. L. Siegel, G. Klein, Dr. Boldeman, Louis Euker, Dr. Grebe, H. Schmidt, M. Millhiser, S. M. Rosenbaum, G. Hoffbauer, A. Osterloh, J. Kobbe, I. Preskauer, Dr. Strecker and H. Metzger, and already in the beginning of September one thousand, one hundred dollars could be forwarded to the Consul-

278.) "Täglicher Anzeiger," Sept. 30, 1873. Richmond, Va.

General of Germany at New York. The *young German-Virginian ladies of Richmond* also evinced enthusiastic sympathy with the glory of the old Fatherland. On September 10th, 1870, Miss Emma Grebe (now Mrs. Cordes) president; Miss Marie Thilow (now Mrs. Rehling) secretary; Miss Pauline Lybrock, treasurer, and Mr. Heinrich Phillips, assistant secretary, issued another appeal to the Germans of Richmond to furnish money, to be given for the support of the children of German soldiers killed in battle or who died in the hospitals. A "Fair" was arranged by the patriotic young ladies, and they were delighted to be enabled to forward through Consul Hanewinkel three hundred and twenty-seven dollars, the proceeds, to the Consul-General, Mr. Johannes Roesing at New York.

The *sons of the city of Marburg* in Hussia, residing in Richmond, collected among themselves about three hundred and fifty dollars as a contribution to the erection of a "Siegesthurm" in the neighborhood of their native city, and they also shipped a nicely polished quarter-stone of Richmond granite for the same monumental structure. Finally, on March 13th, 1871, a grand "*Friedensfeier*" was arranged. George Klein acted as president and the festive committee was composed of Carl Seibert, I. Rosenfeld, H. G. Miller, Wm. Graeser, R. Senf, H. Domler, A. Blenner and E. Kempe. Paul Ketterlinus, editor of the Virginia Staats Gazette, delivered the festive oration from the portico of the City Hall. The torches borne in the procession were then thrown on a pile and burnt while "Die Wacht am Rhein" was sung. Houses and residences of Germans were everywhere decorated and illumined, and at the banquet at Monticello Hall Consul Hanewinkel, Consul Boehmer and Prof. G. A. Peple addressed the partakers.

In 1881 the Germans of Richmond participated in the "Yorktown Centennial." Mr. G. L. Siegel composed a festive march for the occasion. Although Germany had not been the ally of the American colonies during the War of Independence like France, yet it had furnished them several men who rendered very important services. Prominent among those German partisans was General von Steuben, — and his descendants, living in Germany, participated in the centennial festivities as the

“Guests of the United States.” The representatives of the Steuben family were: Colonel Arndt v. Steuben, Captain Fritz v. Steuben, Captain Eugen v. Steuben, Lieutenant Cuno v. Steuben, Lieutenant Berndt v. Steuben, Lieutenant Anton v. Steuben and the royal high forester Richard v. Steuben. They were invited by their countrymen to Richmond to attend a “Commers at Saengerhall” arranged in their honor. A grand parade marched through the principal streets of the city and several artistically decorated floats of historical character presented its leading feature.

However the most successful of all festivals arranged by the German citizens of Richmond were the celebrations of “German Day” on October 6th, 1890; September 23rd, 1891; September 15th, 1893; October 3rd, 1894; September 12th, 1895, and in 1896 and 1897. The enthusiasm displayed by the citizens of German birth or descent on these occasions was almost unexampled, while an interest hardly less great was shown by the public in general. The newspapers, English as well as German, contained full descriptions of the proceedings. In 1890 and 1891 the “Richmond Dispatch”²⁷⁹⁾ printed the German oration and the prologue not only in English, but also in German, while in 1893 the “Richmond Times” published H. Schuricht’s “Festive Play” in the original, and in 1896 and 1897 the orations of H. Schuricht, von Rosengck, Dr. Menzel and Dr. Calish.

The last-named paper, with reference to the first German Day, said²⁸⁰⁾: “These proceedings were such as to inspire our citizens of German blood not only with a warmer attachment to the land from which they originally sprung, but also with a keener devotion to the adopted soil in which they are now so deeply rooted. The excellent influence of such a celebration was clearly illustrated at every point in its course, and that influence will long survive in the Community.” — The “Richmonder Anzeiger” of October 7th, 1890, had printed in large

279.) “The Richmond Dispatch,” No. 12,231, pp. 1, 2 and 4. Richmond, October 7th, 1890.

280.) “The Times,” No. 2486, p. 2. Richmond, Va., October 7th, 1890.

letters at the head of its report of the first "German Day": "Great Success! 8000 participants! The grandest German festival ever held in this city!" — The celebration of 1891 was fully as well attended. The visitors at the festival grounds were estimated at from 8—10,000.

The officers of the *First German Day* were Alfred von N. Rosenegk, president; Hon. Wm. Lovenstein, first vice-president; H. G. Miller, second vice-president; Wm. Felthaus, third vice-president; F. C. Ebel, fourth vice-president; Carl Ruehrmund, first secretary; C. T. Loehr, second secretary; and W. H. Zimmermann, treasurer. A committee of ladies, of which Mrs. B. Hassel was president, assisted in the arrangements for decoration of the hall of the Exposition Building, and also arranged and managed the plays for the children about the grounds. The officers of the "*Young German-Americans*" were C. F. Kohler, president; John C. Seibert, first vice-president; A. H. Felthaus, second vice-president; W. P. Klein, third vice-president; George C. Ditrich, Jr., and A. Vonderlehr, secretaries; and H. Schott, treasurer. Mr. C. F. Kohler acted as chief-marshal and his assistants were J. C. Seibert, P. W. Klein, Henry Schott, Tony Felthaus and G. C. Ditrich, Jr.

The day was opened with the parade of the Young German-Americans, which took place at 9.20 o'clock in the morning. Long before the time to start a large crowd had collected in front of Saenger Hall, where the procession was to form. This building, as well as many residences, was beautifully decorated with a profusion of flags and streamers, bearing the American and German colors, and every window was filled with ladies and girls who were to follow the parade in carriages. The scene was an inspiring one and calculated to arouse to enthusiasm the most staid individual. At the head of the column rode ten mounted policemen. Next followed Chief-Marshall Kohler and Grand Chief-Marshall von Rosenegk with their aides. All of the marshalls of the young Germans wore soft white felt hats and sashes, bearing the German and American colors. The aides of Grand Chief-Marshall Rosenegk were clothed in black suits, silk hats and regalia, and also wore sashes with the American and Teutonic colors. Several of the horsemen, who were all

finely mounted, bore the flags of both nations. Behind the marshalls followed several young men, who were also mounted, and a squad of twenty-two policemen on foot. Next came Voelker's Band, followed by seventy young Germans, employees of the Richmond Locomotive and Machine Works. Behind these came the young German-Americans, who numbered about three hundred. They carried at their head a handsome white satin banner with the name of their organization printed upon it in gold letters. This was presented by the German ladies of the city. Their uniforms were very pretty and elicited general admiration. Carriages containing the ladies followed in the rear and ended the procession. Along the entire route the sidewalks were filled with people, Broad street from Seventh to First being impassable for a short time. The beauty of the procession was enhanced by the magnificent horses ridden by the Germans.

At twelve o'clock the formal ceremonies were opened in the large main building of the Exposition Grounds. On the platform were seated Governor Phil. McKinney, Mayor J. Taylor Ellyson, Members of Congress, the Board of Aldermen and the City Council, Judges, Rev. Menzel, many other distinguished invited guests, the orators of the day: H. Schuricht and Wm. Lovenstein, the Committee members, members of the Gesangverein Virginia and the Chorus. In front of the platform a space was reserved for the five music bands and below this the front row of seats was occupied by the oldest German citizens, among whom were: M. Kaiser, G. Albrecht, John Lintz, W. Graser, J. C. Lange, J. J. Kuhr, C. Reitz, S. Boltz, C. Wendlinger, F. Krainzler, A. Bensal and John Does. There were about two thousand chairs occupied by the ladies; the aisles and galleries were also filled.

After the overture Mr. J. J. Spilling, chairman of the Reception Committee, introduced President A. von N. Rosenegk of the *German-American Association* of Richmond, who welcomed the vast assemblage. Next a selected choir of mixed voices, composed of members of the "Virginia" and a large number of ladies, rendered the "Festive Song," composed by Prof. E. L. Ide, and then Rev. Paul L. Menzel offered the prayer. Next the

Soldier's Home Band played the "Bridal Rose" overture, and then followed the German and English orations, being replete with valuable historical information and breathing a fervent spirit of patriotism and devotion to the Fatherland and the Union. The orators were frequently interrupted by applause and they were, together with Mr. von Rosenegk, Rev. Menzel and Mr. Siegel, the recipients of beautiful floral tributes. Mr. Schuricht was the special recipient of a beautifully worked banner by Miss Emma L. Brimmer, as a token of remembrance of the occasion. After the execution of several musical selections, Governor P. McKinney and Mayor Ellyson were introduced, who in appropriate terms complimented the Germans of Richmond upon their loyalty, patriotism and love for their native land, and the success of the festival. At the conclusion of the set programme German hospitality was lavishly manifested and the rest of the day was given over to amusements until the grand torchlight procession for the evening was formed.

The climax of scenic effect and enthusiasm was reached, when, after dark, the grand torchlight procession formed in line. The streets were thronged with spectators. Housetops, windows, telegraph poles, lamp-posts, etc., were considered advantageous points for look-out. At the corner of Eighth and Broad streets a large bonfire of the torches was made and amid a grand pyrotechnic display "Die Wacht am Rhein" and the "Star Spangled Banner" were sung by a chorus of thousands, and with an intensity of feeling never before exceeded.

The festival closed with a "Commers" at Saenger Hall, which was attended by the Governor and the Mayor of the city. This first celebration of "German Day" in Richmond proudly deserves the adjective "glorious," and the author has given it such a detailed description because, in his opinion, it illustrates the sentiment and influential strength of the German element in the city. It has also left some useful traces. On January 12th, 1891, the "*German-American Association of Virginia*" (Die Deutsch-Amerikanische Gesellschaft von Virginien) was organized, to further German immigration into the State, to aid settlers with advice and also pecuniarily, and to cultivate German customs. About three hundred persons joined

the Association and the officers elected were: A. von N. Rose-negk, president; H. T. Miller, F. C. Ebel, Joseph Wallerstein and H. Mittendorfer, vice-presidents; Carl Ruehrmund, secretary; Ch. T. Loehr, financial secretary; C. Wippermann, treasurer; and W. Flegenheimer, J. Strauss, F. Tholl, Hermann Schmidt, Theo. Moecker, J. C. Seibert and F. W. Wagner, directors.

The Association soon gained acknowledgment by the leading Anglo-American citizens. On October 17th, 1894, an "Immigration Convention" assembled at Richmond and the German-American Society was invited to be represented by delegates. Rev. Dr. Paul Menzel, as chairman of the delegation, addressed the convention on²⁸¹): "The class of immigrants most desired and the sections or countries abroad from which it is most desirable to secure them," and his remarks received universal approval.

In March 1891 a branch of this society, "*The Young Men of the German-American Association*," was formed and the following officers were chosen: Fred. Koehler, president; J. C. Seibert, H. Bromme, A. Felthaus, vice-presidents; Geo. C. Dietrich, Jr., secretary; E. H. Metzger, financial secretary; H. Schott, treasurer; A. Dietz, C. Guenther, H. Metzger and H. F. Grimmel, directors. The "German Day" also indirectly prompted the establishment of the "*Teutonia Club*;" Carl Ruehrmund, president; C. Burgdorf, secretary; F. C. Ebel, treasurer; and also of the "*Alert Social Club*" of young German-Virginians.

The second "German Day" and the "*Theodor Koerner Centennial Celebration*" on September 23rd, 1891, was inaugurated on the eve of the 22nd by an imposing torchlight procession. The programme for the occasion was as follows: Parade of the Young Men's German-American Association to the Exposition grounds, including the German-American pupils of the public schools; at 12 o'clock the celebration of the 100th Anniversary of Koerner's Birthday at the large music hall, followed by plays and dancing. The "Koerner Actus"

281.) In print by A. E. Strauss Printing Company, Richmond, Va.

opened with a musical overture. The rear of the platform had been transformed into a stage²⁸²), in front of which and to the right the invited guests and members of committees and to the left the singers were placed. Vice-President Miller and President von Rosenegk welcomed the large audience and bespoke the twofold character of the celebration, and they were succeeded by Hon. Mayor Ellyson, who illustrated the qualifications of Germans as citizens. The speakers were heartily cheered and then the Singers, led by Prof. E. L. Ide, under accompaniment of the orchestra, intonated with grand effect Theodor Koerner's "Prayer during battle," (*Gebet während der Schlacht.*) As soon as the applause had subsided, Christian Droste stepped to the front and delivered an excellent biographical speech of the youthful German poet and martyr-hero and happily succeeded to excite the due admiration for the patriotism and talent of Theodor Koerner. The Virginia Gesangverein next sang Koerner's "Schwertlied;" then Judge Flournoy made some eloquent complimentary remarks, followed by the culminating point in the ceremonies. H. Schuricht took the stand in front of the curtain and recited a "Prologue" composed by him,—the curtain was raised and amid a group of beautiful exotic plants, on a high pedestal, the fine plaster bust of the poet, cast by a true friend of the Germans, Mr. Fr. Moynihan, of this city, was exposed to view. In front of the pedestal and on the steps leading up to it knelt "Clio," the Muse of History, the hand raised, engraving on the marble the name of Theodor Koerner, and from the left side "Germania" approached the bust, a laurel wreath in her hands, to decorate the poet's brow. Clio was personified by Miss Lizzie Euker, now Mrs. Dr. Meyer, and Germania by Miss Maria Menzel. When Mr. Schuricht concluded his poetical explication of the tableau, the Singers intonated the "German Song" or "Das deutsche Lied." The tableau, the prologue and the singing were received with rapturous delight.

This closed the proceedings in Music Hall, and the rest of the day was spent in mirth and gayety. The German News Company had published a Fest-Blatt of "Der Sueden."

282.) "Der Sueden," Vol. 1, No. 39, pp. 12 and 13. Richmond, Va., Sept. 27, 1891.

In 1892 the observance of the "*German Day*" was confined to an all-day picnic at Blandon Park. The attendance was a large and devoted one.

In 1893 the celebration of "*German Day*" was arranged by the junior association, in which the senior society participated. It took place on September 14th and was a pronounced success.

Long before 10 o'clock, the hour fixed for the starting of the parade, the German-Americans began to flock to Saenger Hall, their usual rendezvous, while President von Rosenegk assembled the members of his organization at the corner of Sixth and Grace streets, from where they joined the column of the parade. A carriage followed, containing "*Germania*," (Miss L. Wolff), "*Columbia*," (Miss M. Senf), and "*Virginia*," (Miss E. Schumann.) The rear was brought up by about thirty aides on horseback.

The procession started shortly after 10 o'clock in the following order: Squad of police; chief-marshall and aides; President von Rosenegk and aides; Blue's Band; Young Men's German-American Association; German Pleasure Club; other organizations; Social Home Band; members on horseback; members in carriages and children in wagons.

Immediately after arrival the grounds were turned over to the children, who indulged in all sorts of games and out-door sports. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon all the visitors repaired to the large music hall, which had been tastefully decorated. The Blue's Band opened this part of the proceedings with the march "*Wien bleibt Wien*," followed by a festive performance or "*Festspiel*," entitled "*Der deutsche Tag im Jahre 1893*," composed and dedicated by Herrmann Schuricht of Louisa county, whereupon the entire audience sang "*Die Wacht am Rhein*."

A. von N. Rosenegk, president of the German-American Association, next delivered an address of welcome. The music played the Oriental Overture and a chorus of eighty children from St. Mary's Parochial School sang "*Ich habe mich ergeben*." Prof. C. F. Mutter conducted the singing, while the

music played the accompaniment under direction of Rev. P. Gregory, S. O. B.

H. G. Miller, orator of the day, was then introduced and delivered an oration on the subject "Objects and Purposes of the German-American Association."

*The fifth Celebration*²⁸³) in Richmond of "German Day," October 3rd, 1894, which was held at Saenger Hall, proved no exception to the rule: that whatever the German-Americans of the community undertake they do well and with genuine enthusiasm. The day was generally observed as a holiday by the German population.

