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The German immigrant community of Richmond, Virginia: 1848-1852

Michael Everette Bell

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This thesis explores the community of German immigrants in Richmond, and Henrico County, Virginia, prior to the influx of the political refugees of the Revolutions of 1848 in the German states. The arrival and adjustment of the immigrants to their new home, occupations, social organization and political activities are discussed, as well as their impact upon the growth and development of the city of Richmond in general.

Information on Richmond's German community was obtained from the 1850 census, memoirs, church and synagogue registers, city directories, newspapers, and tax records. The data gathered were sorted by computer, offering a detailed statistical view of the immigrant population. The social and religious practices of the immigrants are explored and discussed, as are employment, housing, education and politics.
THE GERMAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY OF RICHMOND, VIRGINIA:
1848 - 1852

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in
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UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND
VIRGINIA 23173
THE GERMAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY OF RICHMOND, VIRGINIA:
1848 - 1852

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Introduction

Germans in Richmond, Virginia? In the late twentieth century, one would have to look far below the modern industrialized city to find evidence of what was once a distinct, well organized, and prosperous community of German immigrants. True, some of the names remain: Thalhimer, Schafer, Rueger, Binswanger, Pohlig, Sauer, and Dietz; but all of these arrived on American shores after 1865 -- save the first three. Richmond's German immigrant community was of modest size (approximately 8 percent of the free white population) in 1850. The major influx of Germans did not occur until after the Revolutions of 1848. What, then, drew the refugees of the Revolutions, and other Germans to Richmond in the 1850s? What was the status of Richmond's Germans in 1850? What neighborhoods did they reside in? What were their occupations? How did they fare in the Richmond of the ante-bellum South?

The history of most of Virginia's German immigrants has been well recorded. The descendants of the German communities of western Virginia have continued their religious and cultural traditions, and have published many works relating to their history. In particular, Herrmann Schuricht's The History of The German Element In Virginia (1898-1900), John Wayland's The History of the German Element in The Shenandoah Valley (1907), and The Virginia Germans (1969) by Klaus Wust have given an excellent account
of the development of the German communities of the Valley of Virginia, but they direct only a cursory glance toward Richmond.

In 1850, Richmond, Virginia, was a growing community. Immigrants from many foreign and even other American states were contributing to that growth by establishing themselves in the city and the surrounding counties. They brought with them not only their money, experiences, and desires, but also their energy, skills, and customs. Their addition to Richmond helped to flavor the development of the city and was instrumental in its progress.

As early as 1683, there had been active German immigration to North America. The landing of a party of German Quakers that year under a grant from William Penn signalled the start of organized German immigration.¹ This was the first known attempt to organize a German exodus in which each person had paid for passage in advance. Religious freedom was the goal of this endeavor, and the small group of Quakers involved had not been especially welcome in Krefeld, a city on the Rhine north of Dusseldorf. The success of this group in Pennsylvania soon encouraged others, and by the early eighteenth century, entire families of Germans were selling themselves into indentured servitude to pay for passage to the new world. By 1749, these "redemptioners," as they were called, were arriving in America at an increasingly regular pace. Contemporary
narratives indicate that the ships lost as much "as half of their human cargo to sickness, etc."²

This practice of indentured servitude continued, poorly regulated by the states involved, well into the nineteenth century. Laws were passed to review contracts signed in the Old World and offer immigrants some avenue of protection, but these statutes were largely ineffective and unenforced. In 1750, Pennsylvania passed the first such law, which provided for better protection of the redemptioners, but, according to Louis P. Hennighausen, historian of the German immigration to Maryland, "the laws were insufficient and not enforced, and so the evil increased from year to year, fed by the large profits arising therefrom."³ Schuricht relates a similar experience regarding immigrants journeying to Virginia, noting that 160 of 200 Germans died en route from England in 1743.⁴ This Northern Transatlantic "slave trade" would continue until 1817, almost ten years after the African slave trade was legally ended, often using the same vessels and crews employed in transporting black slaves to America.⁵

Following the American Revolution, and the incorporation of the Hessians into the new nation, the next wave of German immigration occurred during the 1830s and 1840s. This wave, "primarily motivated by the economic advantages which the United States could offer men and women who were willing to work to improve their status in life,"⁶ constituted the core of Richmond's Germans. A few German
immigrants had settled in Richmond during the late eighteenth and first few decades of the nineteenth century, but it was this new group that developed into a distinct ethnic community that would constitute almost 8 percent of the city's white population by 1850. It is the "New Republic" German immigrants, their immigration, subsequent development and impact upon Richmond that forms the basis of this study.

Records at the Virginia State Library and Archives and the Virginia Historical Society provided the cornerstone for information relating to the German immigrant experience in Richmond. The 1850 United States Census provided the detail necessary to form a database of the then-existent German households in Richmond. Land and property tax books gave invaluable information regarding the financial status of immigrants. Records of churches and synagogues established membership and activities, as well as simultaneously chronicling their development as immigrant institutions. Memoirs and personal papers gave day-to-day accounts of the immigrant's and resident's lifestyles, while various city directories yielded places of employment and street addresses. My compilation and analysis of these sources has constructed a view of the German immigrant community of Richmond from 1848 to 1852.

Limiting analysis to entries on the 1850 Census created a window that exposed the lifestyle, activity, and employment patterns of the German Community. Focusing
primarily on events and incidents prior to 1853 completed this view by diminishing the influence of the massive immigration of Germans and other Europeans who came to Richmond following the Revolutions of 1848. This post-revolution influx would raise Richmond's German born community to over 25 percent of the free white population by 1860. These post-1840s Germans would make the ethnic community far more noticeable than it had been before their arrival, organizing clubs and societies that were reflective of their German heritage.

One of the more difficult issues regarding research into this period involves the spelling of German names. Each of the source works consulted exhibited minor differences in the spelling of names, which may be accounted for in a number of ways. First, standardized spelling was a relatively new phenomenon. Secondly, the enumerators of the census probably anglicized their spelling of German names. Finally, German letters such as umlauted vowels were not in use in America; this accounts for the "ae," "oe," and "ue" letter combinations so frequently found in family and place names.

A few of the more prominent examples of this problem are "Abram Cracker, tailor, Germany" (census) for Kraker, A., tailor, listed in the 1852 directory; "Caspar Altscha, shoemaker, Germany" (census) for Allscher, C., shoemaker; and "Augustus Kumholm, shoemaker, Germany" (census) for Krumlihn, A., bootmaker in the 1850 directory, and Kumlehn,
A., shoemaker in the 1852 directory. Correlation of multiple sources of data has enabled clear identification of the individuals named and described in this paper. Extreme caution has been used in the verification of German names and occupations, especially in relating the designated Germans on the 1850 census to the various city directories, and German institutions of Richmond in the period covered by this study. This paper uses the 1850 Census entry, and alternately, church records for spelling of questionable names.
Figure 1. Life aboard an Immigrant Ship.
Chapter One

"Kein Koenig dort"¹

With the statement "there's no King there [in America]," immigrants from Europe began to look for new lands in which to settle. The United States was to receive a major portion of these immigrants, with others going to South America and Australia. One of the major factors attracting German immigration to America was the number of Germans already integrated into the population. It is estimated that some 1,228 of the 5,723 soldiers from the Margraviate of Brunswick remained in America after the Revolution. An additional 7,000 German soldiers from other German States remained in the states of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey.² Schuricht describes how this special group of immigrants blended into the newly independent nation:

...some of the private soldiers were at once allowed to go to work on neighboring farms. Many of the owners were of German descent, and German speech and friendly hospitality gave their unfortunate countrymen great comfort. Several of them fell in love with the daughters of the old farmers, and married. ...When the war was over, Congress offered the German soldiers every advantage in case they remained in America, and the German princes [eager to reduce the size of their standing armies]. ... gave men and officers leave to stay.³

During the late eighteenth century, immigrants born in what would become modern Germany played a role in the history and development of the City of Richmond and Henrico County, Virginia. When the city was laid out by
William Mayo in 1737, lot 35 was owned by Jacob Ege, a German from Wurttemburg. Ege's home still stands today (at 1914 East Main Street in Richmond), and is credited with being the oldest existing structure in the city. This property remained inhabited by the Ege family until 1858, when after some 121 years, a "to rent" sign was placed upon it.

Samuel Mordecai, in the second edition of his memoirs published in 1860, states that a "German" by the name of Widewilt operated a "fishery and sand-mart" on a floating island in the James River, just off Rocketts Landing (modern Fulton) around 1790. Wust adds that Widewilt "was a teacher of violin and flute, who entertained the public from time to time with solo concerts."6

Joseph Darmstadt was another early resident of Richmond. He accompanied the soldiers of Hesse-Darmstadt to America as a sutler, and established himself in Richmond as a merchant. According to Mordecai, "he was a shrewd man, and the valley beyond the Blue Ridge being settled by Germans, his knowledge of the language enabled him to attract the custom of the farmers."7 Beyond these, however, few Germans settled in Richmond before 1830. The new immigrants evidently chose to go to settlements in the western parts of the state: in Rockingham, Augusta, Shenandoah, and Frederick counties. A map prepared by J. R. Hildebrand in 1967 denotes twenty-nine Lutheran congregations located in these counties and a total of seventy-three parishes in the western portion of the state by 1820.8 Richmond lacked enough Germans to
form even one fully German congregation or association at this time.

German immigration to the United States began to escalate in the early 1830s. Various reasons contributed to this increase with economics playing the major role. The political situation in Europe, issues of religious freedom, and wanderlust would inspire many to leave their homeland for a new beginning in "Amerika." The years 1830-1832 were especially difficult in the German states from a financial perspective. In describing the difficulties of the winter of 1831-1832, Hansen writes, "prices rose to excessive heights. In many cities occurred bread riots. . . . The spring of 1832 gave promise of even greater disturbance."9

In the spring of 1833, a group of Germans began to plan an emigration from Bavaria and Hesse. The idea originated among political liberals in Giessen, a university town in Hesse-Darmstadt on the Lahn River. They first published a pamphlet describing a "pessimistic [political] picture of the future" in Germany, and called for a convention to be held in September of that same year. Plans were devised, and the movement set out in the spring of 1834 with what is now Arkansas as their goal.10 As was the case with most other organized emigrations of the time, the Giessener Gesellschaft dissolved soon after reaching New Orleans; its members going their separate ways.11

Within five years, freedom from religious persecution spurred a fringe Protestant group from Dresden to plan a
migration from Saxony. Martin Stephen, a "mystic," had irritated the local police by holding secret meetings of his followers in the woods outside the city. In November 1838, the King of Saxony granted permission for the Stephenists to emigrate, and on the nineteenth of the month, "five ships bearing seven hundred souls" departed Bremen for New Orleans.\textsuperscript{12} This group also disbanded upon arrival in America, its members joining many different German communities already in existence.

In time, the tobacco industry became the major contributor to German immigration in Virginia, and especially to the Richmond area. Various German merchants had established relationships with the tobacco buying houses in the city by the late 1830s, and a constant flow of the leaf sailed eastward. Bremen had established a consulate in Richmond with Edward DeVoss as consul by 1845.\textsuperscript{13} DeVoss was a commission merchant who dealt primarily with tobacco, i.e., he would buy tobacco from local farmers and sell it to the merchants in Europe. It was not uncommon to see from six to eight German merchant vessels in the port of Richmond at any given time during the late 1830s and 1840s.\textsuperscript{14} Since tobacco sailed eastward to Europe, cargo was needed for the return trip. At that time, Virginia did not import many foreign goods; fresh immigrants readily filled the empty cargo holds.

Internal improvement projects such as The James River and Kanawha Canal demanded a much larger work force than could be mustered in the Richmond and surrounding county
area. This appeared to be a reasonable and acceptable option to many, preferring the guarantee of a job in the new land before leaving their homes. A. W. Nolting, another commission merchant trading tobacco with the various German states, imported a large number of these immigrants to Richmond from the city of Marburg in Hesse and Saxony through the ports of Bremen and Bremerhaven. Many of these found employment for a brief period on the Canal.15 A number of Germans arrived in Richmond in this manner. After becoming "disenchanted" with digging the Canal;16 however, they would leave the job and move on; some returning to the city, and others going further west.17

The late 1830s also brought a group of Jewish immigrants from Germany to Richmond. The city had long boasted the sixth oldest synagogue in North America, Beth Shalome. Founded in 1791 (there is some dispute as to the actual date as early records were destroyed by fire), the synagogue was a point to which these immigrants could come to meet with others of their faith. Though the ritual used was the Sephardic, or Portuguese in orientation, the membership was "largely Dutch, German, and of German descent."18 Forty families worshipped there regularly by 1834, with a preponderance of Germans. Many old Richmond Germans claimed Beth Shalome as their religious home, among them Jacob Mordecai, Joseph Darmstadt, Meyer Cohen, Asher Marx, Abraham Myers, and Jacob Cohen.19

Bavarian Jews were among the earliest Germans that
immigrated to Richmond in what became a distinct group within Richmond's developing German immigrant society. The majority of German Jews settling in the City from 1835-1860 were from Bavaria. They seemed to like Richmond, as 85 percent of the new settlers declared their intent or actually became citizens in Richmond.\textsuperscript{20} As they arrived in their new home, they sought others of their religion and language. Many made their way to the Jewish community already established in Richmond. Various laws and edicts had regulated their commerce, property rights, and civil liberties; and these restrictions varied greatly in the various German States. Of course, America had laws as well, but none so harsh as those in their homeland. Zeligmann Rosenbaum, a Jew who would emigrate to America after 1851 brought his "Concessions Permit" with him (see figure 2). This document is an excellent example of the severity of the regulations enforced against Bavarian Jews in the 1830s. It gave Rosenbaum permission, as a Jew, to operate an open stall for the sale of yard goods, and permission to settle in the village of Hofheim, Bavaria, in 1834. The license had been issued according to the Jewish Edict of 10 June 1813.

