The Causes of the German Emigration
to America, 1848 to 1854

History
A. M.
1914
THE CAUSES OF THE GERMAN EMIGRATION
TO AMERICA, 1848 TO 1854

BY

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A. B. Rockford College, 1912

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN HISTORY

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1914
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

May 27, 1904

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Frasie Emme Kibe

ENTITLED

The Causes of the German Emigration to America, 1848-1854.

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF

Master of Arts in History.

Albert H. Lybster

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Recommendation concurred in:

Committee on Final Examination

284593
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CHAPTER I.
INTRODUCTION.
Emigration previous to 1848; Comparison of the German with the French, English, and Irish Emigration; Character of German Emigrants.

The stream of German emigration to our shores has been in a series of waves rather than in a steady current. It commenced with the arrival of a few German artisans in the Jamestown Colony of 1607, and continues to the present, although since 1892 it has been steadily decreasing and is to-day inconsiderable.

The chief reason for the exodus of the seventeenth century was the economic distress following the destructive wars of the times, and especially was this true of the Palatinate whence came most of the emigrants. The crops in this section were destroyed four times during the Thirty Years' War, and again by Louis XIV in 1674 and in 1688, leaving a pauper population with no choice except between starvation or emigration. A second cause was the religious confusion following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and the persecution of certain Protestant sects, such as the Quakers and Mennonites and in some states the Lutherans and German Reformed. The tyranny of the princes of the smaller of the numerous states into which Germany was divided and the heavy taxes which they imposed on the people constitute a
third motive for leaving the fatherland.

The number of those who came during this period was comparatively small, but it increased during the first half of the eighteenth century, five thousand arriving in Philadelphia in 1754 alone.¹ The reasons were the same as during the preceding period, but they operated with greater force, and there were in addition certain artificial aids. For instance in 1709 Queen Anne of England promised transportation to those who would come to England and thence to the colonies. It was her plan to form a buffer state between the Indians and the English settlers, but so many arrived in England that the Lords of Trade were puzzled as to what to do with all of them; there were thirteen thousand in London by October, 1709; of these only seventy-five hundred could be shipped to the colonies, while the rest were employed in various trades and pursuits in England.² It was also the case that the information sent back by the emigrants stirred the "Wanderlust" of the people at home, while the activity of emigration agents increased it so much that large numbers came, especially to Pennsylvania.

During the latter part of the century emigration practically ceased, and it is generally supposed that from 1790 to 1820 it was very slight, but there are no statistics either to prove or disprove this. The years from 1815 to 1820, however, probably brought an increased number, for Würtemberg had suffered

¹ Rahr: German Emigration 1840-1850, p l.
² Faust: German Element in the United States, i.79.
much from the Napoleonic Wars and so would be apt to supply a large contingent; While the persecution of the student societies, beginning in 1817, would probably drive others into exile.

In general the causes for the rise and fall in the wave of emigration during the nineteenth century are economic, the increase commonly corresponding to economic decline in parts of Germany, and simultaneous prosperity, or at least opportunity, in the United States. Coupled with this during the first part of the period was political discontent and oppression.

Political repression, over-population, and the ruin in the western provinces of Prussia of the small hand-industries in competition with the newly introduced factory system, caused the first great wave of emigration between 1830 and 1840. The second influx comes between 1848 and 1854, and brings a larger volume than any other six consecutive years although the crest does not rise as high as in 1882 when over two hundred and fifty thousand Germans arrived in America. The Irish emigrants are the only ones who outnumber the Germans during this period, as may be shown by curves of emigration for Ireland, Germany, France, and England. In 1854 more Germans came to America than Irish, but in 1855, although the Germans still outnumbered the emigrants from other nations, only about one-third as many came as during the preceding year and the number does not approach the figure of that year again until 1881 and 1882.

1 See below, p 5.
2 ibid.
3 ibid.
But it was for quality as well as for quantity that the German emigration of this period was noted, for their general character was considerably better than that of most emigrants. Intermingled with the masses were many refugees from political oppression and espionage, men who, if tolerated in their own country, would have become influential there. For example there came a group to Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, who were mostly men of means of the agricultural class, but among them were a professor of language, an editor of a newspaper, a physician, and a poet.\(^1\) Besides such influential men as Carl Schurz, many whose careers were destined to be more obscure still brought with them to their adopted country high and noble ideals.

\(^{1}\) Wis. Hist. Collections, XIV. 365.
Curves of Emigration from Ireland, Germany, France, and England to the United States, 1848 to 1855. Constructed from data in U. 3. Immigration Reports, ii. passim.

German Emigration. Compiled from ibid.

1848: 58,465
1849: 60,235
1850: 76,896
1851: 72,482
1852: 145,918
1853: 141,946
1854: 215,009
1855: 71,918
1882: 250,630
CHAPTER II.
RELIGIOUS CAUSES.

Religious emigration previous to 1848; Protestant dissatisfaction; Growth of free-thinking; German Catholicism; Effects of religious disturbance.

Since the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620, America has been a place of refuge for all those religious sects which were denied freedom of worship in European countries. Lord Calvert founded Maryland in order that the Catholics might still be able to use the rites of the Catholic Church, and William Penn obtained a tract of land from the king to give a place of refuge to Quakers.

Though Germany never established a religious settlement of her own, since she owned no part of the New World, yet she contributed a great many emigrants to the colonies of other countries. By the general acceptance of the principle, "cujus regio, eius religio", in the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, each prince might decide the religion of his territory, and all had to conform to it or leave the state. This naturally produced a large emigration of Lutherans and Catholics from those states in which the prince was an adherent of the opposing faith, but a considerable number of emigrants were Separatists, Quakers, Hörperßterers, Anabaptists, and Mennonites, who were tolerated in n section.

Nor was religious persecution a cause of emigration during the early times only; it continued to operate even during

1 Cambridge Modern Hist., iii. 140.
the nineteenth century, and rulers still tried to determine the religion of their country. In Prussia Frederick William III had issued a decree in 1817 ordering a union of the Lutheran and Reformed or Calvinistic Churches.¹ These two forms of the Protestant faith had existed in Germany since the sixteenth century, the former being the stronger in the northern and the latter in the southern, or, more exactly, the southwestern parts. The chief difference between the two sects lay in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper: the Lutherans believed that the body and blood of Christ were really present in the bread and wine; while the Calvinists taught that these were rather symbols of the Lord's spiritual presence.

The Rationalists, however, did not believe in dogma; to them love was the essence of Christianity,² and religion was a matter of individual conduct, not of church organization. Thus in the nineteenth century, to many thinkers the old dogmatic strife was ridiculous, and the best thing to do was to return to the old unity of faith. Schleiermacher preached this and firmly believed that in such a concept of religion lay the solution of all problems,³ but while he was the spokesman of this doctrine, Frederick William III was the one who first tried to carry it into practice. "According to my opinion", he said, "the communion

¹ Wisconsin Historical Collections, xiv. 344
² Cushman's Hist. of Philosophy, ii. 64
³ ibid, ii. 341
strife is only an unfruitful theological subtlety, of no account in comparison with the fundamental faith of the Scriptures".  

