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The Youth of Charles M. Weber, Founder of Stockton

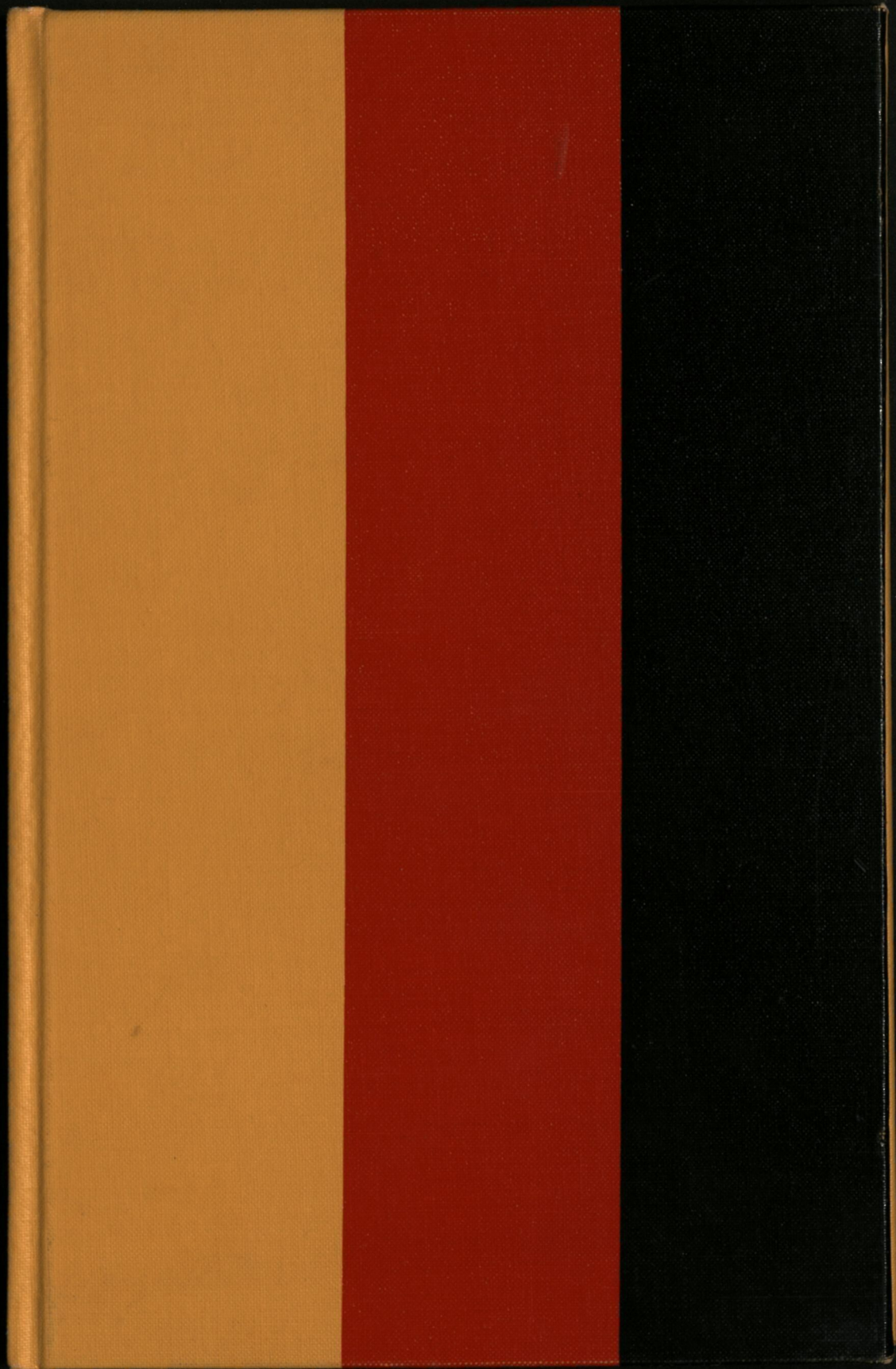
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S A A R L A N D

ST. WENDEL

OTTWEILER

MUNKIRCHEN

ST. JINGBERT

BLIESKASTEL

REINHEIM

Niederkirchen

HÖCHERBERG

EHEMÄLIGE SAARLANDGRENZE

Seebach

SPOMBURG

BLIESKASTEL

EHEMÄLIGE SAARLANDGRENZE

Romiguesberg mit Kapelle

St. Annenmünchweiler

Deutschenhaus

Gasthof Eichelscheid

Waldmohr

R. Carlsberg

Niederauerbach

Schifflick

ZWEIBRÜCKEN

Hornbach



F R



Die Mackenbacher Musikanten

40

SICKINGER HÖHE

PFAFF WERK

KAISERSLAUTERN die Barbarossastadt

MOORBAD LANDSTUHL

WALD FISC HBACH

270

PIRMASENS Die Deutsche Schuhmetropole

10

10

WALSCHEN

MOASCAU-FELSENLAND

Rieschweiler Pflick

Bellfeld

Waldschweier

Waldschweier

Waldschweier

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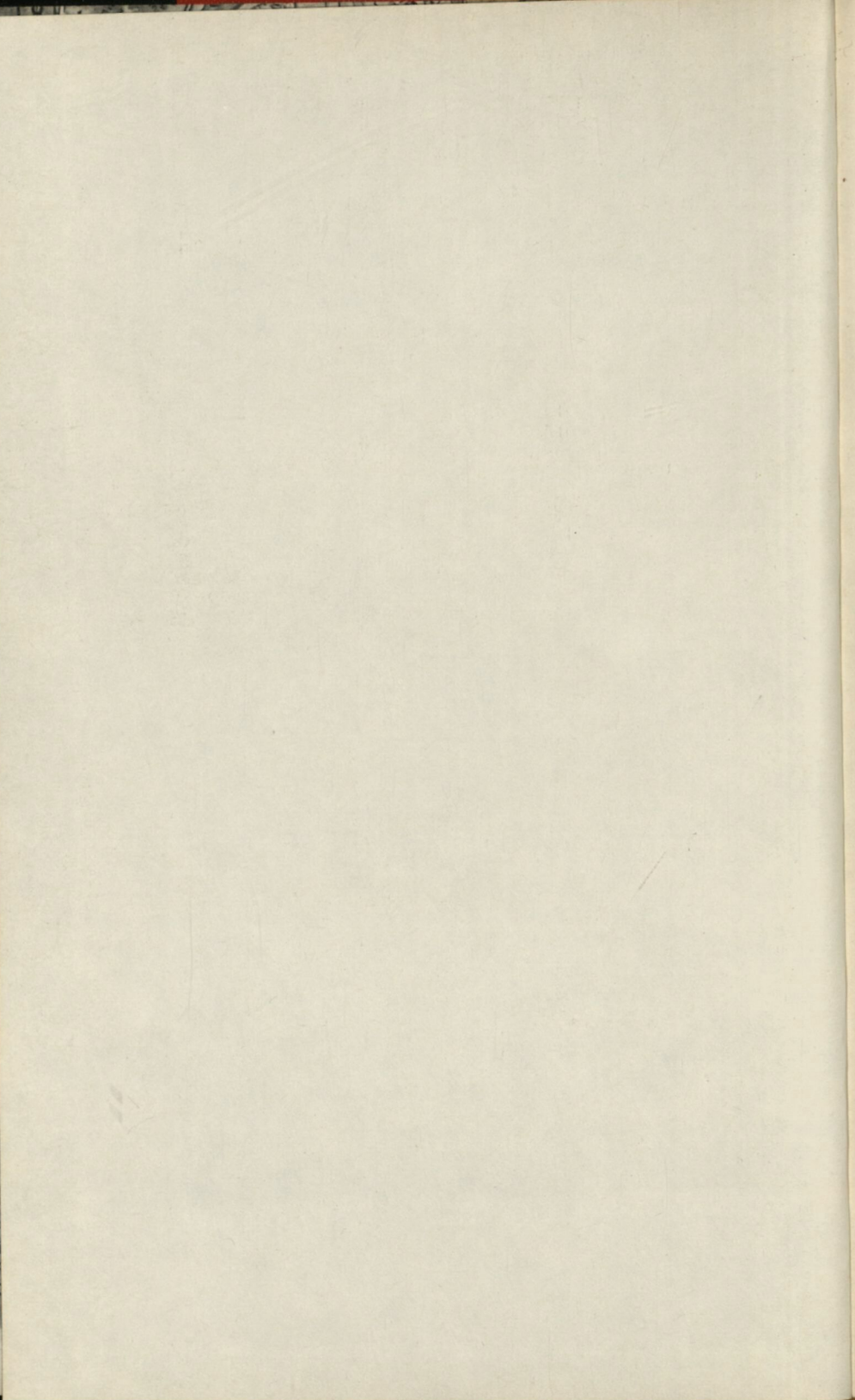
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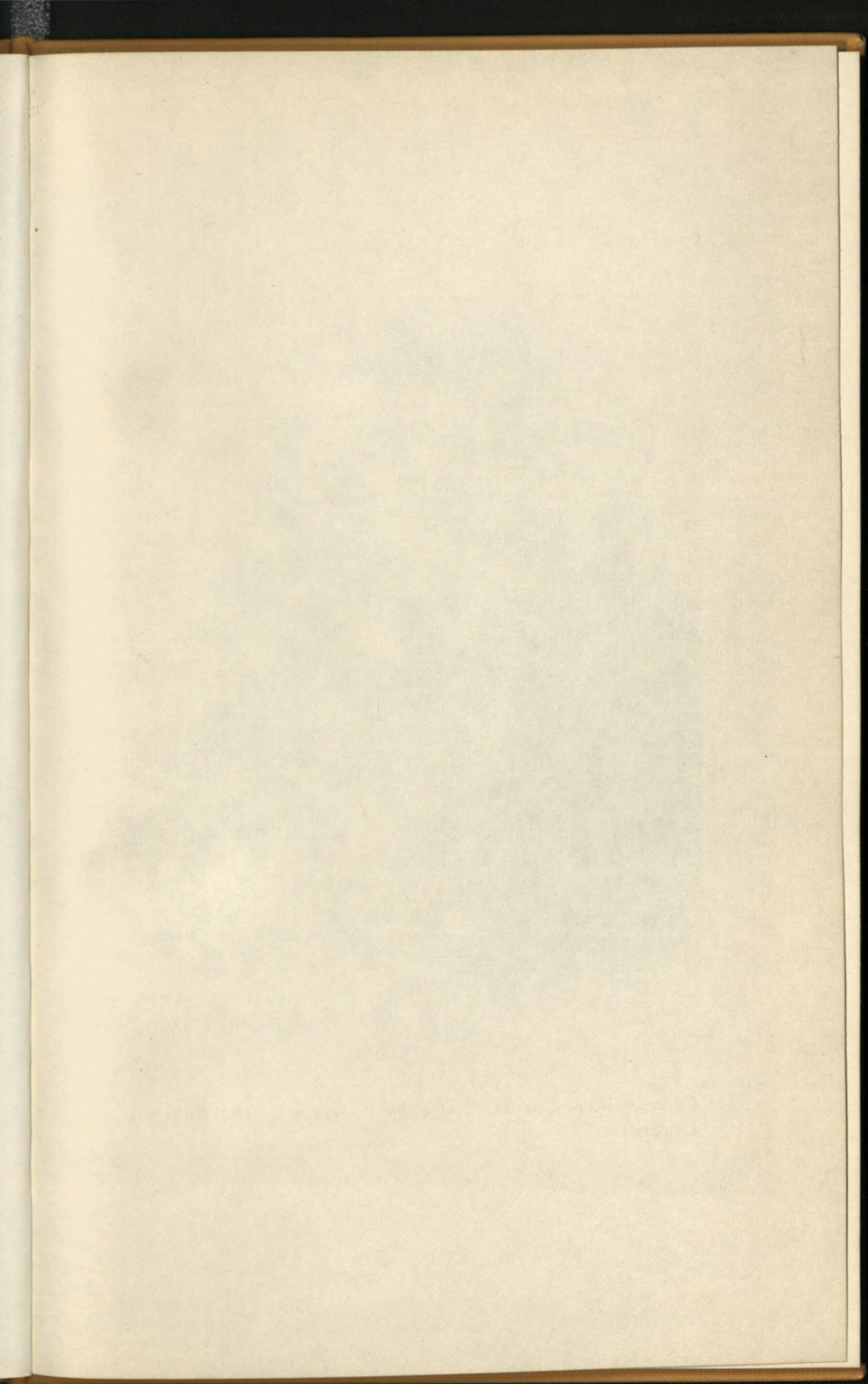
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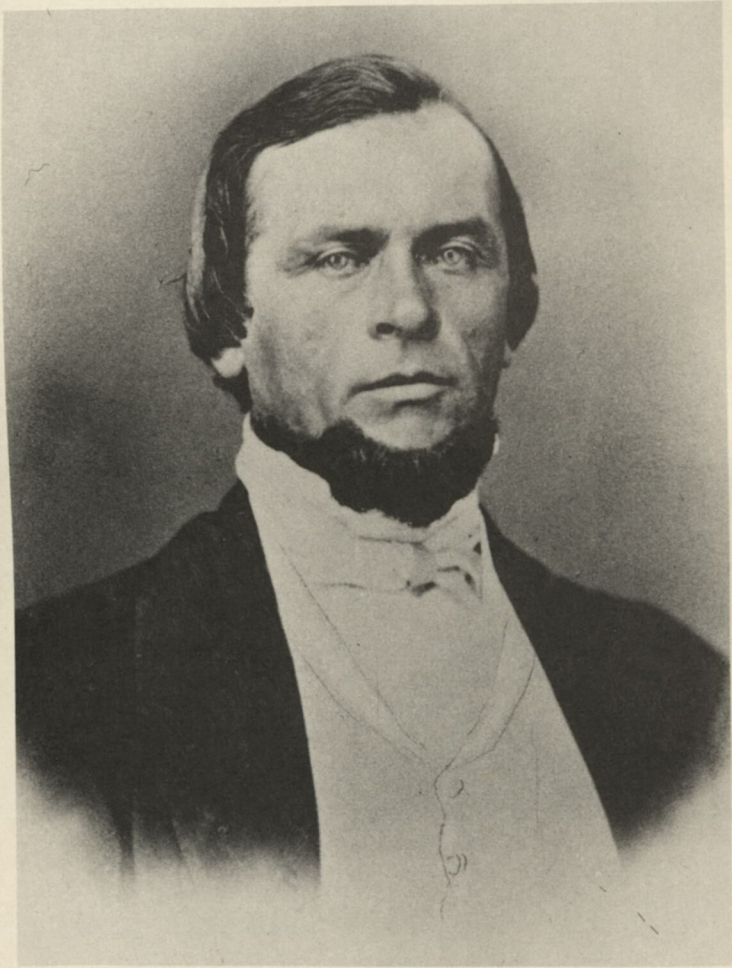
Waldschweier