The festivities commenced at 2 P. M. under the auspices of the German-American Association, the officers of which were as follows: A. von N. Rosenegk, president; H. C. Miller, first vice-president; Joseph Wallerstein, second vice-president; E. A. Stumpf, third vice-president; Carl Ruehrmund, fourth vice-president; T. Moeker, recording secretary; Ch. T. Loehr, financial secretary; C. Wippermann, treasurer; directors: J. F. Kohler, Peter Stumpf, A. Pohlig, E. Kersten, C. Dunker and M. F. Richter.

The celebration opened with an entertainment for children in the garden of Saenger Hall. The City School Board had ordered that all German pupils in the public schools be given a half-holiday in order that they might participate in the celebration. The grounds had been tastefully decorated and the little ones were quick to crowd them. A happier, healthier set of children were never gotten together.

At eight in the evening, when the second part of the programme commenced, Saenger Hall was packed almost to suffocation; most of the audience were ladies. The programme opened with an overture by the orchestra; song, St. Mary's Church Choir; addresses by the President and C. Ruehrmund, chairman of the Executive Committee; chorus, Gesangverein

283.) From "The State," October 3, 1894, and "The Richmond Dispatch," October 4, 1894.

“Virginia;” speeches by invited guests, including Mayor Taylor’s address; song, “What is the German Fatherland?” by the German-American Association’s chorus; and the reading of a letter from Prof. Schele de Vere, at this time the only honorary member of the Association, acknowledging the compliment of his election. Then followed a comedy performance, and a ball and banquet concluded the entertainment.

On April 1st, 1895, *the 80th anniversary of Prince Bismarck’s birthday* was celebrated in Saenger Hall under the auspices of the German-American Society of Virginia. Almost every German of Richmond city participated in the “Commers.” Enthusiastic speeches were delivered by President von Rosenegk and A. Osterloh, Consul of Germany, and the entire large assemblage, arising from their seats, sang a “Festival Song” composed by Herrmann Schuricht.

The elaborate celebration of *the sixth German Day*, September 12th, 1895, consisted in parade, oratory and song. The “Times” gave the following description:

According to instructions, those who desired to participate in the parade on horseback or in carriages, assembled soon after 9 o’clock on Broad street or thereabouts and half an hour later the aides of the President A. von N. Rosenegk reported at headquarters. Everything worked smoothly and promptly at the minute fixed for the starting of the parade, for the bell at the Second Police station house had hardly struck 10, when Mr. A. von N. Rosenegk, the president, asked his aides to fall in line on Marshall street between Seventh and Eighth streets. This was done at once, and the parade started a few minutes later from the corner of Seventh and Broad streets.

The following is the order in which the participants in the big parade marched:

Marshal J. H. Blumelinck, Charles Gasser, W. Schmidt.
President A. von N. Rosenegk.

Aides of the president and color-bearers on horseback, in dark clothes, white neckties, white gloves and silk hats. Aides: H. G. Miller, W. H. Zimmermann, E. Kersten, Louis Euker, C. C.

Thon, J. H. Middendorf, Jos. W. Bliley, B. Wittkamp, H. L. Hutzler, R. B. Felthaus, M. R. Fritosche, O. L. Brauer, Marx Gunst, H. Graser, T. Schwanne, Aug. Boehling, Aug. Stille, C. Werner, William Rueger. Color-bearers: H. Kramer, H. Janning, Charles Battige.

Blues' Band.

Marshals, Charles E. Loeffler and Joseph Stumpf.

Members on horseback.

St. Mary's Home Band.

Captain Chas. Hara and members of the Germania Pleasure Club, dressed in the old German costume, on horseback, acting as escort to the float.

A magnificently decorated float, arranged by Mr. M. Lindner. Upon a throne in the centre, and under a large canopy were seated Columbia, represented by Mrs. Charles Gasser, and Germania, represented by Miss R. Weinbrunn, both appropriately and handsomely dressed. Behind each was stationed a page, and in front a herald, with trumpet. The float was drawn by six magnificently caparisoned horses, each led by a gentleman in continental uniform, and on each side of the float marched six gentlemen in old German costumes and halberds.

The float was ten by sixteen feet, with a large canopy six by nine feet, and was by far the handsomest masterpiece in the line of decoration ever exhibited in this city. Heavy drapery was placed around the bottom of the float, intermingled with shields of satin and silk flags, bearing the American and German colors, while a variety of satin banners ornamented the top. The canopy was curtained in red, heavily draped with a tinsel finish.

Festoons of evergreen were stretched from the bronze cornerposts of the float to the canopy, and besides there were other floral decorations in large number. The canopy was tipped off by a large brass eagle.

Then followed a large number of carriages, with ladies and gentlemen of various organizations.

The procession moved down Broad to Nineteenth, down Nineteenth to Main, up Main to Sixth, up Sixth to Broad, and up Broad street to the Exposition Grounds.

As soon as the grounds of Richmond College were passed President A. von N. Rosenegk lined up his aides on the south side of Broad street to have the parade pass them in review. Subsequently they brought up the rear, and about fifteen minutes later everybody found accommodation within the gates of the Exposition Grounds.

Shortly before 2 o'clock the Music Hall began to fill with people, who were anxious to listen to the singing and the speeches that had been announced. The ladies were nearly all dressed in light summer costumes, and the sight was certainly a beautiful one to behold. Notwithstanding the excessive heat the hall was completely filled during the progress of the proceedings, and a good many others remained on the outside. Take it all in all, there must have been fully 4000 people present during the celebration.

In the centre of the back part of the big platform a dais had been erected on which were seated Germania and Columbia, the former represented by Miss Weinbrunn and the latter by Mrs. Charles Gasser. Miss Weinbrunn wore a heavy white satin dress with red tunique and black trimmings and the German eagle embroidered in gold on the front of the corsage. In her hair she wore a wreath of laurel and oak leaves. Mrs. Gasser also wore a white satin dress with blue tunique, in which the stars, representing the various States of the Union, were interwoven. The bodice of the dress was trimmed with red silk, and on her head Mrs. Gasser wore a silk cap in the national colors. In front of Germania and Columbia sat the two pages, Johnny Krause, dressed in a pink suit and blue mantel, and Bernard Schott, dressed in pale blue. Between the pages little Anthony Schwane, Jr., found his seat, who was dressed in the uniform of a lieutenant of infantry of the German army. The orators of the day were Messrs. von Rosenegk, Ch. H. Phillips and William H. Zimmermann.

In September 1896 and 1897 the *seventh and eighth celebrations of German Day* were arranged in a similar manner in the new large Auditorium on Exhibition Grounds. Herrmann Schuricht, A. von N. Rosenegk, Rev. Dr. Paul L. Menzel and

Rev. Dr. Eduard B. Calish delivered the principal festive orations. The assemblages again attained considerable proportions. The main part of the gatherings was composed of sons and daughters of the Fatherland, but many native-born Americans participated and all mingled together in a brotherly unity, which in itself proved the fraternal feeling existing between them.

In the beginning of 1898 the meritorious president of the German-American Association of Virginia, A. von N. Rosenegk, resigned and Carl Ruehrmund was elected in his place. Under the supervision of the last-named the *ninth celebration of German Day* took place on October 6th, 1898, in Saenger Hall. During the afternoon a Juvenile Festival (Kinderfest) was happily carried out and at night the official part of the celebration consisted in a concert, an address by President C. Ruehrmund, a theatrical performance and dancing.

No doubt the celebrations of "German Day" have successfully served to keep alive in Virginia the individuality, feeling and thought, — the entire *soul* of the German element — combined with the true spirit of American institutions.

On August 9th, 1898, *memorial services in honor of Prince Bismarck*, "the artificer of the German Empire," were held at Saenger Hall under the auspices of the Gesangverein Virginia. The hall was full when the meeting was called to order, a few minutes after 9 o'clock, by Mr. Henry G. Miller, chairman of the committee which had arranged it. On the stage were a number of well-known Germans of the city, including Mr. Miller, Mr. A. von N. Rosenegk, Rev. Dr. Paul L. Menzel, the orator of the evening, and others. The decorations of the hall and stage were simple and tasteful, consisting of potted plants and combinations of German and American colors.

After prayer by Rev. Dr. Menzel, Mr. Miller presented Mr. A. von N. Rosenegk, the president of the society, who came forward and delivered a short address. In his speech he called attention to the following occurrence:

"Several years ago, as you know, the German-American

Ladies' Aid Society was organized. They opened two wards in the Virginia Hospital. The ladies wrote to Prince Bismarck, requesting the permission to use his name for the male ward, and received the following highly honored reply over his autograph:

An

Frau ANNA VON NICKISCH ROSENEGK

Richmond, Va.,

Virginia Hospital,

Corner Clay and Eleventh Streets,

U. S.

Friedrichsruh, den 18. Mai 1895.

Die Benennung der in dem Virginia-Hospital neu erbauten Abtheilung nach meinem Namen ist für mich eine ehrenvolle Auszeichnung.

V. BISMARCK.

Mr. von Rosenegk continued: "The letter is framed and placed in the Virginia Hospital, and we here present will show the love and esteem we cherish, and express the sorrow we feel, by drafting resolutions of sympathy and transmitting them to his family."

These resolutions were presented by Mr. Miller and adopted, and after the singing of "Spielmann's Testament" by the Gesangverein chorus, the brilliant memorial address by Dr. Paul L. Menzel followed, which was the chief feature of the evening. Hereupon the meeting adjourned.

The German ladies of the city, ever alive to the interests of human sufferers, have organized in 1895, as previously mentioned, a "*German-American Ladies' Aid Association of the Virginia Hospital*," of which Mrs. W. Rehling is President; Mrs. A. von Rosenegk, First Vice-President; Mrs. C. Oehlschlager, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Bertha Haase, Third Vice-President; Mrs. Adam Feitig, Fourth Vice-President; Mrs. C. Kin-

dervater, Fifth Vice-President; Miss Emma Grimmel, Financial Secretary; Miss Catharine Phillips, Recording Secretary, and Mrs. Chas. H. Phillips, Treasurer.

On the 30th of May, 1895, the "Times" published for the benefit of the Hospital a large "Woman's Edition," to which Herrmann Schuricht, of Louisa county, and Mr. Wermuth, of Berlin, Commissioner of the German Empire to the World's Fair at Chicagó, were the contributors of German articles.

In the early part of 1897 a "Gemischter Chor" of fifty ladies and gentlemen was organized under the leadership of the gifted professor Carl F. Mutter, cantor of St. Mary's Church and musical director of the Gesangverein Virginia. On December 2nd, 1897, this newly started chorus for the first time arranged a public concert, which was a decided success.

On May 9th, 1890, the German ladies of Richmond demonstrated again their appreciation of the cultivation of vocal music *by the gift of a magnificent flag* to the Gesangverein Virginia. Miss Helene Brauer delivered the gift in representation of the following ladies: Mrs. Wm. H. Zimmermann, C. W. Thilow, John Steinbrecher, F. C. Ebel, C. E. Loeffler, E. A. Stumpf and Misses Helene Brauer, A. Weuzel, Bertha Haase, Gussie Bromm and Rosa Schumacher.

To complete these reports of the German Festivals the biographies of some of the leading men may be added.

*Alfred von N. Rosenegk*²⁸⁴) is a son of a colonel of the German army, whose full name he bears. His mother was also of noble blood, a Miss Sophie von Kleist. The father still lives in Eberswald, near Berlin, Germany. Mr. von Rosenegk was born in Stettin in Germany November 21st, 1852, and went in 1862, when only ten years of age, to the Military Academy in Potsdam and Berlin, where he remained until 1870, when he was promoted as subordinate officer to the army, to serve in the Franco-Prussian war, which ended in 1871. During the progress of the war he gained the rank of officer, which distinction

284.) From the "Richmond Dispatch," October 5th, 1890.

he retained until 1875, when he severed his connection with the German army and immigrated to this country, previously however having been joined with Miss Anna Weisser in the holy bonds of matrimony. During the first five years of their life in this country the two had to struggle hard for existence, as neither could master the English language. In 1880 he engaged in the hardware business, beginning with a very subordinate position, from which he was gradually promoted, and in 1885 he accepted a call from the Bergner & Engel Brewing Company of Philadelphia as manager for the Richmond depot. In 1891 von Rosenegk associated with Mr. Emil Kersten. They established the well-known Richmond Brewery, which was changed in 1892 into a stock company under the new firm "Rosenegk's Brewing Company." It has also been Mr. von Rosenegk's fortune, through his courteous manners, to gain the love, esteem and respect to the highest degree not only of his German friends and countrymen, but of a vast number of our worthy American citizens.

Mr. von Rosenegk is a member of Schiller Lodge of Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Germania Lodge, Knights of Pythias, Gesangverein Virginia, Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, Iron Hall and Fraternal Legion, and among their members he is very popular and highly respected. The German Day movement was greatly due to his effort and gained reality through his untiring labors. He was the president of the German-American Association for eight years and is at present the president of the Gesangverein Virginia.

Rev. Dr. Paul L. Menzel, the scholarly pastor of St. John's German Evangelical Church, was born March 5th, 1839, at Lausanne, Switzerland. He is the oldest son of Rev. C. W. Menzel. Until 1850 he remained with his parents in St. Hippolyte, in the south of France. Then a boy he went to Germany, studied the German language and spent ten and one-half years in different institutions, colleges and universities, where he prepared for the ministry. After passing his examinations, he accepted a professorship in the College of Niesky, Silesia. On August 29th, 1868, he was ordained a min-

ister of the Gospel by Bishop E. Reichel of Saxony, and subsequently served at different places. In '74 he came over to America and held for six years the position of German pastor in the two churches in Dansville and Reikinsville, in Western New York. In 1879 he joined the German Evangelical Synod of N. America. Since 1883 he has been the secretary of the Atlantic District of this organization and in 1894 he was elected president. In 1880 he accepted the pastorate of the German Protestant Church of Albany, N. Y., and by his effort helped to erect the new building which was dedicated in May 1882. Since February 1886 Mr. Menzel has been pastor of St. John's Evangelical Church in Richmond. In 1894 the Washington and Lee University of Lexington, Va., conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

State Senator William Lovenstein, of Richmond, was born October 8th, 1840, at Laurel, formerly known as Hungary Station, Henrico county, about eight miles from Richmond city. In addition to a good common school education, he spent two years at an academy in New York city. Returning from school he entered mercantile business, in which he engaged until the beginning of the war. Upon outbreak of hostilities he immediately left for the front with the Richmond Light Infantry Blues, of which he was a member, and saw active service before he attained majority. Mr. Lovenstein remained uninterruptedly with his company until captured by some of Burnside's troops at Roanoke Island. At the conclusion of the war he reengaged in business. When the State was readmitted into the Union in 1869, he was elected, though only twenty-nine years of age, to represent Richmond in the House of Delegates. He was re-elected four successive times, serving in that branch ten years in all, during which time he was upon the most important committees.

In 1881 Mr. Lovenstein was elected to the State Senate and in 1897, the time of his death, he was serving his fourth consecutive term of four years. Governor Lee appointed Mr. Lovenstein a member of the board of the Female Normal School, (an institution which to a great degree owes its existence to his efforts.) For years he has been a member of the City School

Board; past-master of Fraternal (formerly Française) Lodge No. 53, A. F. and A. M.; grand secretary and supreme representative of the Royal Arcanum; past-regent and secretary of Virginia Council No. 26; past-president of District Grand Lodge No. 3 and Rimmon Lodge No. 68, I. O. B. B.; a member of the Board of Trustees and secretary of the congregation of Beth Ahaba. He was chosen president of the Grand Convention of the B'nai B'rith at the session of that body in Richmond in June 1890. Senator Lovenstein's chief business occupation was that of cashier of the Richmond Perpetual Building, Loan and Trust Company.

Carl Ruehrmund, the son of Rev. F. W. Ruehrmund, was born September 22nd, 1855, at Berlin, the Capital city of the Kingdom of Prussia. He visited the "Louisenstädtische Real-Schule," where he graduated in 1874. After four years' study at the "Architectural Academy" at Berlin, and having served his term in the Prussian army, he was employed as assistant architect by the government surveyor of buildings (Baurath) Orth, and later on in the architectural department of the Royal Railroad System. The prospects of promotion in the government service being gloomy, Ruehrmund resolved to try his luck abroad, and after spending some time in Scotland and England, he came to America in 1881. Having worked in various architectural offices, he was engaged in 1884 by the Government to superintend the rebuilding of the custom-house and post-office at Richmond, Va., and after finishing this work he entered in 1887 into private practice. Among numerous public and private edifices which he erected may be mentioned: the St. Mark's Lutheran and the Calvary Baptist churches at Roanoke, Va.; the Hoge Memorial Church; the storehouse of Cohen Brothers; Third Police Station; the Henrico Court House; the cattle-yard at Richmond, and the hospital of the State Lunatic Asylum.