He was a member of the Reformed Church, which emphasized moral character, and so to him union seemed a more simple matter than it did to a member of the Lutheran Church, which laid more stress on doctrine.

Accordingly in 1817, the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation in Germany, he proclaimed the union of the two churches. The consent of the churches was not obtained for this action, but nevertheless in 1830 by cabinet orders the use of the new *agende* or prayer-book of 1822 was strictly enjoined. This superseded the old forms of worship; henceforth the Lutheran and Reformed Churches ceased to exist legally in Prussia, and in their place was substituted the Evangelical Church, as it was called. The word "Evangelical" had to be substituted in all writings and publications in place of the word "Protestant". The old church services were abolished, and a new form composed chiefly by Frederick William himself was imposed on the people, with altars, candlesticks, and other practices that were considered Popish by the Lutheran Church, and were utterly repugnant to Calvinistic principles and feelings.

While there were many advanced thinkers in Germany who

1 Treitschke, ii. 240.
2 Wisconsin Historical Collections, xiv. 344.
3 ibid.
4 Laing, Observations of a Traveller on the Condition of Europe 1848 and 1849, p. 431.
warmly supported the union, the mass of the people in certain sections was violently opposed to it. Especially was this true in Silesia, where practically the entire population was Lutheran, and where the union was felt to be at least unnecessary. Many of the clergy there refused to adopt the new liturgy, still adhering to their old forms of worship; as a consequence, they were imprisoned or banished. Many of the people refused to send their children to the Evangelical schools, or to accept the services of the new pastors for marriage, baptism, or burial, or to pay taxes to support the new church; such were fined or imprisoned, and dragoons were quartered on their villages. The persecution was, according to a contemporary, the most revolting aggression on the freedom of religion since the Reformation, and one worthy of the days of Louis XIV.

This action on the part of Prussia was imitated in Baden, Hesse, and in fact all Protestant Germany except Hanover. The government of Baden declared that the Calvinistic Church, in its simplicity of worship and in the principle of its church government, was too democratic to be tolerated in monarchical governments.

When Frederick William IV came to the throne in 1840, he was not prepared to go to such lengths as had his father in religious matters, but nevertheless the union was not repealed,
and the people chafed under the legal restrictions, even though these were not enforced. The king was, on the whole, tolerant towards all whose faith was based on dogma, but there was at this time a freer tendency among German thinkers, and though these men were tolerated at first, they were in the long run not allowed to remain in the Protestant National Church, but were compelled to withdraw and set up "Free Congregations".

Some carried such ideas farther still, and freethinking became prevalent, thus stirring up the religious world. In the early part of the century Schelling had taught that individuals are merely instruments for carrying out the designs of Providence; they are entirely dependent on the Absolute. Hegel had declared that the Idea reigns supreme. "Thinking", he said, "goes on within us but is not controlled by us, and thought is the one thing that includes all others and makes of the universe a unity". The teaching of these two men increased philosophical speculation, but the religious element was shocked by the fatalistic tendencies of one and the atheism of the other, and a war was brought on by them between the conservatives and radicals in religious matters.

It was, however, the iconoclastic writers of the Tübingen school, Bauer, Vischer, Strauss, and others, who created the most excitement in Europe by their declaration that the gospels are unhistorical and the Epistles uninspired. In order to counteract

1 Littell's Living Age, XXXV, 40.
2 Cambridge Modern History, xi.51.
3 Cushman, ii. 311.
4 ibid., 321.
5 Andrews, Development of Modern Europe, i. 270.
the influence of these startling announcements, Bishop Arnoldi of Treves tried, in 1844, to strengthen the devotion of the Catholics by the exhibition of the "Holy Coat of Treves", the pretended seamless coat of Christ.\(^1\) A million and a half people made the pilgrimage to see the sacred object.\(^2\) The common law prohibited all extraordinary assemblages either political or religious, but by the Concordat with the Pope the state had agreed not to interfere with religious services.\(^3\) Accordingly nothing was done officially to oppose the Bishop's movement, but the actions of the pilgrims on the road and the miraculous stories which the masses firmly believed concerning the power of the sacred object excited the hostile zeal of John Ronge, a priest who had been suspended for holding too liberal ideas.\(^4\) He gathered around him some followers who wished to separate from Rome, and started a German Catholic Church. This was to express their national sympathies and yet not force them to accept the Protestant religion. At the same time John Czerski, a suspended vicar of the Prussian-Polish town Schneidemühl, had organized a "Christian-Apostolic" congregation of those who would not tolerate the celibacy of the clergy.\(^5\) These two disaffected Catholic sections united to form the German Catholic Church, but this organization

1 Hagenbach's Hist. of the Church in the 18th & 19th centuries, p. 450.
2 Laing, p. 402.
3 Hagenbach, p. 450.
4 ibid.
formed in 1844, did not at once gain recognition; it was not tolerated officially in some states until 1848, and in others never. The importance of the movement was overemphasized at the time, for it soon became too weak to exist of itself and so in 1850 joined the dissatisfied Protestants of the "Free Congregations" or "Friends of Light", as they were called. These, however, were never tolerated in most of the states but were persecuted as political organizations, and on this account many left Germany for America and settled chiefly in Wisconsin.

Although all of this religious agitation started before 1848, it paved the way for the revolt of that time. Religious discussion gradually changed to political unrest. A contemporary says, "The forced amalgamation of the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches by the late King of Prussia into one new church with a new liturgy and new form of his own devising, to be called the Evangelical Church; and the persecution of Lutherans and Calvinists, the imprisonment, deprivation of office, banishment, dragoon-quartering, and ruin of the people who refused to accept this new church and liturgy; was the first step in the Revolution which is now in progress in Germany."

Even where the ruler did not attempt to establish a new church, the Roman Catholic or Protestant religion was part of the state, and the clergy formed an essential part of the bureaucratic

1 Laing, p. 402
2 Cambridge Modern History, xi. 51.
3 Littell's Living Age, xxxv. 40.
4 Wisconsin Hist. Collections, xiv. 345.
5 Laing, 420.
organization of the government.¹

In this way religious questions were mixed with political; and unsatisfactory religious conditions, while a primary motive with a few Germans, were an additional incentive with others, for flight to America, where could be found freedom of worship as well as political freedom.

¹ Marx, Revolution and Counterrevolution, 36
CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL CAUSES.
The Metternich policy; the Revolution of 1848 and its failure; the reaction.

Until 1866 we cannot speak correctly of Germany except as a geographical expression. For the German nation had ceased to exist. The old Holy Roman Empire had been destroyed in 1806 when the emperor was forced by Napoleon to abdicate. The conqueror then formed the Confederation of the Rhine which included almost all of the empire except Prussia and Austria; but with the downfall of its creator this, too, went to pieces in 1815, and the question of the reconstruction of Germany was one which was brought before the Congress of Vienna. This body finally decided upon a loose confederation of sovereign states as the only solution possible, the difficulty in the way of forming a stronger union being that Prussia and Austria were too nearly equal in strength for either to permit the other to become the leader in a powerful German nation.

