NOTABLE GERMAN-AMERICANS Ludwig Bogen (1810-86),

From German Forty-Eighter to Minnesota German Newspaper Editor

By Dr. Don Heinrich Tolzmann

Introduction: The gravestone of Ludwig Bogen in the cemetery in New Ulm, Minnesota bears an interesting image: a hand-held quill. It is quite appropriate, since he served for many years as publisher and editor of the *New Ulm Post*, a German-language newspaper, and its pages were filled with his writings. Prior to that, he had experienced an extraordinary life in Germany. By the 1830s he had

become a well-known opponent of the status quo, something that caused him to be arrested and imprisoned. Thereafter, he participated in the 1848 Revolution, which caused him to be imprisoned again, thus leading to his decision to immigrate to America.

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According to A.E. Zucker, most Forty-Eighters were in their twenties when the revolution broke out, whereas Bogen was in his late thirties. Like many of them, he had a German university education, and in the U.S. launched a lengthy career in the German-American press. What they shared was a vision of unity and freedom for the German states, and opposition to the sociopolitical status quo of the time. They did their best to attain their goals, and when that failed as many as ten thousand Forty-Eighters sought a new homeland in America.⁽¹⁾ However, before Bogen was a Forty-Eighter, he also was a political activist, something likely not so well known as his involvement in the 1848 Revolution.⁽²⁾



Ludwig Bogen Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Darmstadt

Family Background: Bogen was born on 7 June 1809 in Michelstadt, a town in the Odenwald between Darmstadt and Heidelberg, in the Grand Duchy of Hesse. His parents were Georg Heinrich (1780-1841) and Maria Katharina (Rexroth) Bogen (1789-1867). After studying law at the universities of Heidelberg and Göttingen, his father opened a law practice, and became mayor of Michelstadt in 1814.⁽³⁾ In the meantime, he joined a group of former students from the universities of Giessen and Heidelberg interested in obtaining a constitution and representative government for the Grand Duchy. In 1819, he was chosen to meet with the Grand Duke, and present their demands for political reform. Although public meetings were forbidden, Bogen organized them anyway, and collected signatures on a petition from more than a hundred villages in support of their agenda, and also had it printed and distributed. However, the Duchy was reluctant to accept them, causing Bogen to issue a call that residents of the Duchy refuse to pay their taxes.

The Duchy responded by sending troops to those areas refusing to pay, and arrested leaders of the movement, including Bogen. He was arrested and jailed, but almost immediately freed by an armed group of supporters. To avoid hostilities, he turned himself in to authorities in Michelstadt, but supporters again threatened to take action unless he was released. As a result of heightened tensions, troops were sent to Michelstadt to restore order. In December 1819 Bogen was released, and court proceedings against him dropped. He continued to serve as mayor of Michelstadt, and no further action was taken by him regarding governmental reform. With a growing family of four sons, and his position as mayor, he likely had enough responsibilities, including service as legal counselor and director of the estate of the Count of Erbach-Fürstenau.

The German Confederation: The Grand Duchy of Hesse was one of the thirty-nine states of the German Confederation that emerged from the Congress of Vienna in 1815, replacing the old Holy Roman Empire. It consisted of a group of sovereign states whose representatives met at its diet in Frankfurt, the Bundestag. Externally, it aimed to defend member states, and internally sought to protect the rights of its rulers. The chief architect of this restoration of the "old order" was the Austrian Chancellor Prince Clemens von Metternich (1773-1859).

The number of German states had been reduced as compared to before the Napoleonic wars, but they were still ruled by absolutist rulers as before, and the social supremacy of the aristocracy was reasserted. However, the ideals and sentiments engendered by the French Revolution and the War of Liberation against Napoleon had survived.⁽⁴⁾ German students formed patriotic organizations known as *Burschenschaften*, which were not based on a specific place or region, but were open to all as an expression of German unity. They called for a national convention at the Wartburg where Luther had translated the Bible into German, and scheduled it for 10 October 1817, the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig. This date closely approximated the three hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Reformation with Luther nailing his 95 Theses on a church door in Wittenberg. Students proclaimed that they all belonged "to one single nation, the German." The event was called the Wartburg-Fest, and even though it was non-political, the symbolism translated into a rejection of the sociopolitical status quo. Metternich was displeased by the fest and its implications.