At the same time, other Germans were preparing to leave the vaterland for a new life in America. Word began to filter back to the somewhat impoverished German States that America was a "land of milk and honey." In 1830, Goethe had written "Amerika, du hast es besser."\textsuperscript{21} By 1839, many of his countrymen picked up his phrase as a catchword. Thousands
made the dangerous and difficult journey to the United States. In the summer of 1844, two ship loads of German immigrants landed at Richmond. On 10 July 1844, the Richmond Compiler reported:

The ship Lucilla, with one hundred and twenty odd, and the Palos, with thirty odd Germans, have just arrived in our river. Most of the emigrants are now in our city—they consist of farmers and various kinds of mechanics. Persons who are in want of good honest Dutchmen on their farms or elsewhere, can now be suited. [sic]²²

That same day, the Compiler also carried advertisements describing "German Fancy Goods Just Arrived." The very next day the following appeared:

A good steady and healthy GERMAN WOMAN, accustomed to cooking, washing, ironing, and cleaning, who can bring a good recommendation, may obtain a good home and immediate employment by enquiring at the Compiler Office.²³

A letter from Emil F. Girbert (an immigrant whose port of entry in 1848 was Norfolk), to his friends in Germany, describes the thriftiness of the immigrants, and their journey from Bremen to Bremerhaven, their point of embarkation: "This part of our trip was the worst, and I would prefer even the notoriously bad conditions of the American riverboats,"²⁴ [to what we have endured so far]. The North Sea crossing was particularly difficult and many became ill. Only one person on Girbert's ship came down with smallpox, a young girl from Hanover. Two other people died en route, but on 8 July 1848, some two months eleven days
after their departure from Bremen, the immigrants:

entered the bay (Chesapeake) between Norfolk and Old Point, where we went aboard a steamship to take us to Baltimore. . . .our luggage. . . .was inspected very superficially by a tax official. None of us had to pay a penny of taxes.25

This letter also told of the reasonable cost of land and other commodities, as well as the ability to get along well in the new country due to the number of fellow Germans already there.

Letters of this nature fueled the desire to emigrate. Word reached Europeans that even though the journey was treacherous, the rewards were wonderful. The ability to improve one's station, pay fewer taxes, worship as one pleased, and become citizens after only a few years seemed almost too good to be true. As a result, the number of German immigrants increased from 35,158 in the year ending 30 September 1845 to 75,912 in 1847, finally swelling to 137,637 per year by the end of December 1852.26 The major increase followed, at least in part, the Revolutions of 1848 that occurred throughout the German States. Though relatively few of these ended up in Virginia, by the time the 1850 Census was recorded, Richmond's German immigrants numbered 1,284,27 or approximately 7.8 percent of the free white population.

These data differ greatly from figures quoted in Schuricht: "A publication: 'Virginien,' by Carl A. Geyer, Meissen and Leipzig, 1849, states: 'Richmond has 24,000 inhabitants, whereof 5,100 are Germans.'"28 Geyer's numbers originally appeared in a book published to support an
overseas recruitment of workers from Saxony which did not occur. Geyer and Frederick Mayo of Richmond (a German immigrant on the 1850 census listed as a land and pension agent), also sought to bring Saxon farmers to the Tidewater and western regions of the State. The failed scheme also involved two additional Richmond Germans, Adolphus Nolting and Ernst Kurth, and a number of "land owners and real estate promoters from what is now West Virginia."29 This endeavor was the last known organized German attempt to organize a large-scale immigration to Virginia prior to the War Between the States.

In keeping with the religious and social divisions found in their homeland, Richmond’s German community became somewhat segregated into Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant factions. This self-imposed social organization, however, did not seem to affect the prosperity of any part of the German ethnic community, or their relationships with the descendants of the earlier English settlers. No evidence was found describing anti-Jewish sentiment from within the German immigrant community of Richmond during the period 1848-1852. In the same vein, there was no indication of anti-Catholic activity or agitation. It appears that the German immigrants looked beyond these individual differences, and saw each other for what they were -- fellow Germans who were a long way from home.
Concessions Urkunde.


Jeder, der diese Urkunde nicht im Besitz hat, wird der Nachfolger.

Offiziell dem Gifhorn 1837.

Königliche Versicherung.

Figure 2. Concessions Urkunde.
(Rosenbaum Family Papers, Beth Ahabah Archives. Reprinted by permission).
Figure 3. Total Emigration from Germany: 1848-1854. (Hansen, The Atlantic Migration, 289. Reprinted by permission).
Chapter Two

"Ist hier ein Stadt?"[sic]

Compared to certain European metropolises in the mid-nineteenth century, Richmond must have seemed a small country town. Even so, it was a growing town, and one that would achieve international prominence as a national capital in just a few short years. By 1850 Richmond was home to many of the opportunities, as well as many of the problems, of the larger cities of the day.

A walk through the Richmond of 1850 would reveal a well established city that was growing rapidly. The city was separated into three wards named after Virginians who had served as Presidents of the United States: Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. Monroe Ward was the westernmost of the three, and contained that part of the city west of Seventh Street. Richmond College, the Poor House, the Tredegar Works, various manufactories, and the New Market were located in this area. Madison Ward's boundaries were from Seventh Street to the eastern side of Fifteenth Street, and contained the State Capitol, most hotels, and office buildings (see maps following chapter three). Jefferson Ward was the easternmost of the three wards, and contained the Old Market, Rocketts Landing, and Church Hill.2 Edwards described the physical layout of the city thusly:

The situation of Richmond is highly picturesque. The city is divided into two unequal parts by a valley, through which passes the Shockoe creek to enter James
river. It is chiefly built upon the hills and more elevated grounds on either side of this depression, which...afford a highly picturesque setting for dwellings and for public edifices. The soil is red clay. The river flows over a bed of granite...The city is regularly laid out with streets crossing at right angles...The dwelling houses are generally neat and convenient, of brick and wood. Many private residences are very elegant and costly.

The city developed in a gradual and sporadic fashion, from its original square (bounded by Twenty-fifth Street, Seventeenth Street, Broad Street, and the James River) in 1742, to the three and one-half square miles that comprised the city by 1850. Richmond was built at the falls of the James River, the furthest point inland that could easily be navigated by shipping.

According to the Seventh Census of the United States (1850), Virginia’s population was 949,133 free whites and free blacks. To this figure can be added 472,528 slaves which gives a total state-wide population of 1,421,661. Of this total, 22,394 were born outside the United States, and classified as foreigners. The largest immigrant population in the state was of Irish birth, 11,643, followed by Germans and Prussians with 5,547 (the German states and Prussia would not be unified politically until 1871). Virginia was divided into 140 counties, and included what is now West Virginia. Total land area was recorded at 10,360,135 acres of improved land and 15,792,176 acres of unimproved land; with a total value of $216,401,543. Coal and water power were abundant within the Commonwealth. In 1850 Virginia had an extremely
favorable balance of trade, with $3,415,646 worth of exports to foreign countries and only $426,599 worth of imports. All things considered, the statistics looked promising for the Commonwealth's economic growth in the new decade.

In the 1850 census, the City of Richmond was included in the statistics for Henrico County. The city and county were broken into five districts. Each district had an enumerator who went from door to door throughout his assigned district and recorded several items regarding each household. These items varied with each recording of the census, and in 1850 the enumerators recorded each house and building, the names of each inhabitant by family, sex, race, age, place of birth, and tax (both personal property and land). In addition, school attendance, adult literacy, pauperism, and handicapping conditions such as insanity and blindness were also noted.

The census gave evidence to Richmond's rise as a metropolitan area. The records indicate that Richmond had a population of 27,570 persons, of which approximately two-fifths were black. J. D. B. DeBow, superintendent of the census, published figures for the 1850 census indicating that the entirety of Henrico County contained 43,572 persons, with 23,826 whites to 19,746 blacks of all classes, giving a ratio of 54.68 percent white population countywide. Not counting the city's population, the county contained 8,093 whites, 1,322 free colored, and 6,190 slaves. The city's population had increased at a rate of about 30 percent each
census since 1800. The increase between 1840 and 1850 was the largest since the 1800-1810 period, when the 1810 Census had reported an increase of almost 44 percent over the 1800 recording.

Table 1.
Richmond's Population 1800-1850.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage of increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>5,537</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>9,785</td>
<td>43.41 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>12,067</td>
<td>18.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>16,060</td>
<td>33.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>20,153</td>
<td>25.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>27,570</td>
<td>36.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In addition to the raw population figures, the census recorded other items as well. Henrico County contained 2,536 foreign immigrants, and fifty-two churches that would accommodate up to 30,510 persons. Only 1,175 adults over twenty years old could not read or write, representing a 92.52 percent literacy rate. This is rather surprising, given the low school attendance rate. There were 901 public school pupils, 1,233 students in private schools and academies, indicating that only 26 percent of school age children were in attendance. The county also contained 5,317 homes, or dwellings, and 5,701 families.9

Richmond's charter had been amended in 1803 by the General Assembly, giving the city a council form of government. Freeholders in each of the city's three wards elected eight councilmen, viva voce, and these further chose the mayor, recorder, "and seven aldermen who also acted as
magistrates."\textsuperscript{10} The remaining fifteen served as a city council, and debated the affairs and business of the city. Council was empowered to pass ordinances, set tax rates, administer charity, manage the two public markets, and grant all manner of licenses and permits. By 1850, the city council also managed the water and gas works, and appropriated funds for building streets, sidewalks, and the maintenance of the police and fire departments,\textsuperscript{11} as well as the public watch.

Between April 1850 and May 1851, City Council passed a number of ordinances designed to ensure not only the orderly assessment and collection of taxes, but also defining the nature and extent of city services. Land and buildings were taxed in the city at the rate of fifty-seven cents per each $100 of actual value. Free males and slaves (including females) over twelve were assessed $1.25 annually. Certain animals such as horses, mules, and colts added an additional dollar to personal property taxes, while cows were only assessed fifty cents. Dogs may have been a special problem in the city, and Council placed a heavy tax ($5) on all but the first owned by a "house-keeper." Any person who was not a "house-keeper" paid $5 for each dog owned.\textsuperscript{12} Other items of a personal nature which were assessed for tax included carriages (2 percent of value), gold and silver plate, piano fortes, and harps (1 percent of value), gold watches (fifty cents), and watches not made of gold were taxed at a rate of twenty-five cents.\textsuperscript{13}
Businesses and professional persons were taxed at a different rate, generally tied to the amount of income produced. Ordinaries, or public houses of entertainment were assessed as much as 5 percent if their income was over $1000 per year. "Brokers" paid $30 for their yearly license. In addition to the various professions, "each person or mercantile firm that sells or barterers any patent, specific, or quack medicine," was assessed "an additional sum of fifteen dollars."14

Between the years 1839 and 1858, Richmond's City Council increased the amount of money spent on public services tremendously. The following table represents the comparison of these two years.

Table 2.
Richmond City Budget: 1839 and 1858

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Budget Item</th>
<th>1839</th>
<th>1858</th>
<th>Percent Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Debt Interest</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>125,000</td>
<td>212.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>29,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Relief</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>120.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street repair</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>900.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Works</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas Works</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River Improvement</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market House</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemeteries</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget Loans</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>71,000</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>83,000</td>
<td>426,000</td>
<td>413.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Richmond attempted to develop a deep water port in the first half of the nineteenth century. City Council had
subscribed to one thousand shares of the Richmond Dock Company at $50 per share in 1816, giving the impetus for development of Richmond as the primary port in Virginia, bypassing Norfolk. This move had been followed by council's investments in a number of internal improvements such as the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad, the James River and Kanawha Canal, and the Richmond and Danville Railroad. The city's financial support of these ventures helped make them successful, and benefitted Richmond with increased trade.

With the completion of the James River and Kanawha Canal as far west as Lynchburg in 1835, tobacco and other goods began to flow to Richmond at a rapid pace. The system of railroads that connected Richmond with other parts of the state, although not fully completed in 1852, made Richmond the crossroads of the state. Over the five-year period from 1 January 1848 to 31 December 1852, a total of 807,806 tons of freight was imported into Richmond by rail and canal, with a total estimated value of $32,923,762.47, or an average of $40.75 per ton. In addition to this amount, the transport of this tonnage to Richmond brought revenue totalling $1,060,140.65, or an average of $1.52 per ton to the James River and Kanawha Company, and $101,149.18 or about $.92 per ton to the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad Company in freight charges and tolls. Although railroads cost more to build than did the Canal, transportation cost by rail was less in the long run; insuring their success.

During the late 1840s, however, European overseas trade
routes began to move to the northern ports, and Richmond became a secondary stop on the way to and from New York:

The import trade direct from Europe, or other countries, is now inconsiderable, having gradually diminished with the increased facilities of New York, by her regular packets and steamers to Europe. The channel of the river (James) is winding, which, with the distance from the ocean, is a considerable impediment to navigation. Vessels drawing more than 10 or 11 feet water are prevented from coming up to the city by the bar, 7 miles below it, and such load at City Point, Bermuda Hundred, or Port Walthall.  

Richmond continued to host a number of foreign consulates, and the 1852 Directory listed France, Bremen, and Belgium as having local offices. In addition to these, Brazil, Sweden, Great Britain, and the Netherlands had consulates in Norfolk with branch offices in Richmond.

The main business of Richmond was, of course, tobacco. In the years between 1841 and 1852, the tobacco inspection at Richmond totalled 237,158 hogsheads. By 1850, there were forty-three factories dedicated to processing tobacco, with a labor force of 2,388 persons. These factories processed between 12,000-15,000 hogsheads, or 14,500,500 pounds of tobacco annually. The largest factory was that of William H. Grant, whose house eventually became the second home of Sheltering Arms Hospital. Processed chewing tobacco with such names as "Negro Head," "Darling Fanny Pan Cake," and "Little Swan Rough and Ready," as well as James Thomas, Jr.'s "Nature's Ultimatum" and "Wedding Cake" were sold to the overseas and California markets with excellent rewards.

Overseas flour shipments from Richmond's mills closely
followed tobacco as the second-largest export. The largest mill, Gallego, was capable of producing 1100 barrels of flour daily, with an annual output of 110,000 to 140,000 barrels. Gallego employed eighty persons, and operated twenty-three pairs of millstones, or "burrs."\textsuperscript{24} Haxall's Mills, officially known as the Columbian Mills, employed sixty-five persons, and produced 100,000 barrels of flour per year. Additionally, other mills in Richmond helped to bring the city's total milling capacity to 2,400 barrels per day.\textsuperscript{25} Gallego's flour could stay fresh throughout a long sea voyage, making it an excellent export to Brazil, where it could be traded for coffee. This exchange made Richmond the United States's largest importer of coffee by 1860,\textsuperscript{26} and helped to stall the city's general decline in international trade.

Richmond was also a center for the processing of iron. The Chesterfield coal mines at Midlothian were "going full blast during this period . . .,"\textsuperscript{27} and these supplied the fires of Richmond's foundries. Ellyson's Directory for 1845 lists nine businesses engaged in the manufacture of iron, with the largest being the Tredegar Works, located "above the Armory, on the Canal."\textsuperscript{28} By the issuance of the 1850-1851 Directory, Montague stated that the Tredegar Works employed between 160 and 200 hands, and produced an annual manufacture valued at $300,000. Talbott and Brothers Foundry employed "near 100 hands," and produced "locomotive engines, portable steam engines, tobacco presses and screws, flattening mills,
frames, levres, sinkers and castings, and wrought-iron work of all kinds."