Waldschweier

Waldschweier







Captain Weber in 1856, age 36 Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

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The Youth of Charles M. Weber, Founder of Stockton

by Ilka Stoffregen Hartmann

Foreword by Dr. George P. Hammond,
Director Emeritus The Bancroft Library

&

Introduction by the Author

**HOLT-ATHERTON PACIFIC CENTER
FOR WESTERN STUDIES**
Monograph Number VIII

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Captain Weber in 1856, age 36
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

Steinwenden — the birthplace of Carl David Weber
Courtesy of the author

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Courtesy of the author

The mother of Carl David Weber — Henriette Geul Weber
Courtesy of the author

The home in Steinwenden
Courtesy of the author

Oak-carved front door of the home in Steinwenden
Courtesy of the author

Homburg and the Spire of the Protestant Church
Courtesy of the author

The marketplace where the Minister's home was located
Courtesy of the author

The home of Dr. Siebenpfeiffer
Courtesy of the author

The author, Ilka Hartmann, and Pastor Karl Fischer
Courtesy of Ilka Maria Hartmann



*Steinwenden — the birthplace of Carl David Weber Courtesy
of the author*

FOREWORD

No one has yet been able to write a wholly satisfactory biography of Charles M. Weber, the founder of Stockton. Nor does it seem possible that such a biography, in the usual meaning of the word, can ever be written. This is all the more regrettable since Stockton, like Sacramento, is one of the few large cities in California that owes its birth to the planning and sacrifice of one person. The story, if it could be told, would have many dramatic features, for Weber was an unusual, if enigmatic, individual. He was descended from a strong German family that could boast of a long line of ministers in the Reformed division of the Protestant Church. His father, grandfather, and great grandfather at Steinwenden were ministers — and his father hoped that his eldest son would succeed him in the same manner and planned his education to that end.

The Weber family lived in the town of Homburg in a part of Bavaria known as the Palatinate, the province west of the Rhine River where French influence was strong and the people were imbued with the fervor that had characterized the French Revolution. They championed freedom of the press, freedom of speech and assembly — the right to lead their own lives without government interference or domination.

Homburg in the 1830's was the center of much liberal activity and a refuge for some of its chief advocates. Here, in the old ministerial home, lived the Weber family, their head Carl Gottfried Weber, then a Dean in the Reformed Protestant Church. In this town lived also Dr. Philipp Siebenpfeiffer, who was the local Land Commissioner — an office he had held for many years — and a leader in the liberal movement. In 1830 he was forced to give up

the office through pressure from Munich, the capital of Bavaria. Siebenpfeiffer moved to the neighboring town of Zweibrücken, where in 1831 he began to publish a newspaper, the **Bote aus dem Westen** — "Messenger from the West." The next year his efforts were reinforced by the arrival of Dr. Johann Wirth, another fighting liberal, from Munich, where he had published a sheet, **Die Deutsche Tribune**. Wirth now resumed publication of the paper in Homburg, although it was soon suppressed by the Munich authorities. These steps are an indication of the length to which the government went to limit and control the liberal movement in the Palatinate.

Liberal feeling reached a new peak on May 27, 1832, in a great mass meeting at Hambach, near Neustadt, called the Hambach National Festival, attended by 25,000 to 30,000 people. It was held "ostensibly to celebrate the anniversary of Bavaria's constitution, but actually to stimulate liberal sentiment." For several days the vast and enthusiastic audience listened to speeches, among them an "impassioned address" by Wirth, who advocated "a republican and united Europe based on popular freedom."

The Hambach Festival quite obviously disturbed the authorities, for they soon took stringent measures against the leaders of the event. Among those arrested were Dr. Siebenpfeiffer and Dr. Wirth. Under suspicion also was Carl Gottfried Weber, who had joined in support of these men, perhaps covertly, or at least with discretion, by attending an official dinner in Wirth's honor when he arrived in Homburg. It is not surprising that the Weber family should have been inspired by the spirit of Liberalism so rampant round about them. In Homburg, as elsewhere, a "Freedom's Tree"

had been set up in the public market place in early May, 1832, probably the work of the young people, many of whom supported the liberal cause. It is entirely possible that young Carl Weber, Dean Weber's oldest son, was among them. Such "pranks," though considered serious, were the kind of acts that young men would enjoy, to the annoyance of government officials. And, it may be that young Weber was one of a group that tried to free Dr. Wirth from the officers of the law when he was being moved from one prison to another, though no such specific charges were brought against him. His father, however, had clearly been under surveillance, and was under investigation until July, 1834.

In the autumn of 1836 young Carl Weber, who had spent some time in "business" instead of going on with preparation for the ministry, decided to leave Germany for America. His intention was, as stated in his application for a passport, to visit relatives, that is, his uncle, Theodore Erasmus Hilgard, who with his family had settled in Illinois, not far from the city of St. Louis. It may also have been significant that Hilgard was a former Chief Justice of the Court of Assizes in Zweibrücken, that he knew the Weber family well, and was a man of very liberal ideas. We shall never know the details, for there is no correspondence of record between the youth and his family in the following years. It was not until 1850, after the revolutions in Germany and elsewhere had been successful and the conservative governments overturned that Dean Weber sought, by advertising in American newspapers, to find out what had happened to his son and whether it was true that he had settled in California and had made a huge fortune.

Weber and his cousin, Theodore Engelmann,

sailed from Le Havre in October, 1836, on a vessel bound for New Orleans, arriving on November 30. There he stayed with a family from Steinwenden, while Engelmann went on to Illinois. The next year Weber became ill with yellow fever. On recovering he joined some adventurous American frontiersmen who had answered the call of Sam Houston and other Texas patriots to help them retain their hold on Texas. They had defeated the Mexicans decisively on April 21, 1836, at the famous battle of San Jacinto, literally destroying the Mexican army under President Santa Anna. For Weber the Texan adventure, although probably exciting, must also have been frustrating, for the great battles had already been fought and border raids now prevailed. If Weber gained nothing else he learned about Texas, the spirit of its people — and he gained experience in the vastness of the American frontier. Returning to New Orleans, he was again taken ill with the fever, and then, on the advice of his doctor to seek a cooler climate, he took a river boat, late in March, 1841, for St. Louis, the entrepot for all navigation up the great river.

In St. Louis there were German newspapers, which Weber probably enjoyed, for his knowledge of the English language was probably still limited. He soon learned of an expedition planning to leave for California that spring — its departure date set for May 9 which was very near. Captured by the idea of such an adventure, he decided once again to postpone the visit to his uncle, who lived only some twenty-five miles away in Illinois. With a German companion, Henry Huber, and letters of introduction to Captain John Sutter, written by acquaintances in St. Louis, Weber took a boat up the Missouri River for the frontier post of Westport. At this gathering point he met others also preparing to

join the California expedition, especially the Joseph B. Chiles "mess," and together they set out, somewhat belatedly, to catch up with the main party, which they overtook on May 23. The caravan, already under way, was travelling slowly, for this was the "shake down" period, when the various groups were getting acquainted and learning to handle their oxen, horses, wagons — and saddles — and preparing with anticipation for their first sight of the American Indian. The expedition, called the Bidwell-Bartleson party, after young John Bidwell, who had inspired the adventure, and the older John Bartleson, who refused to go on unless he was elected captain. The most experienced and the real leader proved to be Thomas Fitzpatrick, who had been on the frontier for about twenty years and who was thoroughly familiar with the Indian tribes and knew the country better than anyone else. Fitzpatrick had been engaged as guide to lead a group of Jesuit missionaries under the Belgian priest, Pierre Jean De Smet, bound for the Flathead Indians of Montana. De Smet, well educated and fluent in languages, was the kind of man with whom Weber had more in common than the average frontiersman, and he evidently enjoyed their conversations on the long and weary trail. Descendants of the Weber family still treasure a rosary that De Smet is believed to have given to Weber.