Carl Ruehrmund enjoys among his German fellow-citizens the reputation of being a warm and zealous advocate of all German cultural and social efforts, and they bestowed on him many honorary offices. He was elected president of the "Teutonic Club," secretary and vice-president of the "German-American

Association of Virginia," and now he holds the presidency of this the most important German society in the State.

Heinrich Georg Miller is one of the most active and persevering leaders of the German element in Richmond. He was born September 26th, 1834, at Lauterbach in Hesse-Darmstadt, and after completing his school-education selected horticulture for his vocation. In 1857 Mr. Miller emigrated to America and was first employed as gardener in Baltimore, Md., and finally came to Richmond in 1861. In the year 1866 Gen. Tochmann was appointed agent of European immigration and Mr. Miller was made his assistant. He has continued since that time in the public service and occupied for the last twenty-five years the position of assistant gas-inspector at Richmond, and at present he holds the position of bill-clerk in the department. He has for years been president of the church wardens of the St. John's German Evangelical Church, was president of the Gesangverein Virginia and is president of the German-American Association of Virginia. During the war Mr. Miller served in a cavalry troop, commanded by Captain Wm. English. The troop was assigned to local defence, but it took part in the engagements at Drewery's Bluff and around Petersburg.

G. L. Siegel was born April 12th, 1838, at Kirchheim, Bollanden, Bavaria, and died at Richmond January 4th, 1893. When a boy thirteen years of age he came with his parents to New York and studied music, for which he showed great talent. Desirous to see the world, he accepted different engagements with circus and minstrel troupes and travelled with them over the entire United States and in Canada. In 1856 he participated in the Walker campaign in Nicaragua and then took service on a U. S. man-of-war and visited other parts of the globe. At the beginning of the Civil War he lived at Charleston, S. C., and enlisted in the 14th South Carolina Infantry Regiment of General Maxey Gregg's Brigade. He remained with this command throughout the war, from the bombardment of Fort Sumter to the surrender at Appomattox, and he fought in many battles. After the war Mr. Siegel remained in Richmond, married a daughter of John H. Boschen and established a shoe-store. He was very successful in his business, but his love

for music did not allow his mind to rest quietly. What he has done to advance musical art in Richmond from 1870 to 1885 and as leader of the Gesangverein Virginia, is gratefully remembered and appreciated by his German fellow-citizens. G. L. Siegel was an artist born, but an adverse fate prevented him from making full use of his great talent.

Hermann Schmidt, the brother-in-law of Siegel, was born on March 11th, 1838, at Vlotho on the river Weser and came to America in 1860. He was the first German to select Richmond as a place of residence after the close of the war. In 1865 he established a grocery business. Being indefatigable in his efforts, a thoroughly educated German merchant and of great enterprise, the business rapidly prospered. With the same energy he displayed in his business, he supported every effort to improve the welfare of ill-fated Richmond. The Germans of Richmond soon recognized the nobleness of his intentions and organizing talents, and in all their undertakings he was a certain leader. He was a member of the church and school board of the St. Johannis Church; president of the German Relief Society; president of the Virginia Building and Loan Company, and director of the Gesangverein Virginia, of the German-American Society of Virginia and of the German News Company of Virginia, etc. The Transparent Ice Company was founded by him. He died in 1894 and his death was deeply mourned by his German and American fellow-citizens.

William H. Zimmermann is another prominent and representative German-American of Richmond, born in the city of Marburg, Germany, in 1845. He came to this country in 1860, and after a short stoppage at Rochester, N. Y., Baltimore, and Louisville, Ky., he made his home in Richmond. At the beginning of the late war he enlisted in the Confederate ranks, but being then only a boy of fifteen years, he was not sent to the front, and did military duty in and about this city. At the close of the war he engaged in the fur business in this city, and in 1875 gave his undivided attention to the restaurant and hotel business.

For many years he has been closely identified, not only

with the German-American interests in this city, but he has always proven himself a public-spirited citizen, and in all undertakings that tended to be of benefit to this city, his name could be found among those on top of the list. He is a prominent and influential member of the German-American Association, of the Gesangverein Virginia and many other organizations. In the year 1893 it was chiefly by his efforts that the German-American voters of Richmond rallied at Saenger Hall and organized the German-American Democratic Club, which very soon made its power and influence felt among the rest of the residents. His countrymen appreciated the interest in public affairs manifested by Mr. Zimmermann, and elected him a member of the City Council and president of the Democratic club, which offices he has held in an efficient and dignified manner.

Charles T. Loehr was born August 8th, 1842, at Altona, Westphalia, and came to Richmond in 1853 when a boy. He is a highly esteemed, self-made man. During the war he was sergeant in Company D, First Virginia Infantry Regiment, and his name has become widely known by his excellent publication: "War History of the old First Virginia Infantry Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia, Richmond 1884." Charles T. Loehr is at present notary public, local manager of the Virginia Fire and Marine Insurance Company and secretary and treasurer of the Virginia Building and Loan Association. Of the many honorary offices conferred on him, those of First Commander of Pickett's Camp Confederate Veterans, Grand Master of the Knights of Pythias of Virginia, treasurer of Hines Memorial Hall and finance secretary of the German-American Association of Virginia may be mentioned.

Rev. P. Willibald Baumgartner, O.S.B., pastor of St Mary's Catholic Church, was born May 5th, 1853, at Wolfratshausen. He received a thorough education in school at his native place, the Latin school of the Holland Institute and the Royal Ludwig's College at Munich. He writes: "From childhood I entertained a predilection for study and the Church, and it was my cher-

ished desire to go to America and to work there among my German countrymen." In the year 1871 he emigrated and went to St. Vincents to join the order of St. Benedictus. He studied philosophy for two years and theology for three years and on April 23rd, 1878, he received the consecration to priesthood. Soon after, on May 1st, Rev. Baumgartner was designated assistant of Rev. P. Renno Hegele at Saint Mary's Church, Richmond, Va., and since 1884 he is the highly esteemed pastor of the German Catholics of the diocese Richmond. He is a true sympathizer and ardent supporter of the charitable and civilizing endeavors of his countrymen.

Joseph Wallerstein, the second vice-president of the German-American Association, is a native of Blacksburg, Va. When six years old, he came to Richmond with his parents, and has been living here ever since. Early in his youth he started out in the produce business and has followed that vocation up to the present day. He has been for the last ten years a member of the Travellers' Protective Association, which was organized in 1882, and is now the vice-president of the national organization. He has also for some time been the chairman of the Railroad Committee of the local organization.

Mr. Wallerstein is also a member of numerous other German-American organizations, and his activity and effective influence in the Common Council for the past few years has been too well noticed by all who pay attention to the affairs of this city as to be especially mentioned in this connection.

Christian Droste was born in Bremen, Germany, on March 8th, 1862. He received a thorough education, served an apprenticeship in a mercantile house in his native city and soon distinguished himself by his diligence and ability. He exhibited also a marked love for literature. Intellectual labor is his delight. In the beginning of 1887 he emigrated to America, arrived at Richmond, Va., on February 1st and was employed by L. Borchers & Co., leaf tobacco merchants. Chr. Droste soon advanced to the position of bookkeeper, and Mr. Louis Borchers, Consul of Austria-Hungary, made

him secretary of his consulate. In 1891 he participated in the organization and management of the German News Company of Virginia and in the publication of the German weekly: "Der Sueden," contributing novels and poems under the nom-de-plume of "R. Helge." His oration at the "Theodor Koerner Anniversary" also merits credit.

Carl Wippermann holds the important position of Treasurer of the German-American Association, and has for years administered the financial affairs of the organization in a wise and economical manner. He was born in April, 1855, in Westphalia, Prussia, where he received his first school education. Later on he entered the gymnasium at Herford, and served as a volunteer in the Fifteenth and Ninety-third Regiments, Infantry of the German army. At the expiration of his term he was discharged with the rank and qualification of a commissioned officer.

Mr. Wippermann learned the mercantile business at Magdeburg, Prussia, in a most thorough manner under the direct supervision of an uncle, in whose establishment he remained until 1877, when he came to Richmond to accept the position of book-keeper with Mr. Hermann Schmidt, a brother of his former employer. He has been the book-keeper of the firm for a number of years, and is now its manager.

Nearly every German-American organization has the name of Mr. Wippermann on its roll of members, and he is also engaged in a number of business enterprises. He is one of the most prominent members of the Gesangverein Virginia, and is vice-president of the Virginia Building and Loan Association.

When the German-American Association was formed about seven years ago, Mr. Wippermann was among its original members, and when Mr. William H. Zimmermann resigned the position of treasurer of the organization, Mr. Wippermann was elected to succeed him, and has been in charge of the financial affairs of the association ever since.

Ferdinand Charles Ebel was born January 4th, 1858, at Frederick, Md., and received a thorough school education in a private German-American school at Baltimore and after the removal of his parents to Richmond in 1869 at the German-English school of the St. Johannes German Lutheran Church. At the age of fifteen years he entered his father's business to learn the tailor trade and in 1885 he became a partner in the paternal firm. Mr. F. C. Ebel took great interest in all affairs of public utility and rendered his hearty support to all endeavors for the preservation of German nature and culture to coming generations. He is one of the most popular men among his German-American and Anglo-American fellow-citizens, and he held the honorary positions of secretary and vice-president in the Gesangverein Virginia and of vice-president of the German-American Association of Virginia since its organization. In the year 1895 he was elected a member of the City Council and his services are highly appreciated.

Charles H. Phillips, the financial secretary of the German-American Association, was born in Richmond on March 29th, 1859. Mr. Phillips, though born in this country, has taken an active part in all the large entertainments given by the German-Americans in this city. Soon after completing his education, he began a course at the Old Dominion Business College.

While still a young man he began to take an active interest in the political affairs of the city. He served for some time on the Democratic City Committee, and in 1888 he was chosen to fill an unexpired term in the Board of Aldermen. There he soon worked to the front, and his abilities being recognized, he was made a member of the Board of Police Commissioners, under the regime of which board the police force of Richmond has been raised to the highest possible standard. In 1894 he became a candidate for the office of City Treasurer, and though there were in the field several other candidates, he was the successful applicant, leading the field by a good, clear majority.

In his youth Mr. Phillips began his business career in the store of his father, where he remained until the business was discontinued. Later he was associated with the firm of Phil-

lips & Stein, and when that firm was burned out, he entered the employ of the Richmond China Company.

Mr. Phillips is a member of nearly every German-American organization in existence in this city. He was president of the Gesangverein Virginia and is one of those men who fully deserve the thanks of all German-Americans for the great interest which he has at all times taken in affairs they were most concerned in. He has also recently come into prominence as a military man, having been appointed on the staff of the First Regiment as commissary, with the rank of captain.

Rev. Edward N. Calisch was born in the city of Toledo, Ohio, on June 23rd, 1865. When he was six years old his father moved to Chicago, just four weeks before the great fire of 1871 in that city. The family lost everything they had in that fierce conflagration, hardly even saving the clothes on their back. The mother with her two boys went back to Toledo for a year, while the father endeavored to found a home for them. In that effort he laid the foundation of disease which carried him off four years later. His death left the family destitute. Edward and his brother went to work, the former, at the age of ten years, securing a position with the firm of Mandel Bros. After a year of work, place was obtained for him in the Jewish Orphan Asylum at Cleveland, Ohio, at which institution he remained three years, and winning a scholarship in the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati, he entered the latter institution September 1879, whence eight years later he graduated as rabbi. He graduated the same year from the University of Cincinnati. His first official charge was in Peoria, Ills., where he remained four years. Then he was called in September 1891 to his present position as rabbi of the Beth Ahaba Synagogue at Richmond, Va. Rev. Calisch is a most eloquent orator and he has gained for himself the greatest respect of both Americans and Germans of all creeds.

Julius Straus was born in the city of Richmond on the 4th day of May 1843. His parents came from Bavaria in 1837 and he received his first instruction from the Rev. M. J. Michelbacher. At the age of ten years young Straus was sent for two

years to a boarding school in New York and then attended the higher schools in his native city. His talents turning into a commercial channel, he went into his father's business and continued therein until the Civil War. After the conclusion of war he reembarked in business. He entered the insurance business in 1869 and is now engaged therein nearly thirty years. For four years he served in the City Council and in the year 1887 he was appointed a member of the Board of Directors of the Central State Hospital at Petersburg, Va. Julius Straus always took a firm stand. He interested himself in the affairs of the German-American Association of Virginia and was also conspicuous in the celebration of "German Day" at Richmond. He has been for thirty years a member of the Grand Lodge of Masons and is on several important standing committees; is Past President of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, District No. 5; Past Chancellor of Knights of Pythias; Past Exalted Ruler of the B. and P. O. Elks, and has served for twenty-five years on the Board of Managers of the congregation "Beth Ahaba" at Richmond, of which he is now the president.

There are many other zealous German-Virginians, but the limit of space forbids further personal mention.

Many of the German societies have been spoken of in the foregoing descriptions of the public festivals and it remains only to name a few more in order to complete the report about the German social and public life in Richmond during the last decades.

The "*German Relief Society*" (Deutscher Unterstuetzungs-Verein) was to some extent the forerunner of the German-American Association. H. Schmidt and Henry Miller were the founders and managers of the society, which offered good advice and assistance to German immigrants. Several German settlers have received pecuniary help by this benevolent association, who are now well-to-do farmers in the neighborhood of Richmond, and many mechanics have been temporarily assisted by it when out of employment. The society numbered in its time about three hundred members.


Gymnastics (Turnen) has not prospered in Richmond since the war. The "*Social Turnverein*" had outlived the critical time of that event, but its existence had been seriously shaken by measures of the Confederate police, and it did not regain its former prosperity and popularity after the conclusion of peace. A humorous occurrence recalls those hateful times of persecution. During the third year of the war the papers and minutes of the Turnverein were suddenly seized by order of the provost-marshal, and being written in German a translation was ordered and undertaken by an unqualified man. In order to give to a very talkative member of the society a witty reprimand, the secretary had recorded: "H . . . talked tin" (H . . . schwatzte Blech), which means, he spoke nonsense; but the versed translator worded it: "H . . . talked about sheet-iron." The discussion of the Turnverein about "*sheet-iron*" was considered by the police decidedly suspicious, and poor H . . . was arrested and locked up in "Castle Thunder." Such ill-treatment, ridiculous as it was, caused many members to resign, and after some years of lingering existence the society was dissolved. However the desire to practice the gymnastic art, physically and intellectually, did not die out, and on February 1st, 1885,²⁸⁵) the "*Richmond unabhaengige (independent) Turnverein*" was organized. About seventy members joined the new association and the number of pupils (boys and girls) amounted to about fifty. A very handsome hall, Turnhalle, was equipped and the officers elected were: J. J. Spilling, first speaker; H. C. Boshen, second speaker; Theo. Moeker, first secretary; Max Lindner, second secretary; Oscar Pflamm, first Turnwart; Wm. Gehrmann, second Turnwart; J. A. Moll, treasurer, and C. Hassel, Zeugwart. But the young German-Virginians were not inclined to submit to the rules of strict discipline and regular attendance of the exercises, and so the praiseworthy undertaking was discontinued after one year's effort. This laudable enterprise had the good effect, that the Americans learned to appreciate gymnastic exercise, and the Young Mens' Christian Association established a very beautiful gymnasium.

285.) Constitution des Richmond unabhaengigen Turnvereins. Printed by Virginia Staats-Gazette, 1835.

In 1893 the Germans of Richmond resolved to regain political influence and to secure a proportionate representation in the administration of the city's affairs. They organized a "*German Democratic Club*" and elected an energetic man—Wm. Zimmermann—to the presidency. The result of this step was apparent in the next election. All the nominees made efforts to win the confidence and support of the German voters. They were invited to address the club, to explain their programme and to give assurance that the interests of all classes of the population would be regarded by them without partiality and preference. One of the resulting effects was the election of Charles Phillips for city treasurer.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GERMAN LIFE IN VARIOUS OTHER CITIES AND TOWNS OF VIRGINIA.

HE German inhabitants of the Virginian country towns had to compete against many adversities after the Confederacy was conquered. They were reduced in number and wealth and immigration had almost ceased.

