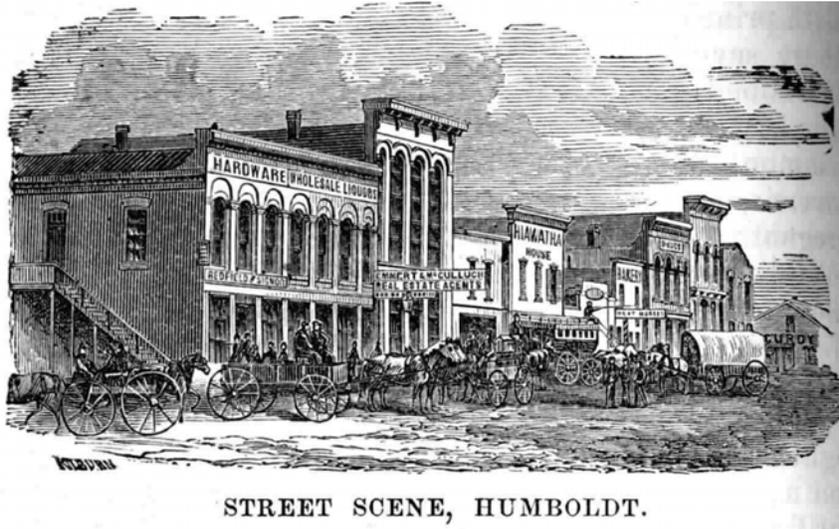


Moritz Harttmann (1817–1900) in Kansas:
A Forgotten German Pioneer of Lawrence and Humboldt*

Frank Baron and Scott Seeger



STREET SCENE, HUMBOLDT.

1871

[Horace] G[reeley]. *Here is the most important question of all: Can you get men to go from the free States to Kansas, in view of the great sacrifices they will be obliged to make, risking property, peace, and even life itself, for a principle . . . ? Remember that the whole power of the Government is against you; that Missouri, crowded with border ruffians, is on the entire eastern border of Kansas . . . Can all these difficulties be overcome?*

[Eli] T[hayer, speaking for the New England Emigrant Aid Company].
They can be and will be.

Conversation in New York, May 1854.¹

. . . the shameful devotion to Slavery, the treacherous importation of Negroes, under the pretense of their becoming free—a means to stimulate the hunting of Negroes in the interior of Africa. What atrocities have been witnessed by one who has had the misfortune to live from 1789 to 1858.

Alexander von Humboldt to Julius Froebel, 1858²

¹ Eli Thayer, *A History of the Kansas Crusade: Its Friends and Its Foes* (New York: Harper, 1889), 45.

² See letter of January 11, 1858 at the Quindaro site of the Kansas City Community College. http://www.kckcc.edu/territorial_news/quindaro_chindowan/q52a.pdf. The original letter has appeared in a new edition of Humboldt's letters relating to the United States. Ingo

The initial search for biographical information about Moritz Harttmann is a frustrating exercise. Biographical dictionaries take no notice of him. On first glance, it appears that Harttmann left behind no legacy of achievements. He was not famous in his time; what was known about him was soon forgotten. Only an extensive search and a process of linking disparate pieces of information reveal that he was intensely involved in a significant phase of United States history. In Kansas, where he resided for thirty years, he, along with many other German settlers who had survived the failed 1848 revolution, advocated a state free of slavery. He represented the ideals of Alexander von Humboldt, who condemned slavery repeatedly and vehemently. A close examination of

* This article appeared in *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 39 (2004): 1-22. Harttmann's life reveals more about historical events than do the lives of many famous personalities of his day.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 raised a fundamental question for America's future: whether Kansas was to be a state with or without slavery. The question was to be decided by a popular vote of the citizens in the territory. Initially, from its position in neighboring Missouri, the proslavery party of the South had a clear advantage; it acted quickly to expand its hold on the territorial government in Kansas. It secured a majority by encouraging pioneers to settle in Kansas, and in these efforts it had the advantage of enjoying the federal government's full support. It miscalculated, however, by underestimating the determination of the northern opponents, such as the leaders of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. The outcome of this crucial confrontation was decided in a relatively short period at places in which Moritz Harttmann was not simply an observer; he participated actively in this historical turn of events.

Harttmann was born in the Swabian town of Göppingen on June 24, 1817.³ When he was fifteen years old, he moved with his family to the nearby city of Ulm, where his father served as an accountant. The young Harttmann graduated from the *Gymnasium* with a diploma that opened the way for studies at the University of Tübingen, where he began his studies in 1836. As a student of theology, he attended required lectures on history, philosophy, anthropology, aesthetics, and literature. He had famous teachers. Friedrich Theodor Vischer (1807–1887), the controversial author of the satire *Faust III*, lectured on Goethe's *Faust*. Heinrich Georg August von Ewald (1803–1875), one of the "Göttingen Seven," lost his professorship for defending the liberal constitution of his state. Ewald's course was an introduction to the Old Testament. Since Harttmann's

Schwarz (ed.), *Alexander von Humboldt und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika: Briefwechsel* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004), 433–36. Cf. Philip S. Foner (ed.), *Alexander von Humboldt über die Sklaverei in den USA* (Berlin: Humboldt-Universität, 1984), 56–57. Froebel communicated the full text of the letter to the N. Y. Tribune with Humboldt's consent.

³ Frank Baron and Scott Seeger, "Das Leben Moritz Harttmanns und das Fortleben des Namens Humboldt in Amerika," to appear in: Ulrich Gaier and Wolfgang Scheurle (eds.), *Schwabenspiegel II. Literatur zwischen Neckar und Bodensee 1800–1950* (Ulm: Landratsamt Alb-Donau-Kreis, 2005). The appendix of this article contains the entire German text of Harttmann's autobiographical sketch ("Narrative of Travels"). The original German text is also in "Moritz Friedrich Harttmann," Emil Metzger, *Württembergische Forschungsreisende Geographen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1889), 109–10. The authors of the present article are responsible for the translations of German texts.

major subject was Protestant theology, he attended a number of lectures by Professor Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860). Baur, who became famous for contributing to understanding the evolution of early Christianity, lectured on the Old and New Testaments, the history of dogma, and biblical criticism. The progressive professors of Tübingen provided Hartmann a foundation for the critical positions he adopted during the 1848 revolution.⁴

Hartmann's social life revolved about the dueling fraternity *Corps Franconia*. Despite the government's efforts to suppress this organization, it continued to exist secretly. Hartmann became secretary of the fraternity and guard of its weapons. When his involvement became known to the authorities, he was incarcerated, but he escaped the more serious punishment that was given in such cases: banishment from the university.⁵

After graduation, Hartmann was a vicar in Protestant churches of Württemberg: Jügingen (1841), Steinheim (1841), Urpsring (1844–1845), and Gründelhardt (1845–1848). In 1844, he requested a change because he was unable to get along with his pastor. Finally, church authorities initiated an investigation when he expressed "radical" views in a published article. An article that was used as evidence against Hartmann suggests that he had criticized a teacher assigned to his supervision and that he sarcastically rejected this teacher's strict orthodoxy. He found it unacceptable that children simply memorize pious precepts and focus exclusively on Bible stories. Hartmann evidently believed that a more important goal of early education was to teach secular history and natural sciences: "Before the students could become citizens of heaven, they had to become citizens of the world." The article also suggests that Hartmann reduced the concept of the devil to the evil that God had reserved for man. Although the church found the publication of such an article offensive, expulsion finally resulted when it was learned that Hartmann had been involved with a woman of questionable moral character.⁶

The tenor of these reports on Hartmann indicate that he was in tune with the radical tendencies of the day. The precise role Hartmann played in the 1848 revolution is not known. His departure for America at this time suggests that he took part in the Rebellion of Baden and engaged in some confrontations with military forces. The records of his fraternity indicate that many of the brothers took part as a group in the "Tübingen Volunteers." In April 1848, the first rebellion of such troops was defeated, and a wave of flights to America commenced. On October 9, 1848, Moritz Hartmann, then 31 years old, arrived in New York on the *Ella Frances* from Antwerp.⁷

Hartmann described in a third-person, autobiographical narrative what transpired in the following years:

⁴ We are indebted to Dr. Michael Wischnat of the Tübingen University archives for copies of documents regarding Hartmann's studies.