At Soda Springs, in southeastern Idaho, the two divisions of the party went their separate ways — the missionaries, guided by Fitzpatrick, to the Flathead tribe in western Montana, and thirty-odd determined travelers, among them one woman and her baby girl, and including Charles Weber, to California. Though no one knew the trail, they hoped to find a river, the unknown Buenaventura or

Mary's, which would lead them to their goal. The river was said to flow out of the Great Salt Lake and pursue a westerly course into the Pacific Ocean. Passing around the north end of the Great Salt Lake they entered the desert where grass and water became increasingly scarce and their food began to give out. By the end of September, all had abandoned their wagons in favor of pack saddles, and they had to kill some of their emaciated oxen to survive. Eventually, with help from the local Indians, they took a course somewhat southward and struck the Humboldt, then veered on south to Walker's Lake and Pass, by which they stumbled through the Sierra Nevada late in October into the canyon of the Stanislaus River. Fortunately the snows, of which they experienced only a trace in the higher reaches of the Sierra, were late that year. Then, suffering badly from hunger and more dead than alive, they emerged from the river canyon to see the plains of the San Joaquin Valley, with its tule ponds, marshes, and thickets — and there they saw large herds of elk and wild horses, grazing quietly. They did not then believe they were in the San Joaquin Valley. Casting anxious glances ahead, they saw mountains on the horizon to the west, which, as Nicholas Dawson wrote, they had come to hate. Then Jones, who had been sent ahead to hunt, rode into camp, accompanied by an Indian guide, and said they were but two days from Marsh's ranch. His information was correct and raised the spirits of all. The weary travelers, now well fed on wild fowl and deer, felt better, and they reached their destination on November 4. Marsh, his place swarming with these unexpected guests, served them the best he could, though they bitched at his lukewarmness and bewailed his penury. However, he not only gave them food but acted immediately to

prepare for their reception by the officials of California. Most of the travelers soon went to San Jose and other parts of the surrounding area.

Of Charles Weber we find almost no references on the trail; perhaps as a foreigner he kept much to himself, or with his German companion, Carl Huber. After resting about ten days at Marsh's place, these two made their way to call on Captain Sutter at his Sacramento post and to present the letters of introduction that Weber carried from his Missouri friends. Sutter promptly took Weber into his employ as overseer, and there he remained for the winter, which was surely a pleasant one for all, as the affable and gregarious Sutter gathered around him such men as Weber, Huber, Bidwell, and Jimmy John. All were fine company. The German-born Sutter felt entirely at ease with all of them and they profited much by what the experienced lord of New Helvetia had to say.

In the Spring of 1842, after Sutter had given him a passport, Weber set out for San Jose, the foremost agricultural and business center. He arrived about June 1 and found himself in a small, shapeless village, founded in 1777, its growth inhibited by raids of Indians from the interior. There Weber met the 41-year-old William Gulnac, the only merchant in the town, who doubled as blacksmith and carpenter, and entered into business with him. Gulnac was a New Yorker who had gone to sea, sailed around the Horn, and about 1821 settled at San Jose del Cabo, Lower California. In this new home he married a California girl, and later took his wife and children to Honolulu, from where, in 1833, they sailed for Monterey, and then went to San Jose. When Weber joined him in business on June 1, 1842, he put a new spirit of enterprise into its management, and the firm grew rapidly. They had

the first flour mill in San Jose run by water power, something Weber was familiar with from his youth in Homburg; they baked sea-bread (hardtack to the sailors), in demand by merchant ships and later, in 1846, by U.S. warships; they developed a salt works and a leather and boot shop, and they sold such finished goods as they could obtain from whalers and merchant ships along the coast, in exchange for California hides, tallow, and furs, the country's chief exports and form of exchange.

On every front Weber forged ahead, too aggressive for the more easy-going Gulnac, with the result that on July 20, 1843, Weber bought out the business. One short week before this, on July 14, Gulnac, with Weber as a silent partner, had petitioned the new governor, Manuel Micheltorena, for a grant of land, known as El Campo de los Franceses, or French Camp, near the present city of Stockton. Weber himself, not yet a citizen, was ineligible for this privilege. To the land-starved European there was no substitute for one's own estate, and in California it could be had almost for the asking. The governor on January 13, 1844, having ascertained that the proposed area was unoccupied, awarded the grant to Gulnac. About a year later, after he had attempted to colonize the land, Gulnac gave up, frustrated by Indian hostility. The speculation, for which he apparently had little liking, had failed, and on April 3, 1845, he sold the grant to Weber for \$200.

Gulnac's move to bring in colonists had stalled in mid-November, 1844, and ceased completely when a couple of settlers left to take part in the local war then brewing. This had been precipitated when a group of Californians, long unhappy with Governor Micheltorena and his bandit troops, sought to oust him from his position. Inevitably the foreigners,

divided in their loyalty, were drawn into the conflict. Sutter, one of the most aggressive among them, declared for the governor, a move deplored by Weber and many others. They wished to remain neutral — to let the Californians settle their domestic affairs in their own way — but this proved impossible. Micheltorena's first move was to lead his troops from Monterey into the Santa Clara Valley toward San Jose, whose citizens, led by Weber, Gulnac and others, organized a company of riflemen to protect themselves and their community from pillage — or worse. The governor advanced as far as the Laguna Seca rancho of Juan Alvires, about ten to twelve miles southeast of San Jose, while the local company of riflemen under Weber's command gathered at Santa Clara. There was some sparring but no fighting. Eventually negotiations followed, by which Micheltorena agreed to disperse his cholos and send most of them back to Mexico, while he withdrew to Monterey.

San Jose was saved, but preparations for war went on. Sutter soon had about a hundred foreigners in his army and supported the governor vigorously, in return for which he was to receive an addition to his already extensive land grant. Weber, who opposed the intervention of American settlers in this disagreement, went to New Helvetia in December, 1844, hoping that through his influence with Sutter he might dissuade him from his dubious course. But it was to no avail. Much angered, Sutter called a "council of war," which decided that "Mr. Weber be put in irons" and held prisoner until the governor ordered him freed. Not until after the "Battle of Cahuenga" on February 20 and 21, 1845, did the opera-bouffe war end — happily without casualties. Micheltorena surrendered and agreed to leave California with his cholos. The soldiers

returned, and Weber was freed from confinement, in which he, however, had been treated courteously, and went home in the middle of March, 1845.

The Micheltorena War, though not of major significance, did force the governor and his unruly soldiers to return to Mexico. For Sutter, whose reputation had been tarnished by his alliance with the defeated governor and by his own surrender at Cahuenga, ignominious to such a proud leader, it was very serious, and on his return to New Helvetia early in April, 1845, he found everything in disorder. His Indians, so complacent in the past, had deserted, leaving his fields and herds unattended. No grain had been seeded that spring, and there was little harvest. Weber, too, was affected, for the Indians, now uncontrolled, made it unsafe to bring colonists to his French Camp lands.

In this situation Sutter was at his best — he understood how to deal with the natives. To reestablish his prestige — and to punish the Indians for robbing and killing Thomas Lindsay at Stockton Slough — he led a foray against the hostile tribes and fought what his biographer, Zollinger, called “the fiercest battle of his life.” Many of his twenty-two men were wounded and one was killed. The stolen cattle, or at least some, were returned, and Sutter’s image restored.

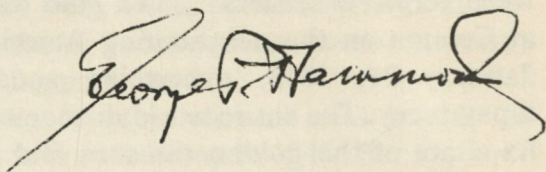
Weber, under these conditions, was unable to send colonists to French Camp in 1845. But the next year he made a serious effort to do so, promising prospective colonists free land — one of their objectives in coming to California. Napoleon B. Smith accepted the offer and arranged for several families — seven he recalled later — to settle there, and they had commenced building houses when in 1846 the outbreak of war between the United States and Mexico interfered. In the emergency Colonel

Frémont urged them to return to Santa Clara for protection. Indeed, Weber soon found himself so involved in this conflict that he had to postpone any colonizing efforts another year. By then peace had been restored in California, and Weber himself, though he did not yet give up his business in San Jose, "took up his residence on the [Stockton] peninsula, and claimed it from that time till the present as his home." So wrote Tinkham. Sutter, in testimony before the U.S. Board of Land Commissioners in 1852, declared that Weber occupied the land in 1847, brought about a thousand or more cattle, and made improvements. This agrees with Weber's own version, given in hearings on the Rio Estanislao Land Claim case in 1855, saying that he moved to the rancho in August, 1847. The founding of Stockton may, therefore, be dated from that year.

Weber first named his new town "Tuleburg," honoring the tule-covered area of his new home, but he soon changed this to Stockton. He wished to honor Commodore Robert F. Stockton, recently named commander of the U.S. Pacific Squadron, for his decisive role in the conquest of California. That first year, 1847, the village grew slowly and there were very few settlers. When gold was discovered at Coloma on the neighboring American River on January 24, 1848, everything suddenly turned topsy-turvy. The entire world, it seemed, must have its share of the golden treasure and thousands of men invaded the region, many of whom passed through Stockton on their way to the gold fields.

Because of its excellent location, Weber's new-born village, then practically indistinguishable from other frontier hamlets, soon felt the impact of the gold seekers, for it lay on one of the two chief routes to the mines. Traffic from San Francisco, San Jose and farther south could traverse the Livermore

Valley and cross the San Joaquin River on a ferry before the stream divided into its three channels and emptied into the Bay. And freight, it soon became evident, could be ferried from San Francisco Bay through Carquinez Strait and the upper bay to a landing at Stockton Slough. Because of this waterway, Stockton developed as the chief port of entry to the southern area of the mining district — overnight a city of a thousand tents. By 1848, it presented a vast panorama of canvas, and Weber's store near the point of land between Stockton and Mormon Channels was the busiest place in town. And its owner found himself to be not only a merchant but the town's banker and gold broker. By 1851 he had the first gold vault in the city, and customers paid about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per month of its value for safe keeping. With this extraordinary growth, Stockton was incorporated in August, 1850, and also became the county seat. The past was a preview of what it was to be, one of the major cities of California.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "George Hammond". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "G" and a long, horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Introduction

Charles Weber was one of the first Germans to come to California by the overland route. His accomplishments as a city founder and a city builder are lasting. However, today they are taken for granted by more than 183,000 inhabitants of Stockton, the rapidly growing center of San Joaquin County. Both Colonel T.T. Gilbert, and George H. Tinkham included sketches of Weber's life in their works. Weber did not write about himself, and he did not like to have others write about him. So — at one occasion — he had sent away the representative of Hubert Howe Bancroft who had asked him for information on his life for the **Chronicles of the Builders of California**.

Neither the unpublished thesis by J.T. Aungst Jr. at the University of the Pacific in Stockton, **Captain Charles Maria Weber, pioneer**, nor a book published by the Friends of the Bancroft Library, **Captain Charles M. Weber, Pioneer of the San Joaquin and Founder of Stockton**, furnish information on the youth of Charles Weber.

For help on the information obtained much gratitude must be expressed to numerous German officials: first of all Studienrat and Pastor Karl Fischer of Homburg, Bürgermeister Kuhn of Homburg, Pastor Otto Lässig of Steinwenden, Fräulein Gisela Ulrich of Steinwenden, Dr. Kurt Braun of Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, Landrat Friedrich Ludwig Wagner of Landkreis Kaiserslautern, Dr. Paul Weber of Homburg, Dekan Kentmann of Homburg, Herrn B. Macholz of Homburg, Dr. Eger of Kirchenarchiv Speyer, Dr. Hans Wölfling of Gymnasium Bipontinum in Zweibrücken, and many other individuals whose guidance proved valuable. The assistance of my

daughter Ilka Maria Hartmann both in the Palatinate and in New Orleans, Louisiana, was much appreciated and deserves special mention.

The painstaking work to reduce the lengthy original containing much information on general German history of the early 19th Century (the so-called "Vormärz") in order to concentrate on the young years of Stockton's founder, Charles M. Weber, was undertaken by Martha Seffer O'Bryon of the Holt-Atherton Pacific Center for Western Studies at the University of the Pacific in Stockton. With great care and a fine feeling for the important facts and events in young Weber's life, Martha Seffer O'Bryon produced a manuscript which leads the reader directly into the environment in which Weber grew up, pinpointing the educational and political influences on his life and that of his contemporaries. Her patience and friendly advice were greatly appreciated, and I am deeply indebted to her for her assistance.