Alexandria had prospered during the time the Union army was concentrated around it, but when the troops were withdrawn commerce and industrial life came to a standstill. The former inhabitants returned poor and disheartened²⁸⁶), the country all around was devastated and the northern business men left for other cities. Of the Germans who had settled in the city during war time, finally only a handful remained, and the German societies were discontinued for want of means and members. All had to struggle for daily existence and years passed by before confidence in a prosperous future was restored. It was in 1868 when Friedrich Pfaff, Adolph Diedel, W. Bauer, Brill, West, Mumm, Wenzel and others united to build a German-Lutheran church and school and invited Rev. J. R. Bischof to become the pastor; but the permanent organization of a community was not accomplished until 1884, although a church had been built. It was a wooden structure about sixty feet deep and forty feet wide, with a steeple and bell donated by the well known brewer Robert Portner. One day, when the church was in course of erection, Mr. Portner happened to pass by and he asked the architect to show him the plan. He was surprised

286.) Correspondence of Dr. Julius Dienelt, Alexandria, Va.

that no steeple had been projected and inquired for the reason. "The community is small and poor," explained the architect, "and they have not got the means." "Well," argued Mr. Portner, "without a steeple it will be no church. Draw a plan for one, bell included, and I will pay the costs." Nearby a dwelling-house for the pastor was built, which contains also the necessary school rooms, and between the two buildings is a shady playground for the pupils. The present pastor, Rev. Johann Schroy, was installed in office in 1884. The church and school registers show eighty-seven church members and thirty-five pupils. The Germans of Alexandria are known to be loyal citizens and several of them have held public offices. Geo. A. Mushbach was a member of the House of Delegates from 1878 to 1879 and at present is a member of the Senate of Virginia. Mr. Ch. Bendheim is the present representative in the House of Delegates. Robert Portner, Isaac Eichberg and Louis Kraft were members of the City Council, and the present Mayor of the city is Hon. Henry Strauss.

In 1854 *Dr. Julius Dienelt*, to whom the author is indebted for these items, settled in Alexandria as dentist. He also gave lessons for some years in the Military Academy and his hobby are literary labors. Dr. Dienelt translated: "*Wieland's Oberon*" and wrote several novels and poems in German. His festive poem, composed for the occasion of the unveiling of the Confederate monument May 24th, 1889, will always touch a patriot's heart. In 1891 Dr. Dienelt was a contributor to "*Der Sueden*."

The German element in the old German settlement, the city of *Fredericksburg*, is less prominent. The city suffered very much during the War of Secession and it is now the only place in Virginia which has gone backward in population and wealth. In 1860 *Fredericksburg* had 5,023 inhabitants, but the census of 1890 gives only 4,528. Among the German inhabitants Mr. John D. Elder, the distinguished artist, deserves especial mention. He died in February 1895. Mr. Elder was educated at *Duesseldorf*, Germany, under *Leitz*, and some of his most celebrated paintings — "*The Battle of the Crater*," the "*Bust of Shylock*," "*After Appomattox*," and portraits of

Lee, Jackson, Davis, Johnson, etc., were owned by General Mahone and Mr. Joseph Bryan. He was an exhibitor at art exhibitions in Germany and in this country, and won many prizes, and in his peculiar line was considered the peer of any artist in America.

Petersburg, which also suffered heavily in the various campaigns around Richmond, has quickly regained its ante-bellum prosperity. In 1860 it had 18,266 inhabitants and in 1890 it figured 22,680. Every visitor to the city will be astonished by the large number of German firms, as for instance, H. Noltinius and F. Schwenck & Co., tobacconists; M. Levy, pianist; W. Tappey, machine works; J. Liebert, wines and liquors; A. Rosenstock, M. Cohen, M. Sual and J. Eigenbrunn, dress goods; W. Grossmann, real estate; M. Mendel, toys, etc. The wealth of the German citizens is shown by the fact that they pay about one-fifth of the city and other taxes. In 1876 a "German Club" was organized, of which Mr. Tappey, A. S. Reinach and J. Rosenfield were the officers. Efforts were made to establish a German church and school; the city generously donated the grounds and a church and school house were actually built. But disharmony caused the abandonment of the laudable undertaking. In 1895 a German-Evangelic community was organized at Walthall's near Petersburg and is administered by Rev. Dr. Menzel of the St. Johannis church at Richmond. More unity prevailed among the German Israelites of Petersburg, who erected the synagogue "Rodof Sholem," at the head of which the rabbi Rev. J. Kaiser officiates. Mr. H. Nultinius deserves especial credit as the promoter of German music. On the first day of May 1890 the "German Society of Petersburg" was organized to promote immigration. E. Gieland was elected president and F. W. Leimburger was his next successor. Several members of the society formed a "Gesang-Section" and practiced vocal music, particularly German "Volkslieder."²⁸⁷)

Norfolk, celebrated as one of the finest harbors on the Atlantic coast, and for the excellence and quantity of oysters and fish brought to its market, is rapidly growing in population and

237.) The author is obliged to Mr. W. Grossmann for this information.

importance. In 1820 its population numbered 8,478; before the war it had 14,620 inhabitants and according to the last census its population is now over 35,000. The German element is not as conspicuous as in Richmond, but in commerce and manufacture it takes a prominent part. In the summer of 1891 a correspondent of the "Richmond Times" named the following leading German firms: R. P. Voigt, Loewenburg & Hecht, Hecht & Herschler, Hamburger & Bro., Obendorfer & Co., Frey Bros., A. Myers & Co., Mayer & Co., Pinner & Derring, A. J. Kerns, Norfolk-Portsmouth German Building Association, etc. The "Norfolk Journal of Commerce" published in October 1888 a history and statistic of Norfolk and Portsmouth, naming the following German-Virginians as members of the "Common Council" and city officials: J. Adelsdorf, R. I. Borman, A. P. Thom, W. M. Hannah, S. Marx, Th. B. Rowland, Jos. A. Rolland, E. M. Baum, Dr. W. A. Thom, J. A. Brimmer, Jos. W. P. Veith, J. W. Blick, J. J. Kuling, etc. This list is evidence that the German-Virginian element in Norfolk is respected and influential. Gen. W. D. Groner, of German descent, previously mentioned, was appointed Commissary of Virginia at the World's Fair held at Chicago, Ills.

Portsmouth, the sister-town of Norfolk, on the west bank of Elizabeth river, opposite Norfolk, numbered in 1870 10,492 inhabitants and now it has a population of about 14,000, of which many are Germans or of German lineage. Especially among the mechanics and the truck-farmers about the city, as well as in Norfolk, Princess Ann and Nansemond counties, German-Virginians are numerous.

Newport News, a creation of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company, promises to become one of the most important harbors on the Atlantic coast, being accessible at all seasons of the year to vessels of the heaviest tonnage. Within a few years it has grown to a flourishing city of about 7,000 inhabitants, of whom about one hundred families are Germans, mostly German Jews, and several of the leading business houses are conducted by them. However the German language is spoken very little by these people, being Germans only in name.²⁸⁸)

288.) Correspondence of Walther Hoffmann, Clerk of Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Office at Newport News, Va.

In *Farmville* and the entire Prince Edward county the number of Germans is small, but they enjoy the reputation of good, industrious people. There are about twelve German farmers²⁸⁹) in the county and some German Hebrews have stores in Farmville and in the country. A Lutheran reverend lives near the Danville railroad and has built on his farm a small church and schoolhouse. From time to time the German farmers assemble there for divine service and the worthy pastor gives instruction to their children. Dr. W. W. H. Thackton has kindly furnished the author the following characteristic information.²⁹⁰) "About 1815 Captain John Stephan came to Prince Edward county and built his home at the small village "Kingsville," about one mile from Prince Edward courthouse, now Farmville. Captain Stephan was a pleasant and intelligent man, full of wit and well known in Virginia and other southern States, being the owner of a very popular "Wayside house of entertainment for travellers," situated on the great stage-road from Washington to Middle Georgia. Many distinguished southern statesmen made it a rule to stop on their trips to and from the Capital of the United States at Captain Stephan's or Stevens, as they called him. John C. Calhoun and Wm. C. Preston from South Carolina, Crawford and Barriar from Georgia, and many others frequently enjoyed his gay conversation. Captain Stephan attained the age of eighty-five years and being childless, he invited a nephew from Germany to come over to him, and he inherited the property. The old gentleman died loved and esteemed by his neighbors and numerous friends, and his remains rest in the churchyard of Sidney College Church."

Danville is one of the chief tobacco marts of the State and is a growing city. In 1825 its population amounted only to 1,355, in 1870 to 3,464 and in 1890 to 10,305. Many of the early settlers of Pittsylvania county and of all the counties along the North Carolina line were Germans and German Swiss, as has been already stated, and since the war some thrifty settlements have been made by Germans and English along the line of the Richmond and Danville railroad. Danville itself

289.) Correspondence of C. Zimmermann, at Farmville, Va.

290.) Correspondence of Dr. W. W. H. Thackton, Farmville, Va.

has a fair number of German citizens; most of them are well-to-do merchants and mechanics.

Bristol, on the Tennessee line, *Wytheville*, the county-seat of Wythe, *Newbern*, *Christiansburg*, *Fincastle* in Botetourt, and *Lexington*, the seat of the Washington and Lee University, and the Virginia Military Institute in Rockbridge county, — all these towns have a good sprinkling of German population.

Roanoke, in Roanoke county, deserves special mention, being one of the most prosperous places in the Valley. Within a few years it has grown from a small village to a town of about 20,000 inhabitants, of whom the German element forms a very respectable part. A German brewery exists and several other large factories and firms are owned or managed by Germans.

Salem, the county-seat of Roanoke county, was formerly an exclusively German-Lutheran settlement, but situated in the heart of the "Iron District," it is now becoming an important centre of trade and manufacturing interests. At Salem is located the "Roanoke College," a Lutheran institution. Though one of the youngest colleges, it is one of the most flourishing.²⁹¹⁾

Lynchburg, situated on the banks of the James river in Campbell county, had in 1860 a population of only 6,853, which has increased to more than 20,000. It is largely engaged in the manufacture of tobacco and the most important firms are German, like: Holt, Schaefer & Co., Seeling & Co., John Katz, Jr., etc.²⁹²⁾ Mr. Schaefer is president of the Lynchburg sugar factory. One of the largest dry-goods houses in the South is that of Guggenheimer. The number of German citizens however is small. An evidence of German life in Lynchburg is, that a publication, "War Songs of the South," edited by "Bohemian," correspondent of the "Richmond Dispatch," and published by West & Johnston, Richmond, Va., 1862, was printed by C. A. Shaffter at Lynchburg, whose name surely is German.

290.) "Virginia," a geographical and political summary, by the Board of Immigration. Page 213.

291.) Correspondence of Mr. C. Droste, Richmond, Va.

In 1892 E. Gieland, formerly of Petersburg, Va., organized a small German school for instruction in German and singing.²⁹²⁾

Staunton, Harrisonburg, Woodstock, Front Royal, Strassburg, Berryville, Leesburgh, New Market and Winchester, all situated in the Shenandoah Valley, are justly termed, as has been stated before, of German origin. After the late war a few newcomers of the same nationality located there. The Lutherans have the "Staunton Female Seminary" at Staunton, and at Winchester exists, besides a Lutheran and a United Brethren church, also a German Reformed church.²⁹³⁾

A widespread distinction among the descendants of the German settlers in the Valley was gained by *Harrison Holt Riddleberger*. He was born October 2nd, 1844, at Edinburg, Shenandoah county. At the early age of seventeen years he entered the Confederate army and was promoted to a lieutenancy and later on to the rank of captain. After the return of peace he studied law and domiciled himself as lawyer at Woodstock. In 1866 Riddleberger was elected State's Attorney and later on a member of the legislature for three successive terms. In 1875 he was made a member of the "State Committee," in 1876 and 1880 a presidential elector and from 1883 to 1889 a "Readjuster," a member of the U. S. Senate. Since 1870 he edited three Virginian newspapers. Riddleberger possessed great force as an orator and politician; he was a most violent opponent of General Mahone, the leader of the Republican party in Virginia, and made himself commendably known in the movement for settling the State-debts accumulated during the Civil War. The respective arrangements resolved upon by his suggestions to the Legislature of Virginia are known as "the Riddleberger Compromise." His prospects were certainly very bright, but his unfortunate passion for intoxicating drinks ruined his career and caused his early death on January 24th, 1890.

General John E. Roller of Harrisonburg is another German-

292.) Correspondence of Mr. Emil Gieland, Lynchburg, Va.

293.) Compare "Winchester, the Metropolis of the Valley," by Hancock, Laughlin & Co.

Virginian of renown. He is an ardent admirer of the merits of the German pioneers in Old Virginia and now engaged in writing their history, which will no doubt furnish further proof of their exertions in promoting the growth and prosperity of Virginia as a colony and as a State.

Charlottesville, the county-seat of Albemarle and the seat of the University of Virginia, had in 1870 a population of 2,838 and at present it is estimated to be about 7,000. The German element is now not as large there as before the war, but the commerce of the town is still prominently in German hands. The wine-making industry flourishes in Charlottesville and its neighborhood. Mr. Hotopp's and the Monticello Wine Company, in charge of Mr. A. Russow, are the two largest establishments. Both firms have been awarded various exposition medals. Leterman Bros. are the leading clothing house in this part of the State. The German Israelites have for years had a synagogue, "Beth Israel," and there is also a German Lutheran church, of which Rev. J. L. Craemer was pastor, while afterwards Rev. J. A. Schroy of Alexandria administrated the pastorate. At present a German-American is pastor and he is endeavoring to anglicize his German community. A German school does not exist at Charlottesville or at any other place in Albemarle, but the German language and literature have been part of the courses of study at the University since its foundation. German is also taught at the celebrated "Miller Manual Labor School of Albemarle."²⁹⁴) Within the last decade several German-Virginians held public offices in the city and county.

Manchester is making rapid progress. Against 2,793 inhabitants in 1860, it now has to show a population of 10 to 11,000, and the population of the immediate suburbs is estimated at 3,000.²⁹⁵) A great number of Germans live in the city; most of these are mechanics and wage-workers employed in Richmond. Manchester and Richmond are really but one

294.) German instruction is given at all colleges and highschools in Virginia, the Washington and Lee University at Lexington included.

295.) The "Richmond Dispatch," p. 2. April 18, 1891.

city, being connected by several bridges spanning the James river and by electric and horse-car lines. After the war its people were of course impoverished, and though it escaped such a disaster as the conflagration, that burned the greater portion of the business quarter of Richmond, the latter by reason of its becoming early after the cessation of hostilities the money centre of the State, absorbed much of its trade. These conditions however were only temporary. Manchester has within herself the factors of recuperation and an independent progress in certain directions, and these were not slow in asserting themselves. She had the situation, the water-power, the railroad connections, the climate, the tributary territory and the will to make herself a city, and they were all converged to that consummation with substantial and gratifying results. The German inhabitants have naturally profited by all these advantages and are doing well.

It would require the space of a much larger volume to point out all the localities in the State where the German element is represented and forms a valuable addition to the Anglo-American population. German storekeepers are to be found all over the country in Culpeper, Warrenton, Gordonsville, Orange county, Louisa, Leesburg, New Market and many other minor towns. The author could not visit all parts of Virginia to personally collect information, and on the other hand he found it very difficult to induce people settled there to furnish him with reliable information by letter. But to give further evidence of the importance and influence of the German-Americans in Virginia, he presents a list of the German-Virginian delegates to the General Assembly and the U. S. Congress during the period from 1860 to 1893, a list of school officials from 1872 to 1896 and a list of the localities with German names throughout the State. To the latter the English names of such cities, towns and villages are added which are known to be of German origin.