⁵ W. H. Schneider-Horn, *Die Tübinger Franken: Geschichte des Corps Franconia zu Tübingen* (Tübingen: Funk-Kurier, 1969), 119, 146, and 156–57.

⁶ We are grateful to Michael Bing of the church archives of Stuttgart for information about church papers relating to Hartmann and for a copy of Hartmann's article of 1848.

⁷ Ira A. Glazier, *Germans to America, Series II: Lists of Passengers Arriving at U.S. Ports in the 1840s* (Wilmington: SR Scholarly Resources, 2003), vol. 6, 285. The record designates "Moritz Hart[t]mann" as a farmer, thirty years old. Despite the lack of accuracy, the record appears to identify the subject of this article.

Moritz Friedrich Hartmann, born on June 24, 1817, in Ulm. Studied in Tübingen and graduated with a degree in theology. In 1848, he emigrated to America, where he resided in different cities in the east and north. He finally traveled westward through Delaware, Maryland, a part of Virginia, and then down the Ohio River to Cincinnati. After a longer layover he traveled through southern Ohio and eastern Indiana, before returning to Cincinnati. He undertook various tours by river, stage, and rail to Dayton, and across Lake Erie to Toledo. These trips provided him with ample opportunities to become acquainted with the land, people, and customs. Then he took up residence in Tiffin, Ohio, where he befriended a physician who trained him for a profession in medicine.

The experience with a physician in Ohio was the beginning of a totally new phase in Hartmann's life. At the time of Hartmann's residence in Tiffin, the most prominent physician in the city was Dr. Henry Kuhn (1802–1878). Similarities of personality and interests suggest that Kuhn was Hartmann's mentor. Kuhn was a Freemason and became involved in the political affairs of his city. He was elected its first mayor. His circle of patients included Indians of the Wyandot tribe. These features of Kuhn's life reflect interests in religious, social, and political issues, which reappear in various forms in Hartmann's later career.⁸ Hartmann described this important event in his life.

Because he had always been interested in the natural sciences, he studied medicine with zeal. Unsatisfied, however, with the limitations of this kind of non-academic training, he decided to devote his energies to medicine in earnest. He rode to Buffalo, Niagara Falls, and New York City. He boarded a ship, and after a rather stormy journey, he arrived in Europe. Having devoted himself to medicine seriously for 5 semesters in Tübingen, he returned to the United States in 1855 and settled in Goshen, in western Indiana. From there he made several prospecting tours: to Chicago and St. Louis, and, finally, by steamboat to Kansas. Interested in the slavery issue, he traveled . . . to Lawrence, where he came into contact with the local Indians and practiced medicine among them. In 1856, on horseback he explored the southern, unsettled region of Kansas. At the same time, he participated in the formation of the Humboldt town company, of which he became

⁸ W. Lang, *History of Seneca County* (Springfield, Ohio: Transcript Printing, 1880), 311–12. *History of Seneca County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1886), 391–92. Myron Bruce Barnes, *Seneca Sentinel Bicentennial Sketches* (Seneca: Seneca County Museum, 1976), 4–5. "Dr. Henry Kuhn, First Mayor," *Advertiser Tribune*, June 17, 1967. The Wyandot tribe of Ohio settled in Kansas, in today's Wyandotte County. The abolitionist town of Quindaro, founded on the banks of the Missouri river, became a stop on the Underground Railway and the home of the free-state paper *Chindowan*, which published Humboldt's anti-slavery letter of 1858 (see note #1 above).

president. He also took active part in establishing the City of Lawrence.⁹

Although the University of Tübingen records confirm that Harttmann sought permission and did actually attend lectures on medicine at his alma mater, he did not complete his medical studies there. Whether he actually obtained a formal medical degree at another school in Germany or in the United States remains a matter of speculation. He arrived in Lawrence in March 1855, and soon after his arrival he advertised in the *Kansas Free State*:

MAURICE HARTTMANN,
Dr. of Medicine, Surgery, and Obstetrics,
[f]ormerly assistant Physician of a Lying in
Hospital in Germany, where he had ample
opportunity to acquire experience in
obstet[r]ical cases and the treatment of diseases
of females and children generally.
No. 30 Main [S]t., Lawrence, upstairs.

The same ad appeared on March 3, May 5, July 25, September 26, and October 3, 1856. The manner of articulating his competence suggests that experience, not a diploma, was the essential qualification for a good physician. It is likely that Harttmann had worked in a hospital, perhaps in Ulm, where his family resided, before he returned to the United States.

With respect to his travels in Indiana, Harttmann referred to some of his travels as “prospecting tours.” When he settled in Lawrence, he undoubtedly recognized the potential of generous financial rewards in acquiring land. In 1859, he owned eleven plots in Lawrence.¹⁰ In the attack of 1856 by the Missouri “border ruffians” he suffered damage to his property; he claimed a loss of \$681.¹¹ Organizing a new life in Kansas at a time when the settlement was barely a year old demanded not only initiative and industry, but also a willingness to endure considerable dangers. Lawrence, the nucleus of the free-state movement, hoped to gain the abolition of slavery in the establishment of the state. To prevail, the free-staters had to win the vote at the ballot box. The strategy of winning over the proslavery forces entailed reaching beyond Lawrence with settlements of free-state sympathies. The establishment of settlements throughout Kansas was part of the free-state strategy.

The plans for creating the settling and naming of the town of Humboldt, located about eighty miles directly south of Lawrence, coalesced when people of varied backgrounds discovered that they shared specific moral, political, and business interests. Harttmann recalled having traveled south of Lawrence in 1856 and exploring on

⁹ “Narrative of Travels.”

¹⁰ “List of Original Owners” Lawrence 1859. A copy is in Spencer Research Library of the University of Kansas. The original is in the Kansas Historical Society Library in Topeka.

¹¹ Report of Edward Hogland, H. J. Adams and S.A. Kingman, Commissioners of Claims, under act of Feb. 7, 1859. Printed pursuant to a Resolution of the Constitutional convention, passed July 11 [1859]. See also *Herald of Freedom*, July 30, 1859.

horseback “the totally uninhabited area” of the Neosho Valley.¹² This experience put him in a position to advise and support German emigrants who arrived in Lawrence in the middle of April 1857. Because of inadequate resources, this group was in need of immediate aid and guidance. As one of the few Germans in the community, Hartmann became involved.

The German group’s adventurous undertaking was inspired by the vision of the New England Emigrant Aid Company for ensuring the status of Kansas as a free state. The society recruited emigrants and was prepared to lend them financial assistance. In response to this offer, Reverend Francis M. Serenbetz, a pastor and teacher from Hartford, Connecticut, described in a letter of March 14, 1857, his plans to take his “flock of professed [C]hristians” to become “the nucleus of a congregation or a [C]hristian community in Kansas.” Serenbetz declared: “I am to be the spiritual guide as well as the political leader of these people whose religious creed is that of the [C]ongregational church, and whose political creed is: Free Kansas . . . Drinkers and unbelievers in the gospel cannot possibly find themselves at home in our community . . .” Serenbetz requested the society grant him \$1,300 to undertake the journey. Only a month after the request addressed to Rev. Edward Everett Hale, a Unitarian minister in Boston representing the Emigrant Aid Company, Serenbetz and his flock arrived in Lawrence.¹³

In Lawrence a network of people representing the Emigrant Company was prepared to lend help, and it quickly became evident that the members of the flock were ill prepared for their adventure. Serenbetz was forced to look in several different directions for help in the Lawrence community. A letter to Rev. Hale from Charles Branscomb, one of the resident agents of the Emigrant Aid Company, provides an insight into the crisis:

Mr S[erenbetz] stated that he wished to stop here a few days in order to consult with friends as to the most desirable location for his colony. He desired a place for his party (about 30 in number) while staying here, in which he could do his own cooking. I tried very hard to procure rooms for him & his party, but was unable to do it. Every conceivable and inconceivable corner in Lawrence being occupied. At last I made an arrangement with Mr Whitney, who has lately opened a hotel here — to take Mr S & his party at one half of the usual rates — On Tuesday last Mr S came to me & said that his party had incurred in getting to the territory [\$]300 more expense than they had calculated for & wished to know if I could [do] anything for the way of getting them that sum of money. . .¹⁴

Branscomb consulted a number of leaders in the Lawrence community, people also closely associated with the Emigrant Aid Company: Edmund B. Whitman, Charles Robinson, and Samuel Clarke Pomeroy. Input came, moreover, from Dr. Kop [Kob],

¹² “Narrative of Travels.”