Also, I owe much gratitude to Dr. George H. Hammond, Director Emeritus of the Bancroft Library at the University of California in Berkeley, who not only was kind enough to write a Foreword to the Monograph, but also edited the manuscript and provided additional documentation. Dr. Hammond's assistance was especially valuable inasmuch as he has worked with the Weber papers in the Bancroft Library, and used them as the basis of his book **Captain Charles M. Weber, Pioneer of the San Joaquin and Founder of Stockton**. His friendship of many decades with the Weber family made him the ideal editor, as it may be assumed that any inaccuracies would have come to his attention and pointed out to me for correction. It was a great honor for me to be guided by Dr. Hammond, and I wish to thank him for the countless

hours devoted to the completion of the work.

The facts and findings discussed in the Monograph THE YOUTH OF CHARLES M. WEBER, FOUNDER OF STOCKTON, originate from my M.A. Thesis. THE GERMAN VORMÄRZ AND THE YOUTH OF CARL DAVID WEBER (1967), and are the result of a research project of six years, with part of the time spent in Germany. Copies of the thesis are available in Stockton at the University of the Pacific, San Joaquin Delta College, the Public Library, and at the Pioneer Museum Library.

All of this research was undertaken in the interest of finding the truth about a young German, displeased with conditions at home, who wanted to live and work in a better world. His childhood and adolescence spent in troubled times in Germany from 1814 to 1836 made Charles Weber the man he was.

Ilka Hartmann

**THE YOUTH OF CHARLES M. WEBER,
FOUNDER OF STOCKTON
BY ILKA STOFFREGEN HARTMANN**

On Thursday, February 17, 1814, a son was born to Carl Gottfried Weber and his wife Henriette née Geul (Gaul) in Steinwenden, Landkreis Homburg. It was the couple's first child and they called the boy Carl after his father and David after his grandfather David Geul, a minister of the Reformed Protestant Church at Grossbockenheim.¹

The father, also a minister, listed the birth of his son in the Church Register in his own handwriting. According to the register, Carl David Weber was baptised on Sunday, February 27, 1814, with his mother's father, David Geul, as his godfather, and his father's mother, Juliana Maria Weber, as his godmother.²

In 1814, Steinwenden, situated in the Landstuhler Bruch (swamps), half-way between Kaiserslautern and Homburg, was a village of about 320 inhabitants. In prehistoric times this broad valley had been shaped by a powerful river, flowing from east to west, washing out the area down to the Southern rocks, which are now known as the "Sickinger Höhe." In historic times, running water had disappeared, leaving a lake of almost five square miles, the so-called "Woog." In spite of slowly developing islands and land bridges the area was largely uninhabited, providing a paradise for wild life of all types.³ In 1745, drainage of the area was started by having a three and a half mile long canal dug which led the stagnating waters into brooks and streams. Gradually, an extensive drainage net developed, leaving marshy meadows with a soil unfit for the cultivation of edible plants, vegetables, or even grass for pastures. The peat had

to be removed and the soil improved before the land could be used agriculturally.

The experiments made at the Kameral-Hohe Schule in Kaiserslautern, founded in 1774 by the Physikalisch-Ökonomische Gesellschaft with the support of the Elector of the Palatinate (which was transferred to Heidelberg in 1784 as a section of the university's Department of Political Science), helped to speed up the cultivation of the swamps, a part of which was given to the college as an area for their botanical and agricultural experiments.

Soon meadows, pastures, and fields for agricultural use were developed with fruit trees, vegetables and flowers, and wheat was grown in large quantities. The former swamps became the most fertile area in the county, which itself is situated in a very fortunate part of Western Europe, where "spring starts early and a long fall brings numerous sunny days."⁴

Three rivers dominate the country, the Rhine on the East, the Saar in the West, and the Moselle in the North. Uncounted smaller rivers, brooks, and streams flow in the large valley, which is surrounded by mountains, adorned with more than two hundred castles.

One hundred and fifty years ago, the marshy area surrounding Steinwenden was still covered with tule and housed numerous fowl of all types; fish were plentiful and grew to large sizes. The adjacent forests were the largest in Germany, and they were full of deer, stags, roes, and hares. The wild boar, the fox, the hog, the marten, and the wildcat also had their homes there. Wild horses, sprung from Palatinate Count Ludwig's stables as early as 1426, roamed the country. In sight of Steinwenden was the hilly Sickinger Höhe with its large trees, mostly oak, beech, birch, ash, and spruce.⁵

Early in 1814, the administrative designation of the village of Steinwenden was still

Département vom Donnersberg
Gemeindebezirk von Zweibrücken
Mairie von Obermohr
Gemeinde Steinwenden

(Formerly, under Napoleonic occupation, the department was called "Mont Tonnerre.") However, at the time of Carl David Weber's birth, Napoléon had already lost the Battle of Leipzig, October 16-19, 1813, and he had retreated to the Rhine, followed by the Prussian, Swedish, Austrian, and Russian armies. The next battles took place on French soil: La Rothière, Champaubert, Montmirail, Vauchamps, and on February 18, 1814, one day after Carl David Weber's birth, at Montereau on the upper part of the Seine River, about 200 miles southwest of Steinwenden. The Austrians had marched into France through the Alsace, the boundary of which is about 20 miles south of Carl David Weber's birthplace. On February 27, 1814, Marshall Oudinot gave up Bar-sur-Aube in the Champagne and moved west.

On October 21, 1813, three days after the Battle of Leipzig, the Allied Commanders had established through the Leipzig Convention a Central Administration for the territory to be liberated on the left bank of the Rhine. Freiherr vom Stein was appointed to supervise its administration. As a result, the General Government of the Middle Rhine was formed in January, 1814, immediately after the last liberation armies had crossed the river.⁶ This administration included all territory from the Alsatian border to the Moselle.

Upon the retreat of the French army, Count Wilhelm Friedrich von Sickingen-Hohenburg regained his possessions, the area around Landstuhl

and the Sickinger Höhe. But his term of government was limited, for in June, 1814, the common administration of the area was eliminated, and that part to the left of the Moselle came under Prussian rule and that to the right under Austrian-Bavarian control. For the latter, the Kaiserlich-Österreichische und Königlich-Bayrische Gemeinsame Land Administrations-Commission, i.e., Imperial-Austrian and Royal Bavarian Common Land Administration Commission, was established in Kreuznach, but later moved to Worms. At this time, the area was newly subdivided into the Kreise (counties) of Speyer, Kaiserslautern, Zweibrücken, Trier, Birkenfeld, Ottweiler, Simmern, and Koblenz. At the Congress of Vienna, the Palatinate was allocated to the Kingdom of Bavaria, and the original owners, the Counts of Sickingen and the Electors of the Palatinate, were allowed to keep only their private possessions.

Hence we note that Carl David Weber's birth took place when the local government was controlled by the Central Administration of the Allied Forces, then headed by Staatsrat Justus Gruner.⁷

While in 1814 the village of Steinwenden had only a population of about 320, it had gained some importance as a church center. Its reformed congregation, which had been organized in 1555, was the mother church to the villages of Steinwenden, Ramstein, and some smaller places. By 1610, Kattweiler, Mackenbach, Schwanden, Steigen, and Miesenbach also belonged to the Steinwenden congregation. A Lutheran Church was established there in 1724, serving Steinwenden, Ramstein, Weilerbach, and Waldfischbach, with about 270 members.

After the ravages of the Thirty Years' War and the decrease in population, the Reformed Church in

Steinwenden, along with the settlements of Kuchelberg, Ramstein, and Weilerbach, was until 1627 subject to Weilerbach. Only when the number of inhabitants in Steinwenden and Miesenbach again reached 55 was a new pastor appointed for the town. From 1684 to 1701 it was served by Pastor Johann Erhard Stuckrad from Allendorf, Hesse. In 1762 the establishment of a school for children of the Reformed Church members was discussed. By 1780, 79 children attended a school which had been founded in the meantime.

A declaration of Elector Johann Wilhelm in 1705 resulted in a division of congregations which had to decide whether to belong to the Catholic or to the Protestant Churches. Ramstein and Steinwenden became Protestant; Spesbach, Niedermohr, and Obermohr, Catholic. On November 2, 1718, an exchange of church buildings took place between Ramstein and Spesbach:

....simply for allowing a generally more comfortable attendance at church sermons, without further consequences. The keys of both churches were exchanged, the decorations removed, and the altar at Spesbach taken apart.⁸

It was reported that the exchange gave "special pleasure" to all involved. From this time on the Protestants in Ramstein belonged to the Church in Steinwenden, where they remained, even after a Protestant Church was established in Spesbach in 1818.

However, the government of the pro-Catholic Electors resulted in frequent arguments between Protestants and Catholics. In 1776 the Electoral Government forbade the meeting of the Reformed Synod, and when a complaint was filed with the Elector, it was briskly rejected. The reporting

minister added: "Free expression of opinion was considered heresy. Conversions to the 'old religion' increased in number."⁹

The reporting minister was Johann Carl Weber, Reformed Protestant Minister in Steinwenden from 1763 to 1800 (vicar from 1763 to 1780), Carl David Weber's grandfather.

A decree (Regierungs-Rescript) of December 19, 1775, was also discussed by the minister as limiting the religious freedom of the people. It provided that in case of different religious beliefs a couple who wished to marry had to make a marriage agreement at a court, most of whose members were Catholic. The result was that the court applied strong pressure until the Protestant partner promised to raise the children in the Catholic faith. The minister observed:

This law is most suitable for compulsory conversions and the court officials know how to handle it effectively.¹⁰

The agreement also required that a fee of 17 Gulden and 42 Kreuzer had to be paid, which was, as the minister saw it, "Eine zu hohe Belastung für die hiesigen Leute," i.e., too great a burden for the local people.

The same minister objected to the fact that the money needed for gunpowder to celebrate Catholic holidays was taken from the funds of the "Gericht" (court) in Steinwenden.¹¹

Further, Johann Carl Weber, the minister, blamed the Kurfürstliche Hofkammer (treasury) for letting the building of the reformed church decay. Under the Elector Karl Theodor (1724-1799), the ministers of the reformed church had lost their tithes, and the contributions of the congregations to the Hofkammer increased due to a decrease in population. The church had a maximum capacity of

400 persons, but the minister stated that ..in the nave not even half of the church members found places, but the government, which gets the tithes, refused stubbornly to enlarge the building and only agreed to build a new church on the old foundations. The reformed congregations, therefore, sued the Hofkammer in 1781, but lost the case after seven years of costly proceedings, which had to be paid by the impoverished congregation. On July 8, 1790, the Court of Appeals ruled that the Hofkammer was to build a new and larger church. But the government delayed the construction from one year to another. During the French occupation there were no possibilities of doing so, and thus the House of God became a ruin.¹²

During three generations, the Weber family supplied the pastors of the Steinwenden congregation. Carl David's father and his grandfather were born in the village, and his grandfather's father, Johann Heinrich Weber, was a minister at Steinwenden from 1739 to 1763. Preceding this he had, since 1731, served as assistant to the pastor in Rotselberg. He was born in Neuborn in 1703, son of the minister, Johann Nicolaus Weber, inspector at Neuborn in the County of Solms Braunfels (Kreis Wetzlar). His wife's name was Magdalena Charlotta Christina.

On July 7, 1787, Carl David's grandfather, Johann Carl Weber, married Juliana Maria Kuhn, daughter of Emilius Gottfried Kuhn, minister at Mimbach. She died on May 7, 1814, in Steinwenden.¹³

Carl Gottfried Weber, father of Carl David, attended school in both Zweibrücken and Kaisers-

lautern, and at Easter, 1798, enrolled at the University of Jena. Two years later, on June 10, 1800, he was examined by Inspector Kling from Neustadt and a number of other clergymen and was ordained immediately thereafter. Following his father's death, on May 18, 1800, Carl Gottfried was "unanimously" elected as his successor by the community of Steinwenden; the "Unterpräfektur" (sub-prefect's office) at Zweibrücken confirmed the appointment on February 10, 1801.