As a matter of fact, however, down to 1848 not only the German states but the greater part of Europe were dominated by Austria through her great statesman, Metternich. The policy of this man was one of stern repression for everything connected with the French Revolution, which he declared was the "disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be burned out with the hot iron, the hydra with
jaws open to swallow up the social order".\footnote{Metternich's Memoirs, iii. 468} Under this, which may be called the Metternich system, a strict censorship of the press was established, the universities were placed under close supervision, and all possible safeguards were erected against democratic ideas. Nevertheless the motto of the French Revolution, "Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality", had gained a foothold amongst the people, and even this great statesman was unable to eradicate it entirely. Likewise the spirit of German nationality had been aroused to expel the conqueror from their soil, and now instead of being rewarded by the formation of a strong national government, the people were forced to accept a loose union, with the monarchs reigning supreme in their several states.

In 1830 the people made an attempt over much of Europe to overthrow this Metternich system of repression and gain their liberties, but the revolt was for the most part a failure, and in Germany especially, the oppression became more severe than before. The hopes of the people of Prussia were again raised by the accession in 1840 of Frederick William IV, who had previous to this time shown liberal tendencies and who, it was believed, would redeem the promise of a constitution which had been made by the old king in 1815. Again, however, the Prussian people were doomed to disappointment, for the new ruler was no more willing to share his power than his predecessor had been. Once more, nevertheless, it seemed that their ambition to become a constitutional monarchy
was about to be realized, for on February 3, 1847, the king summoned the Provincial Estates to meet in pleno as the States-General for Prussia, and it was felt that surely this would become a constituent assembly. What, then, was their bitter disappointment when they met on April 11, 1847, in Berlin, to have the king declare that he would never allow a written constitution to come between the Lord God in Heaven and that land? Consequently the Lower House refused his request for the sanction of a loan for the construction of more railways, and so he dissolved them with nothing accomplished.

The revolt of 1848, however, appeared first in southern Germany rather than in Prussia. This was natural, for the former section had been more affected than Prussia by the ideas of the French Revolution, and it was administered worse. In Bavaria for instance, a dancer, Lola Montez, had gained the ascendancy over Louis I, and to please her, ministers were dismissed and the University of Munich closed. The news of the revolts in Bavaria and Baden, and more especially the overthrow of the monarchy in France and the flight of Metternich from Vienna, encouraged the people of Prussia to rebel likewise and demand a constitution. This the king promised on March 18, 1848. He also agreed to put himself at the head of the national movement and to sink Prussia in Germany.

1 Perris, Germany and the German Emperor, 168.
2 Carl Schurz, Reminiscences, 107.
4 Henderson, ii, 345.
5 Perris, 169.
The body on which centered the hopes of the people for a united Germany was the Frankfort parliament. On February 27, 1848, fifty-one prominent men had met at Heidelberg to consult on the needs of the hour.¹ These had appointed a committee or ante-parliament which in turn called for a national parliament to be elected by universal suffrage.² This assembly met on May 18, 1848, and by this time it seemed that the revolutionists would be able to force the monarchs to accept the reforms they proposed. There were at least three parties represented in the convention, the conservatives who wished for the old Bundesrath with modifications, restricted representation, liberty of the press under governmental supervision, and the right to assemble for peaceable purposes by special permission; the moderate liberal party which desired a constitutional monarchy with an emperor elected by the parliament, a responsible ministry, an unrestricted press, and a reduction of the armies; and the radicals who stood for the abdication of all sovereigns and the abolition of all armies.³ This body had a good chance to form a successful constitution, but instead of taking advantage of the opportunity to establish a union while the control was yet in the hands of the revolutionists, they put in their time debating the rights of man, feeling, as had the members of the French Constituent Assembly in 1789, that these must be declared before a form of government could be instituted. It was, perhaps, this order of procedure more than anything else that

¹ Browning, 318.
² Henderson, ii, 343.
³ Becker, 19-20.
caused the failure of the Revolution of 1848. By the time the constitution had been drawn up the rulers were once more gaining control, and when the convention offered the crown of Germany to Frederick William IV of Prussia, he refused, although he had agreed to put himself at the head of the German movement. The crown, however, he would receive only from the sovereigns themselves, for he was a firm believer in the divine right of kings and was convinced that a parliament could not bestow the crown of the empire. Of course the other monarchs could not be brought to agree to give up their power to the King of Prussia, and so the movement failed.

The sovereigns had once more gained control, and now came a time of stern repression. The Diet repealed the fundamental rights voted by the parliament in 1849, and the states started to restore the Vormärzische Zustände. As a consequence the courts had all the work they could do, the prisons were filled, and executions became numerous, made only too often in defiance of even the semblance of law and justice and of common loyalty to given promises. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the emigration to America increased rapidly.

Many of the insurgents in Württemberg had retreated through the Black Forest to Switzerland. Here they were disarmed by the Swiss, but for a time they were at least safe. The leaders, however, could not return to their fatherland, and owing to the pressure of the German governments they were finally ordered to

1 Richard, 472.
2 See diagram p. 5.
leave Switzerland. The leaders who were not fortunate enough to escape were tried by court martial and imprisoned or shot. In 1851 the states concluded treaties for the expulsion of political suspects, and in consequence, many leaders, especially from among those who were Socialists, were exiled. Among the latter were Karl Marx, who was not allowed to stop in Paris but finally found refuge in London, Frederick Engels, who had taken part in the Elberfeld rising of 1849 and was now ordered to leave Prussian territory, and William Weitling, who was expelled from Germany and later from Switzerland on the grounds of communistic agitation. Jury trials were suppressed in those states in which they had been instituted, and special courts were set up to try political cases, while in some parts government agents were hired to instigate political offences and then to denounce them.

The censorship of the press was restored, and press prosecutions became numerous, for the Revolution was only outwardly suppressed, as is shown by the energy of political interest in Droysen, Mommsen, Von Sybel, and Treitschke, whose works were in large part written to glorify Prussia and the German nationality. This awakening of political life was largely due to the fact that

1 Becker, 13.
2 ibid., 14.
3 Publicationen aus den König Preussischen Staats Archiven, xii, 106
4 Marx, ix.
5 Dawson, 53.
6 ibid., 44.
7 Seignobos, 398.
while the Revolutionists were in control, the working classes had been admitted to a share in parliamentary affairs and so had developed an interest in them.

It was felt that the theories, social, religious, and anti-religious, which filled the minds of the lower orders, emanated from the schools and universities, and so these were again put under close supervision. In 1849 at a conference of teachers in Prussian training colleges, Frederick William IV had said, "You, and you alone, are to blame for all the misery which the last year has brought upon Prussia. The pseudo-education of the masses is to blame for it. You have been spreading it under the name of true wisdom. This sham education, strutting about like a peacock, has always been hateful to me; I hated it from the bottom of my soul before I came to the throne, and since I became king I have done all that I could to suppress it".