By 1818, students formed a General German Student Union, and by now had become overtly political. *The Schwarzen*, or *Unbedingten* (the Blacks, or Unconditionals) gathered around Karl Follen (1796-1840) at the University of Giessen. He called for a united German republic, and claimed that whatever means were necessary to attain that goal were justifiable. This political philosophy caused Karl Sand, a disturbed student, to assassinate a playwright, Karl von Kotzebue (1761-1819) who was considered a reactionary.

Metternich now had the pretext to suppress all sources deemed subversive, and as a result orchestrated the passage of the Carlsbad Decrees in the Bundestag. These decrees established rigid control and censorship of the press, supervision of educational institutions, and banned the *Burschenschaften*. A state monitor was established at each university so that lectures could be observed. The decrees effectively stifled the political life of the diets in various states, and the control of the press had the same effect regarding public debate.

Life in Germany: After an elementary school education, Ludwig Bogen attended a Gymnasium in Darmstadt, and studied law at the universities of Giessen and Bonn (1827-31). Although they had been banned, the *Burschenschaften* gradually reemerged, and in 1827 he joined the *Alte*

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Giessener Burschenschaft Germania in Giessen, and the Burschenschaft Germania Bonn in 1829.

After completing his studies, he became a lawyer, and in 1834 a court secretary in Giessen. According to Erich Becker: "His father and especially his law studies in Giessen opened Ludwig's eyes to the need for revolutionary change in Germany."⁽⁵⁾

Conditions in Hesse were similar to those in other German states: "After Napoleon's downfall the Grand Duke of Hesse, like other petty monarchs of central Europe, attempted to re-establish the autocratic regime of an eighteenth-century ruler. Although he granted his people a constitution in 1829, it was of so conservative a nature that his traditional rights were scarcely impinged upon...Oppressive taxes, together with a series of bad harvests during the post-Napoleonic period, reduced the peasants throughout Hesse to an increasingly intolerable state of poverty."⁽⁶⁾

In 1835, he was arrested and charged with having participated in the *Frankfurter Wachensturm*. On 3 April 1833, a group of students, most of whom were *Burschenschaftler*, tried to take control of the Constables' Guard-House in Frankfurt, hoping it would ignite a revolution. The event, also known as the *Frankfurter* Putsch, failed, as the police had been informed beforehand. Several were arrested, while others fled and emigrated. Although not involved, Bogen was viewed as a likely suspect because of his political views, and was imprisoned in Darmstadt. He was sentenced to eight years in prison, but was pardoned in 1839, causing him to move Switzerland, where he worked as a lawyer at a cantonal bank in Bern.

When the 1848 Revolution broke out, Bogen returned to Hesse, and actively called for its support by means of his writings and speeches. On 11 May 1848, he was elected as a representative of the National Assembly that met in the Paulskirche in Frankfurt. His participation in the National Assembly, as well as his involvement in revolutionary activities in Hesse and Baden, resulted in his arrest in 1849 in Michelstadt, causing him to be placed on trial for treason.

Fortunately, he was pardoned on 11 May 1850, and thereafter elected as a member of the second chamber of the Hessian parliament, serving in that capacity until 1853. He most likely was pardoned due to the widespread popularity he enjoyed. However, by this time, he must have seen the futility of further struggle for political reform. Bogen had seen other Forty-Eighters emigrate, had been arrested for revolutionary activities, and done serious time in prison. Two of his brothers, Friedrich Wilhelm Bogen and Albrecht August Bogen, had already emigrated, and he must have felt it best to do likewise, and did so in 1853.⁽⁷⁾

Bogen and the Nix Connection: After coming to America, Bogen moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, a major settlement center for recently arrived German emigrants. During a visit there in 1848, Friedrich Hecker, a well-known Forty-Eighter leader, suggested that a Turnverein be founded, and one was created on 21 November 1848.⁽⁸⁾ Its first president was Wilhelm Pfaender (1826-1905) who had helped found several Turnvereine in Germany, and later became one of the founding fathers of New Ulm, Minnesota.⁽⁹⁾ On 31 May 1854, Bogen married Margaretha Nix (1823-1900) at the St. Johannes Kirche in Cincinnati. Born in Bingen am Rhein, she was the sister of Jacob Nix (1822-97), a Forty-Eighter who also was also born there. According to Erich Becker, Ludwig and Margaretha emigrated together and had known each other since 1848 when Bogen lived in Frankfurt and she in the nearby town of Offenbach.(10)

When the revolution broke out in 1848, Jacob Nix joined the Third Company of Franz Heinrich Zitz's Free Corps, and became its captain, and thereafter was known as Captain Nix. After the failure of the revolution, he was charged with treason, and sentenced to death. In 1849, he

managed to escape, and made his way to Antwerp, and from there to America. After landing in New York, Nix moved to Cleveland, where he married Margaretha Schneider (1835-1912) in 1852. Like many Forty-Eighters, Nix joined a Turnverein, in his case, one in Cleveland. In 1855, he attended the national meeting of the Turners in Buffalo, New York.