LIST OF GERMAN-VIRGINIAN DELEGATES TO THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA AND
THE U. S. CONGRESS.²⁹⁶⁾

Sam. A. Coffmann,	Rockingham Co.,	Member House of Delegates		
David W. Berlin,	Upshur	"	"	"
David M. Shriver,	Ohio Co.,	Member of the Senate of Va.		
J. A. Nighbart,	Boone County,	Member House of Delegates		
Benj. R. Linkous,	Fayette	"	"	"
G. W. Rust,	Page	"	"	"
A. J. Deyerle,	Roanoke	"	"	"
A. K. Trout,	Augusta	"	"	Senate of Va.
Geo. B. Keezell,	Rockingham County,	"	"	"
George H. Peck,	Giles	"	"	"
Dr. L. F. Woltz,	Carroll County,	Member House of Delegates		
F. Stearns,	Henrico	"	"	"
H. Peck,	Montgomery County	"	"	"
H. B. Harnsberger,	Rockingham	"	"	"
J. B. Straver,	Shenandoah	"	"	"
M. Hanger	Angusta	"	"	"
A. B. Lightner,	"	"	"	"
Paul Lightner,	Bath	"	"	"
Henry W. Keyser,	Page	"	"	"
James P. Critz.	Patrick	"	"	"
Wm. Lovenstein,	Richmond City,			Member House of Delegates now Senator.
A. Bodecker,	"	Member House of Delegates		
H. H. Riddleberger,	Shenandoah County,			Member House of Delegates and U. S. Senator.
J. H. von Auken,	Sussex County,	Member House of Delegates		
Geo. A. Mushbach,	Alexandria City,			Member House of Delegates and now Senator.

296.) From the "Journal of the House of Delegates and the Senate of Virginia," and the "Illustrated Southern Almanac," J. L. Hill Printing Co., Richmond, Va., 1898.

		Member House of Delegates and now Senator.
D. F. May,	City of Petersburg,	“
Sam. Burger,	Botetourt County,	“
P. B. Starke,	Brunswick “	“
Wm. A. Reese,	Greenville “	“
H. Conrad,	Frederick “	“
J. J. Deyer,	Southhampton County,	“
Ph. Herring,	Rockingham “	“
J. D. Honaker,	Bland “	“
Sam. E. Leybrock,	Pulasky “	“
H. W. Daingerfield,	Essex County,	“
J. V. Herring,	Chesterfield County,	“
G. C. Huffman,	Craig “	“
D. Riner,	Montgomery “	“
J. E. Sanger,	Rockingham “	“
L. D. Starke,	Norfolk City,	“
Ch. Bendheim,	Alexandria County,	“
George W. Koiner,	Augusta “	“
Alexander B. Lightner,	Augusta “	“
John C. Utz,	Madison “	“
J. W. Churchman,	Augusta County,	Member House of Delegates
A. L. Winter,	Bedfort “	“
K. B. Stoner,	Botetourt “	“
T. C. Pilcher,	Fauquier “	“
S. T. Turner,	Floyd and Franklin “	“
E. C. Jordan,	Frederick and Winchester “	“
C. G. Kizer,	Norfolk City,	“
M. Switzer,	Rockingham County,	“
J. M. Bauserman,	Shenandoah “	“

LIST OF SCHOOL OFFICIALS.

The list of school officials from 1872 to 1896 shows the following German names of county and city superintendents in Virginia and West Virginia.²⁹⁷⁾

George M. Peck, Hampton, Elizabeth County,	Virginia.
Dr. C. M. Stigleman, Floyd C. H., Floyd County,	"
W. H. Gold, Winchester, Frederick	"
James P. Beck, Pearisburgh, Giles	"
Henry C. Coleman, South Boston, Halifax	"
Addison Borst, Fredericksburgh, King George and Stafford Counties, Virginia.	
George H. Kendrick, Point Truth, Scott County,	Virginia.
John W. Wildman, Leesburgh, Loudoun	"
S. B. Grose, Clay C. H., Clay County,	West Virginia.
E. F. Vossler, Grant C. H., Grant County,	"
John S. Kern, Nicholas C. H., Nicholas County,	"
Wm. A. Newman, Knob Fork, Wetzel	"
R. Workman, Mouth Short Creek, Boone	"
C. P. Wirgman, Romney, Hampshire	"
J. C. Lininger, Winfield, Putnam	"
Jos. S. Loose, Harrisonburg, Rockingham	Virginia.
George J. Kayser, Hamlin, Lincoln	West Virginia.
John A. Bock, Farmington, Marion	"
M. H. Bittinger, Indian Creek, Monroe	"
George Buck, Berkeley Springs, Morgan	"
A. Workman, Falls of Twelve Pale, Wayne	"
C. L. Broadus, Roxalana, Roane	"
Richard L. Carne, Alexandria, Alexandria	Virginia.
W. W. Wysor, Newbern, Pulaski	"
Joseph Phipps, Osborn's Gap, Wise	"
John Hess, Duffield, Jefferson	West Virginia.
W. M. Wirt, Dallas, Marshall	"
A. B. Phipps, Princeton, Mercer	"

297.) U, S, Reports of the Commissioner of Education from 1872 to 1896,

W. A. Blankenship, Chesterfield	“	Virginia.
J. A. Holtzman, Jeffersonton, Culpeper	“	“
E. C. Glass, Lynchburgh, Campbell	“	“
W. M. Straus, Parkersburgh, Wood	“	West Virginia.
K. Kemper, Alexandria, Alexandria	“	Virginia.
John U. Bader, Staunton, Augusta	“	“
B. Rust, Roanoke, Roanoke	“	“

These school reports contain a still larger number of doubtful names and they give evidence of the active part German-Virginians are taking in public education.

LIST OF LOCALITIES AND POST OFFICES WITH GERMAN NAMES.

Counties.

- Accomac.—Hoffman's Wharf, Mappburg, Wagram, Keller P.O., Horntown.
- Albemarle.—Shadwell, Hotopp's Rapids, Blenheim P. O.
- Alexandria.—Fort Myer.
- Alleghany. Keyser's Mines, Selma, Stacks.
- Amherst.—Jordan.
- Amelia.—Smack's Creek, Ammon P. O.
- Appomattox.—Karl P. O.
- Augusta.—Koiner's Store P. O., Sangerville, Fishersville, Weyer's Cave Station, Croberger's Siding, Stover's Shop P. O., Shaffer's.
- Bedford.—Coleman's Falls P. O., Emaus P. O., Marrville, Ninninger P. O.
- Botetourt.—Amsterdam, Coyner's Spring, Kyle, Obenshain P.O., Strom P. O., Tinker's Knob.
- Brunswick.—Alps, Walthall's Store P. O., Ordsburg P. O., Thomasburg, Turner, Harper's Home.
- Buchanan.—Schack's Mill P. O.

- Buckingham.—Hardwicksville, Curdville.
 Campbell.—Rustburg, Rosenberger Mine, Heald's, Reusen's P.O.
 Caroline.—Shumansville, Knopf P. O.
 Carroll.—Lambsburg, Woltz's P. O., Dutchman's Branch, Nester P. O., Peck P. O., Piper's Gap.
 Charlotte.—Reese's P. O.
 Chesterfield.—Port Walthall, Granite, Ettrick's P. O., Hallsburg, Frank's Branch.
 Clarke.—Castleman's River and Ferry, Singer's Glen, Meyerhoefer's Store P. O., Berryville.
 Craig.—Huffman's P. O., Kyle's, Simmonsville, Layman P. O.
 Culpeper.—Stevensburg, Hedgeman's River, Freeman's Ford, Waylandsburg.
 Cumberland.—Colemansville.
 Dinwiddie.—Burgess P. O., Waldemar.
 Dickinson.—Freeling P. O.
 Fairfax.—Vienna, Franconia, Lewinsville, Springman P. O., Wiehle P. O., Germantown, Shueter's Hill.
 Fauquier.—Germantown, Linden, Bristersburg.
 Floyd.—Ultizer's Ford, Huffville.
 Fluvanna.—Stillman P. O., Bullenger's Creek.
 Franklin.—Helm's P. O., Sontag, Hickman, Holland's, Prillaman's, Wirtz P. O., Naff's P. O., Germantown.
 Frederick.—Winchester, Kernstown, Stephensburg (formerly Stephansburg), Front Royal, Foreman's Creek, Sydnor's Gap, Rosenberger P. O., Siler P. O., Hinckle P.O., Jordan's Springs.
 Giles.—Lurich.
 Grayson.—Clem's Branch, Redman's P. O.
 Goochland.—Vinetaville P. O.
 Greene.—Ruckersville, Wetsel's P. O.
 Hanover.—Hanover.
 Henrico.—Dutch Gap, Hungary, Carl's Neck.
 Henry.—Waller's, Koger's, Irisburg.
 Highland.—Wier.
 Isle of Wight.—Smithfield, Auguste.
 King and Queen.—Walden's P. O., Truhart.
 King George.—Comorn, Spillman's, Weedonville.
 King William.—Frazer's Ferry.
 Lee.—Fritz P. O.

- Loudoun.—Middleburg, Snickersville, Leesburg, Snicker's Gap, Lovettsville.
- Louisa.—Frederickshall, Buckner Station, Bumpass, Arminius Coppermine.
- Lunenburg.—Lunenburg Court House (now Lewistown), Meherrin, Kinderwood, Kunath P. O., Lochleven P. O.
- Madison.—Criglersville, Froyman's Mills, Fisher's Gap.
- Middlesex.—Conrad's Mill P. O.
- Montgomery.—Blacksburg (formerly Schwarzburg), Christiansburg, Langhorn's P. O., Riner's P. O., Flagg P. O., Vickers.
- Nansemond.—Holland.
- Nelson.—Hartwicksville, Roseland, Faber's Station.
- New Kent.—Boek P. O.
- Norfolk.—Tanner's Creek, Bower's Hill, Rodman.
- Northampton.—Franktown, Burgess' Store, Cohn's Wharf.
- Northumberland.—Lottsburg.
- Nottoway.—Drauker's P. O.
- Orange.—Germannanna Mills, Falknerland, Mugler.
- Page.—Marksville, Rust Siding, Ruffner's Cave, Audenried, Printz and Strickler's Mines, Kountz, Brand.
- Patrick.—Mack's Gap, Critz P. O.
- Pittsylvania.—Berger's Store.
- Powhatan.—Tucker's Creek.
- Princess Ann.—Kempsville.
- Pulaski.—Newbern, (formerly Neu Bern), Honaker Iron Bank, Altoona, Schooler Station, Mack's and Strouble's C'k's.
- Rappahannock.—Hollandsburg, Jordan's River.
- Roanoke.—Salem, Singer, Deyerle's Station, Gish's.
- Rockbridge.—Lexington, Tinker's Creek, Kerr's Creek, Brownsburg, Barger, Locher's Siding, Rapp's Mills, Goshen Pass, Engleman P. O., Zack P. O., Appold's, Zollman P. O.
- Rockingham.—Keezletown (formerly Kieselstadt), Rushville, Harrisonburg, Falk's Run, Chrisman, Singer's Glen, Frieden's, Brock's Gap, Seller's, Meyerhoefer's P. O., Chrisman.
- Russel.—Honaker Station, Heyter's Gap.
- Scott.—Welchburg, Speer's Ferry, De Kalb District.

- Shenandoah.—Strassburg, Woodstock (formerly Müllerstown), Maurertown, Saumsville, Hamburg, New Market (formerly Neu Market), Fisher's Hill, Getz P. O., Lantz Mills, Hepner's P. O., Edenburg, Bowman's.
- Smith.—Holstein Mills, Grosse's P. O.
- Southampton.—Berlin, Jerusalem, Bower's, Vicksville.
- Spotsylvania.—Fredericksburg, Brokenburg, Brockville, Hardenburg, Beck's Landing, Thornburg, Twyman's P. O.
- Stafford.—Fosterville, Germanna Ford, Musselman.
- Sussex.—Coman's Well, Belsche's, Freeman's.
- Tazewell.—Tannersville, Shrader's P. O., Adria, Steeleburg.
- Warren.—Front Royal, Linden.
- Washington.—Mangel's Spring, Hyter's Gap.
- Westmoreland.—Hague, Templeman's X Road, Horner's P. O., Tucker's Hill.
- Wise.—Lipp's District, Berge's Gap, Banner.
- Wythe.—Umbarger's, Stearn's, Simmerman's Mineral Lands, Witheville, Cragger's Bank.

CONCLUSION.

In the beginning of 1898 the United States were involved in war with Spain, but the author abstains from recording this very important event and the part the German-Virginians have taken in it. The time has not yet arrived to form a safe and impartial opinion of the causes and consequences of this conflict and the victories won by our Army and Navy. This book is designed to illustrate firmly established facts: the advantages Virginia offers to immigration and particularly the efforts, genius and perseverance with which the German population has enlarged year by year the elements of its vitality and prosperity,

although frequently subject to adverse conditions. Virginia,— in wealth and importance once at the head of all the States,— appears destined to advance again with the assistance of a new and numerous immigration from the German Fatherland to the front rank of this glorious Union. The soil of the old mother-state is so diversified, its climate so delightful, the range of crops so great, the working season so long, water-power so abundant, its mineral resources are so rich and farm-lands so cheap, that a future may be predicted of a rapid improvement of its population, agriculture, industries, commerce and all that includes prominence and happiness of a country.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF ANGLICIZED GERMAN NAMES IN VIRGINIA.

Adler	to Eagle.
Armstaedt	“ Armistead and Armsteed.
Baer	“ Bear.
Bauer	“ Bowers.
Baumann	“ Bowman and Baughman.
Becker	“ Baker.
Beier	“ Byer and Byers.
Berger	“ Barger.
Betz	“ Bates.
Bieler	“ Beeler.
Blume	“ Bloom.
Blumenberg	“ Bloomberg.
Boscher	“ Boshier.
Brauer	“ Brauer and Brewer.
Braun	“ Brown.
Breitkopf	“ Broadhead.
Brockhauss	“ Brookhouse.
Buehring	“ Bouhring.
Buerger	“ Burger.
Busch	“ Bush.
Christmann	“ Chrisman.
Clemenz	“ Clements and Clemons.
Engel	“ Angle and Angel.
Erhardt	“ Airheard and Earhart.
Fischer	“ Fisher.
Flemming.	“ Fleming.
Foerster	“ Foster.
Frei or Frey	“ Fry.
Freimann	“ Freeman.

Freund	to Friend.
Froebel	“ Fravel.
Frohmann	“ Froman.
Fuchs	“ Fox.
Fuhrmann	“ Furman.
Fuerst	“ Furst.
Gaertner	“ Gardner.
Gerber	“ Garber and Tanner.
Gerth	“ Garth.
Goetz	“ Gates and Yates.
Goldschmidt	“ Goldsmith.
Gottlieb	“ Cudlipp.
Gruen	“ Green.
Gruenebaum	“ Greenbaum and Greentree.
Gute or Gude	“ Goode.
Gutmann	“ Goodman.
Hafer	“ Haver.
Harbach	“ Harbough.
Hardwich	“ Hardwicke.
Hartenstein	“ Hartenstine.
Hausmann	“ Houseman.
Heid	“ Hite.
Heilmann	“ Hileman.
Heiner	“ Hiner.
Heinz	“ Hines.
Heiss	“ Hayes.
Hermann	“ Harman.
Herr	“ Harr.
Herzog	“ Duke.
Huth	“ Hood.
Jaeger	“ Yager, Yeager and Hunter.
Jehle	“ Yahley.
John	“ Jone and Jones.
Jung	“ Young.
Kaiser	“ Keyser.
Keil	“ Kyle.
Kirchman	“ Churchman.
Kirchwall	“ Kercheval.

Klein	to	Cline, Kline and Little or Small.
Kloess and Kloss	“	Glaize.
Koch	“	Cook.
Koenig	“	King.
Koinath or Kunath	} “	Koiner, Coyner, Koyner, Coiner, Ki- ner, Cuyner and Cyner.
Kohl	“	Cole.
Kohlmann	“	Coleman.
Koppel	“	Copple.
Kraemer	“	Creamer and Kremer.
Krause	“	Grouse and Krouse.
Kreutzer	“	Crozer.
Krueger	“	Crigger and Kreger.
Kuhn	“	Coon.
Kuntz	“	Coons, Kountz and Coontz.
Kuester	“	Custer.
Kurz	“	Short.
Lang and Lange	“	Long.
Laube	“	Loube.
Lauter	“	Lowther.
Lehmann	“	Layman.
Leibrock	“	Lybrock.
Lentz	“	Lantz.
Lieber	“	Liewer.
Loewe	“	Lyon and Lyons.
Loewenstein	“	Lovenstein and Livingston.
Lorenz	“	Lawrence.
Ludwig	“	Lewis.
Marschall	“	Marshall.
Matheus and Matthes	} “	Mathew, Matthews and Ma- thues.
Mejo	“	Mayo.
Mertz	“	Martz.
Michel	“	Mitchel.
Moritz	“	Morris.
Neubert	“	Nighbart.
Neukirch	“	Newkirk.
Neumann	“	Newman.
Oppenheimer	“	Oppenhimer.