Joseph Anderson built the Tredegar Works into one of the largest foundries in the South, partly on the sale of locomotives. Anderson was a pioneer in many areas, especially in labor relations. Under his direction, the foundry bought and hired slave labor, as well as providing housing and a hospital for them. Dabney quotes Luther P. Jackson, a noted historian, who said that Anderson "stood ready to promote the advancement of any Negro slave who showed ambition." Anderson had a unique way of dealing with strikers in 1847. White workers objected to blacks learning the skilled trades at the foundry and sent word to Anderson that they would not:

return to work until he (Anderson) removed blacks from certain jobs. He promptly addressed a letter to "my late workmen at the Tredegar," informing them that they had fired themselves. He also told those who were renting housing from him to vacate. . . . This was the last time anybody struck at the Tredegar until the Civil War.

These industries helped Richmond become a major financial center in Virginia by 1850. Three banks (the Bank of Virginia, the Farmers Bank of Virginia, and the Exchange Bank of Virginia) held an aggregate amount of capital totaling $7,377,170 by 1852. Three savings banks, three locally owned insurance companies and ten local branch offices of other insurance agencies traded in Richmond,
protecting the property of both large and small businessmen. The Richmond Fire Association was the largest of the local insurers, with available capital of $230,000. A number of stockbrokers and private bankers also engaged in the financial dealings of Richmonders.\textsuperscript{35}

Small businesses and independent merchants were numerous. Dry goods stores and other merchant houses of the city were clustered around the Old Market on the northwest corner of Main and Seventeenth Streets, or the New Market, built in 1817, on the southeast corner of Sixth and Marshall streets.\textsuperscript{36} Major industries and warehouses were usually located along the river or the canal as this facilitated transportation of both raw material and finished products. The area near the Capitol contained most of Richmond's hotels and restaurants, as well as offices of attorneys, city and state government, and a few retail shops.

Local, state, national, and international news circulated widely in the city. The Williamsburg Gazette moved to Richmond in 1780, and in 1786 The Virginia Independent Chronicle began publication.\textsuperscript{37} Newspapers of that time carried not only local news, but also reprinted articles from other papers regarding state, national, and international issues. By the middle 1820s, Richmond's papers were fairly well established and quite political.

The Richmond Enquirer, founded in 1804, was "...the best (newspaper) that has been or is published in America," according to Thomas Jefferson in 1823.\textsuperscript{38} Thomas Ritchie, the
editor, was a public-minded and politically active citizen whose name is found throughout Richmond's chroniclers of the first half of the nineteenth century. Probably noting Ritchie's skill at attacking Whigs of the day, John Hampden Pleasants, editor of the Lynchburg Virginian, moved to Richmond and began publishing the Richmond Whig as an opposing political organ in 1824.39

The rivalry between the Enquirer and the Whig often became quite heated; the editors frequently indulging in *ad hominem* arguments. When Ritchie retired in 1845, his son, Thomas Ritchie, Jr., moved into his father's former position as the editor of the Enquirer. Within one year, Ritchie, Jr. managed to so inflame Pleasants by calling him a "coward," that the latter finally challenged Ritchie to a duel.

According to an account by W. Asbury Christian, they met:

...on the Chesterfield side of the James River, two hundred yards above the cotton mill, February 25th [1846], at sunrise, armed with side arms, without rifle, shotgun, or musket, and accompanied by two friends similarly armed. Ritchie replied that he did not like the terms of the challenge, but he would meet him [Pleasants] with two friends at the place designated. The two, with their friends, met and fought a duel. Pleasants was wounded several times, but Ritchie was not hurt.40

Pleasants died from his wounds shortly after, but "lingered long enough to praise his opponent's bravery, and ask that Ritchie not be prosecuted." Ritchie left town for a short while, and was prosecuted upon his return for his part in the duel.41 He was found "not guilty."

As is the case today, most pages of newspapers were
filled with advertising. Announcements for such products as worm lozenges, pelvic corsets, and Houck's Panacea (a spring and fall purifier or "tonic" guaranteed to cure "all illness" from smallpox to urinary difficulty) covered the pages.  

Other advertising concerned new shipments of goods received by local merchants, the various lotteries, and land and slaves to sell or rent; this left precious little space to describe the events of the day. National and international news was frequently copied from other newspapers in Washington, D. C., New York, Baltimore and New Orleans. The arrival of a ship from overseas generated announcements of the latest news from Europe. Local news was presented in what would be considered today an editorial style, with comments placed in the stories denoting the paper's official opinion on the subject:

Queer Notion -- We have noticed for a long time, that persons needing water or gas on their premises, who live on streets that are unpaved, never think of having those improvements made so long as those streets remain in that condition; but let the Council order a pavement to be laid, and the stones will scarce get cold from the last blows of the stone layer's "rammer", before all hands need gas or water, the paving is torn up, and the appearance of the streets very much impaired. Scarce two months have elapsed since Canal street was paved, and now the workmen are busily undoing a portion of the work which should have been done years ago.  

By 1850, Richmond supported a number of newspapers. In addition to the Enquirer and the Whig, there were the Examiner, the Daily Compiler, the Times, the Dispatch, and the Daily Republican. Magazines such as the Southern Literary Messenger (edited by Edgar Allan Poe between 1834
and 1837) and works produced by numerous small publishing houses kept Richmonders well supplied with material to read, and may have been the impetus for the high literacy rate in the area.

The German immigrant community did not seem to want a German-language press at this time. Wilhelm Raine first attempted a German-language newspaper in Richmond in 1848, but his "weekly Virginia Democrat did not survive a few issues."\textsuperscript{44} Wust notes that Raine attributed this failure to a "lack of support" by the German community. This would seem to indicate that the early Richmond Germans had assimilated into the city, at least to the extent of language. It would not be until after the first "forty-eighters" began to arrive in Richmond, that a German-language newspaper would prosper. Burghart Hassel, a printer from Kassel, would begin the Richmond Anzeiger in June 1853, and edited the publication until his death in 1912. The paper ceased publication in May of 1926.\textsuperscript{45}

On the whole, the ante-bellum period in Virginia was not noted for social engineering, whether in public education or social welfare. Historian David Goldfield notes that education was seen as a possible "instigator of slave unrest," and that southerners held a generally negative view toward public education: "They viewed education with the same suspicion as they viewed poverty."\textsuperscript{46} Educational conventions were held in Richmond in 1841, 1845, 1856, and 1857 to start universal public education in Virginia. These conventions
were presided over by the incumbent governors of the Commonwealth, but, even the Governor's lobbying could not convince the General Assembly to support public education with tax revenue.47 The 1850 census gives a total of 2,134 pupils attending schools of all types within the county.48 This left 5,979, or 74 percent of the white children between the ages of five and twenty without organized educational services. Many of these children probably worked for their family's business, or helped with the care of other children in the home. Others may have been given some basic primary skills at home.

Richmond had one free tax-supported public school, the Lancasterian School, and the Armory free school, which was supported "by a few liberal citizens residing in the vicinity of the Armory."49 The Lancasterian School began in 1816 when a group of prominent citizens organized at Bell Tavern, and solicited funds with which to build a schoolhouse. In 1817, the city council granted an endowment of $600 per year to sustain the school. Children whose parents could pay did so at a minimal rate, while the children of the poor paid nothing.50 Christian, in his 1912 telling of the history of Richmond, not only fails to mention that the schoolhouse was built in "Butchertown," notorious for its gang warfare; but a jail was to be built across the street from it as well.51 Add to the previous, the fact that one teacher was responsible for up to 150 students by 1854, and it would be easy to imagine the operational efficiency of the school.52
Montague, compiler of the city directory, listed forty-two schools and three colleges in Richmond by 1852. Notably absent from his list are the German schools of the city. Rabbi M. J. Michelbacker founded the Richmond Hebrew, German, and English Institute in 1847, with the assistance of a group of concerned Jewish citizens. Utilizing a similar solicitation as the founders of the Lancasterian School, Michelbacker was able to raise enough money to open his school. Starting with seventy pupils in the basement of Beth Ahabah, Michelbacker taught lessons in German, and offered an alternative to those "who felt uncomfortable in the Christologically oriented private academies, or in the communal school, which was created for the indigent." This school continued in operation until 1871 when, upon the beginning of the public school system in Richmond, Beth Ahabah closed the school, and donated the classrooms to the city.

Other German-language schools were connected with the various German churches of Richmond. St. John's German Evangelical-Lutheran Church also opened a school in 1847. John Kloebner and Edward Franck were instrumental in the organization of the school, which for many years was well attended. Father John Paulhuber at St. Mary's German Catholic Church opened a school in 1851 for the children of the parish. Three School Sisters of Notre Dame would come to Richmond from Milwaukee to run the Catholic school for German children in 1859. In 1854, Father Joseph Polk
started the separate St. Mary's School for Boys, and from these early German Catholic schools came the Benedictine and St. Gertrude's schools of the modern era (see chapter four for elaboration). By 1856, the addition of a German-language school connected with Bethlehem Lutheran Church would bring the total number of such schools to six.

Richmond provided for its poor with a system of public relief administered by citizens designated as "overseers of the poor." City Council appointed an overseer for each of the three wards of the city, and a manager of the Poor House, located at the north end of Third Street, just beyond the Shockoe Cemetery. Montague described the Poor House as:

a spacious building, maintained at the City's expense, for the reception of paupers and other such persons who, by reason of being maimed or halt, are unable to work for a living. The house has recently been enlarged and improved by the addition of a wing on either side. A large building erected and used for the purposes of a Hospital, is situated a short distance from the Poor house.

The overseers and the manager of the Poor House were organized into a "Board of Overseers", and were given authority to "employ physicians, nurses, and servants... who shall receive such compensation as the Board may deem reasonable." Council also included a provision in the "1850 Ordinance Concerning the Poor" requiring "all persons kept at the Poor House" to work if they were able to do so. De Bow gives the figures for the number of paupers in 1850 as 1,539 state-wide, with forty of these listed as "foreign."
Of the "foreigners," only five persons in the Poor Houses of Virginia were listed as having been born in Germany.\textsuperscript{64}

The Ladies Humane Association of Richmond provided for the Female Orphan Asylum, an institution that was initially made possible by Edmund Walls. Having come to Richmond as a "poor and friendless boy," he left money in his will to provide for the facility's maintenance.\textsuperscript{65}

On 31 May 1849, City Council established a Board of Health for the city of Richmond. This action was prompted by an outbreak of cholera, the first in the city since 1832. Rumors of the epidemic had begun to circulate through the city as early as January 1849,\textsuperscript{66} and when the general outbreak finally occurred in May, rapid action was taken. Two physicians and three citizens were appointed from each of the city's three wards to the newly organized "Board of Health."\textsuperscript{67} John Caskie was elected president of the Board, and P. Claiborne Gooch M.D., was appointed secretary. The General Assembly left the city and continued its activities in Fauquier Springs.\textsuperscript{68} The city began to prepare for a repeat of the 1832 epidemic, when the mortality rate forced the burying of the dead in pits, rather than individual graves.\textsuperscript{69}

The first report of the Board to Council on 11 June 1849 contained notice of "30 cases of cholera, of which 16 cases proved fatal, 12 are convalescent or under treatment, and 2 not since heard from."\textsuperscript{70} It was also reported that 17 of these cases developed in persons who were "either
intemperate or had been guilty of imprudence.\textsuperscript{71} The area of
the outbreak seemed confined at the time to the south side of
the Basin and along Cary Street. The Board also recommended
that Council appoint a "Health Officer," or inspector to
"visit all cases of the epidemic coming to his knowledge and
report them to the Board."\textsuperscript{72}

The board met daily between 1 June and 26 July 1849,
"at much personal inconvenience."\textsuperscript{73} It is evident in the
Board's report of 11 August 1849 that the daily meetings and
activities were beginning to take their toll in stress on the
members. With the following statement, the Board of Health
dissolved itself and issued a report on the epidemic:

[We have found ourselves] a body without power or
authority; responsibility resting upon [us], in a
most important crisis, without the means of enforcing
what, in [our] judgement might be considered all
important for the preservation of the health of the
city -- the duties required of [us] being simply to
recommend, to the council of the city, such measures
as, in the opinion of the said board may be [deemed]
calculated to promote the health of the city. . . .
This Board, in conclusion, earnestly hope, that a
more efficient and useful organization, as to the
powers and duties of a Board of Health, may be taken
into prompt and careful consideration by the city
council.\textsuperscript{74}

For the period 31 May 1849 to 11 August 1849, 344 cases
of cholera were reported of which 147 were white (75 male and
72 female) and 191 were "colored" (122 male and 69 female).
Mortality rates for the epidemic were set at fifty-two
percent, with 143 out of 271 known victims succumbing to the
disease. The only German immigrants listed in the Board's
report were William Lowmann (Lohmann) and his wife.
The final action of the Board of Health was to order that the following be published in the city's papers:

Resolved, That the Board deem it unnecessary to continue their sessions, as the Cholera has disappeared from the city as an epidemic, and that they stand adjourned until such time as in the judgement of any two members of the Board, or the City Council, it may be deemed important to resume its sessions.\(^5\)

It would not be until 1896 that a State Board of Health, with adequate funding and authority, would be created.\(^6\)

Virginia's State Penitentiary was located in Richmond, as well. Noted to be the oldest prison of its kind in the United States, it was described as a "large and imposing structure, situated on a commanding hill on the western border of the city, and . . . surrounded . . . by a high wall and an enclosed lot of several acres."\(^7\) Prisoners manufactured several different types of goods and that which was not used at the prison was sold to the general public. In 1850, the prison manufactured over $48,000 worth of goods including 7,136 pairs of boots and shoes, 10,727 pole axes, 5,880 barrels, and over 39,213 yards of cloth. The profit for 1850 was $921, and the prison held an average of 200 prisoners during the year.\(^8\) This figure was somewhat less than the previous average of $1,980 annual profit for the period 1845-1849.\(^9\) The penitentiary's population in 1850 was comprised of 128 white males, two white females, sixty-five black males and four black females.\(^80\) Of these 199 prisoners, three were listed as being of German birth: G. Braun, a 59-year-old spooler (textile), sentenced in 1842 for
murder; Charles Heinz, a 31-year-old lacemaker, sentenced in 1849 for larceny; and Peter Beguly, a 35-year-old weaver, also sentenced in 1849 for larceny.81