At this meeting, Pfaender proposed the idea of a German settlement in the Northwest "where soil and lumber was abundant" and "each family could have a garden plot."(11) His proposal was strongly supported by Jacob Nix. Under Pfaender's leadership as president of the Turner Settlement Society, Turners from across the country, especially Cincinnati, moved to New Ulm, and merged with a German settlement society from Chicago, which had founded the town in 1854.⁽¹²⁾ In 1858, Nix's family moved there from Cleveland. The motivation in forming the Turner Settlement Society had been the rising tide of nativism, which had been particularly virulent in the 1850s, and the idea of a frontier settlement seemed the perfect solution to this problem. (13)

The Bogens remained in Cincinnati for a year, and then moved to Illinois. In 1856, they moved to Stillwater, Minnesota, where they had a butcher shop, and where three of their oldest children were born. In 1864, the family made its last move, this time to New Ulm. Bogen likely heard of New Ulm in Cincinnati, and most likely met Pfaender there also. However, he also could have heard about it from Jacob and Peter Nix (1785-1863). The latter emigrated in 1853, most likely going directly to Cleveland where his son was, and from there moved with the Nix family to New Ulm.

New Ulm, Minnesota: Bogen would have been attracted to New Ulm because of its German heritage and the presence of other Forty-Eighters, as well as the likelihood of a reunion with Nix family relatives. Moving there also afforded him the opportunity of acquiring a German newspaper, the New Ulm Post, and publishing and editing it, became his lifelong profession.⁽¹⁴⁾ It had been founded in February earlier that year by Albert Wolff (1825-93) and Josef Hofer (?-1878). It was a four-page paper with six columns per page, and was edited by Wolff, a Forty-Eighter. However, in June he moved to St. Paul to become editor of the Minnesota Staats-Zeitung, leaving Hofer as the sole owner of the paper as of the issue dated 10 July 1864. (15)

Shortly thereafter, Bogen acquired the paper, becoming its editor and publisher as of the issue dated 29 July 1864. He continued on in that capacity until 12 May 1865 when Lambert Naegele became a co-publisher. In October 1869, Bogen became sole owner, remaining so until his demise on 6 April 1886.⁽¹⁶⁾ The paper's sub-title was: "Ein unabhängiges Volkblatt für Freiheit, Recht und Fortschritt" (An independent people's paper for freedom, justice and progress), a subtitle that reflected its Forty-Eighter origins. It must have been quite a job putting the paper together, but his son Albert helped, and his other children most likely did as well.

According to L.A. Fritsche: "During the time that Ludwig Bogen was the publisher of the newspaper it had espoused the cause of the Republican Party."⁽¹⁷⁾ This reflected the pro-Republican Party stance that Forty-Eighters had taken since their support of Abraham Lincoln. Carl Wittke writes that Bogen "strongly supported" the Knights of Labor and their program, noting: "Many German working men were greatly interested in the Knights of Labor, the first important effort in this country to unite all workers in a great army of labor, and the activities of the 'Ritter der Arbeit' received considerable attention in the columns of the German labor press."⁽¹⁸⁾

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Cultural topics were also discussed by Bogen. However, he was dismissive of amateur theatrical performances, as he felt that no criteria existed "for evaluating dramatic personnel deserving greater praise for their endeavors than for their accomplishments as actors." ⁽¹⁹⁾

An in-depth study of the New Ulm Post under his editorship has not been undertaken and would have to be done to ascertain his position on a variety of issues, but they no doubt reflected his views as a Forty-Eighter. However, Bogen was called "one of the ablest writers of the German-American press of the Northwest ever." (20) Since Minnesota was part of the Old Northwest, the territory north of the Ohio River that made the Northwest Territory, this would be referring to the states that came out of it: Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio. These states had some of the foremost editors of the German-American press. The description of Bogen as "one of the ablest writers" is an indication of the high regard in which he was held. According to Erich Becker: "He shaped 'his' newspaper by the new ideals of freedom, law, democracy and social progress."(21)