On February 11, 1812, Carl Gottfried Weber married Henriette Geul (Gaul), born on February 14, 1793, in Offenbach near Landau. Her father was Johann David Geul, born on May 18, 1750, at Westhofen, Hesse, who was a minister in Flomborn from 1781 to 1792, in Offenbach from 1792 to 1797, in Bellheim from 1797 to 1806, and in Grossbockenheim from 1806 to 1824. He died in Grossbockenheim on May 24, 1824. Son of a teacher, he had studied theology at the University of Heidelberg from 1767 to 1770.¹⁴

A younger brother of Johann Carl Weber, grandfather of Carl David, Friedrich Christian Joseph Weber, was born in Steinwenden on March 30, 1752, and also selected the ministry as his profession. He served at Rotselberg after 1778, in Zweibrücken after 1787, and Niederhausen after 1801. In Steinwenden, on May 21, 1781, he married Anna Charlotta Elisabeth Henopp, the daughter of the rector of the Lateinschule in Kaiserslautern.

Another younger brother of Johann Carl Weber, Johann Daniel Weber, studied minerology in Kaiserslautern and traveled in Hungary, Spain, and Argentina as an official of Baron von Brabeck. From 1788 to 1803 he was a mining inspector in Peru.¹⁵

Johann Ludwig Heinrich Jacob Weber, born on October 20, 1749, was next in age to Johann Carl.

On November 23, 1779, he married Maria Dorothea Francisca Bertram, daughter of Johann Peter Bertram, a merchant from Mühlheim, and became the father of a large family. His son Christian founded the Moormühle Steinwenden, the largest mill in the community, and was responsible for keeping the family members in the area by giving them employment.

Carl Gottfried Weber's sister, Philippine Friederica Dorothea Caroline Weber, was born in Steinwenden on June 14, 1786, and on April 20, 1815, married Karl Martin Engelmann, the new minister in Steinwenden. Karl Martin was the son of Johann Martin Engelmann, a wealthy starch manufacturer and mayor of Bacharach who employed a private teacher for his children. After the death of his first wife he sent the children to stay with relatives. Karl Martin lived at Kreuznach with his uncle, Johann Jacob Engelmann, who gave him a university education.¹⁶

Not only were many of the Webers' relatives ministers themselves or from ministerial families, but in a number of cases the younger generation as well chose the Protestant ministry as their profession. Two examples may suffice: Elise Henriette Sabine, the daughter of Carl David Weber's sister, Juliane Philippine Henriette Christine, born March 30, 1840, married Theodor Michael Ritter von Wand, who as a minister became Konsistorialrat, i.e., an administrator of the Protestant Church in the Palatinate. Karl Martin Engelmann's daughter, Petronella Josephine Julie Wilhelmine, born September 14, 1825, married Karl Friedrich Stepp, son of Karl Philipp Stepp, a minister in Wörth am Rhein, whose three brothers also were ministers. Four of the Stepp daughters married clergymen; in the next generation there

were among their direct descendants ten minister families.¹⁷

The house in which Carl David Weber was born had been built in 1784 by his grandfather, the Reformed Protestant Minister Johann Carl Weber. It is a two-story structure with timber framework. The entrance door and a number of built-in closets are of carved oak. Above the entrance there is an inscription

JCW 1784 JMW
DEUS PROVIDEBIT

which stand for Johann Carl Weber and Juliana Maria Weber, 1784, and "God Will Provide."¹⁸

On August 21, 1823, the property, including the house, barns, storage rooms, etc., was sold by the family to the congregation of Steinwenden. The property also included a meadow and a vegetable garden, almost one acre. The purchase price was 3,100 Gulden.

The house is situated on an elevated plot, within a garden, surrounded by a stone fence. In front of it is a huge oak tree, which reaches higher than the chimneys. A mill called Schernauer Mühle, situated in the neighborhood of Ramstein, also belonged to the property of the church community.¹⁹

The interior of the house consists of:

Ground Floor

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. Minister's Office | on the right, two windows |
| 2. Kitchens and Utility Rooms | to the right and rear |
| 3. Dining Room | to the left |
| 4. Living Room | to the left, corner room
three windows |

Upper Story

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Hall for Meetings | on the left, four windows |
|----------------------|---------------------------|

2. Guest Rooms on the left
3. Ironing Room on the left and rear
4. Apartment for nurse on the right, includes
living room, bedroom,
patient's room, bath, kitchen
5. Bathroom

In the large attic, there is plenty of storage room.

On December 30, 1814, Carl Gottfried Weber, Reformed Protestant Minister at Steinwenden, was promoted to become minister and president of the Reformed Local Consistory by the Imperial Austro-Bavarian Commission for Administration of Common Lands. When the unified church in the Palatinate was organized in 1818, he became Dekan (Dean) of the Dekanat (Diaconate) Homburg.²⁰

The family of Carl Gottfried Weber consisted at this time of his wife, Henriette, and son, Carl David. A second son, Johann Ludwig, was born on June 16, 1815, followed by a daughter, Juliana Philippine Henriette Christine, born July 2, 1819, and three additional sons: Philipp Ludwig, born April 22, 1822; Ludwig, born December 22, 1823, and Carl Adolf, known in California as Adolph C. Weber, born May 29, 1825.²¹

In 1814-1815 the little City of Homburg had approximately 2,500 inhabitants. As a settlement it had then been in existence for more than seven hundred years. A small river, the Blies, runs through the city, which is situated at the foot of a hill, the Schlossberg. Graves from both Celtic and Roman times prove an earlier settlement of the area. Ruins of houses were excavated; coins were found. The castle on the Schlossberg, the Hohenburg, now destroyed, dated back to 1100. It gave the name of Homburg to the town which developed in its shadow.

The castle changed hands frequently. The first owners were presumably the Counts of Homburg (Hohenburg). In 1418, Emperor Sigismund gave the town permission to hold markets within its walls, and in 1552 Emperor Karl V made the place a "Flecken," granting it further market rights. On July 10, 1558, the town was given a "Freiheitsbrief" or charter by Emperor Ferdinand.²²

At the end of the 17th Century, King Louis XIV controlled the area. Sébastien le Prestre, Marquis de Vauban, (1633-1707), a French marshall, economist and outstanding designer of fortresses, converted the castle into a fortress, completed in 1692. For some time the city was known as Hombourg La Forteresse. Two decades later the fortress was demolished. Still existent caves in the Schlossberg, in three layers, tell of its former use.

Duke Karl II August of Zweibrücken, in 1775, built another castle close to Homburg, the "Karlsburg," and made it the largest European country residence in the 18th Century. After the death of Maximilian III Josef, Karl II August inherited the Bavarian crown, and on March 18, 1778, his rights were guaranteed by Friedrich the Great, King of Prussia. After the outbreak of the French Revolution, the castle was destroyed by fire and the Duke fled. His brother, Prince Max of Zweibrücken, became his successor after the Duke's death in 1795. Later, he was crowned King of Bavaria. He became the first of the Wittelsbachers, who held the Bavarian throne until 1918. Before - since 1115 - the Wittelsbachers had been counts, and - since 1180 - dukes.

The attractiveness of the little city in the first decade of the 19th Century was described by the minister-poet of the Palatinate, Friedrich Georg Blaul. He was fascinated by the large forests

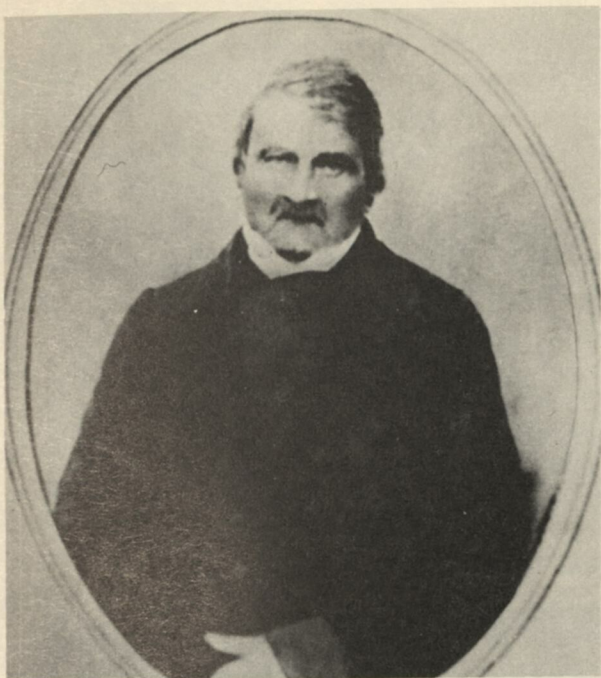
surrounding Homburg, and, in particular, by the many white birch trees on the slopes in the outskirts of the city, together with "precious meadows and groups of tall trees." Approaching Homburg from the north, Blaul described the hills of the "Sickingen Höhe":

From the Karlsberg, the hills stretch out like foothills to the plain and green marshy land and end with the Schlossberg of Homburg, on which can be seen the relics of an old fortress, and at the foot of which the little city is picturesquely situated.²³

A number of years later, Carl Blum, second pastor of the Protestant Church in Homburg, saw the city more realistically:

Homburg is situated at a distance of two hours north of Zweibrücken at the so-called "Kaiserstrasse," which runs from Paris to Mainz, and eight hours by coach from Saarbrücken. The little city leans almost in a semi-circle against the Schlossberg, which protects the area facing south, the so-called Suburg, from northerly winds. According to the last census, the city with its above mentioned annex consists of 405 houses and makes a rather good impression, although at first glance the outer appearance of the houses, the pavement, the public trees, street lighting, and many other things show that within its walls no particular riches, not even moderate wealth, prevail.

The City of Homburg has a linden tree in its coat of arms, though no documents as to the origin of this emblem are known. The linden tree also played a part in the city's name. Carl Blum gave the following account:



*The father of
Carl David Weber — Carl Gott-
fried Weber
Courtesy of the
author*



*The mother of
Carl David Weber — Henriette
Geul Weber
Courtesy of the
author*



The home in Steinwenden Courtesy of the author



Oak-carved front door of the home in Steinwenden Courtesy of the author

Very early, when the castle on the mountain was in its "bloom" the little city was called "Homburg im Thal," i.e., Homburg in the Valley. In 1679 the French conquered the town, together with the castle, which they converted into a fortress. Under them the city was called "Hombourg la Forteresse," to distinguish it from Homburg in Lorraine. After 1724, when the fortress had been abandoned, the name "Homburg vor den Linden" came to be used, as far as oral tradition goes. Elderly persons still recall that in front of the old Catholic church stood a very old linden tree. There were also many linden trees along the road which comes from the Eisenbahnstrasse on the left, and which passes the Stadtmühle and leads into the Bexbacherstrasse. One of these trees was of extraordinary age and size and is supposed to have given the city its name.

Friedrich Georg Blaul recalled "wide avenues of linden trees" from his journeys around Homburg, and Karl Fischer told about a fountain and many linden trees which had decorated the market place since early times. The wealth of trees in the city of Homburg in the early 19th century may be imagined by the fact that even today Homburg calls itself "City of the Tree."²⁴

Carl Gottfried Weber and his family lived in Homburg in the official minister's house "on the Market Place." Carl Blum, second pastor in Homburg, in 1869 described the building as follows:

The Minister's house on the Market Place is a spacious old building, which permanently requires repairs. In the lower story

(ground floor) there are three rooms and a kitchen; in the upper story there are three rooms, a large chamber, and also a closed porch with a privy. The storage barn is very spacious, but full of soot. The basement is large. The small yard, surrounded by the residence, the utility building and high walls, is damp and dark.²⁵

The houses on the market place were built around the middle of the 17th Century. The house of the Protestant minister, demolished in the second half of the 1890's, was replaced by a structure currently occupied by a store, a building of different style "in disharmony with the picture of the historical market place."