Puttmann	to Putman.
Reimann	“ Rayman.
Reiner	“ Riner.
Reiss	“ Rice.
Ried	“ Reed.
Riese	“ Rees and Reese.
Roemer	“ Romer.
Rothmann	“ Redman and Rodman.
Sauer	“ Sower.
Schaefer	“ Shafer, Shepherd, Shepperd and Sheppard.
Scharf	“ Sharp.
Schenk	“ Shank.
Scheuner	“ Shewner.
Schiener	“ Shuoner.
Schmal	“ Small.
Schmidt	“ Smith.
Schmucker	“ Smucker.
Schneider	“ Snyder and Taylor.
Schoeplein	“ Chapline.
Schreiber	“ Shriver.
Schuermann	“ Shurman and Sherman.
Schuessler	“ Chisler.
Schuetz	“ Sheetz.
Schumacher	“ Shoemaker.
Schumann	“ Shuman and Choochman.
Schwarz	“ Sowards and Black.
Schweinfurt	“ Swineford.
Schweitzer	“ Switzer.
Seiler	“ Siler.
Siegel	“ Siegle, Seagles, Sycle and Sicle
Sniedt	“ Sneed and Snead.
Spielmann	“ Spilman.
Stahl	“ Steel.
Staufer	“ Stover.
Stein	“ Stone.
Steinbach	“ Stainback.
Steiner	“ Stiner and Stoner.
Steinmetz	“ Stinemetz.

Stephan	to Stephens and Stevens.
Storch	“ Stork.
Tempel	“ Temple.
Thalheimer	“ Thalhimer.
Traut	“ Trout.
Uhl	“ Ewel.
Vierlaender	“ Verlander.
Vogel	“ Vogle.
Waechter	“ Wachter.
Wagner	“ Wagener, Waggener and Wag- goner.
Wassermann	“ Waterman.
Weber	“ Weaver.
Weimar	“ Wymar.
Weise	“ Wise and White.
Werner	“ Warner.
Wieden	“ Weedon.
Wier	“ Wyer.
Wieland	“ Wyland.
Wilhelm	“ Williams.
Zimmermann	“ Simmerman and Carpenter.

SPECIMENS OF GERMAN-VIRGINIAN POETRY.

Die Letzte Predigt.

Von Wilhelm Mueller.)*

Herbei ihr Männer, stark und schlicht,
Die ihr getrotzt der Wildniss Schrecken!
Heut' ruft euch eine fromme Pflicht,
Des Westens wetterbraune Recken.
Ihr Frauen, emsig und besonnen,
Den Männern gleich an kühnem Muth,
Heut' lasst die Hütte rebumsponnen
Getrost in eurer Kinder Hut.

Zum Kirchlein eilt am Waldesrand
Das ihr erbaut, wie Juda's Söhne
Den Tempel, eure Wehr zur Hand
Und auf den Lippen Psalmentöne.
Den Pred'ger gilt es, heut' zu ehren,
Kommt aus dem Shenandoah-Thal,
Denn Mühlenberg wird euch belehren
Mit ernstem Wort zum letztenmal.

Und wo man mit der deutschen Art
Der Väter Sprache hoch gehalten,
Sind zeitig schon zur Kirchenfahrt
Bereit die Jungen und die Alten.
Die würd'gen Siedler von den Farmen,
Die Jäger von der Lichtung Saum,
Die Reichen kommen, wie die Armen,
Das kleine Bethaus fasst sie kaum.

*) Prof. Wilhelm Mueller was born April 9th, 1815, at Heppenheim, Hessa, and came to America in 1836. He was principal of a school in Cincinnati, Ohio, and afterwards editor of the German "Puck," New York. Mr. Mueller published several collections of lyric and humorous poems, dramas and opera texts. In 1880-91 he was proprietor of a farm in Louisa County, Va., and now he travels in Germany. The poems reproduced here have been published in "Der Sueden," Richmond, Va., 1891.

Als sich der Gläub'gen fromme Schaar
 Gestärkt durch kräftige Gesänge
 Tritt Mühlenberg vor den Altar
 Und spricht zur andachtsvollen Menge:
 "Oft hat mein Wort in euch entzündet
 Die Sehnsucht nach des Friedens Heil;
 Den Segen hab' ich euch gekündet,
 Der frommer Demuth wird zu Theil."

"Ihr gabet willig der Person
 Des Königs die verdiente Ehre.
 Gehorsam zolltet ihr dem Thron,
 Sowie es uns'rer Kirche Lehre.
 Doch wenn mit heiligen Gesetzen
 Spott treibt der Herrscher Tyrannei,
 Wenn sie der Völker Recht verletzen,
 Dann seid ihr aller Bande frei!"

"Empörung wird zur Mannespflicht,
 Gehorsam wäre Schmach und Schande,
 Den König fordert vor Gericht
 Und zieht ihn des Verraths am Lande.
 Nicht länger singt des Friedens Psalmen,
 Stosst schmetternd in des Krieges Horn,
 Verbergt die Sichel in den Halmen
 Und greift zum Schwert im Rächerzorn;"

"Und wie ich euer Lehrer war
 Und euer Freund in Friedenszeiten,
 Will ich in Stunden der Gefahr
 Euch in den Schlachten Donner leiten.
 Steht treu zu mir in blut'ger Fehde,
 Die Freiheit ruft zum heil'gen Krieg.
 Nun sei's genug der müss'gen Rede,
 Die Waffen führen uns zum Sieg!"

Der Pred'ger sprach's, und den Talar
 Liess er von seinen Schultern gleiten.
 Gerüstet stand er am Altar,
 Ein Priesterheld aus alten Zeiten.

Des Staunens Bann lag auf der Runde ;
 Doch als der Pfarrer schlägt an's Schwert,
 Da braus't ein Ruf aus jedem Munde:
 " Mit Mühlenberg für Haus und Herd ! "

Und wie's der Siedler Schaar gelobt,
 So folgten sie des Führers Bahnen.
 Wo heiss und wild der Kampf getobt,
 Da wehten die Virginier Fahnen.
 D'rum, wenn ihr jene stolzen Helden,
 Die für die Freiheit kämpften, nennt,
 Lasst auch von Mühlenberg euch melden
 Und seinem deutschen Regiment.

Auf einem alten Fort.

Von Wilhelm Mueller.

Als deine Wälle rings von Waffen starrten,
 Da botest du der Stadt und Küste Schutz.
 Von jener Schanze wehten die Standarten
 Und sprachen kühn dem Landesfeinde Trutz.

Jetzt deckt die steile Böschung frischer Rasen,
 Am Schilderhaus sprosst Rittersporn empor.
 Im Hofe seh' ich muntre Ziegen grasen,
 Und Schwalben nisten an dem offenen Thor.

Der Bruderkampf, der Nord und Süd entzweite,
 Liess an dem Strand die Schanzen einst erstehn.
 Doch als der Friede kam nach heissem Streite,
 Durft' auch des Krieges finstres Werk vergehn.

Und wo das Hornsignal zum Waffentanze
 Mit dumpfem Klange rief der Krieger Schaar,
 Da schmückt die Jugend mit dem Blumenkranze
 Beim heiteru Spiele sich das goldne Haar.

Die Pfähle, die das Bollwerk einst umgaben,
 Vereint der Fischer jetzt zum starken Floss.
 Und in dem Schanzkorb holen kecke Knaben
 Der Tiefe Schätze aus des Meeres Schoss.

Columbia, du darfst dich glücklich nennen,
 Bannst du der Zwietracht Geist im eignen Land—
 An deinen Marken wird kein Kampf entbrennen,
 Kein äusserer Feind droht jemals deinen Strand.

Indess die alte Welt der Völker Stärke
 Den Furien des Kriegs zum Opfer bringt,
 Uebst du die beste Kraft im Friedenswerke,
 Die goldner Ernte Segen dir erringt.

Der Sueden.

Von Wilhelm Mueller.

Der Himmel trug der Schwermuth düstres Kleid,
 Ein Wolkenzug schwebt' über meinem Haupt,
 Wie eines Riesenkranichs graue Schwinge
 Und barg des Tages flammendes Gestirn.

Der grimme Nörd mit tödlich kaltem Hauch
 Schnob durch des Land und zwang des Eises Joch
 Den Strömen auf, und was da fleucht und kreucht
 Erschauerte in seinem eis'gen Odem.
 Mir selber drang er bis in's Mark und schien
 Des Lebens Quell erstarrend zu durchkälten.

Da schwamm im Abendlicht ein Schwan dahin,
 Von seinen Flügeln träuff' ein letster Glanz
 Des Tag's und sank mir leuchtend in das Herz,
 Gleich einem Gruss aus lenzbeglückten Zonen.
 Und plötzlich rief's in meiner Seele laut:
 Nach Süden, rasch dem Lüftesegler nach,
 Hinweg, aus winterstarrn Au'n nach Süden!

Und wie ein Zaubermantel trug das Ross,
 Das dampfbeschwingte, mich nach wärm'ren
 Bald sah ich golden der Orange Pracht [Landen.
 Aus dunklem Laube schimmern und erging
 Mich träumend unter glänzend blättrigen
 Magnolien, wonnig milde Lüfte athmend,
 Und mit dem froh erstaunten Blick die Weite
 Des sonnig blauen Himmels kühn ergreifend.

O sanfter Hauch von harz'gem Duft geschwängert,
 O Sonnenblick, der in das Herz mir flammt!
 Wie ihr den Sinn mir zauberisch berückt,
 Vermein' ich eine alte dunkle Sage
 Mit einem Mal in klarem Licht zu schau'n.

Der Kastilianer, der den Quell der Jugend
 In diesen Landen sehend einst gesucht,
 Ward nicht von seinem mächt'gen Drang betrogen,
 Nur springt der Wunderbrunnen der Verjüngung
 Nicht aus dem Boden Florida's, wo Leon
 Nach ihm geforscht—er rauscht mit sanfter Macht
 In Georgia's Fichtenhainen und umweht
 Dich stärkend in Lüften Carolina's,
 Wo Dir aus reinem sonnenhellem Aether,
 Auf freien Höhen aus der Tannen Odem,
 Im stillen Thal, aus murmelnden Gewässern,
 Wie aus dem Donnergruss der Katarakte
 Ein neues Leben in den Busen dringt.

Und jene Schätze, die voll Beutegier
 Die Spanier einst zu heben kamen, ruhn
 Verborgen in der Erde dunklen Tiefen
 In manchem sonnbeglänzten Hang des Südländs.

Und wenn das Erz aus Bergessechooss gewonnen
 Hell aufsprüht in des Ofens rothen Flammen
 Und mit dem Pochen mächt'ger Eisenhämmer
 Die eh'rne Neuzeit ihren Einzug hält;
 Und wenn einst auf virgin'schen Rebhügeln
 Der Sonne Licht im Traubenblut erglöh

Und strahlend hell in dem Pokale funkelt,
 Den Müden Stärkung, Kraft dem Siechen spen-
 Dann ist die alte Sage wahr geworden, [dend,
 Dann ist des Südlands goldner Schatz gehoben.

Die Landung der ersten Jungfrauen zu Jamestown, Va. Anno 1619.

Von Herrmann Schuricht.

“Ein Schiff in Sicht! Hallo — hallo!”
 Ertönt der Ruf, — und flink und froh
 Aus Jamestown eilt zum nahen Strand
 Ein jeder Mann und junge Fant.

Noch war kein Einziger beweibt
 Von Allen, die die Neugier treibt —
 Und leicht begreiflich ist fürwahr:
 Dass liebetoll die ganze Schaar.

Mit vollen Segeln biegt das Schiff
 Jetzt um das nahe Felsenriff; —
 Auf dem Verdecke ist zu schau'n
 Ein Kranz holdseliger Jungfrau'n,

Sie lassen Tücher weh'n zum Gruss —
 Die Mündchen spitzen sich zum Kuss —
 Und jubelnd, — brennend vor Begier
 Am Ufer steh'n die Pionier'.

Kaum legt das Schiff im Hafen an,
 Als vorwärts dränget Mann für Mann;
 Doch Captain Smith gebietet: “Halt!”
 Und rufet, dass es weithin schallt:

“Zurück — ihr heirathslustig Pack —
 Erst bringet fünfzig Pfund Taback,
 Eh' eine Schöne Ihr wählt aus
 Und führt als Eh'gesponst nach Haus!”

Das war, wie Jedermann ersieht,
 Ganz niederträchtig und perfid —
 Und ellenlang ward manch Gesicht,
 Dieweil an Taback es gebricht.

Die Reich'ren aber schleppten schnell
 Ihr 'Tabackquantum d'rauf zur Stell' —
 Und wer zuerst kam, hatt' die Qual:
 Denn heikel ist solch' Jungferwahl;

Die schönsten Mädchen gingen ab
 Wie Marzipan — klipp-klapp — klipp-klapp —
 Und auch die Aelt'ste, lahm und stumpf,
 Führt heim zuletzt ein Lederstrumpf.

Genug — die Nachfrag' war so gross —
 So lockend süß das Eheloos —
 Dass noch manch' theure Mädchenfracht
 Nach Jamestown ward zu Markt gebracht.

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Wo ist sie hin, die schöne Zeit? — —
 O Jammer und o Herzeleid —
 Vergebens aus der Jungfrau'n Zahl
 Sucht manche jetzt 'nen Eh'gemahl!

Widewilt's versunkene Insel.

Von Herrmann Schuricht.

In längstenschwünd'nen Tagen,
 Als Richmond kaum gekannt,
 Lebt' an des Jamesstrom's Ufern
 Ein Mann aus deutschem Land.

Am Fuss der wilden Fälle
 Warf er die Angel aus —
 Und Fisch und leck're Austern
 Bracht' Abends er nach Haus.

Der Widewilt, — der Fischer, —
 Ward ringsum bald genannt; —
 Begehrt war seine Waare
 Von Alt und Jung im Land.

Da schwoll nach Wintersstürmen
 Der Strom einst mächtig an,
 Und brach durch Feld und Wälder
 Sich schäumend neue Bahn.

Ehrwürd'ge Waldesriesen
 Riss er vom Grunde los,
 Trug sie hinab die Fälle
 Zum wilden Fluthenschooss.

Und donnernd folgten ihnen
 Sandmassen und Gestein
 Und hüllten in der Tiefe
 Mit festem Arm sie ein.

So wuchs im Stromesbette
 Ein Inselchen empor,
 Das Widewilt, der Kühne,
 Zur Heimstatt sich erkor.

Er baute Pallisaden
 Ringsum, der deutsche Mann,
 Und legte Austernbeete
 Auf seiner Insel an.

Sein Unternehmen blühte,
 Gepflegt mit Fleiss und Muth —
 Und trotzte Strom und Wellen
 Und jeder Frühlingsfluth.

Doch Widewilt wurd' älter, —
 Sein letztes Stündlein schlug —
 Und eines stillen Abends
 Man ihn zu Grabe trug.

D'rauf folgt ein strenger Winter —
 Und hoch das Eis sich staut,
 Wo kühn im Strom der Deutsche
 Sein Inselland gebaut.

Kein Muth'ger wagt's zu schützen;—
 Und als der Eiswall brach
 Folgt ihm zermalmt,—geborsten,—
 Des Todten Insel nach.

Jetzt decken Fluth und Wellen'
 Was Widewilt erstrebt, —
 Dieweil er unvergessen
 Im Volksmund weiterlebt.

Der See im Dismal Swamp in Virginien.

Nach Thomas Moore von *Herrmann Schuricht*.

Der grosse und berühmte Dismal Swamp liegt zehn bis zwölf Meilen von Norfolk, Va., entfernt und ein in der Mitte desselben gelegener See, welcher eine Länge von ungefähr sieben Meilen hat, wird "Drummond's See" genannt. Die Sage hat um denselben den Zauber der Romantik gewoben. Es wird erzählt, dass ein Jüngling um den Tod seines geliebten Mädchens den Verstand verlor, plötzlich aus dem Kreise seiner Freunde verschwand und nie mehr gesehen wurde. Er hatte oft behaup-

tet, dass seine Geliebte nicht todt, sondern nach dem Dismal Swamp entflohen sei, und deshalb verbreitete sich das Gerücht, dass er gleichfalls nach jener traurigen Wildniss entwichen und dort verhungert, oder im Morast versunken sei. Thomas Moore, Erin's bewunderter und geliebter Sohn, weilte 1804 in Virginien, hörte die Sage vom See im Dismal Swamp und machte dieselbe zum Gegenstand der folgenden Dichtung:

Man grub ihr ein Grab,—zu kalt und dumpf,
Für ein Herz so treu und warm ;—
Und lenket, wo glüht der faulende Stumpf
Ihr Boot mit kräftigem Arm.