The Bogen Legacy: The New Ulm Post continued publication well into the twentieth century, with its last issue appearing on 12 May 1933. Its demise was likely due to the economic impact of the Great Depression, even though its circulation reached its peak of 1,700 by 1930. After Bogen's death, the publication of the paper was continued by his son Albert A. Bogen, with J.H. Strasser serving as editor. On 8 September 1892, the paper was then acquired by Strasser who published and edited it until 13 April 1896, when it was acquired by Edward and Armand Petry. They published the paper until 22 November 1905, when it was acquired by the New Ulm Publishing Company, although they continued on as editors. In 1909, E.J. Buehrer became editor, serving until 1911, when Albert Steinhauser took on that position. On 2 March

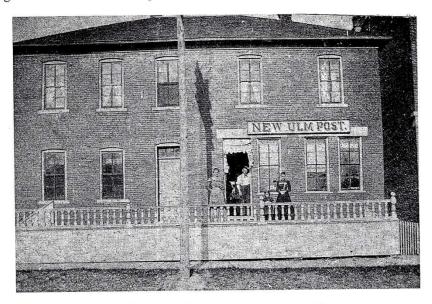
1916, he became the sole owner of the paper, and published the paper until it ceased publication.⁽²²⁾

Aside from Bogen, three of the paper's editors are noteworthy: Strasser (1855-1914) published a chronology of New Ulm, covering the years from the 1850s to 1899, which consists basically of an invaluable index to the *New Ulm Post*. ⁽²³⁾ Albert Steinhauser (1867-1957) "spoke and wrote *Deutsch direkt* with words that packed a punch, and grabbed the attention of those who heard him, or read his articles and editorials." (24) Bogen's son Albert (1858-1921) continued the journalistic tradition of his father by publishing and editing the paper for several years, and then moved to Texas where he established a German paper that he published and edited.

Born in Stillwater, Minnesota, Albert A. Bogen grew up in New Ulm and "learned the printer's trade in his father's printing plant" and thereafter became owner and publisher of the *New Ulm Post*. After selling the paper, he moved to Taylor, Texas, where he launched the publication of a German weekly, the *Texas Herold*, which he published and edited from December 1895 to 1914. Due to declining health, he sold the paper, and retired to live with his sisters Anna Hellriegel and Marie Bogen in Mobridge, South Dakota. He was described as "a printer of the old school and took great pride in his work and was most thorough and painstaking.⁽²⁵⁾

Recently, biographies of Bogen have appeared in Germany by Ella Gieg (1986) and Erich Becker (2020).⁽²⁶⁾ The latter has commented on his significance for German history: "Bogen was one of the elected men in the Paulskirche who wanted to create a united Germany in 1848/49 based on democratic principles."⁽²⁷⁾ An indication of the increased interest in Bogen was the naming of a street in his honor in Michelstadt: Ludwig-Bogen-Strasse. In addition to his significance for German history, his importance for German-American history is readily apparent, as is shown by the preceding review of his life.

Conclusion: Carl Wittke has written about the Forty-Eighters: "Not their number, but their extraordinary ability, spirit, and influence made them significant." They fervently advanced the ideals of "humanitarianism, cosmopolitanism, liberty and justice," and contributed to "the flowering time of German culture in America."⁽²⁸⁾ A survey of Bogen's life demonstrates the need to further explore the contributions of the Forty-Eighters.⁽²⁹⁾ The centennial of the 1848 Revolution resulted in renewed interest in them, as did more recently its 150th anniversary in 1998.⁽³⁰⁾ Recently, two descendants of Ludwig Bogen, Steven and Michael Baun, donated photographs and documents from the Bogen family archive to the Brown County Historical Society in New Ulm. These materials will no doubt enrich our knowledge of the life and work of Bogen.⁽³¹⁾