The community of the Reformed Protestant Church in Homburg, whose dean and pastor was Carl Gottfried Weber, was forced to use an inadequate church building, for lack of financial means and in spite of the fact that the majority of citizens were members.

Carl Blum's account is very descriptive:

The former Lutheran church in the so-called Kirchenstrasse — Church Street — is a strange old building, for which every penny paid for repairs is wasted. Converted from an old chapel, which had been transferred to the Protestants at the end of the 17th Century, it measures 19.43 meters in length, 8.80 meters in width, and 9.85 meters in height. Newer and of a more solid construction is the spire, which now has only one bell, the one which the French spared because of the clock. It is the same bell, cast by Christoph Klein in Ernstweiler in 1783, which was given by Duke Carl II for the new spire. The clock,

also a gift of Duke Carl, was made by Philipp Heim of Odernheim at the Glau in 1787. Close to the clock, at the bench by the south window in the spire, there is a sun dial, used for the setting of the clock.

Pastor Blum reported not only on conditions and circumstances, but also on the opinion of his community members:

Up to now it has been the pious desire of all members of the community who are religious and church-minded that the old church should be demolished and — while keeping the spire — a new building, more in accordance with the requirements of a city community, should be constructed. But since the community will hardly have any other prospect than to pay for the church building out of their own wallets — which unfortunately are anything but full — it may take many, many years before the city will be in possession of a new and respectable house of worship.²

Prior to the union of the Lutheran and the Reformed churches in the Palatinate in 1818, each church maintained a separate, co-educational school. After the union of the churches had taken place, the schools were also united, and the children were separated according to sex. The City of Homburg grew rapidly, and in 1824 another co-educational school was established, to which a further building was soon added.

Carl David Weber presumably started school in the Fall of 1819, when 5 1/2 years old, whereas compulsory schooling began at age 6. He entered the Königliche Studienanstalt (Royal Preparatory School) at Zweibrücken in the Fall of 1826 and was placed in the upper preparatory class. His teacher

was a Mr. Vogel.

This school had been founded in 1559 by Duke Wolfgang von Zweibrücken, who lived from 1526 to 1569. A Protestant, it was his desire that the school should train theologians, scientists, and future civil servants, and prepare them for the universities. Non-aristocrats had to pledge to study theology or to enter the civil service upon completion of their schooling.

The name of the school changed during the centuries. Most of the time it was known as Herzog Wolfgang Gymnasium, Zweibrücker Gymnasium, or Gymnasium Bipontinum. During the French occupation the Gymnasium Bipontinum became a "Collège" or secondary school, with a changed study list. After 1802 French was the main subject taught, in addition to Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, geography, history, arithmetic, algebra, natural sciences, physics, and logic. In 1816, when Bavaria assumed control over the area, the school was reorganized, and a year later the Gymnasium was renamed Königlich Bayerische Studienanstalt, i.e., Royal Bavarian Preparatory School. Six teachers were employed to instruct 226 students. The subjects now taught were Greek, Latin, German, mathematics, natural sciences, history (of Bavaria), geography, religion, French, art, and calligraphy. In 1827 physical education was added. Two years later 245 students were enrolled.²⁶

In 1826-1827 Carl David Weber's instruction consisted of a weekly schedule of the following classes:

Latin	15 hours
German	2 hours
Arithmetic	3 hours
Geography	2 hours
Memorizing	1 hour

French 2 hours

At the end of the school year, twenty-five of the students were promoted to the next higher grade, among whom Carl David ranked as twenty-first.

In the Fall of 1827 Carl David Weber entered the Fünfte Gymnasialklasse of the Königliche Studienanstalt. His teacher was Professor Postius. He received instruction in the following subjects:

Latin	8 hours
Greek	4 hours
German	2 hours
History	
(of Bavaria)	2 hours
Arithmetic	2 hours
French	number of
	hours open.

At the end of the school year Carl David's achievements rated him number 22, while only 19 students were recommended for advancement. As a consequence he repeated the class, and in the Fall of 1829 he was sixth of 18 students to be promoted.²⁷

In 1829 the Bavarian Government published a school reform plan, developed by Professor Friedrich von Thiersch by order of King Ludwig I of Bavaria. This plan provided for a course of instruction with emphasis on the classics, contrary to the new school policy in Prussia, where Heinrich Schultze tried to combine classical and modern educational principles. In Thiersch's program all modern subjects were to be subordinated to classical principles, or to be considered of little importance. The main goal was to ensure that students were proficient in both Greek and Latin by the time they left the school. The number of classes in Latin was 73 per week, and in Greek it was 36.

No natural sciences were taught and instruction in the German language was to be restricted.

Professor von Thiersch explained that "We received the German language with our mother's milk, and it is foolish to learn it by teaching. The study of German is to be connected as closely as possible with the study of Latin and Greek and to be motivated by instruction in the classics." No mention is made of instruction in a modern foreign language, e.g., French. However, there was one more requirement — an expressed loyalty to Christianity (Catholicism) and the Kingdom of Bavaria.²⁸

The new curriculum started in the Fall of 1829. There is no evidence in the appropriate "year books" that Carl David Weber continued his schooling at this institution. It is possible, however, that he remained in Zweibrücken at the house of his "Uncle," Theodore Erasmus Hilgard. Tinkham wrote in his **History of Stockton** that Weber received "several hours of private instruction per day," together with his two young relatives, Philipp Ludwig and Theodore Krafft.

The students at the Bipontinum School were divided into "Stipendiaten," "Konviktoristen," and "Externe." The first group had room and board free, as well as medical treatment. However, the "Stipendiaten" had to serve later in the Duke of Zweibrücken's administration, or to repay the stipends awarded them. The eight best students were granted in addition a university stipend for several years. The "Konviktoristen" received room and board in the institution for pay. The "Externen" had their room and board with citizens of the City of Zweibrücken.

It is possible that Carl David was a "Konviktorist," i.e., a student paying for room and board, since his achievements did not justify a stipend. It could also be that he was an "Extern." Perhaps he

stayed with his "Uncle" Hilgard, a relative by marriage, who maintained a large house, had nine children of his own, and was also raising his deceased sister's sons Philipp Ludwig Krafft, born 1811, and Theodore Krafft, born in 1813. Since both Philipp Ludwig and Theodore Krafft were at the Hilgard home preparing themselves for university studies, it may be assumed that Carl David Weber was there, too.²⁹

After the year 1830, Homburg was the center of a strong republican movement. Two of its men became very active as journalists and politicians and through their work introduced the German "Vormärz," literally pre-March, a liberal movement that foreshadowed the political uprisings of March, 1848. Both men were passionate writers who aroused the citizens by their publications. They were Dr. Philipp Jacob Siebenpfeiffer and Dr. Johann Georg August Wirth.

Dr. Siebenpfeiffer, then Land Commissioner in Homburg, the county seat, had by 1830 become known all over the Palatinate. The Bavarian government in Munich found him dangerous and transferred him to Kaisheim, where he was to be director of the penitentiary. A protest against the transfer, signed by seventy-nine mayors of the communities in the County of Homburg, was sent to Munich. In order to keep Dr. Siebenpfeiffer in Homburg, the citizens offered to elect him mayor and distributed a pamphlet calling for the formation of a club to support him. But in December, 1830, he was compelled to move to the neighboring town of Zweibrücken, where the next year he began to publish his newspaper, **Bote aus dem Westen** — (Messenger from the West), thus launching a campaign for the liberal press, which was fighting for its survival.

A year later, another journalist, Dr. Wirth, whose publication, **Die Deutsche Tribüne**, in Munich, had been discontinued, began to publish the same paper in Homburg, in January, 1832. The citizens of Homburg were aware of the importance of Dr. Wirth's work and he was given a warm welcome, including an official dinner with forty persons in attendance, among them Carl Gottfried Weber. Twice in the following months, Dr. Wirth's printing press was sealed by the government, and Dr. Wirth was arrested. Upon his return to Homburg in April, 1832, he published a proclamation, **Aufruf an die Volkfreunde in Deutschland** (Call to the Friends of the People of Germany). At the same time Dr. Siebenpfeiffer issued an invitation to a public meeting. Both actions were understood to be against the government's suppression of freedom of the press.

In Homburg there was a group of thirty persons, mainly young people, who openly supported the ideas of Siebenpfeiffer and Wirth. One of these, Johann Emig, wrote to his brother in Koblenz in 1832:

We arrived at Meisenheim in the evening, happy and joyous, and were welcomed warmly. Immediately the inn was full of young men. "Liberal Homburgers," they said. You must know that the Homburgers, the friends of the people, that is, enjoy a very good reputation. I cannot list all the honors we received during our eight days' stay...³⁰

There was at this time in Homburg a combination of activities that led to the Hambach Festival, May 27 to June 1, 1832. The traveling minister-poet Blaul, had written in 1835:

All those who came to Homburg at this

time thought of the recent events which led from Homburg to the Hambach Festival. For Dr. Wirth and Dr. Siebenpfeiffer had become closely associated with the citizens of the city during their term of activity in Homburg, and they inspired them with the ideas of Hambach.

In the twentieth Century, the Hambach Festival is often referred to as the "birth" or "cradle" of German democracy. Indeed, it was the first political mass meeting in German history and the largest in the 19th Century. Walter Gruber called it "the root of today's democracy in Germany," and Marianne Grewe saw in it an important development of the political consciousness of women. The number of people who participated in the festival has been estimated at 25,000 to 30,000. This figure is impressive, considering the fact that in 1830 to 1832 cities like Mannheim and Mainz had fewer inhabitants, 22,000 and 27,000 respectively. Some 300 students from the University of Heidelberg took part, half the enrollment of that university.³¹

Besides a few thousand visitors from outside the Palatinate, the participation of local people was overwhelming. The majority of the inhabitants of the area were in favor of the gathering and enthusiastically responded to the invitations sent out in April and early May. Those from the Palatinate numbered approximately 20,000, including many persons who arrived by carriage from Zweibrücken, Landstuhl, and Homburg. Delegations came from places as distant as Strassburg, Paris, Metz, Nancy, Mainz, Marburg, Worms, and Speyer. About 2,000 to 3,000 stayed overnight in Neustadt.³²

In the first decades of the 19th Century the entire Palatinate was liberally inclined, and it became a

main center of unrest after 1830. The inhabitants of the area were liberals of different shades of thought, but eager, in their temperamental manner, to maintain their freedom and their rights. The permission to retain existing "institutions" after the French model, together with those that later developed under Bavaria, made the Palatinate, after 1815, the most democratic unit in the German Confederation. The ideas of the French Revolution of 1789 remained alive there, and the preference for democratic forms of life survived even the years of Napoleon's dictatorship.

Gradually, a hatred of the Bavarians developed. Unrest began after the King of Bavaria changed his formerly liberal attitude toward the Palatinate and imposed new ordinances against the freedom of the press. There was already much friction, since Catholicism had a stronghold in the Kingdom, while the people of the Palatinate were mostly reformed Protestants or of the Lutheran denomination, united after 1818 into one group. The general attitude of the intellectuals in the Palatinate is revealed in the following contemporary statement:

Indeed, Bavaria forms the darkest shadow within the picture of today's Germany, and it is truly a pity that our beautiful Rhineland, in which all elements of spiritual and material progress are so plentiful, had to be chained to this State.