Not content with thus attacking what he considers to be the source of the trouble, the king next tried to eradicate these ideas from the lower classes, and on April 14, 1852, a proposal was introduced into the German Diet for repressing workingmen's associations. This was not passed immediately by the Diet, but a number of the separate states took up the matter. That action, however, was not deemed sufficient, and on July 13, 1854, a motion was passed that in the interests of common safety all the federated governments should further undertake to dissolve within two months.

1 Littell's Living Age, xvii. 530.
2 Haldane, 419.
3 Publicationen aus den König Preussischen Staatsarchiven, xv. 109.
all the working men's associations and fraternities, then existing in their territories, which were pursuing political, socialist, or communistic purposes, and to forbid the resuscitation of such organizations under heavy penalty. 1 Naturally under cover of this ordinance many men were hunted down, persecuted, and compelled to leave the country; justly, while many who had taken a prominent part in the revolutions and had thus far escaped were now forced to go into exile. Most of them set out America as being the country in which they could find the political freedom which they so much desired. Domiciliary visits were instituted to help in the matter, and suspects were kept under close surveillance. To be a suspect one did not need to have aided in the uprising, for all those who did not vote as the government desired were so regarded. Official pressure was used both on voters and in the Chambers, and if the latter still remained obdurate, they were dissolved, and the sovereign either ruled without a diet or had one picked to suit himself.

This espionage was also maintained over men's occupations and professions. One lawyer and writer said, "No other lawyer would give me work; no business man had the courage to seek the aid of my legal knowledge; no editor would consent to publish a book of mine." He finally succeeded in bringing out three novels, but the government forbade their sale and

1 Publicationen aus den König Preussischen Staatsarchiven, IV.1 3
2 Heiz., 336.
3 Varen, ed. 4.
their introduction into public libraries. Physicians were denied certificates to practice because their "morality" could not be guaranteed, inasmuch as they were democrats. Newsletters might not be published, but they could not be sold, for any newsdealer who would offer them for sale was liable to arrest. Under the Berlin police regulations of 1851 a prisoner could be forced to confess to the use of torture, entire deprivation of light for any length of time, the use of the straitjacket, and corporeal punishment to forty strokes. In this way a man could be made to incriminate himself, and then could be driven from the country. Furthermore there were few places in which he could take refuge, for although personal liberty was allowed in some countries, the world of Europe as a whole had been disturbed by the seeds of impending conflict which culminated in the Crimean War of 1854 to 1856.

It is no wonder that on the current of German intelligence and idealism turned toward America. Especially was this true of Prussia, where the revolution had been more bloody than in some other states and had left behind a greater legacy of hatred. The strength of the emigration for political reasons is illustrated by the half-humorous words of a German woman who said, "Any man who has been deserving of respect, who has been worthy writing in Germany, is either in prison, or dead, or in America, so if I ever want to find a suitable husband I must go to America."^1

^1 Hazen, 242.
^2 Richard, 472.
CHAPTER IV.

ECONOMIC CAUSES.

Overpopulation; famine, prices, and emigration; feudal tenure and Stein-Hilfreich reforms; emigration and rainfall; industrial revolution; wages; commercial crisis.

In addition to religious persecution and political oppression, many of the German emigrants were leaving behind them circumstances which had previously been of little importance. In fact it is probable that with a majority of them this was least significant. In four-fifths of them there were two causes of emigration: In the first place, the necessity of living on the land for generations was forced into the country, and the climate is one of the chief causes of emigration.

A country is said to be overcrowded: if in the course of a number of years the population has increased, and rapidly, more rapidly than the means of subsistence, and if in consequence of this the average of food has fallen, if the industrial pursuits are overcrowded, so that the competition has become crude, and sufficient reward is no longer offered, and each new increase in the field further increases the evil; and if the area of land is no longer able to support the population under the old system of cultivation. 1

1 Monckmeier, Die Oesterreichische Auswanderung, 66.
2 Kümmel, Leben und Aufsätze, 567-570.
About the middle of the nineteenth century. The country was still predominantly agricultural, and in 1815 the number engaged in this pursuit had been enlarged by releasing many strong men from military duty. The forty years that followed, during which time the population had increased rapidly. The evil became so great that in Saxony in 1848 the Landtag passed a law limiting the population to four and a half thousand to the square mile; although this was never enforced, and in some industrial areas the density rose as high as ten thousand. The home of the peasant is described as a wretched hut, which seems a palace if the family possesses a single table, chair, and miserable bed. Often one pot is the only kitchen utensil. No one has more than one dress and that a ragged one; the children run about even in winter almost naked, and one never sees shoes and stockings on their feet. Potatoes are the chief article of food, meat never appearing on the table, and bread scarcely ever except on feast days. The potato harvest marks a new epoch in the household economy and the existence of the poor depends on it.

Württemberg, in order to overcome the evil of excessive population, required that a man should prove that he had sufficient means to support a family before he could marry. The blood-lotting of the forties, it seems, was not sufficient to

2 Schriften des Vereins für Social-Politik, Mai, 377.
3 Ibid., 372.
4 Monchmeier, E.
restore the right ratio between population and the means of subsistence, and so the movement of the emigrants became even stronger between 1850 and 1854 than during the two years previous.

In the south, land was divided equally among the heirs, so that when there was a rapid increase of population, the size of the holdings tended to become so small that peasants could gain only a bare existence. In normal years they raised a few potatoes, and a little corn, oats, clover, and hay. Even the well-to-do farmers existed almost exclusively on milk, potatoes, and corn-bread.

If this was the condition in normal years, it is hard to imagine how peasants existed during the times of famine which now occurred. Beginning with 1844 there were successive harvests below the average; the winter of 1844 and 1845 was so severe that many vineyards were destroyed in southern Germany, and this destruction considerably lessened the income from wine, the chief product of that section. Then the potato rot, which caused the famine in Ireland in 1846, appeared in southwestern Germany the next year, thus destroying the principal means of subsistence and causing large numbers to emigrate to America. In 1849 the crops were slightly better, but beginning with 1850 conditions became worse than ever. Not only were potatoes a

1 Pooley, Settlement of Illinois, 494.
2 Schriften des Vereins für Social-Politik, Lli. 130.
3 Pooley, 494.
4 Monckmeier, 51.
failure, but from 1850 to 1853 there was in Württemberg a complete failure of the vintage and also of rye, the latter causing a rise in the price of bread, for rye was the chief breadstuff of the lower classes. Pauperization increased so rapidly in Baden that the state had to come to the aid of the people, and in 1850 it appropriated 7,000,000 florins for seed-corn and wheat, the peasants not having any of their own to plant that year.