Office of the New Ulm Post, Bogen Archive

Notes

- See: A.E. Zucker, ed., The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848. (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 270. For further information on the Forty-Eighters, see: Carl Wittke, Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952); and: Don Heinrich Tolzmann, ed., The German-American Forty-Eighters, 1848-1998. (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, Indiana University-Purdue University & Indiana German Heritage Society, 1998).
- For a survey of the post-Napoleonic era and the 1848 Revolution in Germany, see: Koppel Pinson, Modern Germany: Its History and Civilization. Second Edition. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1966), pp. 50-108. And regarding the 1848 Revolution in particular, see: Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany, 1840-1945. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 45-98.
- 3. The survey of Bogen's family is drawn from the online Hessian biographical database entry for his father: "Bogen, Georg Heinrich," *Hessische Biographie*, in: *Landesgeschichtliches Informationssystem Hessen (LAGIS). Hessisches Landesamt für geschichtliche Landeskunde (HLGL)* at: www.lagis-hessen.de, and also: Walter Heinemeyer et al, eds., *Handbuch der Hessischen*

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Geschichte. Bd. 4.2-3: Hessen im Deutschen Bund und im neuen Deutschen Reich (1806) 1815-1945. Die Hessischen Staaten bis 1945, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen. Band 63. (Marburg: Elwert, 2003), pp. 749, 783, and 940.

4. For further information on the German Confederation, see: Pinson, Modern Germany, pp. 53-55.

- See: Erich Becker, Ein Leben für die Revolution: Ludwig Bogen: Michelstadt 1809-New Ulm 1886. (Hochheim: Erich Becker, 2020), p. 73. In addition to Becker's biography, I have also drawn on the following sources: "Ludwig Bogen," Der Deutsche Pionier. 17 (1885): 347-48; Ella Gieg, Ludwig Bogen, 1809-1886: Dokumention über das bewegte Leben eines Odenwälder Revolutionärs. (Michelstadt: Neuthor-Verlag, 1986); Rainer Koch, Die Frankfurter Nationalversammlung; 1848/49: Ein Handlexikon der Abgeordneten der deutschen verfassungsgebenden Reichs-Versammlung. (Kelkheim: H. Kunz, 1989), p. 96; and: J.H. Strasser, New Ulm, Minnesota: J.H. Strasser's History and Chronology. Translated and edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. (Milford, Ohio: Little Miami Publishing Co., 2003), pp. 38, 73, 84, and 150. Also, see the Hessian online database entry on Bogen in: www.lagis-hessen.de.
- 6. Herbert Lindenberger, Georg Büchner, with a Preface by Henry T. Moore. (Cabondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), pp. 5-6. In 1834, German author Georg Büchner published a pamphlet, The Hessian Messenger, aiming to incite revolution, but it had no discernible effect. Given the political repression that occurred after the Frankfurter Putsch, this is readily understandable. C. Reeve notes: "A number of idealistically motivated young men, largely from intellectual centers, such as universities and the Church, began to demand fulfillment of the constitutional promises by petition and even open rebellion. This group, primarily from the well-to-do sections of the middle class, suffered persecution from the authorities and many ended their lives either in jail or in exile." See: William C. Reeve, Georg Büchner. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1979), p. 6.
- 7. For biographical information on Bogen's brothers, see the Hessian biographical database: <u>www.lagishessen.de</u>. This indicates that his brother Friedrich Wilhelm Bogen (1813-1883) studied theology in Giessen, and was a member of the *Burschenschaft Teutonia Giessen*. He participated in revolutionary activities there in 1833, but was pardoned in 1836. Thereafter, he was a teacher in Michelstadt and then a vicar in Beerfelden. In 1848, he emigrated, settled in Boston, and later served as a translator at the White House, and as a member of the immigration commission in Baltimore. Another brother, Albrecht August Bogen (1815-?), studied law in Giessen, was a member of the *Burschenschaft Teutonia Giessen*. Other than this, no information is available as to his political activities, date of emigration, and subsequent life in America.
- 8. Regarding the founding of the Cincinnati Turnverein, see: Dann Woellert, *Cincinnati Turner Societies: The Cradle of an American Movement.* (Charleston, South Carolina: History Press, 2012), p. 18.
- For information on Pfaender, see: Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "Wilhelm Pfaender, A German Forty-Eighter and Turner Leader in Germany and America," *The Palatine Immigrant*. 39:2 (2014): 18-23. Also see: Hans Müller et al, *William Pfaender: The German-American Experience*. (Roseville, Minnesota: Edinborough Press, 2009).
- 10. See: Becker, Ein Leben, p. 80. Regarding Jacob Nix, see: Jacob Nix, The Sioux Uprising in Minnesota, 1862: Jacob Nix's Eyewitness History. Translated by Gretchen Steinhauser, Don Heinrich Tolzmann & Eberhard Reichmann. Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Second Edition. (Indianapolis: NCSA Literatur, 2016. All of the Nixes mentioned in this article appear to be related: Margaretha and Jacob as sister and brother, and Peter as their father.
- 11. Ibid, p. 10.
- 12. Ibid.
- 13. Regarding the nativism that occurred in Cincinnati in the 1850s, see: Emil Klauprecht, German Chronicle in the History of the Ohio Valley and its Capital City Cincinnati in Particular. Translated

by Dale V. Lally, Jr. and edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. (Bowie, Maryland; Heritage Books, Inc., 1992), pp. 185-95.