There has never been a worse marriage.³³

In 1932, reflecting on the first centennial of the Hambach Festival, Theodor Heuss — later the first president of the Federal Republic of Germany (from 1949-1959) — wrote that the Palatinate was destined to become a kettle to brew the kind of unrest which found expression in the events at Hambach, Heinrich Heine described this first

political gathering in modern German history as a beginning: "...dort, auf Hambach, jubelte die moderne Zeit ihre Sonnenaufgangslieder.." that is, "there in Hambach the modern age sang its sunrise melodies..."³⁴

The news of the Hambach Festival reached Munich on June 2, 1832, and the Bavarian Government reacted immediately to the "catastrophe" by publishing a declaration, indicating that all "necessary measures would be taken to protect the rights of the throne, the state, its constitution and position within the Bund." On June 7, the government in Munich instructed the Court of Appeals in Zweibrücken to begin investigations against the speakers at the Hambach gathering, and nine days later ordered the arrest of the "traitors."³⁵

Before being arrested on June 16, 1832, Dr. Wirth published in Homburg a signed proclamation, "Die politische Reform Deutschlands — ein dringendes Wort an die deutschen Volksfreunde." — "an important message to the friends of the German people." Concluding it read: "all patriots are urgently asked to help with the distribution of this brochure; orders may be placed with Madame Wirth in Homburg." Dr. Siebenpfeiffer was arrested on June 18, 1832, together with five other speakers: Hochdorffer, Eifler, Becker, Rost, and Scharpff.³⁶

In Frankfurt, the German Confederation under Metternich reacted to the events at Hambach with stringent measures. These were designed to eliminate freedom of the press, to forbid the planting of freedom trees, to stop unauthorized public gatherings and meetings, and to prohibit showing the black, red and gold colors of the liberals.

Eventually the authorities decided to transfer the

prisoners to Landau for the jury sessions, since new unrest was feared, and Landau, a fortress with a strong military force, was considered to be more secure. The Court met for nineteen days, beginning on June 29, 1833. On August 16, 1833, it declared all of the accused not guilty. With the exception of Scharpff and Eifler, however, the acquitted were not freed, but brought before the Police Court, by which Siebenpfeiffer, Wirth and Pastor Hochdorffer were sentenced to the maximum term of two years in prison. With the help of Becker, Siebenpfeiffer escaped from the prison in Frankenthal in November, 1833, and emigrated to Berne, Switzerland, where the following year he became a professor of law and political science. In May, 1845, he died in Bumplitz near Berne, having been insane the last three years of his life.³⁷

Dr. Wirth was transferred from Zweibrücken to Kaiserslautern in April, 1834. Half-way there, as the stagecoach was passing the village of Bruchhof, it was attacked, one horse killed, and the lieutenant escorting the transport was wounded. Wirth was freed, but he refused to go with his liberators. In 1836, he was released and placed under police supervision. Eventually he managed to flee from Weissenburg to France. In 1848 he returned to the Palatinate and became a deputy of the Frankfurt National Assembly, but died in the same year.

The investigation against Dean Weber continued, however, partly on the grounds that he had been a close friend of Siebenpfeiffer. The latter, as land commissioner, had also been an active member of the Protestant Church Synod. The degree of friendship between Siebenpfeiffer and Weber may be judged by the fact that the latter visited Siebenpfeiffer in prison in Zweibrücken, and, during the time of the publisher's absence, took

care of his garden and vineyard, half-way up the Schlossberg.

The investigation of Dean Weber's participation in the revolutionary activities lasted until July, 1834. Helmuth Kimmel, who did considerable research on the effects of the Hambach Festival on the Protestant Church in the Palatinate, came to the conclusion that "a less skilled and talented man than Weber would hardly have gotten through without being punished."

In spite of Dean Weber's defense, King Ludwig of Bavaria, in his own handwriting, called him "a wolf as shepherd," and demanded his removal because of his sympathy for Wirth and Siebenpfeiffer.³⁸

Who then was this shepherd? Could it have been any other than Dean Weber, who had attended school in Zweibrücken and Kaiserslautern and, from 1798 to 1800, had studied theology at the University of Jena? Normally, the young men from the Palatinate attended the University of Heidelberg, the closest university to their area. Perhaps Weber decided to go to Jena because at that time Friedrich Schiller, the liberal poet and historian, was living and working there. During this period, Schiller was completing his "Wallenstein Trilogy," which was performed in the neighboring city of Weimar — "Wallensteins Lager" on October 12, 1798, "Die Piccolomini" on January 30, 1799, and "Wallensteins Tod" on April 20, 1799. Mannheim, the place where Schiller's "Die Räuber" — The Robbers — with the subtitle "against tyrants" was first performed, and where, for a while, the poet worked as a playwright under W.H. von Dalberg, is only a short distance across the Rhine from Kaiserslautern. The National Theater in Mannheim had been founded by the Palatinate Elector, Karl

Theodor, in 1776, and that city had been the residence of the Palatinate Electors until 1778, and thus was the cultural center of the province. How closely the people of Homburg and the neighboring area identified themselves with Schiller's ideas is shown by the fact that a drawing from that period depicting a scene in Homburg is entitled "Brüder überm Sternenzelt," i.e., "Brothers beyond the stars," a line from Schiller's "Ode to Joy."³⁹

Later, new difficulties arose for Dean Weber, especially when in 1836 his son, Carl David, left Homburg for America, and the father, again suspected of democratic agitation, was transferred to Schwegenheim as an ordinary minister.⁴⁰

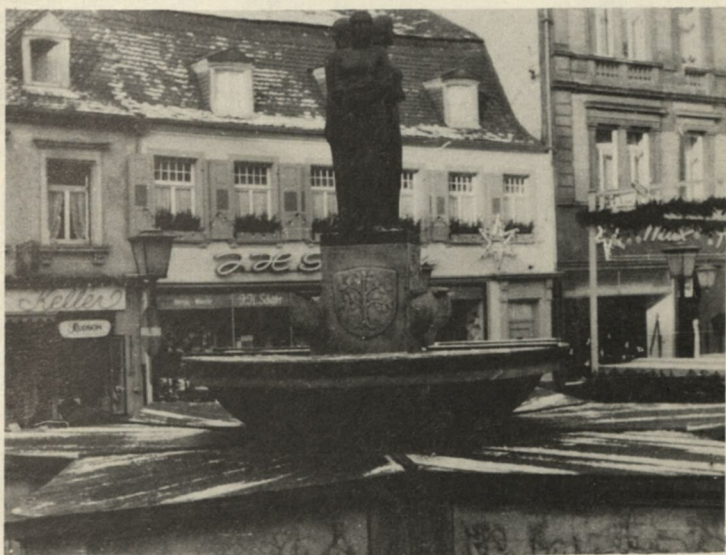
When Dr. Wirth came to Homburg in 1832, Carl David, Weber's oldest son, was seventeen years old. At the time of the Hambach Festival, he was therefore just over 18 years of age. Considering the fact that his father had known Dr. Siebenpfeiffer for many years, it is also likely that young Weber was among his followers. From his home on the market place he may even have helped to set up the freedom trees, and he may have attended the political gatherings.

The participation of young people at the Hambach Festival is stressed by many authors. The event was called a "Kundgebung der politischen Jugend" — a Convention of Young Politicians." Professors and students were among the participants in larger number than in proportion to their part of the population. Besides students there were also many young craftsmen and journalists.⁴¹

Carl David Weber's name is not on any of the lists issued either by the Bavarian Government or by the German Confederation. However, among the students and young people listed in the "Black Book" of the Confederacy as suspects are the



Homburg and the Spire of the Protestant Church Courtesy of the author



The marketplace where the Minister's home was located Courtesy of the author



The home of Dr. Siebenpfeiffer Courtesy of the author



*The author, Ilka Hartmann, and Pastor Karl Fischer
Courtesy of Ilka Maria Hartmann*

names of many who were known to him, men either from his home town Homburg or from his school days in Zweibrücken. In particular there are the brothers Krafft, who were raised in the house of Carl David's "Uncle" Hilgard. Perhaps Carl David was just as cunning as his father in escaping persecution and punishment, or perhaps it was sheer luck that he was not caught.⁴² As Tinkham reports — and his only source of information was Carl David Weber himself — "...his mind had been trained in political as well as in other sciences, and the young man was interested in the revolutionary events than taking place, **he taking an active part.**" (Emphasis added.)⁴³

Historians in Homburg and Kaiserslautern believe that Carl David's "active part" did relate not only to Hambach, but possibly to the attempt to free Dr. Wirth, and to the "Frankfurter Putsch."⁴⁴ Tinkham, discussing the important events in European history which occurred during Charles Weber's early life, wrote that "These events made a strong impression on his mind.... He was in business but a short time when his thoughts were turned to "the home of the free."

This statement implies that there was a direct connection between Carl David's emigration and the revolutionary events which took place in Germany after 1830. It is also interesting to note that Tinkham knew of the "loss of memory" which Weber suffered while engaged in school studies and before he went into business.

According to Tinkham, Dean Weber expected his son to enter the ministry and so continue the family tradition. He was therefore being prepared to enter the university at the proper age, which at that time would have been 17 1/2 years, as may be inferred from Dean Weber's own career. Carl David, having

lost one year by repeating a grade, would normally have begun his university course in the autumn of 1832, about six months after his 18th birthday and soon after the Hambach Festival. This was the very time when the government began its investigation of Dean Weber's alleged implication in political activities growing out of the Festival. Even if his son had not been suspected of participation in them, the involvement of the father alone would have prevented young Carl David's admission to a university.

In any case events now changed dramatically, for the young man evidently took matters into his own hands, and, with the consent of his father, sought a passport to visit his "Uncle" Hilgard in America. Tinkham's story, which might well have had Weber's approval, is that Carl David, "with his love of liberty and adventure... looked away from the home of his childhood... to that New World where the persecuted Pilgrim had gone before."⁴⁵

The "Uncle" with whom young Weber had lived during his school days was a distinguished jurist, a judge of the Court of Appeals in Zweibrücken, Theodore Erasmus Hilgard. The government had repeatedly offered the Judge a post in Munich, but, since this would have removed him from the strongly liberal area of his home in Zweibrücken, he declined, and finally decided to emigrate to America.⁴⁶ His nephew, Henry Hilgard-Villard, writing of the unsatisfactory situation in the Palatinate, stated that the political pressure was felt more by his uncle, the Judge, than by any other member of the family and was a definite factor in his decision to leave Germany.

Hilgard-Villard described the "thousand obstacles to commerce and industry, the self-conceit of the nobility, officers and officials, the general

suppression of free speech, restrictions of the press," as conditions which finally led to his uncle's decision. Theodore Erasmus Hilgard himself explained:

The most important reason for leaving Germany was the future of my children and other descendants. I considered also the political convictions I wished to give my children, through teaching and example, knowing that these ideas were frowned on by our authorities, and that I either had to falsify their education — and become disloyal to myself — or to expose them to the abuse of the Government. Moreover, I considered it an invaluable asset to help my descendants become a free people, to secure for them the consciousness of a higher human dignity, always a characteristic of republicans.⁴⁷

Such also was the attitude of Judge Hilgard, who looked for a new life in "the great American union, with her unmeasured area, free institutions, and unpredictable future."

The Hilgards were following in the footsteps of relatives, the Engelmans and Hilgards, who had settled in and near Belleville, Illinois, in 1833. This colony of Germans was in a rural area about twenty-five miles southeast of St. Louis, Missouri, and its members were called the "Latin Farmers," perhaps because another German colony nearby had become known as the "Latin Settlement."⁴⁸ It was here that the young Weber planned to visit Judge Hilgard, and he left Europe from Le Havre early in October, 1836, accompanied by his cousin, Theodore Engelmann.⁴⁹ In order to make this trip, Weber had obtained a passport at Speyer on August 22, 1836, and two days earlier a certificate from the

Mayor of Homburg stating that he was a citizen in good standing;⁵⁰ Tinkham, whose **History of Stockton** is based on personal interviews with Weber, does not explain why the cousins parted upon arrival in New Orleans in the Winter of 1836, but it may be that young Carl was not especially eager to meet his relatives in Belleville. Not until several years later, and after his health had failed, did he decide to leave New Orleans and go north for the proposed visit.

