

**White Radicals for Racial Equality:
An Intercultural Perspective on the Kansas Free State Struggle, 1854-1864**
by
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Abstract

Pre-Civil War history occurred on tumultuous political terrain that is still highly contested. One of its most exciting and controversial episodes is the struggle for a slavery-free Kansas, 1854-64. I shall show in this essay that crucial cultural aspects of this history have been neglected and/or suppressed by conventional scholarly accounts. New research reports by Frank Baron of the University of Kansas, Steve and Dorothy Collins (published in the last edition of the e-Journal), and my own findings in this essay reveal the intercultural manner in which a variety of vanguard white radicals stood in alliance with the leading voices of radically egalitarian African Americans, anti-slavery Native Americans, and Kansas German-Americans engaged in the Free State struggle.

[Appendix A](#)

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One of the most politically turbulent decades in 19th century U.S. history was that of the struggle for a slave-free Kansas. The most radical aspects of this history have been hitherto marginalized in the conventional political traditions of monocultural historiography. It is time to reconstruct the interpretative framework in a more progressive and intercultural manner and to draw lessons for American struggles yet to come.

¹ I shall venture this through an examination of primary sources from Karl Marx on Kansas, archival materials on Free State history, the latest Kansas German scholarship, and a renewed appreciation for the radical political role of the journalism and activism of the (customarily de-fanged) American cultural icon, Horace Greeley.

Any contemporary reflection on the life and work of Greeley, Marx, and Free State Kansas Germans needs also to build upon a foundation of an awareness and appreciation of the African American self-liberation effort in the period leading up to the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. White abolitionists such as Eli Thayer and Amos Lawrence, who in 1854 founded the New England Emigrant Aid Society to encourage the Free State settlement of the Kansas Territory, worked during this period in strategic solidarity with African Americans, whose core record of radical publications² already documented their leadership of the 19th century anti-slavery movement. In 1852 Frederick Douglass, let us recall, had issued a real challenge to other white radicals and liberals of the northern states inspired by the 1848-49 revolutions across Europe but oblivious to the issue of abolition in America:

You invite to your shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, honor them with banquets, greet them with ovations, cheer them, toast them, salute them, protect them, and pour out your money to them like water, but the fugitive from your own land you advertise, hunt, arrest, shoot and kill.... You are all on fire at the mention of liberty for France or for Ireland, but are cold as an iceberg at the thought of liberty for the enslaved of America. You discourse eloquently on the dignity of labor; yet you sustain a system which, in its very essence, casts a stigma upon labor.³

My account, following Douglass, must acknowledge the abiding residual effects of racism among many (perhaps most) of the otherwise politically progressive whites of the day. Focusing as it does however on the ideas and actions of Horace Greeley, Karl Marx, and Kansas radicals, particularly the German Forty-Eighters, it will illustrate how these figures did respond to Douglass's call (even if only indirectly), and honored the necessity of multi-racial unity and intercultural partnership in their pursuit of effective social change strategies for full human equality in American society and law.

We know Horace Greeley as the mid-19th century publisher of the *New York Daily Tribune*, America's first nation-wide newspaper. Everyone "knows" his admonition, Go west, young man - Go west! - Yet he never said exactly that. This over-simplified and politically sanitized slogan - which became prominent during the Jim Crow period - is the product of the historiography of the latter 19th century under the spell of the expansionist frontier thesis. My contention is that this is an intentional or unintentional misinterpretation that should be replaced with a more genuine formulation grounded in the context of Greeley's intensely abolitionist endeavors.⁴ We shall see below that his actual concrete advice should be situated within the Kansas Free State struggle, and may thus be paraphrased with more authentic warrant as: **Go West to Kansas** and save the soul of the nation!⁵

The latest research into the history of Free State Germans of Kansas during the 19th century's abolitionist movement provides an important counterpoint to the conventional manner in which Greeley has been portrayed in American history. University of Kansas [Lawrence] Germanist, Frank Baron, has recently presented key testimony with regard to the abolitionist aspect of Horace Greeley's philosophy and politics.⁶ From a then-contemporary account of August Bondi, who was a German-Jewish veteran of the 1848 uprisings in Austria and Hungary and who immigrated to Kansas in 1855, Baron reveals the particular context from which we can see that Greeley's advice was much more than a simple "Go west." Greeley's directive, in August Bondi's words, appealed "to the freedom loving men of the states to *rush to Kansas* and save it from the curse of slavery."⁷ Baron substantiates Bondi's grasp of this matter by highlighting how *The New York Daily Tribune* heralded Greeley's support for the abolitionist cause in Kansas during the months (January and March, 1855) immediately prior to Bondi's setting out in May from St. Louis for the Kansas Territory as a Free State proponent. Greeley's editorials cried out:

Men and brethren! There is imminent danger that Kansas will be lost to freedom, but as yet it is danger only. She is not lost, but is sorely beset, and those who can should fly to the rescue. Thousands of hardy pioneers who do not cower before work and hardship ought to find homes on her broad expanse . . .⁸

The Anti-slavery movement is no longer at the mercy of spasmodic and irregular forces. It has got a prodigious momentum from its own action that secures it against obstruction from opposing influences forever hereafter. It cannot be arrested or again subordinated to other political issues.⁹

Bondi's political views were just the sort Frederick Douglass had described above: they were developed in the radically democratic European uprisings of 1848-49; he had previously criticized "the degradation of labor,"¹⁰ but had not expressed explicit anti-slavery sentiments. Nonetheless, Bondi's radical social analysis prepared him intellectually to understand *Greeley's* abolitionist advice. Baron emphasizes how "Greeley's fervent admonitions touched the revolutionary part of August Bondi's soul."¹¹

In 1909 the African American Marxist sociologist, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, built upon August Bondi's autobiography and Bondi's political perspective when writing his own book on the life and work of John Brown.¹² In June 1856 Bondi rode with Brown's small force in the Kansas Free State victory in the first battle between bands of armed men in what was ultimately to become the U.S. Civil War.¹³ During this episode John Brown, Sr. and his company of 11 fighters, two of whom were Free State Kansas Germans (Bondi and another Forty-Eighter, Charley Kaiser), accosted a much larger group of Missouri border ruffians at Black Jack, Kansas, capturing 24 of the invaders. Brown was intensely motivated because two of his sons had been taken hostage by this same Missouri band. Bondi's account of the fight testifies that a writer for Greeley's *New York Daily Tribune* was on the scene later that day.

The *Tribune*, like John Brown and now August Bondi, was committed to full racial equality. Other Kansas forces were Free State, but against the emancipation of slaves in areas where slavery already existed, as in Missouri. Political divisions of this sort would also lead to Lincoln's tactical compromises with Union forces not committed to abolition. Frederick Douglass knew such reluctance well, challenging even Lincoln on this principle.¹⁴ As we shall see below, Greeley likewise called upon Lincoln in 1862 for an immediate and categorical proclamation of emancipation, while Lincoln (strategically) bided his time.

Go West to Kansas: Flee the Industrial Degradation of Labor and Defy the Slave Power!