“ Bald werd' ich sie schau'n im Mondenschein,
Bald hör' ich der Ruder Schlag ;—
Und zum See floh sie, durch Wald und Sumpf,
Ein Leben der Liebe wartet dort mein —
Und ich berg' die Maid im Cypressenhain
Folgt Todesgrauen ihr nach ! ”

Er hastet zum Sumpf und achtet's nicht,
Dass grausig und rauh der Pfad,
Den kühn er durch Dornestrüpp sich bricht,—
Dass Schlangen sich bergen vor Tageslicht
Im Moor, das kein Fuss betrat.

Und sucht' er Rast, von Nacht ungraut,—
Und fühlt sich vom Schiaf geletzt,—
Da lagert er, wo verzaubertes Kraut
Mit giftigen Thränen sein Haupt bethaut
Und brennend die Haut ihm netzt.

Die Wölfin heult in dem nahen Rohr,—
Die Kupferschlang' zischt ihn an ;
Wild schrickt er aus wüstem Traume empor
Und klagt: “ Wo find' ich das dunkle Moor
Und Liebchen im weissen Kahn ? ”

Da schaut er den See ;—jäh zuckt ein Strahl
Hellflammend und leuchtend weit ;

“Willkommen Dein Licht—viel tausend Mal!”
 Er ruft—und’s Echo hallt durch Wald u. Thal
 Den Namen der todten Maid.

Er höhlt einen Birkenstamm zum Kahn,
 Stösst ab von des Ufer’s Rand;
 Ein Irrlicht nur leuchtete ihm voran —
 Als jäh erbrauste ein wilder Orkan —
 Und nie kehrt er heim an’s Land.

Doch Nachts,—wenn die Rothaut jagt das Wild
 Und rastet am Waldessaum,
 Dann glaubt sie des liebenden Paares Bild
 Zu schauen im Mondeslicht bleich und mild,
 Im Kahn auf Wellen-Schaum.

Der Deutsche Tag im Jahre 1893.

Festspiel,

Der deutsch-amerikanischen Gesellschaft zu Richmond, Va., gewidmet

von Herrmann Schuricht.

Scene. — Eine Waldgegend. — Während der Vorhang sich hebt ertönen Glockengeläute und Trompetenfanfaren, — dann erscheint *Germania* freudig erregt und gefolgt von *Columbia* und *Virginia*, welche im Hintergrunde zurückbleiben und ihren Worten lauschen.

Germania (mit warmer Empfindung):

Trompeten schmettern und die Glocken hallen,
 Zum Festplatz strömt das Volk von fern und nah,
 Der *Deutsche Tag* bricht an,—laut hör ich schallen:
 “Alt Deutschland hoch und hoch Amerika!”—
 In jedem Auge leuchtet helle Freude
 Und selbst die Hütte prangt im Festtagskleide.

Mit Wonne seh ich Deutschland's Söhne pflegen
 Erinnerung an der Väter heimischen Herd,
 Denn solche fromme Liebe ist ein Segen.—
 Nur Selbstachtung macht And'rer Achtung werth! —
 Die deutschen Frauen preis ich, denn sie krönen
 Des Festes Stunden durch den Reiz des Schönen.

Drum Heil dem Tage der im Freudenchore
 Den deutschen Geist belebt im fremden Land!
 Ein jedes Haus schmück' Deutschland's Tricolore
 Und Blumen zieren jede Frauenhand! —
 Wir können froh, mit wachsendem Vertrauen,
 Der Zukunft in das klare Auge schauen!

Columbia (von Virginia gefolgt, tritt sie an Germania heran):

Gruss biet ich Dir zum Ehrentage
 Wo Dein Herz voll Jubel schlägt,
 Wo empor im Flügelschlage
 Himmelwärts Dich Hoffnung trägt. —
 Doch in dieser grossen Stunde
 Fall auch was uns störend trennt.—

Ein en lass zum festen Bunde
 Was sich "amerikanisch" nennt!
 Ende Deines Stammes Irrung,
 Bau nicht einen Staat im Staat —
 Solch' Beginnen bringt Verwirrung
 Und streut schlimmer Zwietracht Saat.

Germania (mit abweisender Handbewegung und in beschwörendem Tone sprechend):

O, halte ein und giess nicht Wehrmuthstropfen
 In uns'res Festes harmlos stille Lust, —
 Nur Lieb' und Treue sind es, welche klopfen
 Mit mächt'gen Schlägen an die deutsche Brust!
 Mit gleichem Maasse lass uns Alle messen: —
 Die Heimath lieben, doch die alte nicht vergessen!

Mit ed'lem Stolz die Söhne Englands hangen
 An ihrer Väter schönem Inselreich;

Der Pietät, mit der sie es umfassen,
 Kommt nur die Liebe für die Mutter gleich; —
 Und gleiche heil'ge Stimmen mahnen
 Die Deutschen an die Stätten ihrer Ahnen.

Nicht als Erob'rer, nein, als Friedensboten,
 Sie zogen ein in's jungfräuliche Land.
 Den Boden brachen sie und halfen roden
 Den Urwald mit geschäft'ger Hand, —
 Sie pflanzten Reben an der Berge Hängen
 Und füllten Thäler mit des Sanges Klängen.

Sie halfen kämpfen um der Freiheit Segen, —
 Beschützten Weib und Kind mit Heldenmuth
 Vor rothen Teufeln, — waren allerwegen
 Dem Land getreu mit Gut und Blut.
 So glücklich nur im opferfrohen Streben
 Will in Amerika das Deutschthum leben!

Virginia (mit Begeisterung):

Ein weises Wort! — Ihm ist's gelungen
 Jedweden Schatten zu zerstreu'n, —
 Es hat mein stolzes Herz bezwungen,
 Und fortan soll's Dein eigen sein!

(Virginia reicht der Germania lebhaft die Hand, während Co-
 lumbia, wie versöhnend, ihre Rechte auf deren
 Schulter legt):

Virginien, die Mutter Kolonie,
 Beut Dank dem deutschen Fleiss nur und Genie!

Nicht nur des Shenandoah Thales Fluren,
 Oh, nein, fast jedes County in dem Staat
 Zeigt deutlich deutschen Schaffens Spuren; —
 Von mancher wackern Heldenthat
 Erzählen die Geschichts-Annalen, —
 Von Indianerkämpfen, — auch von Todesqualen.

Die Namen: Led'rer, Hermann, Stover,
 Von Steuben, Gallatin und Mühlenberg,

Post, Hinkel, Buckner, Gist und Weisser,
 Wirt, Armstädt, Kemper und so mehr,
 Sind hellen Sternen zu vergleichen
 Die hoch am Himmel stehn und nie verbleichen !

Columbia (zum Auditorium gewendet):

Gepriesen seid, geliebte deutsche Brüder,
 Wir feiern mit Euch diesen deutschen Tag!
 Einstimmen wollen wir in Eure Lieder
 Und achten nicht der flüchtigen Stunde Schlag.
 Die "deutsche Wacht" von weinumrankten Rheine
 Wir sehen neidlos sie im Glorienscheine !

(Das Orchester, die drei Bühnengestalten und das gesammte Auditorium stimmen die "Wacht am Rhein" an)

Nach dem Deutschen Tage.

Von Herrmann Schuricht.

Der Tag ist vorüber, — das Lied ist verrauscht,
 Dem fröhlichen Herzens wir Alle gelauscht:
 Das Fest hat bewiesen, dass edel und wahr
 Auch fern von der Heimath der Unseren Schaar.

In Lied und in Rede ward rühmend gedacht,
 Was hier in dem Lande die Väter vollbracht:
 Sie füllten den Urwald; — im blutigen Strauß
 Beschützten sie Kinder, die Frauen und Haus.

Sie pflanzten die Reben am bergigen Hang
 Und füllten die Thäler mit Frohsinn und Sang, —
 Sie kämpften für Ehre und menschliches Recht —
 Erzogen ein freies und treues Geschlecht!

Dass frei es stets bleibe und gross dieses Land,
 D'rauf reichte der Deutsche dem Deutschen die Hand:
 "Bleibt einig!" erklang es mit Kraft und mit Macht—
 "Denn was wir erstreben, noch ist's nicht vollbracht!"

Zum 80sten Geburtstage des Fuersten Bismarck.

Festlied für den Bismarck-Commerz der Deutsch-amerikanischen Gesellschaft von Virgini-
 en zu Richmond, Va, am 1. April 1895.

Von Herrmann Schuricht.

Melodie.—"Die Wacht am Rhein."

Ström' aus, o Lied, o Jubelsang —
 Und glockenheller Becherklang!
 Nur ein Gefühl, nur eine Lust
 Heut flammt in aller Deutschen Brust;
 ||: Fürst Bismarck ist's, dem wahr und rein
 Die Deutschen Dankesworte weih'n!: ||

Durch ihn das deutsche Vaterland
 Zu neuer Lebenskraft erstand,—
 Er schirmt' die heil'ge Landesmark
 Durch deutsche Streiter, kühn und stark,—
 ||: Auch fern selbst, über Land und Meer,
 Bracht' Deutschland's Namen er zu Ehr!: ||

Wir schieden einst vom heim'schen Strand,—
 Sind Bürger jetzt im freien Land,—
 Doch nimmer löscht die Sehnsucht aus
 Zum unvergessnen Vaterhaus.
 ||: Die Heimathsliebe, treu und fest,
 Der Deutsche wahrt im fernen West!: ||

Die deutsche Sitte, deutsches Wort,
 Wir pflegen treulich fort und fort,—
 Der deutsche Mann vergisst sie nicht,
 Bis einst im Tod das Auge bricht;—

||: Sie sind sein stolz,—sein Hab und Gut,
Ein Stück vom eignen Fleisch und Blut. : ||

Fürst Bismarck hoch!—Für alle Zeit
Bleibt Dank und Achtung ihm geweiht!—
Des Reiches Schöpfer,—ruhmesreich,—
Gilt uns den grössten Helden gleich,—
||: Es schmückt sein Haupt im Silberglanz
Des Lorbeers immergrüner Kranz. : ||

Der Posten am Walde.

Im Lager bei Salem, Va., 1862.

Von Herrmann Schuricht.

Wenn Abends die Gattin bei Lampenschein,
Am trauten Herde,—verlassen,—allein,—
Dann zieh'n die Gedanken durch Nacht und
Zum stillen Posten am Walde hinaus. [Graus,

Wenn über die Eb'ne der Sturmwind jagt,
Und hohl in den Wipfeln der Bäume klagt,—
Dann schreckt sie empor aus freundlichem
Und denket des Postens am Waldessaum. [Traum,

Gar muthig wacht er im nächtlichen Schein,
In Sturm und Regen, der Theure—allein—
Und hält seine Büchse bereit zum Schuss,
Bereit zum Alarm und tödtlichem Gruss.

Wenn Feinde auch lauern in Schlachtordnung
Zu fassen die Beute im kühnen Sprung:
Schlafft ruhig Kam'raden, in dunkler Nacht
Getreu der Posten am Walde hält Wacht!—

Sie aber betet: "O du, der gebeut,
"Zerstreu die Wolken, wenn Wetter dräut,

"Damit auch in seine einsame Welt
 "Des Mondes Lächeln und Sternenlicht fällt.
 "Und füll' ihm die muthige Mannesbrust
 "Mit Bildern der Heimath und Heimathlust,
 "Und mal' ihm die Zukunft in Farbenpracht,
 "Dem einsamen Posten auf stiller Wacht!"

Weihe-Sang.

Zur Einweihung der Saengerhalle am 24. September 1877.

Von G. A. Peple.

Stimmet ein, Gesangesbrüder,
 In des Tages Festgesang!
 Singet eure schönsten Lieder
 Mit der Freude hellem Klang!
 Denn das Haus, das schön erstanden,
 Ist ja unsere Heimath neu;
 Sie umschliesst mit festen Banden
 Unsere Säng'er wahr und treu.
 Sei begrüsst, du gute Halle!
 Sei begrüsst, du liebes Haus!
 Denn der Säng'er Herzen alle
 Giessen Segen auf dich aus.
 Und im Segen sollst du blühen
 Wie ein deutscher Liederkranz;
 Schön ist ja dein Morgenglüh'n—
 Schöner wird dein Abendglanz.
 Lasst in diesen Mauern schalten
 Wie ein Lied die Harmonie,
 Denn aus ihrem Friedenswalten
 Steigt des Lebens Poesie.
 Und die Frauen auch, die treuen,
 Führt auch sie zum neuen Heerd;
 Alles soll sich mit uns freuen,
 Alles das uns lieb und werth.

Frohsinn, weil' in unserer Mitte,
 Frohsinn—Frucht der Einigkeit;
 Deutscher Sang und deutsche Sitte,
 Euch sei dieses Haus geweiht.
 Stimmet ein! Gesangesbrüder,
 In des Tages Festgesang!
 Singet eure schönsten Lieder
 Mit der Freude hellem Klang.

Am Deutschen Tag 1896.

Von Pastor Dr. Paul L. Menzel.

Auf, auf! es rüstet sich alles zum Fest:
 Der Deutsche Tag ist gekommen!
 Die Jungen, die Alten—ein jeder verlässt
 Mit Frohsinn im Herzen das heimische Nest,
 Von deutscher Begeisterung entglommen.
 Sie ziehen hinaus mit klingendem Spiel
 In buntem Gemisch zum gemeinsamen Spiel:
 Im Winde flattern die Fahnen,
 Als wollten zur Eile sie mahnen.

Mein deutsches Volk! so seh' ich dich gern,
 Voll Eifers und stolz von Empfinden.
 Du verleugnest dich nicht, ob die Heimat auch fern;
 Wie der Schiffer, so folgst du dem leuchtenden Stern,
 Trotz widrigen Wogen und Winden.
 Dein Stern ist die Liebe zum deutschen Geist,
 Der alles, was niedrig, weit von sich weist;
 Du strebest nach Idealen,
 Die edeln, erwärmen und strahlen.

Es regt und bewegt sich von unten her
 Die Gemeinheit mit frecher Stirne.
 Sie frägt nicht nach Recht, nach Zucht nicht und Ehr',
 Sie thut, als ob sie allein Herrscherin wär',

Die schamlose, feile Dirne!
 Politik, Religion und gesellige Freud',
 Alles reisst sie an sich,—die Teufelsmaid!
 Und besudelt mit ihrer Berührung
 Was sich hingibt ihrer Verführung.

Drum Heil dir, Germania, reine Braut!
 Du zertrittst den abscheulichen Drachen.
 Wer liebenden Herzens zu dir aufschaut,
 Dem Geist deines Wesens sich anvertraut,
 Du entreisst ihn dem gähnenden Rachen.
 Mit deutscher Treu und deutscher Zucht,
 Mit deutscher Kraft und deutscher Wucht
 Zerstörst du das Reich der Gemeinheit
 Und baust einen Tempel der Reinheit.

Wo Wahrheit das ewige Fundament,
 Und der Grundstein: nie wankende Treue;
 "Ein Wort ein Mann!"—das sei der Zement,
 Der alles verbindet, was deutsch sich nennt:
 Wir geloben es heut' dir auf's Neue!
 Ob Lug und Trug uns auch umringt,
 Aus deutscher Brust der Schwur erklingt:
 Tod jeglicher Lüg' und Unklarheit!
 Unsre Losung ist: Treue und Wahrheit!—

Auf solchem Grunde baut sich's gut;
 Jeder Pfeiler ist dann eine Tugend:
 Gehorsam und Ehrfurcht und Mannesmuth,
 Und Keuschheit und reiner Begeisterung Gluth,
 Das lerne vom Alter die Jugend.
 Nicht Mammonsdiens und Heuchelsinn,
 Nicht schnöde Wollust reiss uns hin:
 Ein Leben in Zucht und Ehren,
 Darnach nur steh das Begehren.

Und dann fehlt auch das Höchste nicht,
 Wo rein alles Denken und Sinnen:
 Da funkelt im herrlichsten Sonnenlicht
 Der Freiheitsgöttin hold' Gesicht

Hoch über des Domes Zinnen.
 Sie weiht Germania's Tempel ein,
 Zur Stätte voll Licht und Sonnenschein
 Für wahrhaft deutsche Seelen,
 Die ihren Dienst erwählen.