¹³ See letter from Serenbetz to Hale in Territorial Kansas Online. 1854–1861. www.territorialkansasonline.org. The original sources for the correspondence with the Emigrant Aid Company are deposited in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society and are available as microfilms.

¹⁴ See letter from Branscomb to Hale in Territorial Kansas Online. 1854–1861. www.territorialkansasonline.org. Also see the New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers 1854–1909

who was a German physician from Leavenworth, Dr. Charles Kob (also Karl Friedrich Kob), publisher of the *Kansas Zeitung*. Dr. Kob, who was employed by the Emigrant Aid Company to publish the German paper, also supported Serenbetz's efforts to obtain funds.¹⁵ The paper evidence of guarantees from Hale appeared convincing, and the amount of \$200, beyond the \$138.75 paid for the lodging, was advanced to Serenbetz, with the understanding that the company would reimburse all lenders. Finally, the German colonizers were able to purchase needed supplies and continue their journey.¹⁶

Just three days later, on April 28, Reverend Ephraim Nute, the Unitarian minister of Lawrence, reported to Hale on the status of the German visitors: "Mr. Serenbetz & his party are about starting out to take possession of a tract chosen by their tribe 'down South' on the Neosho, — to build a town to be called Humboldt I think — If they stick to it they will do well."¹⁷

At this time, the *Herald of Freedom*, under the title of "Interesting Services" reported on the German emigrants. George W. Brown, the editor, also received support from the Emigrant Aid Company and had good reasons to put a positive spin on articles relating to its projects.¹⁸

¹⁵ Samuel A. Johnson, *The Battle Cry for Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1954), 243 and 325. The original sources for the information about Kob's relationship to the Emigrant Aid Company are deposited in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. Unfortunately, the archival materials were reorganized for microfilming, and the original designations to which Johnson refers are no longer valid. Nevertheless, the archives confirm that the Emigrant Aid Company recommended Kob to the German emigrants in their efforts to find a new home. See the letter of April 7 from the company's secretary, Thomas H. Webb, to Samuel P. Pomeroy: "You probably will have seen the Rev. Mr. Serenbetz, and his Pioneer party ere this reaches you—also Dr. Kob to whom w[ere] introduced whilst here, and from whom we have been for some time anxiously expecting to hear." New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers 1854–1909, Microfilm Reel #2.

¹⁶ Family heads were: Francis M. Serenbetz, Francis Trauz, Herman Trauz, John Lauterwasser, John Frixel, Jacob Schleicher, Lorenz Pauli, Herman Brandt, John G. Handel, John Kemmerer, Florenz Serenbetz, Leopold Pahlke, and Andrew Lerch. On February 8, 1857, the German members met with Serenbetz at their pastor's house to discuss a plan of emigration to Kansas, and they voted on a series of resolutions, including the condemnation of slavery, the determination to emigrate to Kansas; to erect a church building, a school house, dwellings, outhouses, fencing, etc., to consider all agricultural implements, tools, oxen, cows, horses & other cattle are to be considered the common stock of the company; "to oppose the admittance of infidels and adherents of the Pope into our association, as well as drinkers or keepers of drinkshops," and to consider Rev F. M. Serenbetz be president & pastor of the company. See letter from Serenbetz of March 14, 1857 to Hale. www.territorialkansasonline.org.

¹⁷ "But I fear they will be rather lacking in self-reliance. They seem to be entirely without funds & in trouble because of finding none in the hands of Pomeroy or others. I have lent them \$100. Whitman became responsible for their board at the public house to the amount of \$140. Brassant for a bill of provisions to amount of \$100 & Whitman fitted them out with seeds etc as agent of the Nat. K. A. Com. Parson S[erenbetz] preached to his people in der Teusche [sic] [S]prache in our vestry at which they seemed much interested as well as those to whom it was all Dutch." See the letter from Nute to Hale. www.territorialkansasonline.org.

¹⁸ At the Old Settlers' Meeting of 1879 Reverend Edward Everett Hale recalled: "So when our friend Mr. George Brown came to us, and told us of his grand enterprise of the *Herald of Freedom*, we were glad to risk \$2,000 with him in that operation. And when his type was thrown into the Kansas river here, we were not sorry to hear that it had been fished out to be cast into cannon balls . . ." Charles S. Gleed (ed.), *The Kansas Memorial: A Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 15th and 16th, 1879* (Kansas City, Mo.: Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1880), 146–47.

Rev. Mr. Serenbetz, who lately arrived here from Hartford, Conn., with a colony of Germans, as their pastor, preached to his people last Sunday, at the church of the Unitarian Society in the German language. The congregation presented a fine appearance, and seemed deeply moved by the earnest words of the preacher. The expression of honesty and intelligence in the faces of those newcomers, and the regard shown by them for the institution of religion, augur well for their good influence on the future of Kansas. – They have our best wishes for the prosperity.

Their minister deserves a liberal support for the devotion with which he has shown himself ready to share the hardship and discomforts of his people. (April 25, 1857)

On May 9, another article appeared in the *Herald of Freedom*, and this time the headline referred to *Humboldt*.

A company of Germans from Connecticut passed through our place last week, bound for the lower Neosho, where they intend forming a town under the above title. The leader, Prof. Seren[bet]z, is a gentleman of energy and education and we doubt not that he and his colony will prove a valuable acquisition to our country.

The confidence of the editor, George W. Brown, in the leadership of Reverend Serenbetz was decidedly not shared by the pastor of the Lawrence Unitarian Church, Reverend Ephraim Nute, who confided his grave misgivings about three months later to Hale:

That Serenbetz should be looked after. I entreat you, devise some way to head him off from raising money & coming back to Kansas. His people (consisting of three families & two single persons) will do much better without him. He is an unmitigated humbug & nuisance, too lazy to do anything but smoke, sleep & eat. Those people cannot support themselves there in Humboldt until the harvest of '58 & it is for no person interest that they should but this Serenbetz & a German doctor to whom he has joined himself in Lawrence for making money on this paper town of Humboldt. Last Saturday & to day I have been beset by one the party of a man who has a family of 5 down there in a miserable little shanty with one peck of [I]ndian meal & nothing else for aid to save himself & family from starvation. I must therefore (having found his story confirmed by a young man who has been surveying the town site) send off a lot of provisions but where is the thing to end. If these people had come out here each to shift for himself &

with no Serenbetz to marshal them about for private emolument they would have got along tolerably; for they would have been forced to remain here in Lawrence & go to work at the first thing they could lay their hands to. At the time of their leaving for their settlement I was trying in vain to hire men for \$1[.]75 per diem to dig cellar, carry mortar etc for my house. Is it right that such men should come out here to consume the little funds we have in reserve against the times of distress next Winter? Send us no more men who can't or who won't work their way & who have no means to support themselves in their lazy shiftlessness. If funds should be raised for the people at Humboldt it should not be entrusted to Serenbetz. This I say advisedly and as the result of careful observation & much inquiry.¹⁹

On the character and motives of Serenbetz there were strongly divergent views. Reverend Nute, nevertheless, was not exaggerating the enormous difficulties facing the settlers. The considerable challenges facing them in the Neosho Valley area became evident during the previous year, in 1856, when the Vegetarian Company with 23 families had tried its luck in the vicinity of the area that later became Humboldt. The attempt was a tragic failure because of inadequate supplies. Fear of Indians and “ruffian” intimidation, starvation, and illnesses forced the settlers to return or to disperse. One of the members of the group, Miriam Davis Colt, told her story of the loss of her husband and son to illnesses contracted during the failed emigration.²⁰

The “German doctor to whom he has joined himself in Lawrence” did not lack confidence in Serenbetz. This doctor was evidently Moritz Hartmann. Despite his initial training in theology, Hartmann was not the ideal long-term partner for an orthodox minister. Nevertheless, the shared political goal of the slave-free Kansas and economic advantages of making land available to settlers offered a reasonable basis for immediate cooperation. Some time before April 28 (when we first observe the name Humboldt in Nute’s letter), the two Germans must have met and quickly come to an understanding about goals. Hartmann was able to provide specifics about the area to be settled. He could also link Serenbetz to a network of potential partners who could assure the success of the settlement. During such consultations, the question of naming the newly created town after Alexander von Humboldt must have come up. Although we do not have documentary evidence for such a discussion, we can reasonably assume that Hartmann, with his background in the natural sciences, would have argued for Humboldt.²¹ As opponents of slavery, both Serenbetz and Hartmann could agree that the name of Humboldt represented an ideal symbol of opposition to slavery. It was common knowledge in the United States at this time that Humboldt was abreast of developments

¹⁹ Letter of August 3, 1857. www.territorialkansasonline.org. After Serenbetz arrived in Humboldt, he requested \$500 from the Emigrant Aid Company. Johnson, *The Battle Cry for Freedom*, 244.

²⁰ Miriam Davis Colt, *Went to Kansas; Being a Thrilling Account of an Ill-Fated Expedition to That Fairy Land, and Its Sad Results* (Watertown, N. Y.: Ingalls, 1862).

²¹ Cf. John Rydjord, *Kansas Place-Names* (Norman, Okla.: University Press, 1972), 180 and 523.

about the slavery issue. As early as 1804, he wrote to the Architect William Thornton, whom he had met during his visit in Washington:

This abominable law that permits the importation of Negroes in South Carolina [until 1808] is a disgrace for a state in which I know many level-headed people to live. Conforming to the only course of action dictated by humanity, undoubtedly less cotton will be exported at first. But alas! How I detest this politics that measures and evaluates the public welfare simply according to the value of its exports. The wealth of nations is like the wealth of individuals. It is only secondary to our welfare. Before one is free, one must be just, and without justice there is no lasting prosperity.

If he had inquired a little more, Serenbetz might have become concerned to see Humboldt, who had no tolerance for religious orthodoxy, represent the ideals of his community.²² In this particular instance, Hartmann's arguments and the immediacy of the slavery issue prevailed. The "Humboldt City Association" was born in such discussions, and Hartmann became its president. As a "son" of the 1848 revolution, he would have also argued that the names of the streets in the town should reflect German culture and the ideals of the revolution.²³

During these discussions, other Lawrence citizens participated or were proposed to take part. James A. Coffey (1827–1879) moved with his family from Illinois, and as he traveled west of Kansas City on the California Road, he met Nate Blanton (N[apoleon]. B[onepart]. Blanton, ca. 1830–1913), at the later-named Blanton Bridge over the Wakarusa River, four miles south of Lawrence. Blanton was responsible for the toll bridge and a post office. He persuaded Coffey to settle at the location. Blanton and Coffey collaborated in the fall of 1854 in establishing a grocery store in combination with the existing post office. In 1856, ads appeared in the *Kansas Free State* under Blanton's name; they advertised the new bridge that provided a crossing for those traveling from Westport or other Missouri towns to points such as Lawrence and places further west. The ad also pointed out the existence of a store and blacksmith's shop at the bridge.²⁴ In the following year, Blanton's brother, Methodist minister B. M. Blanton, returning from a prospecting tour, persuaded Nate to consider moving to the Neosho Valley to form a new settlement. Blanton's Bridge, located on the road to Lawrence, was vulnerable to attacks from the "border ruffians." During the elections in the spring of 1855 (later declared fraudulent because of the illegal voting by Missouri residents and subsequently invalidated), both Nate Blanton and James Coffey were prevented from serving as election judges. The Blantons and the Coffeys decidedly favored a state free of slavery.

²² In an oration held in commemoration of Humboldt's 100th birthday in Boston in 1869, Karl Heinzen said: "As far as we know, Humboldt has never, directly or openly, avowed himself to be an atheist or a materialist; he has been content with showing himself as such in his writings." Karl Heinzen, *The True Character of Humboldt* (Indianapolis: Association for the Propagation of Radical Principles, 1869), 5.

²³ The *Kansas Zeitung* of September 9, 1857 (see also note # 38 below) shows the street names Uhland, Herder, Schiller, Tritschler [Trützschler], Goethe, Robert Blum, Wieland, Jean Paul und Lenau. Trützschler and Robert Blum were considered "martyrs" of the 1848–1849 revolution. Cf. Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848–1849* (Aalen: Scientia, 1968), II, 84 and 679.

²⁴ *Kansas Free State*, July 30, 1856.

A new location held the promise that broader areas of Kansas, with an increasing population, could gain a majority in support of the free-state cause.²⁵

James Hunt Signor (1833–after 1911) had training in the manufacture of iron, and when foreign iron put him out of work in New York, he moved west. He also had training as a surveyor. He and his cousin, Henry W. Signor, came to Kansas and joined the Humboldt City Association.²⁶

The most prominent Lawrence participant in the Humboldt City Association was Albert Dwight Searl (1831–1902), a civil engineer from Brookfield, Massachusetts, who arrived in Lawrence with the second party of emigrants in August 1854. In 1856, with E. B. Whitman, he formed the Emigrant Intelligence Office, a company that advertised its goals to provide “for reasonable compensation,” information the emigrant might need after arrival. The company was prepared, moreover, “to lay out town sites and to survey farm claims—to negotiate the sale and transfer of town property generally—to investigate the validity of titles—to superintend the erection of buildings, and to act as agents for the care of property owned by non-residents.” Searl later became the official engineer and surveyor of Lawrence. He was the first surveyor for a number of cities, including Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan, Osawatomie, Burlington, and El Dorado.²⁷ As a surveyor for Humboldt he was able to provide expertise that might offset the suspicion that Humboldt was simply a “paper town.”

At the same time, it is difficult to dispute the accusation that the interest in personal profits did not motivate the participation of these members of the Humboldt City Association. But was it true that Serenbetz, Hartmann, and others were joining forces simply “for making money on this paper town of Humboldt,” as Nute suggested in his letter? Land was the basic commodity of the new territory, and it was the aim of most pioneers to translate it into financial gain. Hartmann is an example of someone who quickly took advantage of the availability of land at \$1.25 per acre. He became a wealthy man. On January 27, 1858, he advertised in the *Kansas Zeitung* to sell a German pharmacy situated along the Missouri River. The census of 1865 estimated his real estate to be worth \$20,000, his personal estate \$500.²⁸ After his retirement, the city directory of Lawrence in 1886 indicated his occupation as “capitalist.”²⁹ For Hartmann land speculation became a major professional activity, which may have gradually replaced his work as a physician. The sale of land to settlers may have been a factor in his involvement in the Humboldt venture. The profit motive was an essential part of the

²⁵ Frank R. Moore, *The Coffey Clan from 1690* (n.p.: Stromberg Press, 1969).

²⁶ Biographical record deposited by James Hunt Signor at the Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

²⁷ Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas from the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion* (Lawrence: Journal Press, 1895). See an ad by Whitman & Searl and additional information displayed at www.territorialkansasonline.org. Louise Berry, “The Emigrant Aid Parties of 1854,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 12(1943): 126–30.

Charles Richard Denton, “The Unitarian Church and ‘Kansas Territory,’” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 30 (1964), 330–31.

²⁸ National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy no. 653. Census of July 14, 1865, Lawrence. The age indicated is 46; actually, Hart[t]man[n] was already 48.

²⁹ Lawrence City Directory (Lawrence: Foley & Co., 1886), 72.

strategy developed by the Emigrant Aid Company, which did not rely on philanthropy alone to secure Kansas as a free state.³⁰

In 1857, the future welfare of Kansas was threatened by the explosive controversy about slavery. It was not yet certain that Lawrence, which represented the free-state position, could prevail against the pressures from the Missouri slave-state factions and their partners in the federal government. Lawrence had hardly recovered from an attack of the Missouri “border ruffians”, who destroyed its hotel and printing press. Emigrant settlements with free-state sentiments held the promise of prevailing in the conflict that was ostensibly to be decided by vote. The establishment of a solidly free-state settlement such as Humboldt entailed land speculation, to be sure, but it also reflected the sincere desire to secure Kansas as a state free of slavery.

The strategy to secure Kansas as a free state through the sale of land to settlers had serious consequences for the Native Americans living in Kansas. They had been forced to move from eastern areas before. The invasion of settlers, the cutting down of forests, and one-sided treaties forced the Native Americans in about two decades out of Kansas almost entirely. In his medical work and in his articles, Hartmann displayed an interest in good relations with the native population. The profitable trade he envisioned was not realized.³¹

The Emigrant Aid Company recognized that it was important to involve German immigrants in the struggle for a slave-free state.

The company came to be much interested in German immigration, which had reached a high peak after 1848. In 1854 it was reported in the press as having chartered a steamer to import immigrants from Hamburg, but in actuality the plan never went much further than the stage of investigation. In 1857 Dr. Charles F. Kob was employed to set up a German paper in Kansas (the *Kansas Zeitung* of Atchison). It was then hoped to send him to Germany later, in the interest of colonization. The company had a strong penchant toward German settlers, as strongly opposed to slavery.³²

As president of the Humboldt town company, Hartmann had the task of winning more settlers to join the small group that formed the nucleus. He turned, first of all, to the German paper of Kansas in Atchison, the *Kansas Zeitung*. At an early point, the company had formulated a policy of trying to attract Germans to settle in Kansas. A lengthy article in the *New York Daily Times* of January 6, 1855 applauded this effort to direct Germans “into this new country, where the great battle of freedom is being

³⁰ Charles Branscomb, an agent of the Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas, used the slogan: “Let capital be the pioneer.” Russell K. Hickman, “Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 4(1935): 240.

³¹ Craig Miner and William E. Unrau, *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution, 1854–1871* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), 5. Cf. Paul Wallace Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854–1890* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978).

³² Hickmann, “Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company,” 238. The subtitle of Kob’s paper (“an organ of free speech, free country, and free men”) implied a radical position on slavery. Cf. Johnson, *The Battle Cry for Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade*, 243.

fought!”³³ Kob shared with Harttmann a background of training in medicine in Germany, and he appointed the latter as a regular correspondent for news from Lawrence. Harttmann’s name appeared regularly as “agent” for Lawrence in the years 1857–1858.

Kob was the author of a forty-eight-page guidebook for German immigrants. Published in New York and underwritten by the Emigrant Aid Company, it explained in German to potential immigrants the procedures for becoming American citizens, the laws and regulations regarding the acquisition of lands in the Kansas territories, transportation, population (including Native Americans), the geography, economics, history and present condition of those territories, and the persons and addresses for helpful services. In the segment about the existing communities of Kansas Kob described the following in detail: [E]udora, Topeka, Tecumseh, Mill [C]reek, Rock Creek, Manhattan, Ogden, Riley City, Humboldt, Gu[t]enberg[sic], Hyatt, Osawa[t]jamie, Council City, Wyandott[e], Quindaro, and Atchison.

Kob took care to give Humboldt special attention, and he emphasized the role that Serenbetz and Harttmann played in the life of the community. The book concluded with advertising for businesses and Emigrant Aid Company agents. Kob listed Dr. Hart[t]mann’s name prominently, first among forty-six advertisers, and stressed that Hart[t]mann, a German physician, was willing to provide immigrants advice and help, as much as his time allowed. Throughout the book the primary purpose of advocating German immigration to Kansas was in the foreground (“all Germans are against slavery” p. 28). That purpose was clearly stated in Kob’s preface: “Everyone should keep in mind that every immigrant is participating, even if passively or indirectly, in the great struggle against slavery, and thus taking part in the most important development of the American states. The more we succeed in resisting slavery and driving it back, the more we come close to its total abolition. Every fight against slavery is simultaneously an achievement in the service of humanity and freedom.” Kob’s preface was dated May 26, 1857, only a few weeks after the first settlers reached Humboldt.³⁴

With this book and his newspaper (full title: *Kansas Zeitung. Ein Organ für freies Wort, freien Boden und freie Männer*) Kob was the Emigrant Aid Company’s ambassador for a slave-free Kansas and the facilitator of German emigration to Kansas. The company was confident that German settlements would promote its aims, and the alliance between Kob and Harttmann was in its interest.

Although his figures may have been inflated, Ephraim Nute’s letter of April 28, 1857 reflected the radical transformation of Kansas through the influx of emigrants. “The immigration continues to increase. Hundreds come into this place daily & at the lowest computation a thousand per day in the territory, probably three thousand.”³⁵ During a convention of free-state delegates, Charles Robinson, the future governor of Kansas, was

³³ A copy of this article is in the “Thomas H. Webb Scrapbook” in the microfilm archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

³⁴ *Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas mit vorausgeschickter Erklärung der bestehenden Gesetze und Verordnungen über Besiedelung öffentlicher Staats-Ländereien in den Ver. Staaten von Nord-Amerika*. New York, G. B. Teubner, 1857. The book was underwritten by the Emigrant Aid Company. This was in line with what the *New York Daily Times* (January 6, 1855) had recommended: “Let well-prepared German circulars be scattered about in the principal cities of Germany, and then among the emigrant lodging-houses in this City; let the office of the Emigrants Aid Association be the place where information could be obtained as to the best routes, etc., to the new territory.”

³⁵ www.territorialkansasonline.org. On the population of Lawrence see note # 46 below.

able to express optimism on August 26: “I have no doubt we shall be triumphant. From the census returns I am satisfied there is not a district in the Territory in which we have not a large majority of voters. If we were defeated by fraud, we shall be in a position to show up the fraud.”³⁶ Dr. Kob, who was a delegate, declared that Germans were in every respect behind the “active” struggle for equality.³⁷

An ad for Humboldt appeared regularly in each issue of the *Kansas Zeitung*. As president of the Humboldt City Association, Harttmann requested that persons who wished to settle in Humboldt should contact him in Lawrence. As might be expected, one of the first articles he supplied was about Humboldt.³⁸ Harttmann, too, used his contacts in Germany to promote settlement in Humboldt. The following excerpt is from an article that appeared in German and French journals in Europe.

Everyone agrees that among the new settlements in southern Kansas only Humboldt and its outlying areas have experienced extraordinary growth. It has exceeded expectations by far. The first settlers, mostly Germans from Hartford, Connecticut, arrived in the beginning of May and set up their tents on the left bank of the romantic river. (The city is about 80 miles south of Lawrence, in Allen County.) Now, during the course of only two months, most of the lots have been claimed out to 4-6 miles around the city. There have been cases of claim-jumping. The country and region are quite beautiful, and we discover new attractions daily. We couldn't hope for a better and healthier climate; there have been no reports of sickness. Humboldt promises to become a city with a thriving center of commerce, trading primarily with the rich Cherokee Indians and later with Arkansas, New Mexico and Texas.³⁹

In the February 3, 1858 issue of the *Kansas Zeitung* a letter from Serenbetz was published to reinforce the positive experience in Humboldt.

³⁶ Don W. Wilson, *Governor Charles Robinson of Kansas* (Lawrence: University Press, 1975), 52.

³⁷The Grasshopper Falls Convention took place at today's Valley Falls. Kob, who spoke at the same convention in the name of the Germans, warned against passivity, which he considered dangerous, as the example of the failed revolutions had shown. *Kansas Zeitung*, September 2, 1857. Robinson's optimism was more accurately reflected in a confidential letter of July 18, 1857 from Hale to Nute: “We look upon the great question as now settled, and all political movements in Kansas as having chiefly a local interest.” Cf. talk by Kob.

³⁸ *Kansas Zeitung*, September 9, 1857. Cf. note No. 23 above.

³⁹ [Moritz Harttmann], “Die Stadt Humboldt in Kansas,” *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* N. F. 3(1858), 368–69. Cf. *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, de la géographie, de l'histoire et de l'archéologie*, ser. 6, 1(1858), 360–62. The editor of *Ausland*, O. F. Peschel, reported to have received a letter (similar in content) about the “German city of Humboldt in Kansas.” He wrote that although the fate of Kansas as a free state or a slave state was still uncertain, several active free staters were unwilling to allow slavery to be imposed on them, and being far greater in number than their opponents, they were busy building their cities and villages. They did not allow the noise of Congress, provoked by President Buchanan's slavery-friendly position, to divert them from continuing their work of building settlements. The article refers to Serenbetz, Harttmann, and Coffey as founders of Humboldt. The article also stresses the German names of the town's streets. *Ausland* 31(1858): 407–8.

Humboldt, Allen County, K.T., January 20, 1858

Dear Mr. Editor of the *Kansas Zeitung*:

What a transformation has taken place since our establishment of Humboldt! Our friend Dr. Hart[t]man[n] of Lawrence, who is here for a visit, could hardly believe his eyes about the progress along the Neosho since his last visit. If only there had been sufficient lumber, the city would now have twenty-five more houses. We found it necessary to acquire a second saw mill, but because of the winter, the cost of transportation from St. Louis has been considerable. We expect the mill to arrive in fourteen days.⁴⁰

The Kansas census of 1859 shows that from the list of partners in Humboldt City Association, B. M. Blanton, N. B. Blanton, James A. Coffey, H. W. Signor, and James H. Signor were residing in the town. On June 20, 1860, the company was reorganized and incorporated as the Humboldt Town Association. The leaders were now only members of the Humboldt settlement: N. B. Blanton, J. A. Coffey, J. H. and H. W. Signor, George Miller, and W.C. O'Brien. By this time the active participation of Harttmann, Serenbetz, and Searl was no longer evident nor, perhaps, required.

A *Kansas Zeitung* article of April 17, 1858, considered the Humboldt experiment a success and announced a further settlement planned for a place named Ingraham, thirty miles west of Humboldt and named after a captain who freed the Hungarian revolutionary Martin Kos[z]ta from the Austrians.⁴¹ One of the leaders of the Ingraham project was Dr. Kob, who, like Harttmann, became increasingly involved in land speculation. The "blooming" Humboldt is given as a guarantee that this settlement also has good future. The article reports, furthermore, that Humboldt had a second saw mill in operation and that more emigrants had arrived from Cincinnati. It was noted that the city was in need of a German beer maker, a physician, and a pharmacist. Although nothing appeared to have resulted from the project to create a city named Ingraham, Kob's efforts reflect a cooperation between Kob and Harttmann to promote German settlements for the sake of a free state.⁴² On June 10, 1859, the *Daily Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Missouri, reported that it had printed a lot of invitations for a grand July 4th celebration for Humboldt, "the most southern of the Kansas towns, and the largest on the Neosho." The Kansas City paper encouraged its readers to attend this event, which was to take place in a building called Humboldt House. The city achieved a certain degree of

⁴⁰ On March 20 of the same year, the *Herald of Freedom* again reported positive developments, which the paper received from its "friend J. A. Coffey of Humboldt[d]t." Moore, 46–47.

⁴¹ There is no trace of Ingraham in Kansas today. In a message to Congress on December 5, 1853, President Franklin Pierce had related the involvement of the American naval officer Duncan Nathaniel Ingraham, who acted to free the former Hungarian revolutionary, whom Kob evidently wished to have remembered. Koszta had been granted resident status in the United States and was on a business trip to Turkey when he was captured by the Austrians.

⁴² Eleanor L. Turk, "The Germans of Atchison, 1854–1859: Development of an Ethnic Community," *Kansas History* 2(1979): 152–53 and 155. Reprinted in Rita Napier, *Kansas and the West: New Perspectives* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 101–16.

permanence as a community when mail routes from Lawrence to Humboldt became regular. After 1860, mail left Lawrence for Humboldt every Monday at 6:00 a.m. and arrived from Humboldt every Thursday at 10:00 p.m.⁴³

George W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, appeared to support the Humboldt experiment with generous publicity. On August 14, 1858, he referred to Humboldt as a thriving town that had sprung up like magic. “The hotel is a large two and a half story frame, with veranda and an abundance of room.” Two saw mills and a hotel were in operation.⁴⁴ On September 18, the paper reported, on the basis of an article in the *Kansas City Journal*, that over twenty substantial buildings had been erected, that substantial trade was in progress with Indian tribes, and that a large, male/female seminary was to be established. On January 1, 1859, Brown was proud to announce that Humboldt had ten subscribers to his paper. On November 26, 1859, he reported that the population of Humboldt had reached 150. He wrote that there were about forty or fifty buildings, two operating steam saw mills, with a corn mill attached to one of them. There were three stores, a hotel, and a post office.” Brown saw the progress being made against a background of “dull times.” He concluded that Humboldt’s location “on New York Indian lands has somewhat retarded its prosperity, but as that drawback is about to be removed, we may expect to see it prospering again next spring beyond any previous period in her history.”

Was the Humboldt experiment the overwhelming success that the newspaper articles portrayed? Although it was not a “paper town,” as Nute had suggested, the community still had enormous challenges ahead. From September 1859 until October 1860 it was forced to contend with a period of unprecedented drought. In September and October 1861, it suffered two attacks from Missouri forces, the second of which resulted in the destruction of almost all Humboldt buildings by fire.⁴⁵ Humboldt had to endure great hardships in its position as a lonely, vulnerable outpost of Kansas before and during the Civil War.

Despite these and other setbacks, 1857 was clearly a positive turning point for the free-state advocates in the territory. Thrust into the midst of these dramatic events, Hartmann did not see himself simply as a passive observer. Although he may have been one of the first Germans among predominantly New England pioneers, in 1856 and 1857 the German population gradually increased. As a physician, Hartmann probably came into contact with many members of the community that had grown from 400 in 1855 to 1,645 residents by 1860.⁴⁶ In 1857, two years after the establishment of a lodge for the Freemasons, Hartmann joined, and he remained a faithful member of lodge no. 6 until his departure from Lawrence in 1886. Among his “brothers” were politicians, lawyers, bankers, soldiers, merchants, and craftsmen. C. W. Babcock, James Christian, G. W. Deitzler, J. D. Herrington, E. D. Ladd, William H. R. Lykins, S. B. Prentiss, and Charles

⁴³ *Lawrence City Directory and Business Mirror* (Lawrence: Sutherland, 1861), 48.

⁴⁴ This article was quoted from the Kansas paper *Minneola Statesman*.

⁴⁵ Genevieve L. and Harold S. Choguill, *A History of the Humboldt, Kansas, Community, 1855–1988* (n.p., 1988), 5–8.

⁴⁶ *Population of the United States in 1860* (D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864). Douglas county had a population of over 8,000. See also Katja Rampelmann, “Small-Town Germans: The Germans of Lawrence, Kansas, from 1854 to 1918” (M.A. Thesis, University of Kansas, 1991), 20–22. In 1857, Kob estimated the population of Lawrence at 2,500. He estimated the number of Germans at 60. He probably included the land adjoining Lawrence, oven perhaps the entire area of Douglas County. *Wegweiser*, 29–30.

Robinson were prominent names in Lawrence and Kansas politics.⁴⁷ The *Turnverein* was formed in 1857, and two officers of that new organization, David Prager and Michael Oswald, also became members of lodge no. 6. Although Harttmann does not show up in the surviving membership list of the Turners, as a member of the *Corps Franconia*, he may have wished to test the recently produced local beer with one of the brothers.⁴⁸ When H. B. Möllhausen traveled through Lawrence in 1858, he observed that “shops, poolrooms and saloons are to be found side by side in motley mixture, and among these one notices a German beer house here and there where good Bavarian beer is served by heavy-set fellow countrymen.”⁴⁹

Not all Lawrence citizens appreciated the German promotion of beer in a state that soon took legal action against it. Even in other respects Harttmann was painfully aware of segments of the population that distrusted Germans for religious or political reasons. The *Herald of Freedom*, for example, had strong reservations about foreign influence in public life.

Not a Know-Nothing

A gentleman writes us from the East, charging us with being a Know-Nothing in politics and opposed to foreigners. On the contrary, the worst bitter political contrast ever waged against us by any party has been carried on by that party, because we opposed their proscriptive and intolerant policy. While we admit that we are in favor of “Americans ruling America,” we were never attached to any organization, political, social, or otherwise, the object of which was to proscribe those of foreign birth, or of religious views differing from our own; but we have always advocated the broadest toleration of opinion, and have ever hailed with pleasure

⁴⁷ James Christian made the first efforts to establish a Masonic lodge in Lawrence in the summer of 1855. He had to go to the nearest lodge, which was proslavery Westport. Nevertheless, he obtained permission to establish a lodge in Lawrence. *In the Beginning: Centennial History and Roster. Lawrence Lodge No. 6 A.F. & A.M.* (Lawrence, 1955), 7–8. In 1861, “Bro. M. Hart[t]man[n] presented an appeal from the decision of Lawrence Lodge, No. 6, in the case of Hart[t]man[n] vs. Kennedy, which, on motion, was referred to the Committee on Grievances, which recommended that the case be referred back to Lawrence Lodge for a rehearing.” *Proceedings of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Kansas* (A reprint of the original minutes, 1889), I, 12–13, 211–12, 223, 289–346, 352, 359, 429, and 511–12. *Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Kansas* (Leavenworth: Ketcheson & Reeves, 1895), II, 206, 314, and 437. *Proceedings of the M.W. Grand Lodge of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Kansas* (Leavenworth: Times, 1870), III, 115–16. See also *Proceedings of the M.W. Grand Lodge of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Kansas* (Wyandotte: Grand Lodge, 1885), VI, 78.

⁴⁸ In 1861, forty-four of the forty-eight members, according to a later, unconfirmed report, enlisted in the Union army. Katja Rampelmann, “Small Town Germans,” 80–102. Henry Albach, “Turner Hall Sold,” *The Lawrence Democrat*, April 9, 1938 (Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas). Albach’s list of twenty-five members in 1866 does not show Harttmann’s name. Hart[t]man[n] was a member from 1857 to 1886. See *In the Beginning: A History and Roster Published as a Feature of the Observance of the One-Hundredth Anniversary of Lawrence Lodge No. 6, A. F. & A. M.* (Lawrence: Masonic Lodge No. 6, 1956), 67.

⁴⁹ H. B. Möllhausen, “Over the Santa Fe Trail through Kansas in 1858,” (translated by John A. Burzle) *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 16 (1948): 376.

the advent to our country of the oppressed from the Old World. In Kansas we have objected, and shall continue to object, to young men of foreign birth, who have but recently arrived in this country, proscribing the native born, and thrusting themselves into office, and labouring to control public opinion by fraud, and falsehood, to the exclusion of the experienced and meritorious of our country.⁵⁰

Harttmann considered this to be an unjustified attack on Germans, and he responded with a characteristic bluntness. According to Harttmann, Brown displayed a reincarnation of the Jesuit spirit. He found it offensive that Brown would try to prevent foreigners from asserting their rights in Kansas, to seek offices, and to gain influence. Harttmann declared in an article for the *Kansas Zeitung* that the Germans “would strive for every kind of political position for which capable men are needed, in order to prevent that the rights of the people are not betrayed or sold by mercenary scoundrels.”⁵¹ Because at about this time he made the decision to run for public office, Harttmann was all the more incensed by Brown’s attempts to disenfranchise Germans. Brown had labeled German as “Dutchmen,” a designation that even “border ruffians,” according to Harttmann, would not use.

His condemnation of the editor of the *Herald of Freedom* for chauvinism did not prevent Harttmann from becoming his ally when political realities demanded decisive action. In early December 1857, the legislature in Lecompton formulated a constitution to assure that Kansas would permit slavery in Kansas. In response, the free-staters, who did not recognize the action of the “fraudulently” elected legislators, assembled in Lawrence. Moritz Harttmann was one of the delegates at the convention. He took the side of those who wished to participate in the election that would elect governmental officials under the new constitution, while, at the same time, putting up the constitution itself for a referendum. In a closely contested vote Harttmann took the side of the “conservatives,” that is, the side of Charles Robinson and George W. Brown.⁵² This meant that he voted to propose a slate of candidates during the election initiated by the framers of the despised Lecompton constitution. Although Harttmann’s language often betrayed a radical position in the articles for the *Kansas Zeitung*, in this crisis he moved to a less radical position, and away from his partner at the *Kansas Zeitung*, Dr. Kob, who saw no possibility of a compromise and rejected the entire election process as a betrayal

⁵⁰ *Herald of Freedom*, August 15, 1857.

⁵¹ *Kansas Zeitung*, August 26, 1857: “Nein, Herr Braun! Wenn irgend möglich, werden wir nach jeder Office streben, zu der tüchtige Männer nötig sind, um nicht die Rechte des Volkes durch feile Schurken verrathen und verkauft zu sehen!”

⁵² A description of the convention from the point of view of Lane’s party is in the *Quindaro Chindowan Extra* of December 29, 1857. The delegates’ votes are recorded: Hart[t]mann with the “Yeas,” in favor of a slate of candidates. www.kckcc.edu/territorial_news/quindaro_chindowan/qextrab.pdf. “On Christmas Eve, the conservative delegates met at the Masonic Hall in Lawrence. When that sanctuary was invaded and the lights doused by Lane’s supporters, editor George Brown took the delegates to the basement of the *Herald of Freedom*, covered the windows with paper, and, in what the radical free staters called “Brown’s Cellar Kitchen Convention,” nominated a free-state ticket. The kitchen convention adjourned on Christmas morning. A Topeka mass convention also resolved to participate in the election of state officers. With characteristic flexibility, even Lane finally endorsed voting in the January 4 election.” Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 162.

of principles. Thus, Kob was on the side opposing Harttmann's faction, along with the followers of the volatile James H. Lane. No compromise appeared possible. Because of alleged voting irregularities, Harttmann's "conservative" faction bolted the convention and moved to its own location to propose a slate of candidates.

A few days later, on January 4, the election took place. The result was an overwhelming victory for the free-state cause. The difference between conservatives and radicals no longer mattered. A sense of relief and triumph pervaded Kansas. The message Serenbetz sent from Humboldt reflects optimism:

You can see how dramatically the population has increased. During the election of last fall, only nineteen votes came from Humboldt and the areas directly to the south; in contrast, Humboldt alone contributed eighty-three votes in the recent election of Jan. 4. It is self-evident that we all voted against the swindle, the Lecompton [pro-slavery constitution] of the Democrats.⁵³

With a new sense of legitimacy, Lawrence proceeded to hold city elections on the basis of a recently granted city charter. Harttmann became a candidate for the city council. The *Herald of Freedom* reported on results of the elections for Lawrence officials on March 6:

The election for city officers, under the Lawrence City charter granted by the late Territorial Legislature, came off on Monday last, and was participated in by all our citizens. From the earnestness with which the people entered into the contest, one would have supposed that some great political principle was at stake. The only issue made, we believe, was Conservatism against Radicalism, and we are proud to say that the whole conservative ticket, with one exception, was elected by a respectable majority. Below we give the figures:
Mayor.—C. W. Babcock, 264; James Blood, 173.
Councilmen. —R. Morrow, 285; P. R. Brooks, 290; E. S. Lowman, 280; L. C. Tolles, 299; John G. Haskell, 280; M. Hart[t]man[n], 260; Henry Shanklin, 266; A. J. Totten, 269; S. W. Eldridge, 377A. H. Mallory, 216; ; L. Bullene, 275.

Thus, with a respectable margin, Harttmann became a member of the first official city council. Only one of the so-called "radicals," who had voted against an election slate, S.W. Eldridge, also became a councilmen.⁵⁴ Although the *Herald of Freedom* considered it important to distinguish between conservatives and radicals within the free-state movement, in the context of the town's daily business the pressing issues made these distinctions irrelevant. The newly founded Republican party eventually made the distinctions even less significant.

⁵³ *Kansas Zeitung*, February 3, 1858.

⁵⁴ "Conservative" C. W. Babcock defeated James Blood for the office of mayor. Blood, who had voted for the "radical" position, became mayor of Lawrence in the following election.

On March 23, 1858, Harttmann received official conformation from the governor's office that he was being appointed notary public for Douglas County.⁵⁵ Reports in the *Kansas Free State* about the twice-weekly meetings of the twelve councilmen and the mayor reflect the areas of major concern: The building of a bridge over the Kansas River, school buildings, school closings, police services, planning for the location of a county court house and county jail, salaries, and taxation. On November 4, 1858, the minutes of the commission meeting shows: "Dr. M. Hart[t]man[n], medical attendance on pauper, \$7." It appears that Harttmann also served as a the physician for hardship cases. His service for the city continued until March 1859. In the election results of March 10, Harttmann was no longer listed as a candidate.