Neighborhoods grew up around factories, churches, sources of water, and the Capitol. One of the earliest, somewhat defined neighborhoods was "Shed Town." Conflicting stories of how this area received its name are told by Mordecai: "There are those who say the true name is 'Shad Town,' from the piscatory occupation of its founders"82; and by Scott: "vacant fields were occupied by squatters, the temporary character of whose abodes gave rise to its nickname."83 Other neighborhoods such as Butchertown and Bacon's Quarter took their names from the occupation of their inhabitants, or from historical significance. In Richmond: The Story of a City, Virginius Dabney relates the history of Nathaniel Bacon's struggles on what is now West Broad Street.84 Bacon's Quarter must have remained a "rough" neighborhood throughout Richmond's early years, as Mordecai mentions that the neighborhood contained "many unruly subjects in later times."85

Richmond was on its way to becoming an international capital. The city and surrounding counties were growing in economic power, population, and political prominence. It was a city where opportunity existed for the newcomer to prosper, and a city that would prosper, in return, from the industry of newcomers. Immigrants from Germany would find others from
the vaterland in Richmond, and their ethnic community would begin to impact upon the genteel society of the Commonwealth's capital.
Figure 4. Richmond City Market.
(Scott, Old Richmond Neighborhoods, 217. courtesy: Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia).
Figure 5. Growth of the City of Richmond 1742-1850. (courtesy: Office of the City Engineer, Richmond, Virginia).
Chapter Three

The German Community At Large

Richmond's German immigrant community had grown large enough to be clearly visible by 1850. The United States census of that year included 331 households headed by German immigrants with a total of 465 German born heads of families. Of these, 134 heads of households and their families boarded with other families. The census indicated 184 single German immigrants in Richmond and Henrico County, and 281 married couples. Of the married couples, 239 had at least one child. The number of families with only one child was eighty-one; the number with two children was sixty-seven; the number with three children was forty-one, and the number of families with four children or more equalled fifty. This gave an aggregate German immigrant population of 1,284, with 746 adults and 538 children under eighteen years of age.¹

As previously stated, Richmond and Henrico County were combined for statistical purposes on the 1850 census. Fortunately, the enumerators of the census were assigned to either the city or the county; some determination as to the location of specific households can be made according to the enumerator who recorded the household. Messrs. Dabney, Thomas, and Walker were assigned to the City of Richmond, while Hulce and Lipscomb recorded Henrico County.² Households referred to as "secondary" denote instances where
the head of the household boards with another family; "primary" refers to the owner or leaseholder of the property.

Statistics for the city of Richmond show a total of 371 households, with 70 percent of these listed as primary, and 30 percent as secondary.3 There were a total of 1,017 members of German households divided into 589 adults and 428 children, giving a ratio of 58 percent adults to 42 percent children. The rate of affiliation with German religious institutions was 38 percent in the city compared with 39 percent in the county.

Of the five census takers in 1850, Robert Walker recorded the largest number of German households. His census district, which seems to have included parts of each of the city's three wards, included 137 households owned or rented by Germans, with an additional 53 German adults residing or boarding in the homes of others. These figures indicate that 72 percent of the households in Walker's district were "primary" households, while 28 percent were regarded as "secondary" households. Family statistics indicate that 63 percent were married, 37 percent single, and 85 percent of married couples were rearing families. Sixty-one percent of the German immigrant population in Walker's district were children.4 Church records show that 45 percent of the households in this district were affiliated with German religious institutions, with 31 percent of these claiming St. Mary's German Catholic Church, 30 percent Beth Ahabah, 23
percent St. John's, and 15 percent Bethlehem Lutheran Church.\textsuperscript{5}

Alfred Thomas's district showed a similar statistical breakdown as Walker's, with minor differences in marital figures. Thomas recorded a marital rate of 55 percent as opposed to 63 percent in Walker's district. Thomas, however, recorded a higher percentage of families rearing children: 91 percent to Walker's 85 percent; children equalled 41 percent of the German population of 326 persons.\textsuperscript{6} Thomas's district also shows a much lower rate of affiliation with German religious institution, only 32.5 percent.\textsuperscript{7}

Alexander Dabney recorded the fewest number of Germans in the Richmond districts of the census. His area included a higher percentage of secondary households (36 percent) than any other area in either the city or the county. Dabney's marital statistics show a lower percentage of marriages and families than the other enumerators, and only a 30 percent rate of German religious affiliation. Dabney's district contained 156 individuals of German origin, and was 53 percent adult.\textsuperscript{8}

Table 3.
Unemployment rates by census district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>(Unemployed)</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dabney</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>46 (9)</td>
<td>3M / 6F</td>
<td>16.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hulce</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>55 (6)</td>
<td>4M / 2F</td>
<td>9.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lipscomb</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28 (5)</td>
<td>5M / 0F</td>
<td>15.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>104 (22)</td>
<td>12M / 10F</td>
<td>17.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>170 (20)</td>
<td>6M / 14F</td>
<td>10.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>403 (62)</td>
<td>30M / 32F</td>
<td>13.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Henrico County responded to the census with ninety-four German households of which seventy-one were primary and only twenty-three were secondary. This gave a total German population of 267 in the county, including 157 adults and 110 children. Married couples outnumbered singles two-to-one, with forty-eight families and only two female heads of households. Church membership was predominantly protestant, with eighty-nine percent, or thirty-three persons claiming membership at St. John's or Bethlehem Lutheran Churches.

Table 4.
1850 Census: Household, Family, and Church Affiliation, by district and area.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recorder</th>
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<th>PHh</th>
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<th>SJ</th>
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<th>BA</th>
<th>BE</th>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabney</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walker</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hulice</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lipscomb</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>63</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>184</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Hh= # of households; PHh=primary households; 2Hh=secondary households; S=unmarried; M=married; F=families with children; SJ=St. John's; SM=St. Mary's; BA= Beth Ahabah; BE= Bethlehem.

Sources: 1850 Census; St. John's Register; St. Mary's Register; Beth Ahabah Membership List; Bethlehem Ledger Book.

Despite the numerical difference between Geyer's overestimates of the German population in 1849 and the Census, the Germans of Richmond were beginning to make a name for themselves. Jacob Mordecai, writing in 1860 noted this in his often-quoted paragraph:
Lager has raised its head, and a strong one it is, as are those of its countrymen. Lager has gone ahead of all other beverages. The number of "saloons" that bear its name is scarcely exceeded by that of clothing-shops, kept also by Germans. They are a valuable acquisition to our city, in many useful trades. They are also our gayest citizens, and enjoy their hours of relaxation. They have their Musical and Turner's societies, their private theatres, their 'Volks Garten,' and support two or three newspapers, and though last, but not least, Churches of different denominations. This is a new and pleasant phase in the aspect of our city. More German names than any other appear over the doors in some parts of it, and to judge the conversation heard in the streets, one might be at a loss to know whether German or English is the language of the country.\textsuperscript{11}

With 746 German-born adults in Richmond, the ethnic community was certainly visible. The German immigrants followed the pattern of other groups of immigrants and tended to cluster together in certain areas of town. This is evidenced by the large numbers of consecutive household numbers on the 1850 Census, generally found in the Union Hill and Navy Hill sections of the city.

Union Hill was a suburb located on the north side of Church Hill, and was constructed between 1820 and 1860. This area, along with sections of north Second, Third, and Fifth Streets known as Navy Hill, was identified by Scott as "the chief centre where the newly arrived Germans settled."\textsuperscript{12} Dr. Otto Strecker and Daniel Von Groning built two of the largest homes on Union Hill (1844 and 1847 respectively), and many "small tradesmen and mechanics began to build on Mosby, Scott, and Adams" Streets around 1845. Albert Lybrock, a German immigrant and architect, built a large home at 504 Mosby street in 1853.\textsuperscript{13}
The name "Navy Hill" originated from the victories of the war of 1812. "Soon after our naval heroes had conferred great glory on the nation, the taking name of Navy Hill was given to a suburb still further north." This area grew tremendously during the wave of German immigration during the 1840s, and was the location of the first German Churches of Richmond: St. Mary's German Catholic, St. John's German Evangelical-Lutheran, Bethlehem Lutheran, and Beth Ahabah Synagogue. Navy Hill contained the homes of many Germans, most notably Adam Fischer at 908-910 North Second, and Edward Lohmann's house at 301 East Preston Street.

The German immigrants were an industrious group of individuals who were apparently not content to lie idle. Of the 465 heads of households listed on the 1850 Census, only sixty-two, or slightly more than 13 percent were listed as having no occupation. Most of the Germans appear to have been either craftsmen or merchants. Farmers, grocers, and shoemakers were the most prosperous of occupational classes,

| Table 5. Immigrant Tax Assessment 1850, by district. |
|---------------------|----------|--------|--------|--------|----------|
| Census Taker        | Number   | Value  | High   | Low    | Average  |
| City:               |          |        |        |        |          |
| Dabney              | 7        | $13,060| $3,500 | $285   | $1,965.71|
| Thomas              | 8        | $15,933| $5,300 | $100   | $1,991.63|
| Walker              | 39       | $79,977| $8,417 | $60    | $2,050.69|
| Total               | 54       | $108,970| $8,417 | $60    | $2,017.96|
| County:             |          |        |        |        |          |
| Hulce               | 18       | $27,100| $4,000 | $600   | $1,505.55|
| Lipscomb            | 13       | $62,830| $32,000| $200   | $4,833.08|
| Total               | 31       | $89,930| $32,000| $200   | $2,900.96|
| Aggregate           | 85       | $198,900|        |        | $2,340.00|

as noted by the assessed value of their land and buildings. Of the 331 primary households in the census headed by Germans, only eighty-five were assessed for property tax, with an aggregate tax value of $198,800, or an average value of $2,340 per property. 17

A review of city directories for the years 1850-1852 indicates that German merchants were located in the two market areas of the city, along Broad Street west of Tenth, and the area south of the State Capitol. Within the area bounded by Grace Street and Marshall Street, and between Fifth and Seventh Streets, were at least twenty-eight German businesses, including those of Moses Strauss, Michael Shick, Abram Hirsh, and and Frederick Meyer, all tailors. The other main area of German business was the block directly east of the Old Market on Seventeenth Street. There could be found the dry goods stores of Simon Rosenfels, Lewis Pepper, and William Thalheimer, as well as Bernard Friskhorn's Mechanic's Eating House, and at least ten more German establishments (see maps following this chapter). Indeed, Mordecai was correct in his statements regarding the German businesses on Broad Street: some forty-one German shops were between Madison Street and Eighth Streets (see maps one and two, specifically).

The 1850 census lists forty-eight German shoe and boot makers, with 70 percent recorded by Walker. 18 This was the largest occupational group on the census, comprising slightly over 10 percent of all German heads of households. The 1850
Directory only gives the addresses of 17 percent of this group, but 40 percent were listed by 1852 (see tables 6-8). Seventy-one percent claimed affiliation with a German-speaking religious institution, 56 percent were engaged in rearing families, and 25 percent paid property and land taxes. Additionally, 79 percent were primary householders and 32 percent were unmarried.

Lorenz Paul and Heinrich Karr were representative of the typical German shoemaker of Richmond in 1852. Paul was married, had four children, and owned no slaves. His shop was located on the east side of Seventeenth Street between Franklin and Grace Streets, and his tax assessment was $1,000. His family attended St. John's, where he had been in the second group of charter members, joining on 1 November 1843.

Heinrich Karr was also a charter member of St. John's Church, and worked for the family business of Karr and Brothers, Boot, Shoe, and Last Manufacturers, located at 176 Main Street. He, his wife Biddy, his son Henry Jr., and his daughter Julia lived on the east side of Tenth Street between Main and Cary, next door to Conrad Wyman, a carpenter. Karr also was assessed for $1,000 worth of property in 1850.

Grocers showed the highest rates of primary households and marriage, with 98 and 91 percent respectively. Seventy-four percent had one or more children, and 37 percent paid property taxes. Only 34 percent of the forty-six German grocers advertised in Montague's 1852 Directory, and 54
percent belonged either St. John's or St. Mary's Churches, with the greater number (eighteen of twenty-five) attending St. Mary's. George Froemming was one of a number of small German grocers in 1850. He owned his home, as most grocers did, and was assessed for $500 of property value.\textsuperscript{24} He and his wife Mary lived on the north side of Main Street between Twenty-first and Twenty-second Streets, next door to Gerhard Bosse, another grocer.\textsuperscript{25} Both Froemming and Bosse attended St. Mary's German Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{26}

Laborers, who comprised 9 percent of the total number of listed occupations (forty-two), were the poorest class of immigrant workers, many of them living with others and having almost no assessments for property of any kind.\textsuperscript{27} Only 24 percent of them are recorded in church records, and less than 2 percent (or one person) paid any property taxes in 1850. Most of this group lived in Thomas's district, and 57 percent of them were married.\textsuperscript{28}

Cornelius Krowz was a laborer at the Tredegar Iron Works,\textsuperscript{29} and lived with his wife Barbara and two sons on the west side of Madison between Broad and Grace Streets.\textsuperscript{30} They attended St. Mary's Church, and lived next door to a German shoemaker by the name of John Moll.

Heinrich Hogrefe was another laborer at the Tredegar Works, and worked in the Rolling Mill.\textsuperscript{31} He was not married, but was another of the charter members of St. John's who would leave to help form Bethlehem Lutheran.\textsuperscript{32} He apparently
did not own property, and he lived with the family of Richard Selig, a German grocer, in 1850.\(^{33}\)

Workers in the building and construction trades numbered thirty-three on the census, with carpenters being the largest group of these. Other trades in this category include cabinet makers (who apparently made caskets as well as other types of cabinets), stonemasons, and bricklayers. Fifteen percent of this group paid property taxes, and 21 percent belonged to German churches.\(^{34}\)

Most notable among construction workers were the Lohmann brothers, William, Herman, and Edward, who were members at St. John's Church, and were involved in the organizing of Bethlehem Lutheran Church.\(^{35}\) They lived together in a house on the east side of Second Street, near the Poor House.\(^{36}\) Edward Lohmann was the owner, and the house and land were assessed a tax value of $300 in 1850.

Businessmen and professional workers formed another large category of German immigrants in Richmond. The census reports thirty-six persons engaged in these types of occupations, with "merchants" and "commission merchants" forming the largest sub-groups. Others in this category include "salesmen," druggists, jewelers, the clergy, and a teacher.

Augustus Bodeker was one of the more prominent German businessmen of Richmond. His occupation on the 1850 Census was given as a "druggist," and he was listed in both the 1850 and 1852 city directories as "Druggist, 17 Main Street,"
Residence: ws 20th, be Franklin & Grace." In 1850, he was assessed taxes on $5000 worth of property, and had three children ranging from thirteen to twenty-one years of age, all born in Germany. This would most likely put his date of emigration between 1838 and 1843, when he was listed as a charter member of St. John's German Evangelical Lutheran Church. Bodeker helped form The Richmond German Rifles (a local militia company [see page 75]) with Louis Rueger, George Lintz, Jr., Augustus Schad, and John Hartz in 1850. The company was officially formed on 1 January 1850 by Bodeker, who held the post of Captain until May 1853. He would become a member of the House of Delegates of Virginia in 1870, representing the City of Richmond.