- 14. This is reported on in the obituary of Bogen's wife in the New Ulm Post. (28 September 1900).
- 15. Regarding Hofer, see: J.H. Strasser, New Ulm, Minnesota: J.H. Strasser's History & Chronology. Translated and edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. (Milford, Ohio; Little Miami Publishing Co., 2003), pp. 38 and 115. Regarding Wolff, see: Lynwood G. Downs, "The Writings of Albert Wolff," in: Don Henrich Tolzmann, German-American Literature. (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1977), pp. 220-21, and: Lavern J. Rippley, "Minnesota's German Forty-Eighter Albert Wolff: Brilliant Career, Tragic Death," Ramsey County History. 51: 1 (2016): 12-17.
- 16. Bogen's obituary appeared in the New Ulm Review. (7 April 1886), and his wife's in the New Ulm Post. (28 September 1900). They had four children: Anna (1856-1941), Albert (1858-1921), Louis (1860-1908), and Marie (1865-1955).
- 17. L.A. Fritsche, *History of Brown County, Minnesota: Its People, Industries and Institutions.* (Indianapolis: B.F. Bowen & Company, 1916), Vol. 1, p., p. 455.
- 18. Carl Wittke, The German-Language Press in America. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1957), p. 175.
- Hermann E. Rothfuss, "Criticism of the German-American Theater in Minnesota," in: Tolzmann, ed., German-American Literature, p. 100.
- 20. See: Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society. 12 (1908): 251.
- See: Becker, *Ein* Leben, p. 81. For a survey of the German press of Minnesota, see: LaVern J. Rippley, "Notes about the German Press in the Minnesota River Valley," in: Tolzmann, *German-American Literature*, pp. 70-82.
- 22. Regarding the history of the New Ulm Post, see: Fritsche, History of Brown County, Minnesota, Vol. 1, p. 455-56. Also, see: Strasser, New Ulm, Minnesota: J.H. Strasser's History & Chronology, pp. 38, 73, 84, and 150. For the paper's circulation statistics, see: Karl J.R. Arndt and May E. Olson, The German Language Press of the Americas, Volume 1, History and Bibliography, 1732-1968: United States of America. (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976), p. 225.
- 23. See footnote no. 15 for the reference to Strasser's chronology.
- 24. For my article on Steinhauser, see: "The Captain: Albert Steinhauser, German-American Journalist, Turner, and Freidenker, New Ulm, Minnesota," in: Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German-Americana: Selected Essays.* (Milford, Ohio: Little Miami Publishing Company, 1909), pp. 139-53.
- 25. See his obituary: "Albert A. Bogen," New Ulm Review. (16 November 1921).
- 26. For references to these biographies, see footnote no. 5.
- Manfred Giebenhain, "Erich Becker spürt dem Leben Ludwig Bogen nach," Odenwälder Echo. (5 May 2018). Also, see: Michael Lang, "Michelstadt würdigt Demokratie-Pionier Ludwig Bogen," Odenwälder Echo. (5 September 2018).
- 28. Wittke, Refugees of Revolution, pp 371 and 373.
- See A.E. Zucker's "Biographical Dictionary of the Forty-Eighters," in: A.E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters*, pp. 269-357. Also, see: M.J. Becker, "The Forty-Eighters: The Major Figures," in: Tolzmann, ed., *The German-American Forty-Eighters*, pp.69-95.
- Regarding the 150th anniversary, see my essay: "The Forty-Eighters: A 150th Anniversary Assessment," in: Tolzmann, ed., *The German-American Forty-Eighters*, pp.1-4.
- 31. Email to the author from Steven and Michael Baun (5 September 2023).

Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "NOTABLE GERMAN-AMERICANS: Ludwig Bogen (1810-86), From German Forty-Eighter to Minnesota German Newspaper Editor," *The Palatine Immigrant*. 49: 1 (2023): 3-10.