Nun auf, mein Volk! und denke dran
 An diesem Deutschen Tage:
 Die Väter zogen dir voran,
 "Fromm, frisch, froh, frei," auf Heldenbahn:
 Folg' ihnen, kämpfe, wage,
 Sei unverzagt! ein ganzer Mann,
 Der im Kampfe den Drachen bezwingen kann,
 Dem winkt wahrer Freiheit Segen
 Auch hier auf all' seinen Wegen!

**Zur Fahnenweihe und Stiftungsfest des Gesangvereins
 "Virginia," Richmond, Va., Juni 26. 1854.**

Von B. Hassel.

Auf ihr Sänger, hebt die Fahnen,
 Laut erschalle froher Sang;
 Mag sie führen uns auf Bahnen
 Hin zu Spiel und Lust und Klang.

Lasst sie heut' uns froh entfalten,
 Reiht euch Brüder in die Reih'n:
 Lasst die Freundschaft nie erkalten,
 Der wir heut' auf's Neu uns weih'n.

Nach der Freude lasst uns streben,
 Die des Sanges Macht verleiht;
 Mag' ein neues Band sie weben
 Um den Sänger und die Maid.

Liebchen küssen wir die Wangen,
 Reichen froh dem Freund die Hand.

Vor Gefahr lasst uns nicht bangen,
Kühn die Stirn ihr zugewandt!

Hebt empor den vollen Becher,
Laut ertön' aus voller Brust:
Hoch die Fahne, hoch der Zecher,
Hoch das Weib, Gesang und Lust!

An Sie.

Von Prof. M. Schele de Vere.

Ich soll vergessen lernen,
Soll aus der Seele Grund
Das süsse Bild entfernen
Von dem das Herz mir wund?

Wohl seh' ich grüne Auen,
Maiblüthe, Sonnenlicht,—
Doch muss ich rückwärts schauen
Mit Thränen im Gesicht.

Wohlan, ich will verschmerzen,—
Vergessen kann ich's nie,—
Was dem gepressten Herzen
Einst Himmelswonne lieh!

Wer mag die Frommen schmähen,
Die betend, sehnsuchtkrank,
Noch starr gen Westen sehen
Wenn längst die Sonne sank!

Der Blumen Geheimniss.

Von Chr. Droste.

Die Blumen, die Du mir gepflückt,
Auf's Zimmer mir gebracht,
Die haben es mir zugehäucht
In heimlich dunkler Nacht:

Dass Du der Rose einen Kuss
Für mich hast anvertraut,
Dass Du sie dann mit feuchtem Blick
Noch einmal angeschaut.

“Mein Herz,” so flüsterst Du leis,
“Ist bei Dir allezeit,
Doch weiss ich nicht, nenn’ ich es Glück,
Nenn’ ich es Herzeleid!”

Erinnerung.

Von Chr. Droste.

Ich fuhr im kleinen Nachen
Hinunter den heimischen Fluss,
Es rauschten mir Buchen und Eichen
Gar tönenden Wandergruss.

Vorüber an Dörfern und Städten
Ging meine einsame Fahrt,
An Hütten vorbei und Schlössern,
Und Menschen von mancherlei Art.

Vorüber an jener Terrasse,
Vom Abendroth sanft umglüht;
Dort sang eine Schaar von Mädchen
Das alte, uralte Lied.

Sie sangen von Liebe und Treue,
Vom Hoffen und vom Grab —
Es klangen die weichen Töne
Rührend zu mir herab.

Mein Nachen trieb langsam weiter,
Das Ruder entsank meiner Hand —
O Lied von Liebe und Treue,
Wie klingst du im Vaterland,

Turnerkraenzchen.

Dem Turnverein zu Richmond, Va., gewidmet im Jahre 1860

von Hugo Plaut.

Nun frisch! die Bänke weggeräumt
 Und hurtig, Mädels, aufgezümt!
 Das Lustspiel ist vorüber;
 Die Presse sitzt schon bei'm Pokal —
 Was thut's? sie hat vom letzten Mal'
 Noch etwas Kritik über. .

Ihr Musikanten! frisch d'rauf los,
 Auf Instrumenten klein und gross
 Ein Lustiges geblasen;
 Spielt uns so etwas aus dem "F,"
 Ich sag' Euch das nur im Betreff
 Der Vettern und der Basen.

Die paaren sich schon hier und da,
 Sie kommen an von fern und nah
 In einer bunten Kette.
 Husch! fliegt voran ein Schneiderlein,
 Die Andern stürmen hinterdrein,
 Als ging es um die Wette.

Sie wogen schaukelnd hin und her,
 Ein aufgeregtes wildes Meer
 Im lustigen Entrinnen;
 Sie drehen wirbelnd sich im Kreis',
 In hellen Strömen rinnt der Schweiss —
 Mir schwindelt's vor den Sinnen.

Komm hurtig, Mädels, frisch und frei!
 Zu sitzen hier wär' Narrethei, —
 Hinein in's fröhl'che Streben!
 Schon wiegen wir uns Brust an Brust,
 Wir fliegen fort in trunk'ner Lust, —
 So lob' ich mir das Leben!

Wie glüht auf meiner Wang' ihr Hauch,
 Es wellt ihr Busen, blitzt ihr Aug',

Da — hat die Lust ein Ende!
 Wie eine Mahnung schaut mich an
 Mit ernstem Auge Vater Jahn
 Von jenem Transparente.

O, Vater Jahn, du deutscher Mann,
 Was hab' ich Böses denn gethan,
 Dass Du heraufbeschworen
 Die trüben Geister jener Zeit,
 Wo ich mit schwerem Herzeleid
 Mein Vaterland verloren.

Stosseufzer.

Von Hugo Plaut.

Sinnend am Geschmeidekasten
 Stand der junge Juwelier,
 Seine kund'gen Hände fassten
 Einen glänzenden Saphir.
 Seufzend seine Lippen hauchen:
 Ach, Saphire, — ihre Augen!

Seinem Blicke strahlt entgegen
 Röthlich ein Korallenband,
 Und er nimmt des Meeres Segen
 Traurig lächelnd in die Hand.
 Traurig lässt er's wieder fallen:
 Ihre Lippen, — ach, Korallen!

Ein Geschmeide gleissend funkelt
 Jetzt vor seinem Kennerblick;
 Und sein Antlitz sich verdunkelt,
 Hastig stösst er es zurück;
 Wild ruft er in seinem Schmerze:
 Falscher Demant, — ach, ihr Herze!

Maasliebchen.

Von Hugo Plaut.

Die Sonne sinkt langsam hernieder, —
 Sanft weht der Abendwind, —
 Am murmelnden Wiesenbächlein
 Steht spielend ein rosig' Kind.

Sie pflücket ein bleichendes Blümlein
 Vom Grunde frisch und grün,
 Und fängt es an zu entblättern
 Nach altem deutschen Sinn.

“Er liebt mich von Herzen, mit Schmer-
 Ein wenig oder nicht.” [zen,
 Das sind die magischen Worte,
 Die leis' dazu sie spricht.

Mit banger, gespannter Erwartung,
 Vollbringet sie ihr Spiel,
 Schon sind an des Blümleins Kelche
 Der Blätter nicht mehr viel.

Da rauscht's aus dem nahen Gebüsch,
 Ein Jüngling tritt hervor,
 “Er liebt Dich von ganzem Herzen,”
 Klingt's traut an ihrem Ohr.

Es waren die Worte verklungen,
 Ihr ward so wohl, so warm,
 Sie fühlte sich liebend umschlungen
 Von des Geliebten Arm.



SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS TO VOLUME I OF THIS
HISTORY OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT
IN VIRGINIA.

Since the publication of Volume I the attention of the author has been called to the following supplements and mistakes.

On page 26, line 4, is to be added after the words: "ascertained to be in Norfolk," the name of the country: "England."

On page 40, referring to Governor Richard Kempe, and after the words: "President of this body in 1644," ought to be inserted: "1645 Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia."

On page 67, line 34, should stand: "In Stafford and Orange counties German settlements were built up at Germanna Ford," instead of only: "in Stafford county."

On page 68, after the words: "in picturesque language," ought to be subjoined: "Inconsistent with Colonel Byrd's statement and H. A. Rattermann's assertion ('Deutscher Pionier,' *Ster Jahrgang*, Seite 106: 'Dem schottischen Edelmann [Spottswood] gefiel es unter den fleissigen und ruhigen Deutschen so wohl, dass er sich eine der deutschen Jungfrauen — eine Hannoveranerin Namens Theke — zur Gattin nahm,') — that the historian Campbell denies that Spottswood married a German lady and that he asserts: that Miss Thecky (not Theke) was Miss Dorothea Bryan or Brain, and that 'Thecky' was the diminutive or pet name of her Christian name. Campbell says furthermore: that Miss Dorothea was a sister of Ann Butler Bryan, who was Spottswood's wife."

The author is not convinced that Colonel Byrd's statement in regard to Governor Spottswood's wife and family-life are less trustworthy than Campbell's. Colonel Byrd visited Germanna and was a contemporary of Governor Spottswood.

On pages 70 to 73, referring to the Kemper family and to the settlements of Germanna, of Germantown, Fauquier county and on the Robinson river in Madison county, the author received the following explanatory emendations :

Mr. Charles E. Kemper of Washington, D. C., writes : "I have read with much interest your History of the German Element in Virginia. You make some statements, however, about my ancestor Johann Kemper, which are not in accord with family information and tradition. You state, that after marrying Alice Utterback he removed with others to the Robinson river section in Madison county. All our information is to the effect, that he settled at Germantown, Fauquier county, and probably died there, though as to this we are not certain."

A cousin of this correspondent, Mr. Willis M. Kemper, Attorney-at-Law, Cincinnati, Ohio, confirms by letter these remarks as follows: "Johann Kemper never went to live in the German colony in Madison county. When the colony of twelve families had their fuss with Governor Spottswood, the whole colony (I have their names, — taken from the diary of my great grandfather, James Kemper, a son of John Peter Kemper) — moved in what was then Stafford, after 1730 Prince Williams and after 1759 Fauquier county, — about nine miles southwest of Warrenton. — and settled Germantown. Descendants of all twelve of these families are to be found there today. John Peter Kemper's house, "Cedar Grove," was built with brick in 1745; it is still standing and inhabited by a member of the Kemper family. Governor Kemper's grandfather moved to Madison about the beginning of this century and in this way happened to be there."

The "fuss" the colonists had with Governor Spottswood, mentioned in the foregoing letter, has been alluded to in Vol. I, page 72, and after the words: "in the present county of Madison," — for the sake of better understanding, — ought to be added: "that the former good relations between the Governor and the German settlers had been seriously injured by these money matters, and the latter made bitter complaint of him." The evil final relations between Spottswood and the Germans are confirmed by the original manuscripts now on file in the State Library at Richmond, Va.

Partly alluding to the prenamed events, Rev. T. O. Keister of Greencastle, Franklin county, Pennsylvania, writes to the author: "For ten or twelve years I have been collecting material for a History of Lutheranism in Virginia. The history of Lutheranism in Madison county dates back to 1720, whose founders were evidently from the Germans who settled at Ger-

man and near there. The two colonies, the one at Germanna and the one at Spottswood's iron furnace near Germanna, for some reason moved up on the Robinson river and there in 1720 a deed was given them for their glebe lands. My data leads me to conclude, that their migration was made between 1719 and 1720."

Touching the same historical occurrence and in variance with the historian Dr. Slaughter, Mr. W. W. Scott, the present State Librarian of Virginia, writes: "I do not believe for a moment that it was these Germans (who settled at and near Germanna), or any of them who went to Germantown, Fauquier county, as stated by Dr. Slaughter."

These various data and conjectures do not settle the date and nature of the German settlements in Madison, Orange and Fauquier counties positively, but the author feels greatly obliged to the forenamed correspondents, as their letters throw some light on the subject and verify the main points of the historical facts he has represented in Volume I.

On page 71, line 15, referring to "the first German preacher in Virginia," Mr. Willis M. Kemper of Cincinnati writes on January 13th, 1899: "I think you are mistaken in saying that Gerhard Hinkel was the first German preacher in Virginia. I have always been claiming this honor for my ancestor Henry Haeger, who built his church at Germantown, according to James Kemper. John Peter Kemper did not marry a daughter, but a grand-daughter of Parson Haeger. You will find Parson Haeger's will on record in Prince William county, Will Book C, pages 108 and 117. By this will is apparent that the old gentleman had two daughters, — one of whom married a John Hoffmaun, the other a John Fishbach, both members of the German colony of twelve families, brought over by Governor Spottswood. One of the grand-children, Elizabeth Fishbach, married Peter Kemper in 1738. Henry Haeger was the pastor of the twelfth colony, which, according to a petition quoted by Dr. Slaughter from Bishop Meade, came first and went to Germantown, — and therefore it must have been the twentieth colony that went to Madison county. Bishop Meade's petition says the second colony came in 1717; the date of the coming of the first colony is blank in Bishop Meade's petition. Not long since I wrote to the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" in London, from whose letter-book the petition was taken, and they write me: that this blank should be 1714." — But in another letter, dated February 3d, 1899, the same writer informs the author: "I don't know the exact date of Henry Haeger's coming to *Virginia*, or whether

or not he had previously been at New Berne with Graffenried's Swiss and Palatines. I know the German colony settled at Germanna in 1714, and my great-grandfather says: their Pastor Haeger *came in after them*. He was certainly there in the summer of 1719, because the petition quoted in Bishop Meade says he was there when the petition was written and sent, and it must have left Virginia not later than midsummer 1719." — Thus the two letters of Mr. Willis M. Kemper appear to contradict each other in regard to the time of Rev. Haeger's arrival in Virginia. — Rev. Socrates Henkel, pastor at New Market, Va., states in his "History of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod," page 67: "that his ancestor Gerhard Henkel came to Virginia about 1718," and therefore it is left in doubt, which of the two reverends came first. — In regard to the petition quoted is also reported: "A united petition from the two German colonies, one of fifty and the other of eighty persons, was sent to England in 1719, praying for an assistant to Rev. Haeger at Germanna," while others entertain grave doubt as to the very existence of such a document. General John E. Roller furthermore stated in a lecture at Richmond, Va., on January 9th, 1899: "The church erected at Germantown was the first *Reformed* church in America (not Lutheran.)"

On page 77, line 36, after the words: "Albemarle and Louisa counties," is to be inserted as stated by General Roller in his prementioned lecture: "Nearly two-thirds of the people of Virginia west of Fredericksburg trace their descent to the Germans."

On page 81, line 17, after the words: "of the foundation of Richmond," ought to be added: "In 1780 an act for locating the public squares to enlarge the town and for the purpose to locate the Capital, Halls of Justice, State House for Executive Boards and a residence for the Governor, etc., was passed. A committee of nine was appointed to lay out lots in such form and such dimensions as requisite, and the German citizen Rob't Goode (Gude), whose descendants are still living in Richmond, was elected a member of this important committee."

On page 94, after the words: "causing their own dissatisfaction," ought to be inserted: "For some years the Indians had molested the brethren and in July 1764 they broke up the settlements in the Shenandoah valley, and all of them, twenty-six persons, returned to Pennsylvania." — In his before mentioned lecture: "The Colonial German Element of Virginia," General Roller of Harrisonburg, Va., stated upon good authority: "The German Pietists under Kelpius visited Virginia in 1694 before settling in Pennsylvania, and Rev. Koster was the

early Pietist pastor in Virginia." — Johann Kelpius was born in Siebenbuergen, was a follower of Phil. J. Spencer and Jacob Boehme and founded a community in the wilderness on the Wissahickon in Pennsylvania under the name: "Das Weib in der Wüste." He died in 1708, only 40 years of age." Accordingly neither Hinkel nor Haeger have been the first German preachers in Virginia, but the Pietist Rev. Koster.

In referring to the incident of Colonel Bowman's death, related on page 131, Mr. Wm. E. English, Vice-President of the Indiana Historical Society, a descendant of Joist Hite and connected with the Bowman family, writes: "The history states that in this glorious affair Colonel Bowman lost his life, plainly meaning Colonel Abraham Bowman, who succeeded General Muehlenberg in command of the Eighth Virginia Regiment. This is a mistake. Colonel Abraham Bowman settled in Lexington, Kentucky, after the Revolutionary War and was still alive when LaFayette visited this country the first time. There was another Colonel Bowman killed at Yorktown, but not Colonel Abraham. He, Abraham, was a brother of Colonel Joseph Bowman."

THE END.

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