There is a real controversy over locating in print the exact origin of Greeley's ostensible "Go west!" According to Thomas Fuller, "... no researcher has yet been able to locate an instance of the phrase in any of Greeley's written works,"¹⁵ and the first attribution of this phrase to Greeley was by Joshua Bushnell Grinnell, the abolitionist founder of Grinnell, Iowa. Several other scholarly sources, however, do trace Greeley's ostensible slogan to the line "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country" from an

editorial in *The New York Daily Tribune*, July 11, 1865. Some historians also contend that this statement was derived from a published utterance fourteen years earlier by John Soule, rather than Horace Greeley, in a *Terra Haute*, Indiana newspaper.¹⁶

Until recently, the generally prevailing view has been reflected in textbooks of the sort that were used back when I was an undergraduate; for example, Thomas A. Bailey's *The American Pageant*.¹⁷ Bailey's most prominent reference to Greeley is the epigram "Go west, young man, and grow up with the country" at the top of his Chapter 29 on "The Great West and the Agricultural Revolution 1865-1890." In a separate section, explicitly treating "Journalistic Giants" and lauding Greeley's idealism, anti-slavery sentiments, and wide influence, Greeley's radical views are nonetheless marginalized by Bailey as a type of personal journalism in a pre-professional, penny press era when "[n]ewspaper publishing had not yet become a big business and editors like Horace Greeley of the *New York Daily Tribune* owned and published their own newspapers."¹⁸ When the eccentric Greeley runs for president in 1872 with the support of Forty-Eighter Carl Schurz and other anti-Grant, German-American radicals, Bailey informs us that he "was denounced as an atheist, a communist, a free-lover, a vegetarian, a brown-bread eater, and idiot...."¹⁹ Bailey himself dismisses Greeley with a snide ad hominem: "He did not even look like a president. With a cherubic face and innocent blue eyes peering through steel rimmed spectacles, he would amble along in a white coat and hat, clutching a green umbrella-like a character stepping from the pages of Dickens."²⁰ Greeley had nowhere near the public stature as did the former war hero and incumbent President, Grant, it's true. But multicultural educational theorists are more aware than ever of the fact that U.S. history textbooks, especially those used in high school, have tended to be sanitized and slanted.²¹ The good news in this case, given the inability to definitively locate the exact wording of Greeley's famous maxim in print, is that American history textbooks over the last decade have quite uniformly eschewed reference to Greeley's foreshortened "Go west!"²² They now refer to Greeley primarily in a dignified manner as a noted journalist, a principled opponent of slavery, and a presidential candidate.

According to one uniquely important yet generally overlooked source, Greeley's slogan is said also to have appeared *as a reaction to the crisis of unemployment brought about by the Panic of 1837*. At that time Greeley wrote:

Do not wait to share and increase its horrors. Fly - scatter through the country - go to the Great West - anything rather than remain here. . . . Away then, hardy adventurers, to Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin . . . the West is the true destination.²³

According also to David Fennimore, Greeley's westward perspective was derived from Fourier's model of socialism and ran counter to the racist and Christian chauvinist notion of manifest destiny:

Unlike many of his fellow nineteenth-century Americans, Greeley's agrarianism was rooted in no idea of manifest destiny, no God-given mission to blaze a trail to the Pacific. He vigorously criticized the Mexican War as wasteful and imperialistic, and spoke out against the annexation of California and later, against his old friend Seward's purchase of Alaska. When he founded his *Tribune* in 1841, Greeley's 'West' was still just west of the Appalachians, not west of the Mississippi, and certainly not the Great Basin or the arid Southwest [...] His version of homesteading replaced the individual pioneer with a cooperative organization of farmers and light manufacturers, modeled to some degree after the theories of the French socialist Charles Fourier.²⁴

Greeley was concerned with the plight of the laboring classes delivering lectures on the "Emancipation of Labor" and the "Organization of Labor."²⁵ As did Frederick Douglass,²⁶ he spoke out against the services American religion furnished to militarism and slavery: "Our Democracy has now, with a corrupt Christianity reduced the United States to a great conspirator against human liberty. Aggression, annexation, slave extension are all contained and approved in the so-called Democracy and so-called Christianity which coalesces with it."²⁷ He was an explicit advocate of socialism, especially that of Owen, Fourier, and the American Fourier proponent, Albert Brisbane, who advertised his views on socialism in a regular front page column in the *Tribune*. Greeley was clear about it: "We never objected to the term Socialist when it was a term of reproach and opprobrium, and we adhere to the convictions under which we earnestly fought...."²⁸ On the question of abolition he was likewise adamant:

Slavery is palpably at war with the fundamental basis of our government, - the inalienable rights of man. It is a chief obstacle to the progress of republican institutions throughout the world. It is a standing reproach

to our country abroad. [...] For these and other reasons, I am among those who labor and hope for the early and complete abolition of human, but especially of American slavery.²⁹

Greeley promoted land reform for the unemployed in the West in a manner analogous to the way abolitionist Gerrit Smith promoted it in upstate New York. Smith was a supporter of John Brown and the anti-slavery Liberty Party, and offered from his own extensive holdings 3000 grants of land to blacks, both free and slave, and to other abolitionists like John Brown and Oberlin College administrators (then in Virginia) who were committed to the vision of a slave-free America.³⁰ Greeley supported the Liberty Party's land reform measures, and sought to use the public domain for the benefit of the landless laboring classes, not the railroads or land speculators. According to Algie Martin Simons, Greeley saw the Homestead Act in a humanitarian manner that was an extension of his other socially and politically radical causes: "Greeley advocated the homestead law as a means of granting all an equal share in the earth."³¹ Despite his genuine commitment to general human equality, it must be acknowledged that Horace Greeley, like others of his time, was nonetheless insensitive to indigenous cultures and the plight of the American Indians at the loss (through eviction, forced sale, military confiscation) of *their* lands; likewise he sometimes expressed biased views. Of course, Native Americans originally possessed their lands in common, free of the concepts that land could be bought or sold, or be held as an individual's private property. Many were culturally averse to establishing farms on isolated parcels after the manner of European immigrants.

It is particularly interesting that one major reason the Wyandot Indians in the Kansas Territory opened their lands to purchase was because they were oriented against slavery and wished to cooperate with abolitionists. Several of these Free State abolitionists were Germans, notably Charles Morasch and Phillip Knoblock, who in 1857 helped establish from within the holdings of the Wyandot the first and only Free State entry on the Missouri river, at Old Quindaro City and Landing, Kansas.³²

A great many of the fighting men and political leaders during the Free State struggle were Kansas Germans.³³ Loren Taylor emphasizes: "Without question the new Irish and German settlers had 'Free State' sympathies....The Germans and Irish immigrants joined [the Union army] in percentages unequaled by any other group in Wyandotte County. The only exception would be the African Americans. ...18 Germans from Wyandotte County joined the company of Captain Zesch in Leavenworth."³⁴

Germans formed "the largest single ethnic group in this area [the eastern edge of Kansas, Wyandot, Quindaro, Lawrence] at the beginning of the Civil War."³⁵ An original Quindaro settler, Kansas German Phillip H. Knoblock, rose from the ranks to become a Union captain ultimately in charge of twenty eight companies when attacking the forces of Confederate General Sterling Price.³⁶ George Washington Deitzler (born in Pennsylvania of German descent) became a Union colonel (later general) and commanded Kansas troops, overseeing also Charles Jennison's fearsome Jayhawkers.³⁷ Col. Jennison was appointed acting brigadier general for his valiant 1862 activities dramatically liberating slave "property" in Missouri, but was passed over for the official commission to this rank. When Jennison's ferocious military form of "practical abolitionism" was criticized by conservatives as "premature interference with slavery" and his tactics as too much committed to foraging (decried as plunder by Missourians), he resigned from the military believing he was being slandered and that he could not conduct the war with honor under a high command hostile to Jayhawker radicalism. General Deitzler became an antagonist, and Jennison was imprisoned for a short while at St. Louis. He was visited there by the sympathetic German Forty-Eighter General Franz Sigel. President Lincoln soon ordered Jennison's reinstatement to his former command, yet Jennison withdrew from military service. It would remain for Gen. William T. Sherman's scorched earth policies in his famed March to the Sea to vindicate the ruthlessness with which both Jennison and John Brown, Sr. prosecuted the campaign for a slave-free America.