Bodeker was a successful businessman who advertised regularly in the Daily Republican, the Richmond Republican, and Montague's Directories:

A. Bodeker, Wholesale and retail dealer in DRUGS, MEDICINES, CHEMICALS, PAINTS, OILS, DYE STUFFS, WINDOW GLASS, BRUSHES, Perfumery, Fancy Articles, &c. No. 17 West Main Street, Richmond, VA. [sic]

In addition to his apothecary business, Bodeker also engaged in farming, and owned three slaves. His farm was located in the western part of Henrico County, and consisted of forty acres valued at $1600. It appears that he primarily raised swine on his farm, the census records twenty-three of them on the farm. Also recorded were one horse, two mules, five milk cows, two other cows, and produce of 170 bushels of
oats, 150 bushels of Irish and 200 bushels of sweet potatoes, with an aggregate taxable value of $550.\textsuperscript{45}

Another German immigrant who parlayed a small mercantile establishment into a retail giant was William Thalhimer. His family name originally meaning "valley dweller," Thalhimer was "born in Thairnbach, Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany, on July 26, 1809."\textsuperscript{46} He studied at the Universities of Mannheim and Heidelberg, and taught school in Germany before emigrating to the United States in 1840.

According to his nephew, Jacob Thalhimer, after arrival at the port of New Orleans, William Thalhimer "peddled wares on boats plying up and down the Mississippi River, and must have been successful."\textsuperscript{47} He somehow made it to Richmond sometime between 1843 and 1844, and immediately began a small business keeping small articles mostly used by the poorer, middle, and working people -- such as Overalls [sic], jumpers, shirts, shoes, etc., which afterwards was widened when he married to Mary Millhiser. . . When he settled in Richmond, there were two congregations -- a German Minach -- and also a Portuguese, the latter at that time being 100 years old.\textsuperscript{48} I do not know why, but he became a member of the Portuguese Congregation.\textsuperscript{49}

Thalhimer was known as a "strict religionist, or devout Jew" by Jews of the time.\textsuperscript{50} He refused to do physical labor, or transact business on the Sabbath, and kept the traditional tenets of Judaism. By 1850, he had changed his shop's location, bought out a partner, and had established a retail dry goods establishment opposite the Old Market at the corner
of Seventeenth and Main Streets.\textsuperscript{51} Once again, Thalhimer was in a valley -- this time it was the Shockoe Valley -- and was prospering. He owned three slaves,\textsuperscript{52} and with his wife, was rearing sons Gustavus, age four, and Charlie, age one.\textsuperscript{53}

Persons engaged in the iron industry formed the tenth largest category of German workers. This category had the lowest rate of church affiliation with German religious institutions. The second lowest rate of property ownership of any occupation belonged to this group; however, they had one of the higher rates of rearing families.\textsuperscript{54}

The most prominent German engaged in the iron industry was Philip Rahm. His home was in Walker's district on the east side of Eighth street, just north of Leigh Street, where he resided with his wife and four children. His tax assessment for 1850 was $1,800, and he would become a member of Bethlehem Lutheran Church. Rahm gave his occupation as "blacksmith" to the census enumerators and to the publishers of the city directories.\textsuperscript{55} In early 1852, Rahm opened the Eagle Foundry and Machine Works, located on the south side of Cary Street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth Streets. He advertised in the \textit{Enquirer}:

\begin{quote}
The subscriber, having removed to the large Foundry, erected by himself, and fitted out with the machinery of the latest and most approved style, is, in addition to the manufacture of Tobacco Flattening Mills, prepared to receive orders for Stationary Steam Engines, Tobacco Presses of every description, and all kinds of iron and brass castings. He pledges himself to execute faithfully and with dispatch all
work entrusted to him, and respectfully solicits a call from his friends and the public generally.

PHILIP RAHM

The highest cash prices paid for old cast iron, brass, and copper.56

The "professional" farmers of the community tended to live outside the city limits. Deitrick Bolton, a farmer, lived in the Hulce's census district in Henrico County with his wife Geisimigrid and his children Christopher and Caroline.57 He attended St. John's Church.58 His farm, consisting of fifty improved acres and twenty unimproved acres, had a taxable value of $800. On his farm could be found two horses, four working oxen, two other cows, fifteen sheep, eight swine, probably hogs, which were valued at an additional $150. For the year ending 1 June 1850, his farm produced five bushels of rye, sixty bushels of indian corn, 130 bushels of oats, thirty pounds of wool, twenty bushels of peas and beans, and twelve bushels of Irish potatoes, with an aggregate value of $25. In addition, he produced and probably sold 100 pounds of butter, forty tons of hay, and his bees gave him forty pounds of beeswax and honey. By almost any standard, this was a prosperous farm.59

Barney Dickman, another German immigrant, had but ten acres of land, yet his property was assessed at $4,000. Dickman's family consisted of his wife, Eliza, and a son Francis, age 13, born in Germany. He owned one horse and two milk cows, which were worth about $185. His farm produced
twenty bushels of oats, twenty bushels of Irish and ten bushels of sweet potatoes, and he made eighty gallons of wine. He also produced 400 pounds of butter, and three tons of hay.\(^6\)

The diversity of the German immigrant community can be seen in the following maps and in tables 6-8. Information from the 1850 Census, various church records, and city directories has been organized by ten occupational groupings. This gives a comparison of the major occupational groups of the 1848 - 1852 period by census district, church affiliation, directory listing, and family status. In addition, the addresses of 159 German immigrant homes and businesses have been plotted on maps of Richmond to help designate German neighborhoods.
The German Immigrant Community of Richmond: 1848 - 1852
Table 6. Aggregate Table A: Analysis of Germans listed on the 1850 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boot &amp; Shoemakers</th>
<th>Craftsmen</th>
<th>Grocers</th>
<th>Laborers</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Subtotals</th>
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<tr>
<td>** Enumerator: **</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debney</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huson</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Lipscomb</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>St. Mary's</td>
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<td>4</td>
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### The German Immigrant Community of Richmond: 1848 - 1852

**Table 7. Aggregate Table B: Analysis of Germans listed on the 1850 Census**

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<th>Enumerators:</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Tailors</th>
<th>Dry Goods</th>
<th>Butchers</th>
<th>Iron-workers</th>
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<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
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<td>50</td>
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<th>Butchers</th>
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<th>Subtotals</th>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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The German Immigrant Community of Richmond: 1848 - 1852

Table 8. Aggregate Table C. (with totals)

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Occupational Class Totals

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Richmond, Virginia: 1852
German immigrant Employment and Residences
Map 2

Navy Hill

4th. 5th. 6th. 7th. 8th. 9th. 10th.

LEIGH ST. 41 42 43 44 45 46 47, 48, 49 50, 51, 52, 53 54, 55, 56

CLAY ST. 57 58 59 60, 61, 62, 63 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69 70, 71

MARSHALL ST. 72 73, 74, 75, 76

BROAD STREET

GRACE ST.

FRANKLIN ST.

MAIN ST.

CARY ST. 67 68 69 70 71 72

Monroe Ward  Madison Ward

Virginia State Capital

Bethlehem

New Market
Richmond, Virginia: 1852
German Immigrant Employment and Residences
Map 3

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Madison Ward  Jefferson Ward
Location of German Immigrants listed on the 1850 Census and in city directories 1850 - 1852:

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**Map 2. (continued)**

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Old Market  butcher  Brauer  Bernard
Old Market  butcher  Knauff  John C.
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Chapter Four

German Religious and Social Organization
in Richmond

Immigrants, alone in a new land, Richmond’s Germans desired to continue the traditions and customs of their homeland. They sought out fellow immigrants from the old country and formed institutions that would reflect their heritage almost as soon as they landed.

Usually the first action upon landing would be to contact someone who had come from Germany, but was now settled in America. It was possible that the settled immigrant might offer housing, work, or an introduction to someone who could help provide these necessities to the newcomer. It was definitely advantageous to find a fellow immigrant in the new world.

On July 30 (1848) we reached our goal. . . where we unloaded our luggage in front of a German Inn. We were met with great joy by a tailor -- Kneupfer and Lorenz Knoch. That evening, I visited Heinrich Fleck, who discussed the pros and cons of buying land.¹

Social, fraternal, and religious organizations with German names and character emerged in Richmond around 1840. One of the first was founded by Bavarian Jews in 1839 -- the Chebrah Ahabat Israel. According to Herbert Ezekiel,

Prior to the creation of a synagogue, the Bayers [Bavarians] had founded Chebrah Ahabat Israel (the association for the love of Israel) which functioned as a social and philanthropic society.² This society
was not organized for congregational purposes, but with social and charitable aims, being a medium for to bring its members together for interchange of views and for mutual assistance, to aid the needy, help the sick, and bury the dead. They still continued to worship at Beth Shalome. 3

Within two years, this group decided to form a synagogue which would offer services according to the German or Ashkenazic tradition, rather than the Sephardic ritual of Beth Shalome. At a quarterly meeting on 28 January 1841, it was resolved that a synagogue should be established for the German Jews, and a committee was appointed to begin the task. Meyer Angle, then president of the Chebrah, was the first president of the new congregation, Beth Ahabah. Despite the differences in the ritual, the new synagogue was officially named in the Sephardic tradition "Ka'al Kadosh Beth Ahabah" or "The Holy Congregation -- House of Love." 4 Less than three weeks later, a house was rented on Marshall Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets for the sum of $225.00 per year from Fred Anderson. The synagogue was consecrated on 15 May 1841, with J. Gotthold acting as "Minister." 5

Ezekiel notes that the first reader left soon after the consecration of the temple, and Meyer Angle took over the post. Five years later, in 1846, the congregation secured an energetic young Rabbi from Philadelphia, Maximillian J. Michelbacker (1810-1879). This new Rabbi lost no time in organizing and refining the congregation.

In December 1848, a petition was presented to the General Assembly in order to incorporate a:
society for the purpose of providing assistance
and relief to each other and their respective
families in the event of sickness, great age and
other disability, distress and death, and of
preventing any of their [our] brethren from becoming
burdensome to the State, county, or the corporation
of Richmond. . .6

This was acted upon by the legislature, and the Society
Shebeth Achim was formally chartered in 1851 to provide these
services. The sum of $5.00 made one a member, and for this
amount, a member was guaranteed $3.00 per week in case of
illness, and monetary assistance at the time of death. The
member was also guaranteed people at his funeral, and the
organization would provide "watchers" for the body, as well
as the ten men necessary for the funeral.7

By 1848, a new synagogue had been built on Eleventh
Street, near Marshall.8 This new synagogue was constructed
on land which they had purchased for $1350.00.9 Contributions for the Temple's building fund totalling $810.00 were
received from citizens of Richmond who were not Jewish.
Following the consecration of the new house of worship,
Michelbacker organized the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent
Association in 1849, the forerunner of today's Jewish Family
Services.10 On 18 September 1850, Michelbacker, then 39,
made Miriam Angle, daughter of Meyer Angle.11 His first
wife, Mary, had passed away the previous November at 32 years
of age. Michelbacker was noted on the census as owning three
slaves in 1850, and would become a staunch supporter of the
Confederacy in later years. His hard work at Beth Ahabah paid
off and by March of 1851, the new congregation numbered ninety, with a preponderance of German names.¹²

The development of the German Protestant Churches of Richmond has its beginnings in the early 1840s, as well. With the increase in German immigration during the late 1830s and early 1840s, a number of German Protestants arrived in Richmond, and began to discuss building a church. There had been "German" services previously, but these meetings had failed to produce a functional, organized church.

They first met in rooms to sing hymns and pray and read the scriptures together. There was no preacher. Later, a man came along and offered to preach if a place could be found; the first formal church service in German was held in an old tobacco warehouse on Main Street between 18th and 19th streets. Interestingly enough, both Catholics and Protestants worshipped together. Most of them could not understand the preacher's Swiss dialect."¹³

It was not until 8 May 1843 that a group of fifty heads of families met to organize the first German Protestant congregation in Richmond. It was decided to solicit contributions from the members and a name was chosen for the church: Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische St. Johannes Gemeinde zu Richmond, Virginia. This was to be a church similar to the type that the immigrants had remembered from their days in the old country: liberal and not affiliated with a Lutheran synod.¹⁴ Many difficulties faced the development of the church, however. First, in Germany, governments had supported the church financially, through taxes. Now fresh immigrants would have to dig into already
meager funds to support their project. Secondly, since the new church was not affiliated with an existing synod in America, no ready supply of ministers was available to direct the activities of the church. Finally, there were distinct issues of theological doctrine that had to be resolved. Members of the Evangelical Church in Germany were used to a certain degree of freedom in matters of belief, while members who were formerly affiliated with a church of one of the orthodox Lutheran Synods in the U.S. or in Europe were used to a strict doctrine that left little choice to the member.

In spite of these difficulties, the Germans persevered. By October 1843, they had rented a house at 412-414 East Marshall Street for $150 per year, and spent $91 on remodeling. They finally secured a pastor by advertising in northern newspapers, "and a Mr. Strater, trained in the Evangelical Church of Germany, responded." The first services in the new church were held on 8 October 1843, and within one month, the church counted sixty-five heads of households as members. An interesting point concerning this church was that membership was not individual, but rather by family. This practice would continue for some sixty years.

After two years of struggling to maintain a minister (Mr. Strater left after less than one year in the pulpit), the congregation found John C. Hoyer (Heuer), who had been an assistant pastor at a large German church in Baltimore. A new church was built by 1847 on North Fifth Street at a cost of $2,650, and the first services were held Christmas Day of
that same year. A church choir was organized and Edward Lohmann, a member of St. John's and a carpenter, was contracted to build a school for the children of the church.\textsuperscript{19} John Klooeber and Edward Franck helped to open the school, which was successful and well attended. After a period of growth, however, the church began to fall on hard times, with a decrease in new membership. By the late 1850s, the school was "no longer well managed and the attendance grew small."\textsuperscript{20} This was the beginning of the trend that would ultimately end the ministry of Hoyer.

Reverend Hoyer apparently had his own way of exercising the duties of his 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."\textsuperscript{21} He also supported the liberal, ecumenical doctrines of the German Evangelical Church, which were not readily espoused by that part of the congregation who had previously been Lutheran. Wust states that this liberal approach was well "suited" to the German community, and had the advantage of making St. John's a universal German Protestant Church.\textsuperscript{22} Unfortunately, a number of the 1850 Richmond Germans would not have agreed with this statement. Hoyer would continue as pastor at St. John's for some twenty years, until he was asked to resign by the elders of the church. Although his tenure included the sound formation of the church, it would also bring about the exodus of the Lutherans and the formation of a second German Protestant church, Bethlehem
Lutheran, which would become affiliated with the Virginia Synod of the Lutheran Church.

The origins of Bethlehem Lutheran church are well documented, and have been preserved in the church archives. One of the earliest sources available is an anonymous church ledger, with the first entry dated May 1852. This ledger consecutively chronicles the early history of the church, and the development of a sound financial base prior to erecting a building.

The group of people that constituted the membership of the new church met in various halls and churches around Richmond throughout the remainder of 1852, and until June 1854. During that time, the church met at the Odd Fellow's Hall on the corner of Mayo and West Franklin, Christ Church (Episcopal) on Grace, and, at times in Bosher's Hall. The average rent paid to each of these places was $3.00 per Sunday, "Rente fur 13 Sonntage in O. F. Hall: $39.00." The average Sunday collection fluctuated from $4.00 in August of 1852 to $1.85 per week in December 1853. The church placed advertisements in the Dispatch, the Republican, and New York papers for a pastor.

Oct. 3, 1852, the congregation was organized by the Rev. W. Schmogrow, a member of the Virginia Synod. There were 39 Charter members from which the following Church Council was elected: Ernst Frank, John Kloeber, Eberhard Lohmann, Michael Garber, John Scherer, John Schneider. Services were held in a hall on East Franklin Street. On Dec. 5, the name Bethlehem Evangelical Lutheran Church was adopted.
Records show that the group of men listed above were responsible for the collection of monies for a building fund. Over a period of two years, they raised funds which allowed them to purchase a lot (50 feet by 120 feet) on Sixth Street in 1853 at a cost of $1,325, and build a small church (40 by 27 feet) and a vestry (8 by 12 feet) in 1854 for $1,280. The church ledger further noted that an insurance policy for $1,200 was taken out by the church with the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia at a cost of $7 per year. They dedicated the new church on Sunday, 4 June 1854. One year later, Pastor Schmogrow resigned, and in 1856, the church left the Lutheran Synod of Virginia in order to join the more theologically conservative Missouri Synod. A new constitution was drafted, and Carl Gross, from the Missouri Synod became pastor. The church records are replete with Pastor Gross's excommunication orders: among them Adolph Beutel, Christian Muller, Ernst Gemmelmann, and Louis Franck -- all members of the original organizing group. Indeed, Gemmelmann had been the recording secretary of the elders of the church in 1854.

German Catholics had been served for many years at St. Peter's by a German-speaking priest who visited Richmond quarterly, from Baltimore. By 1843, the number of German Catholics was increasing steadily enough for them to organize and take a monthly collection in order to secure their own church and priest. One of the visiting Redemptorist priests from Baltimore, Father John Allig, was instrumental in
helping to organize a German Catholic church. The membership of the group grew consistently, and by 1846, the priests from Baltimore were coming monthly, instead of only four times per year. The members also decided to pledge a certain amount weekly to support the development of the parish. Those who skipped mass one Sunday were visited by collectors before the next service, ostensibly to remind the absent member to redeem his pledge.

Collections and membership continued to rise, and in 1848, Bishop Whelan of Richmond appointed Father Brauer to be the first full-time pastor of the German Catholics in Richmond. He conducted services for the first time on 4 May 1848, in the basement of St. Peter's Catholic Church, where the Germans continued to meet until they had secured a small house on Marshall Street in which to hold services.

The German Catholics raised enough money to purchase a lot and begin to build St. Mary's Church by the summer of 1851. The cornerstone was laid on 8 June 1851 with much celebration. The past two years had been ones of growth. Father Paulhuber, a Jesuit, had come in 1850, replacing Father Brauer. Bishop McGill began the practice of sending a priest from St. Mary's German Congregation to Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg (now West Virginia) on the same quarterly basis that the Germans of Richmond had been served by Baltimore. The year 1852 brought yet another priest, Reverend Joseph Polk, and under his leadership, a school was started for the German Catholic children of Richmond.
Eventually, the school would evolve into the present day Benedictine High School for Boys, and St. Gertrude's School for Girls.\textsuperscript{34}

Church records reflect a very high infant mortality during the 1850s. Anna Weinhold, daughter of Henry and Catharine Weinhold died in 1848 at age four, as did Gerhard Bosse's son, Gerhard. In 1849, the Weinhold's suffered the loss of a two-month-old infant named Christopher. Other families had children that died, and by 1858, 67 percent (82 of 121) of recorded deaths were listed as infants.\textsuperscript{35}

In addition to the German religious institutions of Richmond, the immigrant could find comfort with other German speaking people in a variety of social and fraternal organizations. The oldest of these was the \textit{Deutschen Kranken Gessellschaft zu Richmond, Virginia} [sic]. Apparently founded in 1841 (no official records of the society remain), this was a mutual aid society that provided relief in case of illness or disability of a member.\textsuperscript{36}

In 1844, J. Gottfreid Lange, a German immigrant shoemaker, published a third year anniversary song for the society. Entitled "Wreathed with Leaves", this seems a typical German immigrant drinking song of the period:

\begin{quote}
We are the Germans of the Fatherland,
Come and join our group.
Become part of our friendly society,
A company of true Germans.

Now that three years have flown by,
Since we in the society have been associated,
All together, we had decided,
Against illness to unite.
\end{quote}
So, this full glass is for distant loved ones, 
We would be happier if they were with us. 
May it be a short sleep 'til we meet again, 
In the far off eternity.

We celebrate our Society with our glasses, 
Three years of our association. 
With this glass, that hopefully brings better times, 
Here, and in the Fatherland.37

The Sociale Turnverein was an organization that believed in mens sana in corpore sano.38 Essentially it was a gymnastic society that offered lectures on varied topics and encouraged adult education. Founded by Friedrich L. Jahn (Turnvater Jahn), the Turner movement originated in Berlin in 1811. It soon grew into "an effective vehicle of German patriotism and nationalism,"39 despite efforts to suppress the organization in Prussia after 1815.

The first "transplanted" Turner organization in America was founded at Cincinnati in 1848, and was spread through the existent German communities mostly by "Forty-Eighters." It was one of the more liberal organizations of the day; its members strongly supported the Revolutions of 1848, with money from America being sent to the radicals in Europe. Richmond's Sociale Turnverein was "affiliated with the German Sozialistische Turnerbund, whose creed forbade discrimination on the basis of race, religion, or place of birth,"40 which may well have caused difficulty for the branches located in southern states.

Little information remains of the Sociale Turnverein of
Richmond. Schuricht mentions that it was the largest of the German social organizations, but does not give the size of the membership, or dates of origin and existence. Wust, in *The Virginia Germans*, references the German newspapers of New York, and notes that, "The cradle of the Richmond Turnverein was Monticello Hall, where most of the lectures and indoor exercises were held." Those not interested in the physical activities of the Turnverein could join two other German-speaking societies. Few records exist for the Gesangverein Virginia, a German singing society prior to 1854. This organization, although founded in 1852, would not become active until 1855-1856, and would face stiff competition from Die Liederkranz, a rival organization, following the Civil War.

Founded 1 July 1852, Schuricht notes that the Gesangverein "flourished especially from 1857 to 1860." The society gave frequent concerts in Richmond, and its members often wandered the streets of the city as late as 1:00 a.m., singing loudly. Stoutamire, in *Music of the Old South: Colony to Confederacy*, notes that on at least one occasion the members of the Gesangverein were ordered to cease their singing by the Night Watch. Following the society's complaint to the Mayor (that they were being treated unfairly by the Night Watch), they were told to sing in public at reasonable hours only.

The Germans of Richmond also organized a militia company in 1850. Company K of the 1st Virginia Infantry was
called the "German Rifles"; it would later change its name to the "Virginia Rifles" during the heavily prejudiced "Know Nothing" period that would follow in the mid-1850s. Louis Manarin, in his study of Richmond's volunteer militia companies, notes that the "company became known for its parties," and the Daily Republican remarked:

The German Rifles under Capt. Bodeker were on parade yesterday afternoon, preceded by the famous Armory Band. This corps always turns out well, and presents an imposing appearance when marching through the streets.

Before the end of the decade, a number of organizations such as those above would make themselves known in Richmond. Among these would be the Schiller Lodge (International Order of Odd Fellows), several German benevolent societies dedicated to assisting members who fell upon hard times, and the Theaterverein, whose productions "in Schad's Hall never reached professional perfection but were a very popular feature."

The immigrants brought part of Germany with them to America. As their organizations developed, newcomers could find solace in the company of other Germans who shared the common experience of starting a new life in a new land. The existing ethnic community would attract even more Germans to Richmond in the years to come.
"The Congregation Bayth Ahabah -- in english house of Love -- consists of the following (numbering 90)" [sic]

+ Meyer Angle  + N. W. Nelson  + S. Fleisher
J. Gotthold  G. Slachler  + L. Hutzler
Mrs. T. Weil  I. Untermeyer  I. Adler
+ I. Rosenheim  T. Culb  L. Lob
E. Levin  S. Guggenheimer  + J. Rosenfeld
+ B. Rose  + H. Rosenfeld  H. Stern
T. Lowenthal  Mrs. C. Hays  E. Marx
I. Goldsmith  Js. Beale  + Jos. Stern
H. Newman  + Jos. Myers  H. Lyman
John Newman  + I. E. Bacharach  F. Marx
E. Simon  Mrs. C. Philip  L. Levy
H. Cohen  H. Levy  + L. Held
G. Myers  + S. Rosenfels  + L. Schwitzer
S. H. Myers  + J. Wasserman  + J. Millhiser
+ H. Saal  + M. Millhiser  E. Fleisher
+ J. Rosenbaum  + H. Mitteldorfer  Miss H. Myers
I. Robinson  + J. Gundersheimer  Miss J. Myers
M. Fulda  I. Buxbaum  M. Silberman
M. Rosenthal  + J. A. Bacharach  Mrs. M. --??--*
M. Mondshine  + S. Hellstern  M. Hecht
+ L. Wallner  J. Iseman  + A. Hutzler
+ S. Lowenstein  + E. Strauss  S. Lichtenstine
+ M. L. Strauss  M. Robertson  W. H. Heller
+ C. Held  C. Philip  + H. Hutzler
--??--*  + M. Hutzler  J. Solomon
+ E. D. Heller  + S. Stern  + A. Snow
+ S. Rose  L. Ullman  J. Silberman
P. Stern  J. Gerst  James Heller
+ A. Grunewald  L. Jacobs  + A. Hirsh
+ W. Fleishman  Js. Robertson  J. Grunebaum

testified by
Richmond, March 10th, 1851
M. J. Michelbacher
Minister of the
Congregation Bayth Ahabah

+ listed as German immigrant on 1850 Census
* illegible

Source: "Membership List, 10 March 1851," Handwritten Mss. (Beth Ahabah Archives, Richmond, Virginia).
List of Charter Members of Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische St. Johannes Gemeinde zu Richmond, Virginia: May, 1843

+Georg Rohn +Fr. Schonberg +Heinrich Karr
+Martin Arnold Christian Stockmar Wilhelm Kraegel
+Friedr. Brauer Friedr. Widmeyer Martin Kress
+Peter Emrich Peter Koell Friedr. Reumke
+Wilh. Becking Mathias Altmeyer Johann Brummer
+Valentin Hechler John Kloebel Heinrich Hogrefe
+Heinrich Schutte Carl Nordmeyer A. Caspari
+O. A. Strecker Carl J. Mau (August Schad)
+Alb. Appelius John Brauer Jacob Kirch
+J. Mattern W. F. Oberhauer F. Dusch
+Jacob Freyvogel F. Jonas Bernhard Briel
Philip Simon Anton Gier Carl Sternau
+H. Kracke August Bachmann F. Bergmann
+W. Miller J. Gottfried Lange August Koehler
+P. Keppler William Rebman Daniel VonGroning
H. Essmann John Haberman Chas. Boedeker
+Aug. Boedeker Christian Gerberding

Additional Members, November 1, 1843

Wilh. Grotjan +David Kinker +Christian Leber
Thom. Reynolds Lorenz Paul Samuel Boltz
J. H. Boschen +Christian Degenhart Charles Beck
Louis Franck +Claudin Geidt Johannes Wok
E. Kuehnert Anton Rausch Hermann H. Meyer

+ listed as German immigrant on 1850 Census

List of persons identified as German immigrants on the 1850 Census and listed in *St. Mary's Catholic Church Birth, Marriage, and Death Register: 1848-1852*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beins, Anton</th>
<th>Bosse, Gerhard</th>
<th>Bowman, John H.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Byar, Victor</td>
<td>Craft, Christopher</td>
<td>Fisher, Enoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisher, Adam</td>
<td>Fraadel, Frank</td>
<td>Freidel, Gasper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friedel, Margaret</td>
<td>Friedel, John</td>
<td>Fromaing, George</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frust, John</td>
<td>Goode, Barney</td>
<td>Goode, Andrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gruun, Peter</td>
<td>Gruun, Anna</td>
<td>Gruun, Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gude, Anton</td>
<td>Hartz, John</td>
<td>Heim, Nicholas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihler, Benidict</td>
<td>Kinker, David</td>
<td>Kirch, Jacob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krowz, Cornelius</td>
<td>Liggis, Anthony</td>
<td>Liggis, Theodore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meyer, Frederick</td>
<td>Middledoff, Joseph</td>
<td>Miller, Philip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, Jacob</td>
<td>Miller, Florence</td>
<td>Miller, Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, Henry</td>
<td>Miller, Laurence</td>
<td>Moebus, Jacob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myers, Frederick</td>
<td>Namohr, Joseph</td>
<td>Nayelsman, Bernard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nenzel, M. (???)</td>
<td>Ross, Joseph</td>
<td>Ross, Henry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross, Barney</td>
<td>Ross, Andrew</td>
<td>Schafer, Henry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schafer, Francis</td>
<td>Schutte, Richard</td>
<td>Sparrenberg, Wm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strailer, Henry</td>
<td>Strodmeyer, Joseph</td>
<td>Weinhold, Bernard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *St. Mary's Catholic Church Birth, Marriage, and Death Register: 1848-1852, Handwritten Mss. (St. Peter's Catholic Church, Richmond, Virginia).*
List of persons identified as German immigrants on the 1850 Census and listed in in the years 1852-1854 within *Bethlehem Lutheran Church Ledger Book: 1852-1875*.