The territorial legislature established the Kansas Medical Society. Harttmann, together with Dr. Kob of Leavenworth, were appointed as members. The society of twenty-nine physicians met on February 10, 1859 to organize. Harttmann, who became the society's librarian, was an active participant in the meeting. At the first meeting of the society he proposed that a code of ethics be formulated and that the report of the society's work get publicity in the newspapers. Both the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Lawrence Republican* reported the details of the society's meeting.⁵⁶

Harttmann's active participation in Lawrence politics ended at the time when the state's future as a free state became secure. Unlike most other physicians in town, after an initial ad in 1856, he no longer advertised his services in the city's newspapers. Presumably he had a circle of patients, and he had difficulty serving more. His availability was restricted, moreover, because of his love of travel. In 1859, for example, he left Lawrence for a three-month trip to Europe.⁵⁷

Following Quantrill's raid on Lawrence and the threat of incursion by a Confederate army into Kansas, all able-bodied Kansan men were called to serve in the military forces. An army under the command of Maj. Gen. Sterling Price approached the eastern border of Kansas, and Governor Thomas Carney issued a proclamation: "The State is in peril! Price and his rebel hosts threaten it with invasion. Kansas must be ready to hurl them back at any cost." In response to the call, over 12,000 men assembled at Olathe, Atchison, Paola, Mound City, Fort Scott, and Wyandotte City. As the company surgeon, Harttmann became part of the Third Regiment of the Kansas State Militia under Colonel Williamson. He served from October 10 to 27, 1864. The enemy was defeated in a number of minor skirmishes. These engagements were among the last ones in the Civil War.⁵⁸

As a member of the Masonic Lodge no. 6, Harttmann was part of a society that supported a recovery and rebuilding effort. The lodge provided emergency aid to the

⁵⁵ "Governor Denver's Administration," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, ed. By F. G. Adams 5(1896): 491.

⁵⁶ William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago: Lewis, 1918), 994. February 19, 1859, *Herald of Freedom* and February 17, 1859, *Lawrence Republican*.

⁵⁷ "Narrative of Travels."

⁵⁸ Edgar Langsdorf, "Price's Raid and the Battle of Mine Creek" *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 20(1964): 286-87 and Brian Dexter Fowles, *A Guard in Peace and War: The History of the Kansas National Guard, 1854-1987* (Manhattan, Kans.: Sunflower University Press, 1989), 10-14.

widows of men who had been killed in Quantrill's raid. It also set up a delegation to consult with Harttmann about building a hall for the Masons.⁵⁹

Harttmann was also involved in the aid to immigrants. He is reported to have been a delegate to a society that aided those who arrived by boat in Baltimore. What the position of "delegate" might have meant is not clear. The organization for which he probably served had existed since 1873. It was dedicated to the "protection and assistance of poor emigrants from Germany and Switzerland."⁶⁰ The organization worked closely with state government officials to ensure the rights of the arrivals. If Harttmann played a role, it probably had to do with providing information to the emigrants about settling in western states such as Kansas.

Harttmann married Ida Stackfleth in March 27, 1870. It was not a successful relationship; on April 3, 1871, Ida petitioned for a divorce. Ida retained her former husband's name and served as a cook and comanager with her sister in the Globe Restaurant.⁶¹ Harttmann married again. The U.S. Census 1880 helps to reconstruct a later part of Harttmann's life. He was still residing in Douglas County, but now he was in Wakarusa, south of Lawrence, where he was a retired physician, living with his wife, Elizabeth Harttmann, who was forty-nine years old. The census also indicates that a twelve-year-old boy named John Hutt lived with the couple as a servant, and a niece, Christiane Christ, 22 years old, resided in the home as a boarder. All members of the residence unit were Germans from Württemberg.⁶²

Travel and exploration were among Harttmann's most frequent ventures. In 1872, he tested the new intercontinental railway to Manitou, Colorado. From there it was a short distance to Pike's Peak, and he climbed to the top of the 14,110-foot mountain. The interest in the area was intense in Kansas in the 1850s and 60s when many Kansans sought to make their fortunes by discovering gold.⁶³ In 1874, Harttmann traveled from Lawrence to St. Louis and continued from there to Toronto, on the Lawrence River to Quebec, then visited Lake Champlain, Saratoga, Albany, and New York City. In 1876, Harttmann was in Philadelphia for the Bicentennial celebrations and the World's Fair. If he arrived there at the opening (the fair took place from [10 May to 10 November](#)), he could have heard a march by Richard Wagner, composed for the occasion, as well as an address by President Ulysses S. Grant.⁶⁴ In 1879, Lawrence celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. Harttmann was present at the celebration in Bismarck Grove, at the

⁵⁹ On February 6, 1865, it was "moved by Brother Fisher, and carried, that a committee be appointed to confer with Brother Hart[t]man[n] in relation to building a hall for the Lodge." Perhaps there was some dissatisfaction with the work of the committee; a few months later it is recorded "That old committee on hall was discharged and a new committee appointed consisting of Brothers Duncan, Thacher and Cracklin." *In the Beginning*, 23.

⁶⁰ See "Narrative of Travels" in the Appendix. Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton: University Press, 1948), 197–203.

⁶¹ See http://www.ancestorphunt.com/mormon_church_records.htm for a record of Harttmann's marriages to Ida Stackfleth and Elizabeth Hart[t]man[n]. Judy Sweets and Pauline Elniff, "Kansas Territory Divorces. 1857–1861 and Douglas County Divorce Petitions. 1864–1884," manuscript, 1984, 7. *Lawrence City Directory*, 1875–1876, 74 and 127.

⁶² 1880 United States Census. See www.familysearch.org.

⁶³ Calvin W. Grower, "Gold Fever in Kansas Territory: Migration to the Pike's Peak Gold Fields, 1858–1860," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 39(1973): 58–74.

⁶⁴ Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas* (Munich: Saur, 1980), 700.

northeastern corner of Lawrence.⁶⁵ In 1880, Harttmann traveled to Milwaukee. In 1882, he undertook a six-month trip to Europe, starting from New York to Rotterdam, Cologne, Stuttgart, and Ulm. In 1883, he traveled to Europe again, this time staying in Ulm for about two years before returning to Lawrence. In 1886, he made still another trip to Germany. Ulm, in each case, was his destination.⁶⁶

In 1885, he undertook his most spectacular trip. As an admirer of Alexander von Humboldt, Harttmann must have been intrigued by the idea of seeing the famous places that Humboldt had explored. He started out by traveling to Colorado, and then continued through Texas and New Mexico to Mexico. Since he visited numerous places that Humboldt had written about, it is possible that he had a biography of Humboldt as a guidebook. Just like Humboldt, Harttmann explored the areas around Toluca, and he climbed to the point where a snow mantle covered Popocatepetl, one of the highest mountains in Mexico. He also explored the ancient Aztec parts of Mexico City and its vicinity. When he had named the Kansas town after Humboldt, Harttmann wished to celebrate Humboldt as a symbol against slavery. His travels in Mexico, on the other hand, reflect the admiration for Humboldt as a great scientific explorer.⁶⁷

In 1887, Harttmann returned to Ulm, at the outskirts of which, in the neighboring Neu-Ulm, he spent the last years of his life. In 1891, he took part in the seventy-year anniversary of the founding of his fraternity, the *Corps Franconia*, in Tübingen. He was the oldest member present on the occasion. The historical record of the fraternity his contribution as a “spirited and poetically inspired speech,” which included reflections about his American experiences.⁶⁸ The report about Harttmann’s death is recorded in an announcement placed by his wife, Elisabeth, in the Ulm daily paper, *Ulmer Tageblatt*, on March 18, 1900: “Yesterday evening my dear husband, Dr. Moritz Harttmann, died. The body will be taken to the crematorium in Heidelberg.”

The life of Moritz Harttmann does not require the emphasis of his personal importance. His achievements were not extraordinary. He was just one of many Germans who survived the failed revolution in Germany and started an active, new life in the United States. It is not a coincidence that Dr. Kob, as physician, journalist, free-state advocate, and speculator, played a historical role similar to Harttmann’s and was also entirely forgotten. Despite this lack of prominence, Harttmann and Kob reveal a network of alliances. In this wide-ranging network, the Emigrant Aid Company played an important financial and supporting role at almost every point. The company recognized that recent Germans of the revolutionary generation would be ideal allies for keeping the state of Kansas free of slavery. The Germans brought with them ideals of freedom and equality to a country in crisis about the issue of slavery. The German immigrants represented a generation that Alexander von Humboldt had influenced with his keen sensitivity to the aspirations and rights of all races. The Germans formed a significant block of settlers and voters who helped to turn the tide against the established proslavery forces. Although most of the German settlers in Kansas have been forgotten, their legacy is part and parcel of the ultimate defeat of slavery in Kansas and in the United States.

⁶⁵ Glead (ed.), *The Kansas Memoria: A Report of the Old Settlers’ Meeting*, 228.

⁶⁶ See “Narrative of Travels.”

⁶⁷ See article by Baron and Seeger, “Das Leben Moritz Harttmanns.”

⁶⁸ Schneider-Horn, *Die Tübinger Franken*, 156–57.