In general it may be said, that a rise in the number of emigrants follows a depression in economic conditions on the Euro side of the Atlantic and prosperity on the American side, and a rise in prices in Europe is accompanied by a corresponding increase in the volume of emigration. The price of rye has been called the barometer of emigration in Bavaria. A study of the tables of the emigration from Prussia, Hesse, and Bavaria, and of the price of rye in those states for the years 1847 to 1855 shows that in all except three cases, when the price rose the emigration increased. These three exceptions are, that in Hesse from 1850 to 1852 the price of rye fell, but emigration increased; and in Bavaria in 1850 the price of rye rose slightly while emigration remained stationary, and in 1853 the price of rye fell a little while the emigration increased slightly. So it would seem that though other causes entered in to influence the volume of emigration, its changes corresponded in general to changes in

1 Faust, i. 318.
2 Schriften des Vereins für Social-Politik, Ill. vii.
3 Ibid. 134.
4 Ibid. 90.
5 See page 5
### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>% of population emigrating</th>
<th>Price of rye per 100 lb. expressed in marks</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1847-49</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>129 1/3</td>
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<td>1850-52</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>202 1/3</td>
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### Table 2

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<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>1847-49</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>19.15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1850-52</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>33.05</td>
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### Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>1848</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>10.15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1849</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
<td>17.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>21.10</td>
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2. Landesstatistik des Herzogthums Hessen, Band IV, 1849.
the price of rye.

The distress of the peasantry during those years of famine and consequent high prices was aggravated by the redemption laws which were intended to benefit them. A change in the economic world, although it may be in the end beneficial, usually entails or brings hardship while it is in progress. Especially is this true for institutions to which the people have been accustomed for many generations to expect.

Such a case was the feudal system. This had grown up in the Middle Ages and had become so deeply rooted that it was not completely destroyed on its economic and political sides until late in the nineteenth century, although England had done away with it years before, and the last vestiges of it in France had been given up on the night of August the fourth, 1789. It had been completely destroyed on the left bank of the Rhine when that territory was united to France in the Napoleonic era, but in the agricultural provinces of the east it still flourished.

It is true that under the influence of the ideas of the French Revolution a decree had been issued in 1810 providing for the redemption of seignorial rights and dues, but after the restoration of the old order in 1814 this decree was modified by a new decree that only 1/20 of the seignorial were to be paid off. Under this decree all seignorial rights were extinguished, and under the new law, all people whose land was sufficient to support a household, and whose possession was ancient and confirmed for long years by the tax assessment roll, could redeem it.

1 Seignorial, Old.
their dues and services to their overlord by making an equivalent money payment, and returning one-third of their holdings to him if these were hereditary and one-half if they were not. How in the sections where the hereditary holdings could be divided among the heirs, the majority of these had become too small entirely to support a family and so could not be redeemed. Likewise none in all sections could not prove their title by the assessor's tax roll, and so they too were deprived of the benefit of this provision, and gained only their personal freedom which was a rather doubtful advantage in view of what they lost. They did not become proprietors, but if they stayed on the land they remained under the control of the nobles to whom the land belonged. These usually let the peasant have the small plot which he had been accustomed to work, and in return he worked on the lord's land as of old. In this respect the peasants were neither better nor worse off than before, but whereas they could now leave the land if they so desired, so on the other hand the landlord could dispossess them of it at any time he pleased. In fact they held it much like rented land except that the payments were made in labor rather than in cash. They likewise lost the indefinite but substantial right of pasturage and the use of the waste land and the forest.

Furthermore, now that the nobles and landlords saw their power threatened by this loosening of the old bonds, they sought to increase their influence by adding to their possessions.

1 Schriften des Vereins fur Social-Politik, Lii. 114.
2 Ceirgubos, 616.
3 Kondrachin, 39.
They compensated themselves for the loss of their serfs by buying new land, and it so happened that just at this time waste land so well as some peasant holdings were for sale cheap to those who had the capital to invest. This in time made the rent of corn-land increase, and in consequence the price of corn advanced rapidly. There resulted a double loss to the peasant, for he had lost his right to the pasture land, and the price of fodder went up so that he could not afford to keep a cow. Without the milk to help feed his family, he was unable to make a living, and was in such need that he was forced to sell his land to the nobles and either become a day-laborer or emigrate.

This movement was so strong that in Hesse between 1846 and 1854 the number of peasants was reduced by emigration more than seven percent. In some cases whole villages disappeared. For example in 1855 it was said that the village of Wernings had entirely vanished in the last eight or ten years. The peasants had sold their land to the Count of Solms-Laubach and emigrated. The same thing was true of Pferdsbach and Wippenbach in Hesse. This movement was strong also in north and east Germany, where the peasant holdings of whole villages were absorbed by the great estates, and in consequence the statistics show a decided decrease of peasant proprietors. It is stated that in the eastern provinces of Prussia the decrease was from 277,764

1 Monchen, 41.
2 ibid. 39
3 ibid.
4 ibid. 40
peasant owners in 1816 to 15,111 in 1859. In Pomerania the decrease in the amount of land so held was 15.18% and in Schleswig 15.29%.

Dr. Edward Brückner, professor of geography at Vienna, has made an interesting study of "Climatic Variations and Emigration in the Nineteenth Century." He says, "The harvest of a land depends on the rainfall, but wet and dry seasons do not have the same effect in all places. Especially can we observe a difference in the influence of the amount of rainfall between western and middle Europe on the one side and the United States on the other. A wet season, he claims, causes poor crops in Europe, while in America it produces good ones, but a dry season is favorable to production in Europe and adverse here. Consequently, when there is a season wetter than normal, North America will receive many emigrants from the old countries, but in dry seasons the number will decrease. In the tables on the following which were compiled by Dr. Brückner the rainfall is given not absolutely but in percentages above or below the average. Thus for the year 1855 the rainfall of Europe is 0.1 or normal while that of the United States is 1 or 1% above normal. The correspondence of emigration and rainfall is clearly shown by the parallelism of the two curves. This theory can be related to the price of rye and emigration, for when the rainfall

1 Monckmeier, 10.
2 Internationale Forchenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik, March 5, 1910.
3 See page 2.
4 Ibid.
Emigration to the United States and Rainfall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>German emigration to the United States in 10,000 population.</th>
<th>Percentage of Rainfall in Germany</th>
<th>United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841-1845</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846-1850</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-1855</td>
<td>65</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856-1860</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-7</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Curves of Rainfall and Emigration.¹

¹ For detailed curve of emigration see page 5.
in Germany, if more normal, the crops are poor, yet prices advance, while prices are lower when the rainfall is below normal. The spring of 1846 to 1850, the rainfall is 1" below normal, and prices of the are low, but during the next period there is an abundant rainfall, and prices in some years are nearly three times as high as in 1849 and 1850.1

While the relief is was not favorable, while crops were poor, yet while the redemption legislation oppressed the agricultural class, there were in the only economic cause that impelled, by and by the industrial revolution was in progress, and it was somewhat said to prevail. Crops had been exported, and conditions were required in conjunction with legal abolition of prices; only small land industry, capturing for the agricultural class the revolutions of 10 guilders, at the time as a new order was established. This is proved by the fact that in 1850, 30% of the population lived in towns of two thousand or over, 10% more lived in cities of fifty thousand. Many go there, too, by means of a train and traveling in their houses and the like. As a result, it does not exist in every small place, and the other is a forerunner of the industrialization. The other is a foreigner, also by having products of the type of Silesia. The industrial and the foreign are in competition, products of which articles cannot be sold could we compute.

1 See page 288
2 Honckmeier, D7.
Weaving had been a profitable source of income to the peasants, but power looms were gradually introduced, and the handwork-ers either had to give up their work or accept wages low enough to allow their products to compete with machine-made articles. In this way the weavers could get only eighteen shillings for a piece of work that took five or six weeks to finish. The same thing was true of the spinning of flax in Lippe-Detmold on the Weser River, from which section came a large migration to Wisconsin in 1849 and 1850. This same discontinuance of home industries took place also in the Franconia, as well as the south in Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria, where the question of employment was still more acute, since industries were all at a standstill, while the farming districts were over-populated.

The condition of the working-man was worse in Silesia than anywhere else, but wages were still very low in even part of the U.S. Laborers received 20 cents in summer and 14 cents in winter in Breslau in 1850. In Berlin the lowest wage paid skilled workmen was 36.70 cents weekly. In London a laborer received $1.74 a week, and pay $1.50 for food alone. It is no surprising in view of these statistics that large numbers should wish to come to America to better their condition.

1 Dawson, German Socialism, 4.
2 Wisconsin Historical Collections, iv. 366.
3 Schriften des Vereins für Social-Politik, I. 369.
4 ibid., 150.
5 Dawson, 35.
A financial crisis in Germany in 1847 and 1848, due to the too rapid increase of the mileage of railroads, and a general depression prevailing over the continent, arose out of the condition of the working people. But it was not only the crisis of 1847 which caused the masses of the people to fly to America. After the March Days hundreds of the well-to-do people left Berlin. It was felt that if monarchy should triumph, it would be insolvent; and if republicanism should be victorious, it might repudiate the debts of the monarchy. In either case much property would be destroyed, and neither as well as the people sought greater security and opportunity in the land across the sea.

I. Mitchell's Hist. 1870, II. 573.
Many of the lower classes, however, owing to the economic depression of the country, the failure of crops of the direction of hand-industries, and not the want and unwill to cross this side of the water; for although transportation had been cheapered considerably, nevertheless, it cost more the people could possibly gather together. Emigration societies were formed during the forties and fifties to aid such persons, but the primary motive of these organizations was not philanthropic but patriotic. They were organized to settle New Germany in the land. This was to be on both economic and political lines with the home country, for now that the factory system was being introduced, Germany felt the need of a market for her products such as England and France possessed in their colonial empires. There arose a flood of literature describing this scheme, and Wisconsin was the place generally agreed upon as being considerably like Germany in soil and climate, and so better suited for a German settlement. 1 Thus the plan may seem ridiculous of trying to Germanize a portion of the United States, but the fact that prominent men headed the movement shows

1 Wisconsin Historical Collections, iv. 379.
that it was really considered seriously. Terms had been thought to be suited for German occupation, and in 1844 a society had been formed in Hainz for the protection of German emigrants to that region. It was thought that if enough settled there, it could easily be made a dependency of Germany, but with its annexation to the United States this plan was frustrated, and attention was turned strongly toward Wisconsin. This accounts to some extent for the large German population of those states.

This movement was strengthened by the general acceptance of the theory that had been published by Malthus at the beginning of the century. According to this population tends to increase in geometrical ratio, while the means of subsistence increase only in arithmetical ratio. Thus population would push beyond the means of subsistence if left to itself, and the correct ratio between the two would then be restored by starvation.

Germany had had forty years of peace and comparative prosperity, in which it was certainly true that the population had increased more rapidly than the means of subsistence, hence the starving condition of many of the peasants. As a means of bettering this situation and restoring the correct ratio between products and people, these emigration societies conceived the idea of aiding the human surplus to go to Oregon, where population was much behind the means of subsistence owing to the country's being new and thinly settled.

Sixteen such emigration societies were formed in Baden

1 Monckmeyer, 242.
alone, whose purpose was not so much to give direct financial aid, as to assist the emigrant in disposing of his property profitably, to give him instructions as to the journey and settlement, and by overseeing the steamship companies to give him cheap and good transportation. In 1847 the National Society for German Emigration and Colonization was organized with its center at Darmstadt, but it also maintained branches in nearly all German states. Its purposes were to relieve the social and economic conditions of the country by aiding the surplus population to emigrate, and to help them remain German by keeping their own language and customs. In order to aid in accomplishing the latter aim it tried to persuade professional men as well as laborers to go, so that the services of men of other nations would not be at all needed.

In 1848 a congress of all the German emigration societies met at Frankfort, especially in order to discuss the present methods of aiding emigration, as a means of preventing the spread of poverty in the home country. In the following year the Society for the Centralization of German Emigration and Colonization was formed in Berlin. Since 1852 this has been known as the Central Society for German Emigration and Colonization. Many of the prominent men of Berlin were influential in this organization; Von Billow, the Prussian Minister of the Interior, was president, while Gähler, a councillor, Von Müller, a judge.

1 Schriften des Vereins für Social-Politik, l. f. 1.
2 *ibid.* , liii. 474.
3 Mönckeberg, 441.
and the wealthy wine merchant Krause, were managing members. Some of the most important work, however, was done by the ports from which the emigrants sailed. Bremen and Hamburg were the two principal ports of embarkation. 19,677 people sailed from Bremen during the year 1844; this number increased to 5,776 in 1850 and 70,076 in 1854. The emigrants had come from the different parts of Germany and sometimes had to wait several weeks, for there were not sufficient ships to accommodate them all. To care for these people an emigration house was erected in Bremen in 1850. This contained lodgings, a hospital room, a chapel which could be used by both Catholics and Protestants. The charge for board in this place was extremely small and within the reach of all.

In 1854 an information bureau for emigrants was started, at the initiative of a private organization. Its purpose was to furnish "all persons who wish to go from Bremen to parts over the sea with reliable information."

Most of the work, however, was left to private initiative for the states now began to participate in the promotion of emigration. This was a reaction of the state to the fact that the work over "emigration" was governed by private emulation. The work was regarded as injurious to the state, and an
had been strictly forbidden, but now almost in violation of the
Kultur union it had been to be considered as a duty.

It was first to be a means of rectifying economic and social
conditions at home, and of lessening poverty, begging, and crime.

The question was carried to the Frankfort Parliament,
and on July 3, 1848, was laid on the floor of the Bill of the Rights of Man and adopted, excluding that freedom of emigration was to be an instrument to the nation,
and that it was under the protection of the empire. On March
16, 1849, a committee reported a set of decrees for carrying
this motion, and the bill was adopted. This provided for a
central emigration commission, which would be formed in every
province. The Tuileries branch immediately set out to
abroad to report on the soil, climate, and products of the dif-
ferent sections of the country. For that purpose several states were
approved for this exploration.

The action of the part of the United States, however, was
merely a reflection of the Revolution of 1848. After the constitu-
tion Act, several states issued decrees. But the Tennessee, and later
sections of the United States, declared the principle and adopted
the first state which was in principle in principle on this. The
First State which was, recognized this principle on 1849.

The Second State to follow in 1849 was the idea to enforce this principle, which
were collected in The United States in 1849.

1 Lambe, 74.
2 Cobley, History of Social Reform, vol. 2.
3 Ibid.
4 Hutt's First Series, vol. 3.
5 No comment, 7.
Ing to his 1848 law, leave to emigrate could be obtained only upon certain grounds, one of which stated that it had no increased in a certain region to a limit that would be safe. In general, however, to the 4,000 persons in 1848, a number of 23,000 was collected in opposition to the measure. In Russia a man
who desired to emigrate to another country had to obtain letters of permission, giving as the right-the federal government-to carry out a policy in Prussia, and in return it was freed from military service and taxes. To obtain in the former, however, if the wish to emigrate is out of the Federal state he
must wait eight of the 1st published for them long to six weeks before he might leave. In 1849 the local society, by promoting the interests of the working classes in Berlin, brought forward a
motion to repeal this law, but it was defeated as being unconstitutional.

In Bavaria in the previous year, the time of publication of the notice of emigration was shortened from three months to six weeks. Bavarian subjects may only emigrate at his own will, and are entitled to
settle in Brazil. Besides aiding emigration by removing the legal restrictions on it, the states helped in many other ways. For instance,

1 Edg., 74.
2 Schriften des Vereins für Social-Politik, III., 271.
3 Ibid., 173.
4 Ibid., 14.
in Bremen on Dec. 1 of April 9th, 1849, while it prohibited the emigration of citizens excepting the owner of trade i.e., for the middle class who did not need help, protected those who left the country by requiring that ships should not be so overcrowded that passengers could not have sufficient air and room on deck. It also regulated the amount of food of different kinds to be given for each passenger. In Prussia on February 14th, 1848, a bill was passed prohibiting provisions for the carriage of emigrants by ships by joint action. Again by the law of May 7th, 1855, the same state tried to protect the emigrants by providing that the contractors and agents of emigration should be under control. They also tried to extend their sphere of influence, and to protect their people on this side of the water from "runners" and "landsharks" who were ready to cheat them out of what little money they had managed to bring with them. Baden had taken the lead in this movement and as early as 1853 had sent a consul to New York whose business it was to take care of the emigrants. Württemberg in 1848 had placed officials in New York, Baltimore, and New Orleans, and by the period under consideration practically all the German states had consuls in America whose chief duty it was to protect and aid their countrymen in every way possible.

Another and still more important field had been entered by the states in regard to emigration.  There was about 1841

1 Schriften des Vereins für Social-Politik, III. 411.
3 Schriften des Vereins für Social-Politik, III. 412.
4 Konckmeier, 246.
such a great demand for state managed emigration that it took
the appearance of a matter of life and death with the nation.
It became so strong that it could not be resisted, and in Baden
alone $269,876 florins were spent in aiding it over and over
again used but of the last two years of the decade, an account of
the famine of 1847. Financial aid was given in both Württem-
berg and Hesse, and strangest of all, in Bavaria the people were
given money from the state treasury to enable them to find a new
home in America, although legally they could not go outside the
territory of the German states. In Prussia the state confined
its efforts to subsidizing the Central Society for German Emi-
gration. The capital of this organization was so small that
without the aid of the state it could not have done its work.
In 1850 it received six hundred marks and in the next ten years
ten times that much, so great became the pressure.

In fact without the aid that was given by the govern-
ments the private societies could never have handled the situa-
tion, and hundreds of those who emigrated to America would have
been financially unable to leave their native land.

1 Monchiazier, 17.
2 Schriften des Vereins für Soziale Politik, Lii.
3 ibid., 16
CHAPTER VI
CAUSES IN AMERICA

The opening up of the West; Discovery of gold in California; Letters and advice of earlier emigrants.

The causes of emigration discussed thus far have been those operating in Germany, but there were also attractions drawing Germans to this side of the Atlantic. In fact the name "America" was almost synonymous with "fairylend" to some among the lower classes of peasants. If there had not been strong allurements here, many perhaps would not have ventured to leave their old homes at all, or if they would have sought a better position in some other fair or country, as France or Ireland, in both of which lands conditions were very much superior to those in Germany, owing to the fact that the industrial revolution had made far greater strides.

In the first place this was a period of exceptional prosperity in America. Sumner speaks of it as the "Golden Age." This progress was due to several causes, but perhaps the one which had influences the German emigrant was the opening up of the West. Imbued in the Germans in the desire to own land. Many had been forced to sell their holdings at home because they were no longer able to make a living, and by taking this step they had cut a strong tie that bound them to their fatherland.

1 Bogart, Economic History of the United States, 179.
Then, therefore, they heard that land could be acquired easily in America, they were moved to seek here a habitation which they could hand down to their children. While land in the American West had been open to acquisition before this time, the attraction of it had not been so strong, because of the difficulty in reaching it and the inscrutability of markets for the produce, but no these obstacles were being surmounted by the extension of railroads. About 1850 Tom Coven said: "Twelve years since the fare of a passenger from Chicago, Illinois (by lake and rail to New York City), fifteen hundred miles, was 374.50. It is now but 17......Twelve years since the cost of transporting a bushel of wheat from Chicago to New York was so great as effectively to keep the produce of that country out of the market. Yet a bushel of wheat is transported the whole distance, fifteen hundred miles, for twenty-seven cents. A barrel of flour can be transported from Chicago to New York for eighty cents." With the extension from the coast to the interior so cheap as with land obtainable so easily, it is no wonder that many valued the op of the opportunity. Wisconsin offered especially liberal terms to the Germans, expecting them to make good farmers and were more nearly like those in Germany. The other western states, too, were eager to attract these settlers, for all were eager to develop their natural resources. This was more easy by means of the railroads and canals, for the natives

1 Bailey, 576.
2 Wis. Historical Collections, iv. 275.
population and at sufferance. Furthermore, the Germans were more capable of helping in this work than the other nationalities, and congregated chiefly in the cities.

Not only was food readily acquired, but there were better means of working it here than in Germany where old methods still prevailed. By 1840 the threshing machine was in daily use, and the practical employment of the reaper and the mower began to be used. The necessities of life were readily supplied; while cattle and hogs took care of themselves by foraging.

While these advantages attracted the more sober and industrious portion of our new German settlers, the adventurous spirits were lured by wonderful tales of the rich gold fields of California. In January 1848, gold had been discovered by James Marshall at Sutter's Mill. The news did not reach the East until March, but then began a wild rush across the plains. Huge crowds went out in 1849, and from all countries poured a stream of fortune-hunters to the land of gold. Not only the gold, but also the fact that all had equal rights, led to the feeling that all had been and would be respected. All of the land east of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers was public property, and the first man who came had the first rights. When the places were occupied, the fortune-hunter moved on to another. To the young Californians, the supply of gold...
and each kept on thinking in the same way, to make a lucky strike, but as a matter of fact very few made fortunes. The steamship companies, however, did not urge this search of the silver; all they once said was: "If you in the glass and some that were not were encouraged to come. In fact theigrants sent back from this country is a flood of pamphlets which described the wonderful land of opportunity to emigrants. The condition of the country in general was illustrated, with an account of the climate, the soil, the nature of the plants, and animals, of the characteristics of the people. These pamphlets then entered into a description of the various sections of the United States, pointing out the advantages and disadvantages of each and comparing them with different parts of Germany. From these the emigrants were frequently led to believe that they would find homes similar to those they had left, but so situated that they could easily gain comfortable living. These pamphlets also gave advice as to the ports of embarkation, the best seasons for the journey, the ports of destination, the routes to be followed to the interior, and other matters which would relieve the fears of the timid and furnish them with directions as to their course of action. One author of this time says it is a great mistake to make

2. Ross, Ford Amerika.
were written each year concerning emigration to America. A book which advised the people not to emigrate would have few readers and few buyers, but as soon as a work appeared that pictured the land as a paradise, it was industriously bought and read, and thousands were persuaded by means of it to emigrate. To exaggerated were these reports that they seem almost like fairy-stories, and the credulity with which the people accepted them increasing.

It may be asked why emigrants already here did not advise their friends at home that these reports were too highly colored. Firstly because in all probability they had believed the stories before they came, or perhaps had boasted to a greater or less extent of the fortunes which they intended to make in the New World. Human nature is so constituted that one hates to acknowledge that he has made a mistake, for fear he will be ridiculed. So these our emigrants were afraid of the laughter of their neighbors, if they should write back to the ancestral village that they must work for what they received here as well as at home; that while they could live better than in the Old Country, they had by no means heaped up vast fortune yet; and that the prospects of their ever doing so seemed very slight indeed. They referred rather to let their friends think that they had acquired fame and fortune, as did two brothers who went to Texas. They soon wrote back to their father that they had been created barons, in possession of a large tract of land.
land of which they would sell a part to their old neighbors very cheap. Needless to say that when a company arrived in the autumn of 1870 bringing with them money to be used in partial payment for the land, the brothers had disappeared, and no one in that section had any knowledge of their having received such a grant or having been made barons. Fortunately such great frauds as this were rare, but still it was necessary to guard in some way against the tricks which might be played upon new arrivals, and so German emigration societies were formed here as well as in Germany. These were organized especially in New York, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and many of the pamphlets of advice urged the people to go to the headquarters of these societies rather than to accept the services of any who might offer them. The adventurous naturally did not care for this protection, but among the timid some were probably encouraged to come by the knowledge that there were persons here who would give them advice on which they could rely.

1 Littell's Living Age, XXII, 660.
CHAPTER VII

CAUSES OF DECLINE IN 1855

Improvement of conditions in Germany; De-
pression in the United States; Slavery agita-
tion; Know-Nothing Party.

The motives which actuated the Germans to emigrate
are the ones we consider for their strength in
whole or in part in 1855, for it is that year the number of German
emigrants arriving at our shores was only about one-third of
it was in the preceding year. ¹ In examination of the causes
of the decline will show something of the strength of the motives
operative during the preceding years, and those causes are to be
found on both sides of the Atlantic.

In Germany there was a general improvement in econ-
omic and business conditions.  In the first place there was a
good harvest in 1854, the first normal one for a number of years.
In honor of this time agitated the political and reli-
gious grievances of the world, and their sufficiency of food
helped them to endure and they had formerly fled from.

Naturally there was a reaction in prices after a good
year, and the cost of living was raised to a mean level.  The
drop in prices are due in large part to the fact that the amount of gold
from California and Australia had increased the money-
market of Europe, so that it was much easier

¹ See p. 388.
² See p. 400.
The necessities which they could not provide for themselves. By 1055 the redemption legislation, the last of which had been passed in 1850, had also had time to improve the lot of many of the peasants who now took an interest in improving the methods of farming.

The condition of the laboring classes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The industrial revolution had improved so far that there was a distinct but slight improvement in techniques and methods of work, which in turn caused increased receipts. Commerce, industry, and trade likewise, were improved in an unexpected manner.

The improvement of conditions was almost too partial. In the Crimean War, 1853-1856, France, Italy, and Russia became engaged in the war, while the German states remained neutral, and many who had been engaged in this pursuit in other countries were called upon for military duty. This raised the price of agricultural products all over Europe, and as a result, the state of affairs profited.

With the increase in prices, many went into business, and their wealth increased. The state of affairs in America also changed, as more people went into business.
The rush to California in the first place, While the Culltry was seemingly prosperous as a whole, yet beginnings of difficulties were foreseen in the parts of 1850 and in 1851. In fact the output of gold fell from 50,000,000 in 1850 and in consequence the rush to California was checked. In fact miners who had the means to do so left what field entirely, while others found that their output was not sufficient to cover expenses. Henry mailing, a millionnaire of San Francisco, and the news of the fraudulent stock and shares of California brought him to the limit, leaving $500,000 of debt.

This involved men in distress and began a local panic: in 1854 there were seventy-seven failures and in 1855 the number increased to one hundred and ninety-seven in San Francisco alone.

The reports of local distress and failure discouraged all who wished to seek gold. Senator Douglas, of Illinois, moved a bill in 1854 to the Senate figure-stocks and added a proviso that slavery or negroes should not be brought into the Territories. It was agreed, and a law passed providing for the territorial organization. He next, in 1856, provided a provision that no
it became a state it should enter the union with or without slavery as its constitution might provide. This in fact annulled the Compromises of 1850 and 1853 and removed the question of the extension of slavery, so that it appeared to many that the question could be settled only by an appeal to arms.

There had arisen at this time a political party, the Know-Nothing, which also affected the decline of immigration in 1855. This party made its first appearance in New York and Massachusetts about the middle of the century. Started by the flood of refugees that were yearly pouring into the country, some one formed a mysterious secret organization. Though most of these were descendants of the Puritans, they claimed that the aim of the Pilgrim Fathers had been not freedom of conscience, but a theocratic state in close connection with the Puritan Church; whereas foreigners, most of them new Catholics, were pouring into the country and would soon monopolize the government. A glance at some of the planks of the party in 1856 will show the anti-foreign feeling.

"J. Everett Smith" rule taxation, and to this end aliens shall "be held to all offices, both civil, political, and municipal, all offices of government employment is preference to all others. . . . . . 1. No person shall be elected for political or municipal office or employment in preference to all others. . . . . . 2. No native shall be elected for political or municipal office or employment in preference to all others. . . . . . 3. No native shall be elected for political or municipal office or employment in preference to all others. . . . . . 4. No native shall be elected for political or municipal office or employment in preference to all others. . . . . . 5. No native shall be elected for political or municipal office or employment in preference to all others.

1 Smith, History of Elections, 1856.
refused to recognize the federal and state constitutions (as well as popular sovereignty) as superior to all other rules of political conduct. A change in the laws of naturalization making a continuous residence of twenty-one years an indispensable requisite for citizenship is necessary hereafter. "This was successful in 1844 in electing the governor of seven states and obtaining the balance of power in the House of Representatives."

With economic conditions so much improved in Germany; with the depression in California; with the cholera epidemic threatening civilized; and with many Germans violently opposed to the large influx of foreigners, it is no wonder that emigration from Germany to America fell off considerably after this year.

1 Marti, "Historical Review," III. 37.
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