Edward W. DeVoss
Edward J. Eggeling
Ernst Franck
George Franck
Michael Garber
Frederick Hahnewinkel
Henry Hogrief
George Karr
J. Gottfried Lange
Edward Lohmann
William Lohmann

Emil Nolting
Adolphus W. Nolting
William Opitz
Philip Rahm
Frederick Schaaf
John M. Scherer
Peter Schick
John C. Schirm
Conrad Schlesier
John Snyder
Henry Sterz

Figure 7. Meyer Angle.
(Courtesy Beth Ahabah Archives, Richmond, Virginia).

RICHMOND DIRECTORY,
1852.

Figure 8.
Title page of Montague's 1852 Richmond Directory used in this study, bearing Meyer Angle's signature. (Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia).

Figure 6.
Maximillian J. Michelbacker (courtesy: Beth Ahabah Archives, Richmond, Virginia).
GEWEIHT

DER

DEUTSCHEN KRANKEN GESSELLSCHAFT

RICHMOND, VA.

ZUR

FEIER DESSTIFTUNGS-TAGES.

DER 11. OKTOBER 1844.

VON

GOTTF. LANGE.

5. Kein Zwei, kein Spott, kein schuler Witz zerstahre,
   Die Lust die heute vereint,
   Und jeder denke dar dass heute dem gned der Rebe,
   Der Stiftung soll stern.

   Niemals die Freude stehirt,
   Und der, stets deutsche Freundschaft frohe Lieder,
   Vor aller Andern ehrt.

7. Heut zechen wir vertraulich und vergessen,
   Wenig uns Krankheit gedruckt.
   Nur frohe Laune zog ihrem angenehm,
   Der heut zum fest sich schmückt.

8. Dies wolte glas, dem gehorsamstem Lieden:
   Die sich mit uns ge freut,
   Auf wiedersehn nach klüzen, der hörst deubt.
   In jeuer zweckigkeit.

9. Dies glas, dem Bunde, dem wir heute weihen,
   Der heut derf Tisch uns band,
   Und dieses glas der Hoffnung besnor sohnt
   Hier und im Vaterland.

Figure 9. Title and end page of Lange's tribute to the German Society to Aid the Sick. (Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia).
Chapter Five

Political Issues and the Germans of Richmond

The German immigrant community of Richmond generally remained unto itself as a distinct ethnic community, rather than blending in with the English-speaking citizens of its new homeland. This is made clear by the number and type of German social institutions discussed in the previous chapter. As the "refugees" of the revolutions of 1848 would find upon their arrival in the United States, they could get along quite well in the dozens of "Little Germanies" that stretched from New Braunfels, Texas, to Herkimer and Mannheim in upstate New York. The newly arrived German immigrant was able to join these communities without having to learn a new language. He could find employment with fellow former countrymen, take part in an active social and religious life, and even read about local and national events in German-language newspapers.

Politically, America was grappling with many reform issues in the late 1840s and early 1850s. First among these was the slavery question, which threatened to tear the nation in half. Secondly, the country was experiencing a rise in the membership of Protestant fundamentalist churches and a change in methods of worship similar in nature to that of the Great Awakening period of the 1740s. Lastly (and considered most important by many) was the interjection of other values, beliefs, and behavior from the world outside the United
States that would undermine and ultimately destroy the "American" way of life. Perhaps the nativist period offered a degree of relief from the constant discussion of the slavery issue. The slavery question could be put aside by both North and South as they began to focus on Nativist issues.

The influence of foreign ideas and practices seemed to scare many persons of the English-speaking, Protestant heritage. The "Nativist" American worshipped in a local Protestant church, and attended camp meetings called revivals. Exercise and physical activity were not frequently practiced, except in the course of "hard work." Alcohol in all forms was to be shunned. Sunday was to be "respected," not enjoyed. This developing "American lifestyle" was quite different from that of many of the new immigrants. The Germans and Irish who came to the United States in the 1840s were often Catholic, Jewish, or liberal Protestant, and their traditional lifestyles included a different set of beliefs and practices than that of the average American.¹

As the immigrants became naturalized, many of them joined the Jacksonian Democrats, "...largely because the politicians of that party were the first to cultivate them."² These new voters soon gained a degree of power in the large cities of the North. As a response to this influx of new liberal voters, the American Republican Party (and later, the Order of the Star Spangled Banner) grew from conservative elements of the Whig party. Called "Know Nothings," the
American Party began its emergence from the shadows of secrecy in the early 1850s. The anti-Catholic, anti-foreigner stance of these reactionaries is well documented. Their main objective was to reform the existing naturalization laws, advocating a residency requirement of at least twenty-one years. At the same time, Know-nothings sought to protect America from the Catholic and foreign "influences, which would gradually weaken and destroy the Protestant Church in America."  

...even a child may tell us the country that produced him -- if these characteristics are so visible in the outward man -- will not his intellectual and moral natures present the same peculiarities?  

A skillful Jesuit is more to be dreaded than 5,000 ordinary citizens. Our enemies are no longer the Three Millions of Catholics, but all the forces of the Democratic and Whig Party that are annexed to Rome.  

We will not persecute Catholics, but we will see to it that Rome does not persecute us! We will expose the network of Jesuitism and protect our land from the withering blight of the anathemas of Rome.  

The climate of suspicion and fear aroused by writings such as the above, coupled with the influx of German radicals following the Revolutions of 1848 (and the differences of the immigrants in general), led to a short period of difficulty for the German Community of Richmond. The German immigrant began to be characterized by the Know Nothings as a cold, withdrawn drunkard, "generally untidy in his habits." The German Jews of Richmond received an especially acerbic review from Frederick Law Olmstead, the nineteenth century New York
architect (as quoted by Wust), who described them as having a malodorous nature, similar to that of the Jews in Cologne's ghettos.⁴

Richmond's Germans brought their customs and traditions with them to the city. These included a physically active nature, as opposed to that of the average American of "revivalist" reform during the ante-bellum period. Sunday was seen by the German immigrants as a day for recreation and relaxation, not a day to be spent in mournful repose.⁹ Beer and wine were to be enjoyed, not shunned, and comradesy and gemütlichkeit added to the enjoyment. This "lifestyle" (probably due to its high visibility), of a relatively prosperous people who remained to themselves, was to become an easy scapegoat as the nation sought to escape the sectional tensions of the 1850s.

Slavery was apparently not an issue in the German immigrant community of Richmond until immediately before the war. Eaton states, "The Germans of Virginia were, on the whole, antagonistic to slavery, but they were not aggressive in their opposition."¹⁰ No evidence of this antagonistic attitude is found among the Richmond Germans prior to 1853. The Slave Schedule of the 1850 Census lists thirty German immigrants owning a total of eighty-one slaves. This gives the German community a 6.45 percent incidence of slave ownership. The largest slave owner was Bernhard Briel, a businessman, who had been a founding member at St. John's. He owned nine slaves.¹¹ Most of Richmond's German slave
owners owned one, two, or three slaves; the only exceptions besides Briel were O. A. Strecker, the druggist, with seven slaves, and Valentine Hechler with six.¹²

Table 9.
German Slave Ownership by Occupation and Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>s1</th>
<th>BA</th>
<th>BE</th>
<th>SJ</th>
<th>SM</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1850 Census, Slave Schedule. #s1 = number of slaves; BA = Beth Ahabah; BE = Bethlehem Lutheran; SJ = St. John's; NA = Not Affiliated; S = Single; M = Married; F = Family

Three primary issues formed the core of German-American internal political interest in the 1840-1852 period: personal liberty (temperance and "Blue Laws"), slavery, and nativism. The German immigrant was the product of a completely different political system than existed in the United States. Having been reared in an atmosphere of monarchy and noble privilege, the newcomer may have had a difficult time understanding the new political system in any way other than freiheit. The freedom to speak his mind, to acquire property, and to live life generally undisturbed was a benefit previously unknown to many a German immigrant, and was eagerly sought by him. Personal liberty, guaranteed by the Constitution, was to be the cornerstone of his politics.

The Germans of Richmond were disenfranchised, as were other immigrants, until naturalized. Prior to the granting of universal (white) manhood suffrage in 1851, the right to have a voice in the political affairs of the Commonwealth was
restricted to "property owners or leaseholders." While many Germans acquired property, and some were naturalized prior to 1851, there is little evidence that more than a few became involved in the political organizations of the city.

One of the few Germans of Richmond who became involved in politics was Charles Nordmeyer. A jeweler, Nordmeyer was named to the Jefferson Ward Democratic Committee "to solicit subscriptions and members." Another instance of German involvement in Richmond's political scene occurred when the death of William Carrington in 1852 left a vacancy on City Council. A petition urging George Johnson to run for the seat appeared in the Enquirer on 5 January 1852, signed by 110 of Richmond's prominent citizens. One German, Emil O. Nolting, the commission merchant, is listed as having signed the petition.

One of the earliest documentary evidences of Nativism in Richmond comes from a broadside printed in 1850. Listing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Church Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Altscha, Casper</td>
<td>shoemaker</td>
<td>St. John's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beck, Jacob</td>
<td>grocer</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, George F.</td>
<td>grocer</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middleoff, Joseph</td>
<td>gas inspect</td>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millsbaugh, Albert</td>
<td>grocer</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nolting, Emil</td>
<td>comm. mchnt.</td>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nolting, John</td>
<td>grocer</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose, Joseph</td>
<td>grocer</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosenheim, Isaac</td>
<td>dry goods</td>
<td>Beth Ahabah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruport, Thomas</td>
<td>machinist</td>
<td>St. John's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schad, August</td>
<td>grocer</td>
<td>St. John's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schutte, Richard</td>
<td>grocer</td>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: List of Know Nothing and Democratic Voters in Madison Ward, (Broadside 1850: 12. HSS1 M3855 a, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia).
734 voters of Madison Ward, it gives the party affiliations of 517 of these as "Know Nothings" and 217 as "Democratic." As might be expected, there are few names of 1850 Census Germans given on the document. Curiously, Philip Rahm, owner of the Eagle Foundry, is listed as a "Know Nothing."

Politically, Richmond was a Whig city in state and national elections. City elections were somewhat non-partisan, with both Democrats and Whigs often supporting the same candidates. Local candidates rarely declared party affiliation, and campaign advertisements in the local papers often ended with such signatures as "Many Voters of Both Parties," and "Voters, Whigs, and Democrats of Monroe Ward."  

The year 1851 brought the first popular election for the major state offices of Governor, Lieutenant-governor, and Attorney General. All three wards in the city overwhelmingly supported the Whig candidates, even though the Democrats carried the election on a state-wide basis. In the 1852 Presidential elections, the Whigs again carried Richmond, although their majority was a few votes shy of their previous percentage. Winfield Scott, the Whig candidate for President, gained some assistance from one of Richmond's Germans, Valentine Hechler. According to the Enquirer in 1855,

Heckler is the tool of the Know-Nothings in running down the Germans. In 1852, he was the tool of the Scott Whigs, now Know-Nothings, in cajoling these
same Germans and other adopted citizens into the Whig trap. The following is an exact copy of a hand-bill circulated in this city on the day of the Presidential election in 1852.

FOREIGN VOTERS, READ THIS BEFORE VOTING!

Richmond, Oct. 21st, 1852.

Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, Sir: Are you in favor of the present Naturalization Laws or not? Please answer before the election.

I have the honor to remain your most obedient servant,

VALENTINE HECKLER

answer to the above

Dear Sir: -- As I have said in my letter accepting the nomination for the Presidency, I am in favor of the Naturalization Laws as they stand, with the single addition, viz: Give the full right of Citizenship to every foreigner who shall, in time of war, serve one year on board of any United States [S]hip of War, or in any regular Militia or Volunteer Regiment.

Yours Truly,

(Signed,)

WINFIELD SCOTT

A review of voting patterns in Richmond's three wards in 1851 and 1852 may be found in Table 11. The Daily Dispatch noted that the Democrats had made minor gains in the overall vote by 1852, but attributed this to a change in the election law. Voters were required to vote in the wards in which they lived in 1852; previously, they were permitted to "cast their ballots where most convenient."20

Table 11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>1851 Gub.</th>
<th>1852 Pres.</th>
<th>Pct. change 1851-1852</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>496 W 293 D</td>
<td>444 W 229 D</td>
<td>Whigs +3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>829 W 368 D</td>
<td>577 W 296 D</td>
<td>Democrats + 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td>435 W 256 D</td>
<td>834 W 480 D</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1760 W 917 D</td>
<td>1855 W 1005 D</td>
<td>Democrats +1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Richmond Enquirer, 12 December 1851; Daily Dispatch, 3 November 1852. D= Democrat, W= Whig.
Virginia's experience with German immigrants had been peaceful. Wust offers, in part, that Thomas Jefferson's approbation of the Rhine and the Palatinate, as well as the small number of Germans permanently settling in the eastern half of the Commonwealth, contributed to their acceptance.\textsuperscript{21} The Germans of Richmond had a long history of excellent relations with natives and other foreigners. While they remained to themselves, their native-born children had assimilated to some degree, and they had become, in the truest sense, "Richmonders." The arrival of the "Greens," fresh from the revolutions of 1848, added to the Nativism that began to flourish throughout the United States,\textsuperscript{22} and eventually in Richmond.

The arrival of the steamer Cambria at New York on 18 March 1848 heralded the outbreak of a revolution in Paris that would rapidly spread throughout Europe. The news filtered throughout the United States over the next few weeks, newspapers copying each other's articles, and German communities throughout the country began to celebrate and honor the actions of their countrymen.\textsuperscript{23} Richmond's German community organized a celebration to honor those who believed in freedom and liberty, one of the first such demonstrations by a sizeable immigrant community. They began with a service at St. John's Church 14 May 1848, and followed this with a call for a grand procession through the streets on 29 May:
The procession will form on Monday next, 29th of May in Capital Square, bearing the American Flag and accompanied by music, proceed through Broad Street to the German Church (St. John's) to receive the national banners of black, red, and gold, and blue, red, and white. From thence, it will go to the African Church, where several orations in different languages will be made, also different national airs sung. The committee earnestly invite all Europeans, such as Germans, French, Italians, Irish, English, Norwegians, Swedes, &c. to take part in this celebration, with their own National Standards; but especially the American Public -- the former, out of sympathy for the success of their countrymen, and the latter, because they feel convinced before hand of their interest in the cause of Freedom all over the world. 

The committee sponsoring the event included John S. Caskie, Isidore Guillet, Frederick and John Brauer, "Rev. Mr. Michelbacker" of Beth Ahabah, and "Rev. J. C. Hoyer" of St. John's. A few days later, the Enquirer reported that the "worthy sons of Germany, accompanied by a number of American and French citizens," had attended the march. The German procession had been a success, despite inclement weather, and was referred to as "imposing and highly credible."