At one point during the war preparatory to a possible military offensive into Texas, Jennison's company was posted to Humboldt, Kansas. Humboldt had been named for the great German natural scientist and staunch abolitionist Alexander von Humboldt by the Forty-Eighter Kansas German physician Dr. Moritz Hartmann.³⁸ Similarly George Washington Deitzler planned as early as 1857 to found a town near Humboldt to be called Guttenberg [sic]. These German settlements were explicitly conceived by the Kansas German abolitionists Dr. Charles Kob (a further Forty-Eighter), G. W. Deitzler, and Dr. Hartmann, as components of a strategic "belt of freedom" intended to restrain the expansion of slaveholding lands. The

new settlements would accomplish this in a peaceful and passive manner. Prior to the Civil War, Dr. Kob explained the linkage between the Germans of Kansas and Texas, both groups having abolitionist inclinations, in the descriptions of Humboldt and Guttenberg in his *Guide* for German Settlers in Kansas (1857):³⁹

In western Texas there is already a strong, prosperous German anti-slavery settlement of 50,000-80,000 Germans. If we are successful in establishing German settlements in southern Kansas, we will be able to extend our hands to our brothers in Texas in a matter of a few years, and be able to build a belt of freedom around those unfortunate southern states afflicted with slavery.⁴⁰

John Speer, born in the U.S. with a characteristically German surname, was also notably involved in the Kansas Free State struggle from the beginning. His descendents have identified their heritage as Scots,⁴¹ and I am not arguing that his inclusion in this essay derives from his ethnicity but rather his radicalism. John Speer published the first abolitionist newspaper in the Kansas Territory. The first issue of his *Kansas Pioneer* actually had to be printed in Ohio because he was refused the only available printing services in Kansas and Missouri which were controlled by pro-slavery forces. Because a pro-slavery paper in Kickapoo, Kansas, was also called the *Kansas Pioneer*, Speer quickly changed his paper's name to *The Kansas Tribune*.⁴² For his many Kansas readers who also tilled the soil Speer promoted Greeley's views on farming. These were thought to be as important as his views on politics. He also editorialized staunchly on behalf of the "The German Vote":⁴³

The German vote has constituted a new and important element in the South and West. This fact has until recently escaped attention, but is destined to become more and more prominent with the steady and rapid increase of this class of our population. It is a gratifying feature of this fact, that the German vote is almost invariably cast on the side of Freedom and antislavery...Especially here in Kansas has this influence contributed materially to swell the preponderance on the side of the Free Institutions.⁴⁴

Speer emphasized that "the Germans of Texas...are already so strong as to leave little doubt that, whenever a new State shall be formed in Western Texas, it will be a Free State."⁴⁵ When in 1855 a fraudulent election resulted in a pro-slavery legislature in Kansas, Speer opposed it fiercely. The election was controlled by Missouri mobs and at least one thousand non-residents came to Lawrence to vote. "It seems incredible in this age," Speer wrote, "that men should have come from other States armed with revolvers, knives, shot guns, rifles, and artillery, with tents and camp equipage, encamping the night before and striking their tents the morning after election, carrying the returns of their own fraudulent election with them. But such is the fact."⁴⁶ This legislature then decreed that it was a crime to deny the legality of slavery in Kansas. John Speer immediately published the following direct challenge to this decree in *The Kansas Tribune's* largest and boldest type face:

**Now we DO ASSERT and declare, despite all the
bolts and bars of the iniquitous Legislature of Kansas, that
'PERSONS HAVE NOT THE
RIGHT TO HOLD SLAVES IN THIS TERRITORY.'**

This has become known in Kansas history as "John Speer's Defy."⁴⁷ John Speer and his family thus became prime targets of Quantrill's pro-slavery Missouri death squad during the Civil War, and he lost two sons as a result of Quantrill's notorious 1863 raid on Lawrence in which every male found was murdered in cold blood. Counts of the dead vary between 150 and 180 men and boys.⁴⁸

Speer personally identified his own cultural heritage in print as a "Son of Pennsylvania," referring to an association of the many Free State pioneers who had emigrated from that state.⁴⁹ Of these Pennsylvanians very many were of German background. But because there was no "Germany" as such until its many regions were unified by Bismarck in 1871, descendents of earlier German-speaking immigrants to a place like Pennsylvania called Pennsylvania their home and "never really thought of themselves as Germans but as 'Pennsylvanians with a difference.'"⁵⁰ Just as Speer stood with the German vote, Thomas Nast⁵¹ clearly depicts Greeley and the *Tribune* in the post Civil War editorial caricature below (Appendix A) as standing with the German Papers and the German Vote, fighting behind one of the Union's most prominent German-American generals, Franz Sigel. The political perspectives articulated in the anti-racist Civil War

journalism of both Speer and Greeley resound with the Free State German voice and display this German Forty-Eighter *intellectual genealogy* as well as the explicit anti-racism of Frederick Douglass. We owe it to Frank Baron, William Keel, and the SGAS *Yearbook* (Vol. 40, 2005, published in 2006),⁵² that we have at hand today the names of several Free State Germans of Kansas. Mention has already been made of Dr. Charles Kob, Dr. Moritz Harttmann, Gen. George Washington Deitzler, and August Bondi. Other prominent figures also included Charles Leonhart, Jacob Benjamin, and Charles Kaiser. It is noteworthy that of these Bondi and Benjamin were of German-Jewish heritage, as was Theodor Wiener, a close friend of Bondi who also served with John Brown, who had emigrated from the 19th century Prussian province of Posen (Poland).

It is an important yet little-known fact that the New England Immigrant Aid Society, the key force for Free State cultural transformation, sought particularly to increase German immigration to Kansas. Evidence of this is their financial support for the publication of Forty-Eighter Dr. Charles Kob's German language abolitionist newspaper, the *Kansas Zeitung*,⁵³ at Atchison, Ks., and their subvention of Kob's *Guide to Kansas for Settlers from Germany*.⁵⁴ Its readers would find advertised in it several German businessmen already in Kansas: a German newspaper publisher (Kob); two German physicians (Kob and Harttmann); two German bakers; a German stationer; a German hotelier, a German pharmacist, a German brewer and barkeep, a German real estate agent (again Kob), and a German lawyer.

The Bavarian socialist⁵⁵ and veteran of the 1849 democratic revolution in Germany, Charles Kaiser, usually called Dutch Charley, fought along side Brown and Bondi at Black Jack. Six months after the battle, in December 1856, Kaiser and Brown were memorialized by Bondi, who named streets⁵⁶ after them when he co-founded the town of Greeley, Kansas.⁵⁷ The town was named in honor of the extraordinary person that Horace Greeley in fact was: abolitionist journalist, fierce defender of the rights of labor, and outspoken opponent of the U.S. military expansion into the West. Greeley, Kansas, became a station in the Underground Railway; John Brown once secreted there eleven slaves he had liberated from Missouri for one month (January 1859).⁵⁸

There is in Kansas also a Greeley County, on the Kansas/Colorado border. Within it there is a town of Horace and a town of *Tribune* with its Horace Greeley Museum. Greeley, Colorado, was founded as a utopian religious, agricultural, and temperance community - also as a tribute to the radical social philosophy and politics of Horace Greeley.

Greeley and his newspaper bitterly denounced the nakedly imperial U.S. war against Mexico in the 1840s believing it would lead to the expansion of slave-holding territory.⁵⁹ This war did complete the annexation by the U. S. of one-third of the Mexican nation, a portion of which would also be included in what became the state of Kansas. No less a figure in the history of U.S. socialism than Eugene Victor Debs, - writing in 1908 for the Girard, Kansas, publication *The Appeal to Reason* - emphasized Greeley's politics as committed to the emancipation of labor and economic socialism. Debs lamented that Greeley was insufficiently honored for his ethical and political radicalism.⁶⁰

It is true that later in life Horace Greeley authored *An Address on Success in Business*,⁶¹ a booklet that extolled the entrepreneurial energies of Cornelius Vanderbilt and John Jacob Astor, among other 19th century financial magnates. This was in the run-up to Greeley's bid for the U.S. presidency and contrasted sharply with his previous radical opposition to the acquisition of vast tracts of the American West for speculative investment purposes. Karl Marx echoes Greeley's criticisms and concerns about powerful interests grabbing public land, and employs the term "primitive accumulation" for the process of the expropriation of commonly held lands and/or public property by private interests, as with enclosure acts in Britain (*Capital*, Vol. I. Part VIII).

It has been said that at that time Horace Greeley was the nation's most powerful opinion maker,⁶² and that no newspaper in America wielded as much influence as did the *New York Daily Tribune*.⁶³ Greeley's paper was very widely read in Kansas and Greeley himself visited Kansas in 1859.⁶⁴ His purpose was to attend the Territorial Republican Convention in May of that year in Osawatomie. Greeley was given an exceptionally warm reception in Lawrence,⁶⁵ but in point of fact the Osawatomie Republicans "Sat Down on" Greeley suppressing his radical egalitarian advocacy of the ballot for all black Americans. In the name

of unity with more conservative Republicans, they wished to restrict the right to vote in Kansas to white males. In contrast a year earlier on May 13, 1858, the more radical residents of Quindaro, many of them Kansas Germans, had approved African-American suffrage in municipal elections.⁶⁶ Greeley's radicalism was at odds with the explicit capitulation of many of the reformists, rather than radical Republicans of Kansas, to white privilege.

In her recent history of Bleeding Kansas, Nicole Etcheson has recognized this explicit Kansas Free State capitulation to white privilege.⁶⁷ In attempting to explain the general motivation and behavior prevalent within the Kansas Free State element, however, her study curiously valorizes the (Northern Democratic) logic of Stephen Douglas and the stratagem of popular sovereignty as if they were the fundamental operative forces behind the Kansas Free State movement. She sees white interest in popular sovereignty in a manner fully detached from humanitarian interest in the rights of blacks. In her account, Free State interests in white racial superiority and white economic and political advancement were the chief goods sought even by most anti-slavery Kansans. While many Free Staters may certainly have articulated and acted upon such feelings, radicals like John Speer denounced this mentality as characteristic of "pseudo free state" men and the "trembling cowardly conservatives."⁶⁸ Etcheson's account on the other hand tends to contest and diminish the historical influence of the Kansas radicals (in customary monocultural fashion) whose authentic opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act and whose role as catalysts within the Republican party and in Kansas history was absolutely pivotal. In contrast to Etcheson, the present essay makes an intercultural and historiographical point of the Kansas radicals' commitment to racial equality and anti-racist solidarity with black Americans: in the Kansas branches of the Underground Railroad, the formation of black units in the Kansas militia, and in the struggle for the black franchise in Quindaro and Osawatimie.

Greeley pressed even Lincoln in a famous open letter, "Prayer of Twenty Millions," published in the *New York Daily Tribune* August 20, 1862, to move boldly forward toward emancipation, but Lincoln deflected the challenge. Greeley clearly found an explicit egalitarianism, anti-racism, and advocacy for international workforce solidarity more congenial, and enlisted Karl Marx to write for his paper as early as 1851.

"When Karl Marx Worked for Horace Greeley"⁶⁸

The *New York Daily Tribune's* editorial of October 25, 1851 drew attention to the contribution of a new foreign correspondent - from Germany - who Greeley extolled as "one of the clearest and most vigorous writers that country has produced - no matter what may be the judgment of the critical upon his public opinions in the sphere of political and social philosophy."⁷⁰ This first article was a long piece on the 1848-49 revolution and counter-revolution in Europe under the by-line of Karl Marx. Articles by Marx would appear almost weekly in a collaboration that continued for ten years.⁷¹ What Marx earned from the *Tribune* during that decade constituted his main means of support aside from the meager funds supplied by Engels. The journalistic partnership with Greeley and the *Tribune* "sustained Karl Marx over the years when he was mapping out his crowning tract of overthrow, *Das Kapital*."⁷²

I want to be clear that I am not arguing that the abolitionist movement in America was being aroused by Karl Marx. Rather, that Marx was highly excited and impressed by this movement and drew out the economic implications of the anti-slavery struggle as this was being waged in Kansas and then in the larger context of the U.S. Civil War. Much of the material from over 500 dispatches by Marx to the *Tribune* actually made its way into *Capital*, and it is important to recall that Marx vividly connected an analysis of American slavery with lessons for the European and American labor force in the first volume of his opus magnum. Slavery, of course, was primarily a *forced labor system* with implications also for the *labor market*. On this point Marx includes the following heading in *Capital* Volume One, Chapter X, Part 7: "Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur [Change but the name, and the story is told of yourself]."

It is a maxim of slave management, in slave importing countries, that the most effective economy is that which takes out of the human chattel in the shortest space of time the utmost amount of exertion it is capable of putting forth....

"Change but the name, and the story is told of yourself." *For slave trade* read labor market, for *Kentucky and Virginia*, Ireland and the agricultural districts of England, Scotland and Wales, for *Africa*, Germany... the London labour market is always over-stocked with German and other candidates for death....⁷³

Marx concludes this section of *Capital* drawing the lesson of the anti-slavery struggle for the American workforce overall:

In the United States of North America every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. *Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded*. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation.⁷⁴

These passages from *Capital* are significant even if brief. Marx's conclusions and observations here undergird his general notions of dialectics, learning, and cultural transformation, and furnish the Marxist warrant for the ongoing strategic importance of an explicitly anti-racist politics of liberation for labor. He explicitly mentions Greeley's *New York Daily Tribune* in the pages of *Das Kapital*.⁷⁵ Though this reference occurs only in a note, it is significant that it is a remark that refers to American slavery and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Still it was in his newspaper work that Karl Marx wrote most substantively about American slavery, including the importance of the Free State struggle in Kansas. Marx wrote about the Civil War not only for the *Tribune*, but also for European, primarily German and Austrian, publications.⁷⁶ Marx's Civil War articles have been (in at least three different editions) collected into a volume of their own,⁷⁷ and are also found in the *Marx-Engels Collected Works*, Volume 19.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the writings of Marx (and Engels) on the U.S.A. are seldom taken up as a research project.⁷⁹

Kansas and Germans in the Civil War Journalism of Karl Marx: 1861-62

My concern here is with the Free State struggle and German radicalism. Events in (or pertaining directly to) Kansas are mentioned dozens of times in newspaper articles by Marx published both in the United States and in Europe at the time of the U.S. Civil War. Comments about the German ethnicity of Union officers and men also figure distinctively (though fairly rarely) in these writings. One of his earliest and most lengthy references emphasizes the "armed emissaries of the slaveholders, border rabble" who "fell upon Kansas:"

For hardly had the Kansas-Nebraska Bill gone through, which wiped out the geographical boundary-line of slavery and made its introduction into new Territories subject to the will of the majority of the settlers, when armed emissaries of the slaveholders, border rabble from Missouri and Arkansas, with bowie-knife in one hand and revolver in the other, fell upon Kansas and sought by the most unheard-of atrocities to dislodge its settlers from the Territory colonised by them. These raids were supported by the central government in Washington.⁸⁰

As Marx saw it, the U.S. federal government clearly desired the extension of slavery into Kansas by violent means. He took special note of the countervailing fact that "a relief organisation was formed to support Kansas with men, arms and money"⁸¹ and "[w]hat they [the Southern party] had attempted by way of example with regard to Kansas, to force slavery on a Territory through the central government against the will of the settlers themselves, they now set up as law for all the Territories of the Union."⁸² Ralph Waldo Emerson had earlier expressed similar sentiments:

There is this particularity about the case of Kansas, that all the right is on one side.... [T]he people of Kansas ask for bread, clothes, arms and men, to save them alive, and to enable them to stand against these enemies of the human race.... Who doubts that Kansas would have been well settled, if the United States had let it alone? The government armed and led the ruffians against the poor farmers. I do not know any story so gloomy as the politics of this country....⁸³

Marx clearly wrote in the *New York Daily Tribune* that he saw the South as the aggressor in the Civil War and that the complicity of James Buchanan and the federal government in the run up to this conflict composed a large part of this country's gloomy politics. "[I]t ought to be remembered that it was not the North, but the South, that undertook this war...the South, on its part, inaugurated the war by loudly proclaiming 'the peculiar institution' as the only and main end of the rebellion."⁸⁴ In addition, he specifically spoke to the "lot of the German and Irishman" in America in explicit connection to any expansion of the influence of the slave states:

The slave system would infect the whole Union. In the Northern states, where Negro slavery is in practice unworkable, the white working class would gradually be forced down to the level of helotry. This would fully accord with the loudly proclaimed principle that only certain races are capable of freedom, and *as the actual labour is the lot of the Negro in the South, so in the North it is the lot of the German and the Irishman, or their direct descendants*.⁸⁵

Marx emphasizes "the Kansas war" as one of the primary indications that the North had the vision and the will to prevail in this conflict:

The Kansas war, the formation of the Republican party, and the large vote cast for Frémont during the Presidential election of 1856, were so many palpable proofs that the North had accumulated sufficient energies to rectify the aberrations which United States history, under the slaveowners' pressure, had undergone, for over half a century, and to make it return to the true principles of its development.⁸⁵ Marx's praise, above, for "the true principles"⁸⁶ of American democracy represented by the North, contrasts sharply with his criticisms of England and the English press in the same *Tribune* article: "Anti-Slavery England cannot sympathize with the North ...because...the North...had its Democratic institutions tainted by the slavedriver's prejudices ... because its war is no Abolitionist war..."⁸⁷ Marx dismisses this position as "all cant."⁸⁸ Furthermore, "The English press is more Southern than the South itself."⁸⁹ Marx points out that the English press vituperates not only against the North and its President, but against German-Americans fighting in its Union troops:
... English journalism...has broken its own record this past year by its "malignant brutality" against the United States....*The Times* [of London], in bold Garamond type, called President Lincoln "a respectable buffoon," his cabinet ministers "a gang of rogues and ruffraff," and the army of the United States "an army whose officers are Yankee swindlers and whose privates are German thieves."⁹⁰

Just a few months earlier Marx reported on the source of an account of developments in the U.S. Civil War he had lately received (as it happens, not from a German private, but) from "[o]ne of my friends, a German officer, who fought under the star-spangled banner in Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee in turn..."⁹¹ ... namely, Col. Joseph Weydemeyer, a member of the Communist League in Germany 1848-49 and later said to be the first person to propagate Marxism in the U.S.⁹² Similarly, Marx (with Engels) underscores the German name of a Union general and gives an explicit nod to his German ethnicity: After a march of about twelve miles (English) in a twenty-four hours' downpour and through veritable seas of mud, 8,000 Union troops under General Heintzelman (of German descent, but born in Pennsylvania) arrived.... If the Congress at Washington wanted to pass a vote of thanks, it should have been to General *Heintzelman*, who saved the Yankees from a second Bull Run⁹³

The national military even in the North was generally controlled by the pro-slavery faction. The German-American Forty-Eighters infused an anti-slavery element into the upper ranks out of all proportion to their numbers in the military overall. In addition to Heintzelman, there were also the prominent German-American Generals Carl Schurz, Franz Sigel, Alexander von Schimmelpfennig, August Willich, Adolf von Steinwehr, Max von Weber, Friedrich Salomon, Julius Stahel, Peter Osterhaus, Ludwig Blenker, and the immensely popular Col. Friedrich Hecker. German-American cultural leaders like Emil Praetorius, Friedrich Kapp, Adolf Douai, Reinhard Solger, and Karl Heinzen also had significant political impact.⁹⁴ Marx also had immense respect and praise for Col. Charles Jennison who succeeded Captain John Brown, Jr.⁹⁵ as leader of the ardently abolitionist Jayhawkers, the 7th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. Marx read of Jennison's abolitionist politics from an article titled "Camp Jennison. Kansas City, Tuesday, Nov. 12, 1861" published in Greeley's *New York Daily Tribune*⁹⁶ and passed the information on to Europe through the press in Vienna:

Colonel *Jennison* in Kansas has surpassed all his military predecessors by an address to his troops which contains the following passage: "No temporising with rebels and those sympathising with them. I have told General Frémont that I would not have drawn my sword had I thought that slavery would outlast this struggle. The slaves of rebels will always find protection in this camp and we will defend them to the last man and the last bullet. I want no men who are not Abolitionists, I have no use for them and I hope that there are no such people among us, for everyone knows that slavery is the basis, the centre and the vertex of this infernal war. Should the government disapprove of my action it can take back my patent, but in that case I shall act on my own hook even if in the beginning I can only count on six men." The slavery question is being solved in practice in the border slave states even now, especially in *Missouri*....⁹⁷ Marx was truly inspired by what he read of Jennison's Jayhawkers, and he conveyed this important information to European readers, whom he also believed would appreciate Jennison's recognition of the direct relationship of emancipatory politics to emancipatory practice. Marx also conveyed European sentiments to U.S. readers in the *Tribune*:

The peoples of Europe know that the Southern slaveocracy commenced that war with the declaration that the continuance of slaveocracy was no longer compatible with the continuance of the Union. Consequently,

the people of Europe know that a fight for the continuance of the Union is a fight against the continuance of the slaveocracy - that in this contest the highest form of popular self-government till now realized is giving battle to the meanest and most shameless form of man's enslaving recorded in the annals of history.⁹⁸ As I emphasized earlier, Marx and Europe were learning from the U.S. experience; they were not leading it, which is not to say there was not some give and take. As for example when Greeley published statements of opinion by Marx and Engels as his own editorial positions. Likewise, Charles Kob's *Kansas Zeitung* (established with the help of the New England Emigrant Aid Society as noted above) published explicit front page discussions of communism and socialism as these were advocated by the Boston-based German-American socialist, free thinker, and abolitionist Adolf Douai.⁹⁹ Like other socialists, Douai was driven out of Texas by racist slaveholders around 1856. In 1883, Douai was so prominent in America that he was chosen to deliver the eulogy for Karl Marx at Cooper Union in New York City.¹⁰⁰ But it is precisely from the perspective of Europe that Marx concludes "The first grand war of contemporaneous history is the American war."¹⁰¹

Marx was crediting the U.S. Civil War with even more democratic potential than the European uprisings of 1848-49. One of the Civil War's chief lessons is that Lincoln had to make tactical compromises along the way with conservative Unionists who did not support emancipation, yet emancipation was the key goal that may have been postponed, but Lincoln never betrayed. Lincoln's "manifesto abolishing slavery..." is, according to Marx, a second Declaration of Independence.

[It is] the most important document in American history since the establishment of the Union, tantamount to tearing up the old American Constitution.... Lincoln's place in the history of the United States and mankind will ... be next to that of Washington! ... The New World has never achieved a greater triumph than by this demonstration that, given its political and social organization, ordinary people of good will can accomplish feats which only heroes could accomplish in the old world!¹⁰²

Marx's journalistic writing did pay close attention to events unfolding around the U.S. Civil War. He carefully articulated and supported the abolitionist goals of this struggle in his profession as a multilingual and multicultural journalist, and he engaged explicitly in building international solidarity for the war's most radical cause: emancipation. In a similar vein, Frederick Douglass would likewise evaluate the strategy of Lincoln dialectically:

I have said that President Lincoln was a white man, and shared the prejudices common to his countrymen towards the colored race... Viewed from the genuine abolition ground, Mr. Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent; but measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined.¹⁰³

Douglass furnishes here a confirmation of the evaluation of Lincoln published earlier by Marx indicating his admiration for Lincoln as a world-historical figure and the emancipation struggle as a world-historical struggle. This was also a reflection of Marx's immense admiration for Greeley, Bleeding Kansas, and Germans fighting for the Union in the U.S. Civil War.

I have sought throughout the foregoing to exhibit the concrete concordances in word and deed among such radical figures as Horace Greeley, Karl Marx, and Kansas German Forty-Eighters like August Bondi that resonated with the African American liberation agenda articulated so incisively by Frederick Douglass. The movement for full racial and political equality in Kansas set this Free State history apart from a mere acceptance of white privilege by many liberals in the struggle for a slavery-free Union. Future generations of radical Americans - facing resurgent racism and cultural backlash in an era of intensifying economic and political polarization - can find a genuine precedent here. Political radicalism was an indispensable catalyst to the advancement of human rights in the United States. If this international and interracial movement also required (and still requires) immense strategic patience, this history clearly vindicates the egalitarian agitation that makes any more pragmatic progressive course possible.¹⁰⁴

Works Cited

¹This essay is indebted to the scholarly excitement widely generated on these and related themes by Fred Whitehead, long-time Kansas editor of the *Freethought History* newsletter, and *Freethought on the American Frontier* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992).

²See for example: Samuel Cornish and John B. Russwurm's "The First Negro Newspaper's Opening Editorial, 1827" (March 16, 1827) that emphatically argued the necessity of blacks pleading their own cause; Henry Highland Garnet's "Address to the Slaves of the United States of America" (August 16, 1843) which was a radical call to black and slave resistance; Jermain Wesley Loguen's bold assertion of black manhood and black pride in "I am a Fugitive Slave," (1850); and Frederick Douglass's "What, to the Slave, is the Fourth of July?" (1852). All collected (some in abridged form) in Herbert Aptheker [ed.], *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* with a Preface by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois (New York: Citadel Press, 1969). I thank Prof. Melanie J. Scott for turning my attention to these pivotal African American materials. Professors Steve Spartan and Steve Collins likewise first evoked my interest in Free State history with a visit to the Old Quindaro site of German abolitionist immigration to the area Kansas City, Kansas. I thank Frank Baron of the University of Kansas for providing key insights into the German-American 48-ers and their connection in Kansas history to both Horace Greeley and John Brown.

³Douglass in James Daley (ed.), "What, to the Slave, is the Fourth of July?" [unabridged] *Great Speeches by African Americans* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006) p. 30.

⁴An excellent overview of the central historiographical controversies in the past century's welter of published scholarly accounts addressing the meaning of Bleeding Kansas is offered by Gunja SenGupta, "Bleeding Kansas: Review Essay" in Virgil W. Dean (ed.), *Territorial Kansas Reader* (Topeka, KS: Kansas State Historical Society, 2005) pp. 319-54.

⁵A recent Greeley biographer also acknowledges this contention about the centrality of Kansas and abolition in the life of Greeley, though the title of his account still persists in the conventional wisdom with regard to "Go west." In a chapter on Greeley's battle against slavery, Coy F. Cross asserts: Greeley "encouraged brave men, whom neither self-interest nor threat of violence could divert from their purpose to emigrate to Kansas." See Coy F. Cross II, *Go West Young Man!* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1995) p. 82.

⁶Frank Baron, "German Republicans and Radicals in the Struggle for a Slave-Free Kansas: Charles F. Kob and August Bondi," *Yearbook of German-American Studies [YGAS]*, Volume 40, 2005. pp. 3-26. Thanks also to YGAS editor, William Keel, for featuring in this volume key materials on Free State Germans in Kansas including the German-American abolitionist song "Hurrah - Frei Kansas!" which demands liberty for "Dem schwarzen und dem roten, Sowie dem weissen Mann! [The black and the red, as well as the white man]." Ibid., pp. i-ii.

⁷*The Autobiography of August Bondi 1833-1907* (Galesburg, IL: Wagoner Printing Company, 1910). See excerpts edited by Frank Baron in YGAS, 2005 Ibid., p. 116, emphasis added. I owe this insight to Frank Baron, Ibid., p. 12-13. Emphasis added.

⁸Greeley, *New York Daily Tribune*, January 27, 1855. Quoted in Baron, Ibid. pp. 12-13.

⁹Greeley, *New York Daily Tribune*, March 6, 1855. Quoted in Baron, Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁰Baron, op. cit. p. 12.

¹¹Baron, op. cit., p.12.

¹²W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *John Brown* (New York: International Publishers, [1909] 1996) pp. 117-28.

¹³See Bondi, op. cit., pp. 131-33.

¹⁴See the reflections of Frederick Douglass, "Oration In Memory Of Abraham Lincoln, Delivered At The Unveiling Of The Freedmen's Monument In Memory Of Abraham Lincoln, In Lincoln Park, Washington, D.C., April 14, 1876." <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?documentprint=39>

¹⁵Thomas Fuller, " 'Go West, young man' - An Elusive Slogan," *Indiana Magazine of History* Vol. 100. No. 3, November, 2004. <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/imh/100.3/fuller.html>

¹⁶A critical examination of this contention is found in Fuller, Ibid.

¹⁷Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1961).

¹⁸Thomas A. Bailey, op. cit., p. 338.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 491.

²⁰Ibid., p. 490.

²¹See especially Howard Kahane and Nancy Cavender, *Logic and Contemporary Rhetoric* (Belmont, CA: Thompson-Wadsworth, 2006) pp. 313-349; John Marciano, *Civic Illiteracy and Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997); James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (New York: Touchstone, 1995); Michael W. Apple, *Education and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1995); William L. Griffen and John Marciano, *Teaching the Vietnam War* (Montclair, NJ: Allenheld Osmun, 1979); Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised: History School Books in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1979); Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais, *Labor's Untold Story* (New York: United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America [UE], 1976).

²²I consulted: Alan Brinkley, *American History A Survey* (Boston: McGraw Hill College, 1999); Thomas V. DiBacco, et al. *History of the United States* (Boston Houghton Mifflin, 1993); Jesus Garcia, et. al *Creating America* (Evanston, IL: McDougal Littell, 2001); Paul S. Boyer, et. al., *The Enduring Vision* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000); Clatyon, et. al., *America: Pathways to the Present* (Needham, MA: Prentice Hall, 2003); and Godfield, et.al., *The American Journey* (New York: McGraw Hill Glencoe, 1998).

²³Horace Greeley, *The New Yorker*, June 3, 1837. This citation from: Roy Marvin Robbins, "Horace Greeley: Land Reform and Unemployment, 1837-1862," *Agricultural History*, VII, 18 (January, 1933) pp. 18-41.

²⁴David Fennimore (1996) on "Horace Greeley and the Shiftless State of Kansas," <http://wolfweb.unr.edu/homepage/fenimore/greeley2.html#west>

²⁵See Charles Sotheran, *Horace Greeley and other Pioneers of American Socialism* (New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 1915) pp. 29, 40.

²⁶"[T]he church of this country is not only indifferent to the wrongs of the slave, it actually takes sides with the oppressors. . . . and this horrible blasphemy is palmed off upon the world for Christianity. . . . For my part, I would say Welcome infidelity! Welcome atheism! . . ." --Douglass in James Daley (ed.), "What, to the Slave, is the Fourth of July?" [unabridged] *Great Speeches by African Americans* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006) p. 27.

²⁷Greeley, op. cit., p. 87.

²⁸Greeley, *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²⁹Greeley, *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

³⁰See Chester G. Hearn, *Companions in Conspiracy: John Brown and Gerrit Smith* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publishers, 1996) pp.11, 17.

³¹Algie Martin Simmons, *Social Forces in American History* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1911; New York: the International Publishers, 1926; Lawrence, KS: Carrie Books, 2003), Chapter 21. See http://vlib.iue.it/carrie/texts/carrie_books/simons/21.html

³²See Loren Taylor, *Consolidated Ethnic History of Wyandotte County* (Kansas City, KS: Kansas Ethnic Council, Inc., 2000) pp. 38-40.

³³Loren Taylor, *Consolidated Ethnic History of Wyandotte County*, *Ibid.* p. 342.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 39.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 250.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷Marx has some notable remarks on Jennison, see p. 18 below. Also see Stephen Z. Starr, *Jennison's Jayhawkers* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1983) p. 141.

³⁸See Frank Baron and G. Scott Seeger, "Moritz Hartmann (1817-1900) in Kansas: A Forgotten German Pioneer of Lawrence and Humboldt," *YGAS* 2004, Vol. 39, pp. 1-22.

³⁹Karl Friedrich Kob, *Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas* (New York: Teubner, 1857); reprinted in *YGAS* 2005, op.cit.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 80. Ralph Waldo Emerson also wrote on this point: "We intend to set & to keep a *cordon sanitaire* all around the infected district, & by no means suffer the pestilence to spread." See Len Gougeon and Joel Myerson [eds.] *Emerson's Antislavery Writings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) p. xlvi.

⁴¹Sidney Clarke, "The Work of John Speer," *Kansas State Historical Society Collections*, V. 10, pp. 482-83, *Kansas State Historical Society locator*: S. P. 906 K13, v.10, p. 480. Clarke very correctly stresses that "No history of Kansas would be complete that failed to record his [Speer's] long and conspicuous identification with all that is good and true in building up the progressive institutions of that great commonwealth." *Ibid.*

⁴²See John Speer's 1878 letter, "Pennsylvania's Sons in Kansas History," in *The Champion*, Atchison, Kansas, March 6, 1878, *Kansas State Historical Society locator*: 978.1 -At2.

⁴³My thanks to Frank Baron for providing primary source materials from The Kansas Tribune on the German vote and Greeley. See: "Agriculture: Horace Greeley's Address" *The Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, Kansas, October 24, 1855.

⁴⁴*The Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, Kansas, May 8, 1858.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶"Address by Hon. John Speer," in *The Kansas Memorial: A Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting held at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 1879* (Kansas City, MO: Press of Ramsey, Millet & Hudson, 1880) p. 177.

⁴⁶Speer's historic challenge to slave power is reproduced in Sidney Clarke, "The Work of John Speer," op. cit., p. 483.

⁴⁸See also John Speer's latter-day reflections on this as President of the Kansas State Historical Society, January 17, 1899, "The Burning of Osceola, Mo., by Lane, and the Quantrill Massacre Contrasted" *Kansas State Historical Society Collections*, V. 6, pp. 305-12.

⁴⁹See John Speer's 1878 letter, "Pennsylvania's Sons in Kansas History," in *The Champion*, Atchison, Kansas, March 6, 1878, Kansas State Historical Society locator: 978.1 -At2. See also "Pennsylvania and Kansas" and "The Pennsylvanians" in *The Champion*, Atchison, Kansas, February 23, 1878, Kansas State Historical Society locator: 978.1 -At2. Speer's letter was a response to his exclusion from the Atchison newspaper's account of accomplishments in Kansas by the "Sons of Pennsylvania."

⁵⁰See, David L. Valuska and Christian B. Keller, *Damn Dutch: Pennsylvania Germans at Gettysburg* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004) p. 3.

⁵¹*Harpers Weekly*, November 6, 1869 (p. 720). Nast was very negative, however, about Greeley's 1872 presidential campaign.

⁵²YGAS 2005, op. cit.

⁵³Eleanor L. Turk, "The Germans of Atchison 1854-59," in Virgil W. Dean (ed.), *Territorial Kansas Reader* (Topeka, KS: Kansas State Historical Society, 2005) p. 303.

⁵⁴Baron, "German Republicans and Radicals..." op.cit., p. 7.

⁵⁵Ibid. p. 13.

⁵⁶Which persist to this day. See 2002 Greeley town street map [Appendix A](#)

⁵⁷*The Autobiography of August Bondi 1833-1907* (Galesburg, IL: Wagoner Printing Company, 1910). See excerpts edited by Frank Baron in YGAS 2005, op cit., p. 147.

⁵⁸Todd Mildfelt, *The Secret Danites: Kansas' First Jayhawkers* (Richmond, KS: Todd Mildfelt Publishing, 2003) pp. 74-76.

⁵⁹See especially David Fennimore (1996) on "Horace Greeley and the Shiftless State of Kansas," <http://wolfweb.unr.edu/homepage/fenimore/greeley2.html#west>:

⁶⁰Eugene Victor Debs, "The American Movement" in *DEBS: His Life, Writings, and Speeches* (Girard, KS: The Appeal to Reason Press, 1908).

See <http://www.marxists.org/archive/debs/works/1898/america.htm>

⁶¹Horace Greeley, *An Address on Success in Business* (New York, S. S. Packard, 1867).

⁶²See Christopher Corbett, *Orphans Preferred: The Twisted Truth and Lasting Legend of the Pony Express* (New York: Broadway Publishers, 2003).

⁶³See Roy M. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776-1936* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1932) who cites Willard G. Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1927), p. 228.

⁶⁴Martha B. Caldwell, "When Horace Greeley Visited Kansas in 1859" *Kansas Historical Quarterly* Vol. 9, No. 2, (May, 1940) pp. 115 to 140. http://www.kshs.org/publicat/khq/1940/40_2_caldwell.htm

⁶⁵Ibid. p. 116.

⁶⁶See Taylor, op.cit., p. 106. See Henry Ketcham's chapter "Lincoln and Greeley" in *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1901) <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext04/lflcn10.txt>

⁶⁷See Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

⁶⁸John Speer, "Address by Hon. John Speer," in *The Kansas Memorial*, op.cit., p. 181.

⁶⁹This apt and memorable phrase comes from an extraordinary article (for a Cold War year like 1957) published in the *American Heritage Magazine* by William Harlan Hale from which much of the following account is drawn.

⁷⁰William Harlan Hale, "When Karl Marx Worked for Horace Greeley," *American Heritage Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 3, April 1957. Much of what follows is drawn from Hale.

http://www.americanheritage.com/articles/magazine/ah/1957/3/1957_3_20.shtml

⁷¹In point of fact, according to Hale, many of "Marx's" contributions, including this first one were ghost-written by Frederick Engels. Hale contends that Greeley also published Marx's (and Engels's) opinions in the *Tribune* as his own editorials!

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Karl Marx, *Capital* translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (New York: The Modern Library, 1906) p. 293. Emphasis added.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 329. Emphasis added.

⁷⁵Karl Marx, *Das Kapital in Marx-Engels Werke* Bd. 23 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1968) p. 758n.

⁷⁶In particular the Viennese liberal newspaper, *Die Presse*. See articles collected in *MECW*, Ibid.

⁷⁷Saul K. Padover, *Karl Marx: On America and the Civil War* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1972) and Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States* (New York: International Publishers, 1961). See also, Henry M. Christman, *The American Journalism of Marx and Engels* (New York: The New American Library, 1966), and most recently, James Ledbetter, *Dispatches for the New York Tribune: Selected Journalism of Karl Marx* (London: Penguin, 2007).

⁷⁸*Marx-Engels Collected Works [MECW]*, Vol. 19 (New York: International Publishers, 1984).

⁷⁹Malcolm Sylvers, "Marx, Engels und die USA - ein Forschungsprojekt über ein wenig beachtetes Thema," *Marx-Engels Jahrbuch 2004*, pp. 31-53.

⁸⁰Karl Marx, "The North American Civil War," *Die Presse* [Vienna, Austria], No. 293, October 25, 1861; in *MECW*, Vol. 19 (New York: International Publishers, 1984), pp. 38.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid., p.41. My intention is not to examine the nuances of Marx's political or military analysis of the then-current state of affairs. This is more fully accomplished elsewhere: in the forthcoming monograph by Kevin B. Anderson on the multicultural dimension of the writing of Karl Marx, particularly with regard to the U.S. Civil War addressing all the key issues.

⁸³Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Kansas Relief Meeting, 10 September 1856" in *Emerson's Antislavery Writings*, Len Gougeon and Joel Myerson [eds.] (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

⁸⁴See Marx's "The American Question in England," *New York Daily Tribune*, No. 6403, October 11, 1861; reprinted in *MECW* 19 Ibid., p. 8:

⁸⁵Karl Max, "The Civil War in the United States," *Die Presse*, No. 306, November 7, 1861; reprinted in *MECW* 19, Ibid., p. 50, emphasis added.

⁸⁶Karl Marx, "The American Question in England," *New York Daily Tribune*, No. 6403, October 11, 1861; reprinted in *MECW* 19 Ibid., p. 10.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 11-12. Marx emphasizes the hypocrisy of the British, who formally abolished slavery in 1807, yet traded profitably for decades thereafter with the American slaveocracy.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 14.

⁸⁹Karl Marx, "Symptoms of Disintegration in the Southern Confederacy," *Die Presse*, No. 313, November 14, 1862. *MECW* 19, Ibid., p. 260.

⁹⁰Karl Marx, "Russell's Protest Against American Rudeness....," *Die Presse*, No. 233 August 24, 1862; reprinted in *MECW* 19, Ibid., p. 230-31.

⁹¹Karl Marx, "The Situation in North America" *Die Presse* No. 309, November 19, 1862; reprinted in *MECW* 19, Ibid., p. 257.

⁹²Editors, *MECW* Ibid., p. 427.

⁹³Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The Situation in the American Theater of War," *Die Presse* No. 148, May 30, 1862; reprinted in *MECW* 19, Ibid., pp. 207-08. Emphasis in original.

⁹⁴See Ella Lonn, "The Forty-Eighters in the Civil War," in A. E. Zucker [ed.], *The Forty-Eighters* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1950); also Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952); see also Don Heinrich Tolzmann [ed.] *The German-American Forty-Eighters, 1848-1998* (Cincinnati: Max Kade Center, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, 1998); see further, Fred Whitehead, "The Legacy of 1848" *Freethought History* #25 1998 and "August Willich" *Freethought History* #23 1997.

⁹⁵John Jr. was the eldest son of John Brown, Sr.

⁹⁶*New York Daily Tribune*, No. 6441, November 25, 1861. See editors' comment *MECW* 19, Ibid., p. 116.

⁹⁷Karl Marx, "The Crisis over the Slavery Issue," *Die Presse* No. 343, December 14, 1861; reprinted in *MECW* 19, *Ibid.*, p. 116. Emphasis in original.

⁹⁸Karl Marx, "The London *Times* and the Orleans Princes in America," *New York Daily Tribune*, No. 6426, November 7, 1861; reprinted in *MECW* 19, *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁹⁹See *Kansas Zeitung. Ein Organ für freies Wort, freien Boden und freie Männer*, Atchison, Kansas Territory, July 22, 1857

¹⁰⁰See Jim Lane, "No Texas Is Not all about Bush," *Texas National Press*, March 24, 2007 at <http://www.texasnationalpress.com/texlog/article.php?story=20070324130809455>

See also Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson, *Adolf Douai, 1819-1888: The Turbulent Life of a German Forty-Eighter in the Homeland and in the United States*. New German American Studies; Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien. (New York: Peter Lang, 2000)

¹⁰¹Karl Marx, "The London *Times* and the Orleans Princes in America," *op. cit.*, Emphasis added.

¹⁰²Karl Marx, "Comments on the North American Events," *Die Presse* No. 281, October 12, 1862; reprinted in *MECW* 19, *Ibid.*, p. 250.

¹⁰³Frederick Douglass, "Oration In Memory Of Abraham Lincoln, Delivered At The Unveiling Of The Freedmen's Monument In Memory Of Abraham Lincoln, In Lincoln Park, Washington, D.C., April 14, 1876." <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?documentprint=39>

¹⁰⁴See also James Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics* (New York: Norton, 2007).