By then it was late March or early April of 1841, but instead of hastening to Belleville, young Weber remained in St. Louis for a while, read the newspapers, and became aware of the possibilities of the West — and perhaps of seeing it himself. So, once again he postponed the trip to see the Hilgard family and decided instead to join an expedition going to California, then being organized in western Missouri. Its time of departure, set for May 9, was very near, and Weber hastily made plans to go along. To prepare for the trip he sent his suitcase or trunk to his "Uncle" in Belleville, and probably informed him by letter of his plan. A meeting with him under these circumstances might have been unpleasant for Weber, whose plan to go West would undoubtedly have met with disapproval. After Weber left Missouri there does not seem to have been any exchange of letters. Theodore Erasmus Hilgard's comments on California, in a letter dated December 6, 1847, and addressed to Philipp Heinrich von Kraemer, indicate that he had not heard of Carl David Weber's activities in California. Judge Hilgard discusses the emigration to the West, which had been promoted by a German named Schmolder, a man with an extremely bad reputation, whom he calls an "Erz-Windbeutel und Schwindler" ...an arch-braggart and a fraud. He

feels it his duty to warn would-be emigrants in Europe, and to inform them about what is awaiting them:

Should it not be a kind of duty to give this warning publicity in a suitable way, or at least to let it get into the hands of one or the other participant in this insane endeavor? I call it insane since on the one hand it is not at all decided that California will be united with the United States, and also since the population there is said to be beneath criticism, and on the other hand since all news which has reached us so far about California, in respect of climate, soil, weather, and other conditions is unfavorable, and the descriptions of Mr. Schmölder are probably nothing but lies and deception.⁵¹

It is likely that Judge Hilgard, if he had met Carl David Weber in 1841, would have felt it his duty to warn the young man just as vehemently.

Another reason why Carl David Weber did not keep in touch with his relatives in Belleville may have been his conversion to Catholicism in 1850.⁵² The liberal Protestants, whose troubles in Germany had originated mostly from Catholic Bavaria, could not be expected to approve of a conversion. Here again Theodore Erasmus Hilgard made clear his point of view:

You ask me if it is true that both of my sons, Eugene and Theodore, have become Catholics. Fantasy and love are the sources of this senselessness. Eugene has a Catholic wife, Theodore a Catholic fiancée. The repugnant customs that the Protestants in America have adopted may have contributed much to this situation.

The beautiful, lovely and kind Virgin forms truly a great contrast to the grim Devil of the Methodists. You know how tolerant I am in religious matters, but though these events annoy me as foolish, they cause me otherwise no further concern.⁵³

It may have been for this same reason — his conversion — that Carl David Weber did not keep in touch with his family in the Palatinate. In August, 1850, his father inquired whether Charles M. Weber of California was indeed his son, Carl David Weber, and demanded confirmation by his son's hand. He had heard rumors to that effect. Half a year later Carl David's mother wrote a letter stating that the family had finally heard about their son through an article in the **Augsburger Zeitung** of July 23-24, 1850⁵⁴

A church-book entry of 1869 indicates that even at that time only a few knew about the fate of Carl David Weber, son of a dean of the Protestant church, who either could not or would not live a life in a reactionary world:

On December 30, 1814, Carl Weber, previously Minister in Steinwenden, Palatinate, was appointed Minister and President of the Reformed Local Church Council by the Imperial Austrian and the Royal Bavarian Joint Land Commission (Kaiserlich und Königliche Österreichische und bayrische gemeinschaftliche Landes-Administrations-Commission). At the later new organization of the Unified Church in the Palatinate, he became Chairman of the Homburg Diaconate.

In 1843 he was transferred to the parish of

Schwegenheim, Dekanat Germersheim-Pfalz, and died there some years ago at an advanced age by an unfortunate fall from a ladder. He had several sons, one of whom is supposed to have obtained colossal wealth in the gold country of California by good fortune.⁵⁵

The period of history during which Carl David Weber spent his childhood and youth in Germany was later called the "Vormärz," "pre-March" referring to the events in the Germanies caused by the 1830 Revolution in France, and preceding the Revolution in "March" of 1848.

Carl David Weber was born after Napoléon had disappeared from the German scene; his childhood was spent in the Metternich Restoration era; and even during his schooling young Weber felt the suppression by the State of new and modern ideas in education. As a young man, as we have seen, Carl David Weber had witnessed in his home town the work of the two outstanding liberals of the Palatinate, Dr. Siebenpfeiffer and Dr. Wirth, and had observed what happened to them after their greatest achievement — the first political mass meeting in German history — had taken place at Hambach in 1832.

Restrictions and persecution increased in the following years; there seemed to be little hope of change for the better. An average of 20,000 Germans left the "Fatherland" every year,⁵⁶ and in 1836 Carl David Weber was one of them.

Governmental reaction to these events drove Carl David Weber to action; he did not emigrate to America to seek adventures or riches. He had experienced adventures and excitement enough at home. Carl David Weber wished to leave for other reasons: he wanted to become the master of his own

fate in a free country. And so strong was his desire that his decision to emigrate put an end to his life in Europe at the age of 22.

Readers who know the Palatinate and in particular the area between Zweibrücken and Kaiserslautern will understand why Charles Weber was much struck by the beauty of San Joaquin County and loved the oak-studded and tule-covered land. It was like home to him. Weber had no difficulty in realizing that the valleys of the San Joaquin and Sacramento could become a paradise of fruits and flowers. Similar work to that necessary here had been done in the Landstuhl Swamps during his youth. In the environment of Steinwenden, the Kameral Hohe Schule had had its plots for seed experiments. During his first winter in California Charles Weber experimented very successfully with seeds at Sutter's Fort and envisioned the possibility of making the place the first garden spot of the San Joaquin Valley. Later in his own home, he experimented with every kind of seed or shrub that came to his notice.

All American sources agree that the Weber home on the peninsula, built in 1850, was the show place of Stockton. Bayard Taylor wrote:

We were greatly delighted with our visit to the residence of Mr. Weber, the original proprietor of Stockton, who has transferred a tongue of land, between two arms of the slough, into a garden, and built himself a spacious house in the centre. There is no more delightful villa on Bellosguardo or the slopes of Fiesole... The gate opens into a lofty avenue of trellis-work, where the sunshine strikes through pulpy bunches of amethyst and chrysolite, while on either hand, beds of royal roses of every hue ...

fill the air with ripe odor... Vine-covered verandas surround it and keep off the sun, and every window discloses a vision of plants which would be the glory of any greenhouse on the Atlantic side.⁵⁷

The garden delighted visitors beyond measure. The walks were waist deep in fuchsia and geraniums, and the pepper trees had loose, misty boughs. Tinkham concludes a lengthy report on Charles Weber's interest in gardening by saying: "He is a lover of plants and flowers." No country fair was complete without Weber's exhibit of fruits, flowers, and shrubs. Toward the end of his life — when not otherwise occupied — he worked in the garden of St. Agnes Academy, his coat off and spade and hoe in hand.⁵⁸

Weber's taste for horticulture developed in the little City of Homburg, where Prince Max of Zweibrücken, the later King of Bavaria, had built the largest and most beautiful country seat in Europe, with gardens, designed by the landscapers Skell and Petri, which were referred to as "the miracle of the Karlsberg."

Many of the shrubs and trees in his garden Weber obtained from Japan and Europe. Once he petitioned the City Council for authority to build a fence at the lower end of the Peninsula to protect some ornamental trees of which he was particularly fond. Where the City of Stockton now stands there had originally been a forest of oak trees. Weber admired the park-like appearance of the oaks, and during all his life he tried to protect the beautiful old trees from being cut down by settlers for fuel or building material. And here again it is interesting to remember that the City of Homburg has a tree in its coat of arms and is known even today as "The City of the Tree."

The mill which Charles Weber operated in San Jose had its counterpart in Steinwenden, belonging to his uncle. Possibly this was the place where Charles Weber "was in business" in the period before he went to America. The parochial property in Steinwenden included also a mill. Here his Uncle Engelmann, father of young Theodore Engelmann, who emigrated with him, was the local minister until his death in 1833. The wheat which Weber grew in San Joaquin County — and he had visualized this possibility when he first rode through the area — may have reminded him of the wheat fields in the reclaimed Landstuhl Swamps.

The eleven parks which Charles Weber deeded to the City of Stockton render additional proof of his sense of beauty and also of his farsightedness. A provision was made in the deeds that these parks may not be converted to other use by the city — should this be attempted, the property would revert to the Weber family.

The first name Charles Weber gave to the later City of Stockton was Tuleburg. While the tule-covered countryside attracted him and suggested the name, the latter part of Tuleburg refers to Homburg, thus combining memories of both Steinwenden, situated in the Landstuhl Swamps, and Homburg.⁵⁹

At the end of a man's life he may well look back and consider his deeds and actions. Obviously, Charles Weber loved his home country, the Palatinate, or else he would not have tried to recreate it in Tuleburg. He did not boast about his success in the New World; if he had done so, his parents would not have had to inquire about him, and eventually to send out, in 1853, a younger son, Carl Adolf — who was to remain in California — to search for him. That Charles Weber's

thoughts went back to the Old Country more often than he admitted to his family and others may be seen by George Tinkham's statement:

Weber had quite a library of books, many of them classical German authors and some of them printed in German. He was a well read scholar along many lines. He would sit in his office, a little building just outside his garden gate, reading, night after night, all alone.⁶⁰

If there were still ties to his European past, why then did he not keep in contact with his family? Although in 1861 Charles Weber planned to visit Germany, he did not do so, due to the disastrous flood of 1861-1862 that inundated Stockton and kept him in California.

Tinkham reports that Charles Weber read the news every day after work. Thus it may be taken for granted that he was aware of what was going on in the world, even though he did not receive direct information by private correspondence. Although 1848 was a turbulent year in California history, it was even more turbulent in Europe. No doubt Charles Weber was well informed of the abortive attempts of the liberals in Germany to establish a constitutional government, with the King of Prussia as her emperor. At this time the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo between the United States and Mexico — signed on February 2, 1848 — was ratified, and on September 9, 1850, California became the 31st State of the Union. Here in this agreeable environment Weber found what life in Europe could not offer him, and what he had sought when he turned his thoughts to the "home of the free." At this point, Charles Weber may have made a final decision to stay in California. He built a house on the Peninsula, actually a tongue of land

between Stockton Channel and McLeod's Lake; he proposed to the young lady he had courted for many years, the lovely and gracious Helen Murphy; he was baptized a Catholic; and he named his growing settlement after an American commander, directly connected with the conquest of the area. Rather than retaining his "fancy" and memory-laden name "Tuleburg," which reminded him of the past, he turned to the present, the new life in California.

Was it then that Charles Weber abandoned all political interest? His clerk, L.M. Cutting, reported that he took no part in politics and never attended political meetings. It is known that he voted with the Republican Party, but "he was not a politician and preferred to devote himself to movements of the public good, without respect to political ties or views."⁶¹

Did Charles Weber attempt to suppress his German past? There are hardly any documents available dating from Weber's early days in California giving evidence of his birth and citizenship in Europe. When George H. Tinkham and Frank T. Gilbert began to compile information it was in Weber's later years. Undoubtedly his contemporaries questioned him about the facts, and so it may be assumed that what they put into print was what Weber wanted them to know. Other, later statements were based on their findings. Most of the references indicate Homburg, Département of Mont Tonnerre, as the city of his origin, and no mention is made anywhere of Steinwenden, his actual birthplace.⁶² Many authors relate this area to "the reign of the Emperor Napoléon I," or have an added explanation: "which province the next year after the Battle of Waterloo passed from the French Government into the Kingdom of Bavaria."⁶²

On April 1, 1867, at 53 years of age, Charles

Weber gave France as his country of nativity to the San Joaquin County Great Register of Voters. An undated pioneer biographical card, on file with the California State Library, filled in by his granddaughter, