

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03193-7 - German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era

Alison Clark Efford

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era

This study of Civil War–era politics explores how German immigrants influenced the rise and fall of white commitment to African-American rights. Intertwining developments in Europe and North America, Alison Clark Efford describes how the presence of naturalized citizens affected the status of former slaves and identifies 1870 as a crucial turning point. That year, the Franco-Prussian War prompted German immigrants to reevaluate the liberal nationalism underpinning African-American suffrage. Throughout the period, the newcomers' approach to race, ethnicity, gender, and political economy shaped American citizenship law.

Alison Clark Efford is Assistant Professor of History at Marquette University. Her 2008 doctoral dissertation won the Friends of the German Historical Institute's Fritz Stern Prize.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03193-7 - German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era

Alison Clark Efford

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03193-7 - German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era

Alison Clark Efford

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

Edited by Hartmut Berghoff
with the assistance of David Lazar

The German Historical Institute is a center for advanced study and research whose purpose is to provide a permanent basis for scholarly cooperation among historians from the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States. The Institute conducts, promotes, and supports research into both American and German political, social, economic, and cultural history; into transatlantic migration, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and into the history of international relations, with special emphasis on the roles played by the United States and Germany.

Recent books in the series:

Lars Maischak, *German Merchants in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic*

Ingo Köhler, *The Aryanization of Private Banks in the Third Reich*

Hartmut Berghoff, Jürgen Kocka, and Dieter Ziegler, editors, *Business in the Age of Extremes*

Yair Mintzker, *The Defortification of the German City, 1689–1866*

Astrid M. Eckert, *The Struggle for the Files: The Western Allies and the Return of German Archives after the Second World War*

Winson Chu, *The German Minority in Interwar Poland*

Christof Mauch and Kiran Klaus Patel, *The United States and Germany during the Twentieth Century*

Monica Black, *Death in Berlin: From Weimar to Divided Germany*

John R. McNeill and Corinna R. Unger, editors, *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*

Roger Chickering and Stig Förster, editors, *War in an Age of Revolution, 1775–1815*

Cathryn Carson, *Heisenberg in the Atomic Age: Science and the Public Sphere*

Michaela Hoenicke Moore, *Know Your Enemy: The American Debate on Nazism, 1933–1945*

Matthias Schulz and Thomas A. Schwartz, editors, *The Strained Alliance: U.S.-European Relations from Nixon to Carter*

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03193-7 - German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era

Alison Clark Efford

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03193-7 - German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era

Alison Clark Efford

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era

ALISON CLARK EFFORD

Marquette University, Wisconsin

GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

Washington, D.C.

and



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-03193-7 - German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era
Alison Clark Efford
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107031937

© Alison Clark Efford 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Efford, Alison Clark, 1979–

German immigrants, race, and citizenship in the Civil War era / Alison Clark Efford.
pages cm. – (Publications of the German Historical Institute)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-03193-7 (hardback)

1. German Americans – History –

19th century. 2. Immigrants – United States – History – 19th century. 3. German Americans – Politics and government – 19th century. 4. Citizenship – United States – History – 19th century.

5. African Americans – Suffrage – History – 19th century. 6. United States – Race relations – History – 19th century. 7. Reconstruction (U.S. history, 1865–1877) 8. United States – Politics and government – 1857–1861. 9. United States – Politics and government – 1861–1865. 10. United States – Politics and government – 1865–1877. I. Title.

E184.G3E29 2013

973'.0431-dc23 2013010248

ISBN 978-1-107-03193-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| <i>Acknowledgments</i> | page ix |
| Introduction: Naturalized Citizens, Transnational Perspectives, and the Arc of Reconstruction | 1 |
| 1. The German Language of American Citizenship | 17 |
| 2. The “Freedom-Loving German,” 1854–1860 | 53 |
| 3. Black Suffrage as a German Cause in Missouri, 1865 | 87 |
| 4. Principle Rising, 1865–1869 | 115 |
| 5. <i>Wendepunkt</i> : The Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1871 | 143 |
| 6. The Liberal Republican Transition, 1870–1872 | 171 |
| 7. Class, Culture, and the Decline of Reconstruction, 1870–1876 | 199 |
| <i>Epilogue: The Great Strike of 1877</i> | 227 |
| <i>Appendix: Voting Tables</i> | 237 |
| <i>Bibliography</i> | 241 |
| <i>Index</i> | 261 |

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03193-7 - German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era

Alison Clark Efford

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03193-7 - German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era

Alison Clark Efford

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

The scholarly journey of writing this book was entangled with a personal one, making a home for myself in the United States. I now have the pleasure of acknowledging the guides along the way. The challenge is not to gush. Mitchell Snay was closer to the project than anyone. His warm advice, incisive questioning, and scrupulous attention to detail shaped more than my writing. At Ohio State University, John Brooke was an exemplary adviser. I found his boundless enthusiasm, passion for theory, and individual support indispensable. Michael Les Benedict was unstintingly generous with his penetrating critiques, and Kevin Boyle led by example.

A wider group of scholars also guided my work. Before I had even settled on a topic, Walter Kamphoefner's expert probing and professional magnanimity encouraged me. As I finished the manuscript, Andrew Zimmerman's insightful reading reinvigorated my revisions. In between, colleagues at Ohio State, Marquette University, and elsewhere prodded and inspired me. I am particularly grateful for the interventions of David Roediger, Kathleen Neils Conzen, A. J. Aiseirthe, Michelle Wolfe, Jessica Pliley, Andrew Kahrl, and Andrew Slap. They changed how I understood significant aspects of the book. I am also indebted to Tyler Anbinder, Daniel Nagel, Mischa Honeck, Jonathan Zatzlin, David Quigley, Adam Arenson, Thomas Bahde, Sameena Mulla, Peter Staudenmaier, and Geeta Raval for acute and substantive suggestions. I benefited greatly from stimulating conversations with Audra Jennings, Jane Berger, David Dzurec, John McKerley, Greg Downs, and Lezlie Knox.

Institutional debts feel less poignant than personal ones, but they are no less important. A Dean's Distinguished University Fellowship and other grants at Ohio State allowed me to indulge in spells of undistracted research and writing. I also received funding from the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (German Academic Exchange Service) and the German

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03193-7 - German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era

Alison Clark Efford

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Historical Institute in Washington, DC. I have the institute to thank for facilitating this publication and especially for providing the services of David Lazar, an editor of uncommon skill and dedication. The staff of libraries and archives in Washington and around the Midwest introduced me to their collections and entertained my requests. Parts of Chapter 3 first appeared in “Race Should Be as Unimportant as Ancestry: German Radicals and African American Citizenship in the Missouri Constitution of 1865,” *Missouri Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (2010): 138–58. Editor Gary R. Kremer kindly granted permission to use this material.

The History Department at Marquette feels more like an academic home than an institution. I have stumbled into a department of mentors. The College of Arts and Sciences provides welcome support to junior faculty, but I am not alone in believing that James Marten works special magic as History chair. And who can explain the good fortune of finding an accomplished historian of German America, John Jentz, working at Marquette’s library?

I owe the most to people outside the academy. Murray Efford, Ramona Clark, Neil Efford, and teachers, friends, and family on both sides of the Pacific have taught me the value of reflection, debate, compassion, and reason. Final thanks go to Brandon Walton for the practical joys and emotional sustenance of shared homemaking.