Similar processions across the United States may have helped stereotype the German community as a group of radicals. At any rate it apparently alerted many to the size of the immigrant communities in their cities. Debates must have raged on street corners between those Americans who believed in George Washington's policy of "no foreign entanglements," and those who advocated the financial and military support of the revolutionaries. The public-speaking tours of persons such as Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian revolutionary (who bypassed Richmond on his travels), helped
fan this spark, and the "peculiar institution" may have been temporarily displaced as the main topic of discussion.

In the wake of the failed Revolutions of 1848 in Europe, many of the revolutionaries emigrated from Europe. As they arrived in the United States in the early 1850s, the more radical among them began to organize in a "fenian" manner. Societies calling themselves Free Thinkers and Social Democrats sprang up in German communities.

In Richmond, the Freigemeinde Richmond was organized by a Mr. Steinmetz in late 1850. No records of this society exist, except for the recollections of citizens reported by Schuricht, Wust, and Hennighausen. This group met at the Monticello Hall, where members raised a red flag over the building during their meetings. They were nicknamed "Die Rothen," or "The Reds," by other Germans of the city, who saw them as the most extreme of radicals. They advocated a plan of social change that Nativists strongly objected to, including the taxing of church property, abolition of all "blue laws", a unicameral legislature, frequent and rapid change of the Constitution, and the abolition of the presidency, as well as capital punishment. In addition to these "demands," the "Reds" also promoted:

State ownership of railroads; establishment of a German University; prohibition of all clerical influence in education, and the abolition of the Christian system of punishment, and the introduction of the humane amelioration system.

In early 1851, Mr. Steinmetz was visited by a group of leading German Richmonders and "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." He left the city, and apparently went West, Wust records that he died of cholera in Cincinnati in July 1852. Deprived of its leader, the Freigemeinde Richmond collapsed, its purpose and resolutions all-but-forgotten until the revival of Nativism later in the 1850s.

The actions of this group of immigrants were exactly the sort of thing that Nativism fed on. While Richmond remained a quiet town, for the most part, an anti-German disturbance occurred on 20 June 1853. A picnic of the then one-year-old Gesangverein and the Turnverein was interrupted by a "group of ruffians" who proceeded to steal the anniversary flag presented by the Turners. The Virginia German Rifles, also present at the picnic, escorted the shaken celebrants back to the city, and found that their return to the city had been rumored as a general uprising of the Germans, to take the city from the native inhabitants. A melee ensued on Second Street, which was finally brought under control by the police. This was apparently the only "riot-like" incident in Richmond resulting from Nativism. Other cities such as Baltimore, New York, and St. Louis, which had a larger immigrant population, would have full-scale riots, sometimes lasting several days, often ending in fatality.

Politically, the German community of Richmond tended to keep to themselves. Once enfranchised, many of them were
able to blend in with the community on political questions, and then return to the safety and security of those who spoke their native tongue. Wust suggests that some of them had emigrated so long ago that they were able to find "entry into the old Tidewater society, and join the ranks of slaveholders." The pre-1848 immigrants had given their political loyalty to their new home, a loyalty they would keep right through the bitter end of the Old South in 1865.
Conclusion

The German immigrant community of Richmond, during the years prior to the influx of new immigrants in the early 1850s, was a quiet, unassuming group desirous of blending into the city as it existed upon their arrival. The immigrants worked, played, and lived according to the custom of their newly chosen home, while maintaining their heritage in an almost unnoticeable manner. The infusion of the large numbers of new immigrants during the first half of the 1850s changed this, and brought the community increasingly into the spotlight.

As it was, Richmond's Germans comprised a formidable minority. By December 1852, they had organized four separate religious institutions, four German-language schools, a singing club, a gymnastic society, a militia company, and had become involved (in a small way) in the politics of the city. German workers permeated almost all fields of business and labor available in Richmond, and few, if any, depended on charity for their sustenance. The more successful immigrants bought land and constructed homes, thereby contributing to the city's revenue through taxes. Those less successful rented accommodations or shared living-space, generally from fellow immigrants.

The size and diversity of Richmond's German immigrant community at the beginning of the 1850s makes it easy to understand why the city was so attractive to the refugees of
the Revolutions of 1848. Those who had fought for liberal principles in Germany were looking for a place to live as they saw fit; they were not necessarily seeking a quiet farm in the country on which to raise a family. Richmond possessed the cultural and social activities necessary to meet their needs.

The United States had been praised as a liberal nation by the Germans who had been early immigrants. Their letters and speeches continued to entice Germans from all stations in life to come to America. Following the Revolutions of 1848, many would leave Germany and the other European States. The United States was founded upon many of the principles that these revolutionaries had fought for, and not too hard to reach by ship. Many had relatives who preceeded them to America, and wrote of the conditions here. This Trans-Atlantic communication often made more of the advantages of a new life in America than the obstacles which would have to be overcome e.g., language barriers, Know Nothings, and in the South, human slavery.

Still, despite the difficulties, they came. Each year brought more German immigrants to Richmond, and by 1860, the numbers of this ethnic community had swelled to 25 percent of the free white population. An excellent example of the type of "message" regarding America may be found in the writings of Frederick Schaaf. A German immigrant who taught at the University of Pennsylvania for twenty years, Schaaf returned to Berlin in 1854 and told his listeners and readers that
America was a land of promise, and almost any difficulty could be overcome. On slavery in the South, Schaaf stated in 1854 that, "...monsters, like Mrs. Stowe's Legree, are rare exceptions."¹ On the separation of Church and State, he wrote, "The Sect system [in the United States] is certainly a great evil. It contradicts the idea of the unity of the church."² His defense of individual liberty and choice, however, was apparent in his quote of Martin Luther, "'Faith,' said Luther, 'is a free thing, which can be forced upon no one."³ Schaaf did not mince words when discussing the Temperance movement that was sweeping America at the time:

*der schrecklichste der Schrecken, das ist der Bayer ohne Bier* [the most terrifying of the terrible, that is the Bavarian without beer]. In what European State would the government have the courage to enact a prohibition of the traffic in all intoxicating drinks? It would produce a bloody revolution in Bavaria.⁴

The Germans of Richmond developed into a prosperous community which contributed to the growth and development of the city. Their spirit and resolve is reminiscent of the earlier English settlers who landed at Jamestown in 1607 to carve a nation from the wilderness. By the 1848-1852 period, their community was beginning to have an influence on the city in general. In 1861, Wilhelm Flegenheimer (William Thalhimer's nephew) would pen Virginia's Ordinance of Secession. Meyer Angle would send his six sons into the armies of the Confederacy. Karl Minnegerode, pastor at St.
Paul's Episcopal Church, would be one of Jefferson Davis's closest confidants. The Germans of Richmond attached their destiny to that of their chosen city, and would emerge from the Lost Cause fully intact, accepted, and amalgamated with Richmonders of all heritages.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION


CHAPTER ONE


2. Schuricht, *German Element*, I, 149.


CHAPTER ONE (continued)


15. Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 204-205.


20. Ezekiel, *Jews of Richmond*, 249. Ezekiel lists names of those who either became citizens or declared their intent to do so prior to 1850 on pages 246-250.


CHAPTER ONE (continued)


27. United States Census, 1850, Henrico County and the City of Richmond, Population Schedule, (microfilm copy of Mss. in Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia).


CHAPTER TWO

1. Charlotte Euker, a German immigrant to Richmond, made this remark upon her arrival at Rocketts Landing in 1844. Quoted [sic] in "History of St. John's United Church of Christ (German-Evangelical), in Short Paragraphs." Anonymous Mss. (St. John's United Church of Christ, Richmond, Virginia).

2. Map and ward locations furnished by the City Engineers Office, Richmond, Virginia.


CHAPTER TWO (continued)


8. *Elliot and Nye's Virginia Directory and Business Register for 1852*, (Richmond: Elliot and Nye, printers, 1852), 41.


CHAPTER TWO (continued)


27. Dabney, Richmond, 134.


31. Dabney, Richmond, 111.

32. Dabney, Richmond, 111.

33. Dabney, Richmond, 111.


36. Dabney, Richmond, 102.

37. Christian, Richmond, 23.

38. Dabney, Richmond, 66, 129.

39. Mordecai, Richmond In Bygone Days, 238; Dabney, Richmond, 129.


41. Dabney, Richmond, 131.

42. Richmond Compiler, 11 July 1844.

43. Daily Republican, 10 January 1852.

44. Wust, Virginia Germans, 207. The Enquirer, however, states "The first German Paper ever published in Richmond has just made its appearance here . . . it is one that will be highly gratifying to the German population of Richmond. The Advertiser [Anzeiger] is published twice a week at $3 per annum . . . a very neat journal, printed in new type." Richmond Enquirer, 7 June 1854.
CHAPTER TWO (continued)

45. Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 208; 238.

46. Goldfield, "Cities in the Old South", 79-80.

47. Dabney, *Richmond*, 145.


53. "Resolution to Fund the Richmond Hebrew, German, and English Institute, 11 January 1846," (Mss., Beth Ahabah Archives, Richmond, Virginia).


57. Walter O. Randlett, *St. John's United Church of Christ: 125 Years*, (Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, 1968), 4. There is evidence of the existence of another German-language school connected with Bethlehem Lutheran Church in 1856, with planning begun as early as 1855. Oral tradition maintains that Pastor Gross at Bethlehem was especially interested in having the students learn German so they could read Martin Luther's writings in the original language.


64. DeBow, *Compendium*, 164.
CHAPTER TWO (continued)


66. Wyndom B. Blanton, Medicine in Virginia in the Nineteenth Century, (Richmond, Virginia: Gasset and Massie, 1933), 240.


68. Blanton, Medicine in Virginia, 240.


70. Gooch, Board of Health Journals, 11 June 1849.

71. Gooch, Board of Health Journals, 11 June 1849.

72. Gooch, Board of Health Journals, 11 June 1849.

73. Gooch, Board of Health Journals, 11 August 1849.

74. Gooch, Board of Health Journals, 11 August 1849.

75. Gooch, Board of Health Journals, 11 August 1849.

76. Blanton, Medicine in Virginia, 110.


78. DeBow, Compendium, 166.


80. DeBow, Compendium, 166.

81. 1850 Census, Population Schedule.

82. Mordecai, Richmond in Bygone Days, 293.

83. Scott, Neighborhoods, 18.

84. Dabney, Richmond, 7.

85. Mordecai, Richmond in Bygone Days, 292.
CHAPTER THREE

1. 1850 Census, Population Schedule. See tables 6-8 for aggregate figures.

2. 1850 Census, Population Schedule

3. 1850 Census, Population Schedule. See tables 6-8 for a breakdown by enumerator and occupational class.


5. See General Data Table 8.


7. See Table 4.


10. *St. John's German Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Richmond, Virginia: Birth, Marriage, and Death Register, 1843-1945*, (Mss., St. John's United Church of Christ, Richmond, Virginia). Entries used are from the years 1843-1852.


17. 1850 Census, Population Schedule.


CHAPTER THREE (continued)


26. *St. Mary's Catholic Church Birth, Marriage, and Death Register: 1848-1852*, (Mss., St. Peter's Church, Richmond, Virginia). Froemming's 15 month old son died in 1849, and was given last rites. Bosse's son died the previous year.

27. 1850 Census, Population Schedule.


30. 1850 Census, Population Schedule. Moll and Krowz were recorded as Hulce #216 and #215 respectively.


33. 1850 Census, Population Schedule.

34. See aggregate figures in table 8.


38. 1850 Census, Population Schedule.


CHAPTER THREE (continued)

41. Louis H. Manarin and Lee Wallace, Jr. Richmond Volunteers: The Volunteer Companies of the City of Richmond and Henrico County, (Richmond, Virginia: Civil War Centennial Committee, 1969), 188.

42. Christian, Richmond, 306; Schuricht, German Element, II: 138, 195.

43. Daily Republican, 2 June 1852; Richmond Republican, 17 February 1852.


45. 1850 Census, Agriculture and Slave Schedules.


47. Thalhimer Mss., 1.

48. This statement is in error; see note 18 in Chapter One.

49. Thalhimer Mss., 2.

50. Thalhimer Mss., 3.

51. Thalhimer Mss., 3.

52. 1850 Census, Slave Schedule.

53. 1850 Census, Population Schedule.

54. 1850 Census, Population Schedule.


56. Richmond Enquirer, 16 April 1852.

57. 1850 Census, Population Schedule.

58. St. John's 65th Anniversary, 3.

59. 1850 Census, Agriculture Schedule.

60. 1850 Census, Population Schedule; Agriculture Schedule.
CHAPTER FOUR


12. The membership list from 1851 follows this section.


CHAPTER FOUR (continued)

22. Wust, Virginia Germans, 205-206.


27. Karl Gross, "Excommunication of Ernst Gemmelmann: 14 August 1861," (Bethlehem Lutheran Church Archives, Richmond, Virginia). See note 57 in chapter two for additional information on a school at Bethlehem Lutheran Church.


30. Magri, The Catholic Church, 68.


35. St. Mary's Church Register: 1848-1852.

36. Schuricht, German Element, II: 32.


38. Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, 147.
CHAPTER FOUR (continued)


41. Schuricht, *German Element*, II: 54.

42. Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 208. Wust quotes Schuricht as his primary source of this information (Schuricht, *German Element*, II: 53-54,).


44. Schuricht, *German Element*, II: 53.


46. Manarin, *Richmond Volunteers*, 188.

47. Manarin, *Richmond Volunteers*, 188.


CHAPTER FIVE


5. *Sons of the Sires*, 47.

CHAPTER FIVE (continued)

7. Sons of the Sires, 194.


11. 1850 Census, Slave Schedule.

12. 1850 Census, Slave Schedule.


14. Richmond Enquirer, 5 June 1848.

15. Richmond Enquirer, 5 January 1852.


17. Daily Dispatch, 5-6 April 1853.

18. Richmond Enquirer, 12 December 1851.


20. Daily Dispatch, 3 November 1852.


22. Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, 73.


25. Richmond Enquirer, 31 May 1848.


27. Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, 92.
CHAPTER FIVE (continued)


29. Wust, "Immigrants and Nativism," 44.

30. Louis P. Hennighausen, "Reminiscences of the Political Life of the German-Americans in Baltimore during the years 1850-1860," *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 11 (1897): 5-6. Hennighausen lists the "demands" of the Free German Society of Richmond, including a demand for a "German State" and trade unions.


32. Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 212.


34. Wust, "Immigrants and Nativism," 49.

CONCLUSION


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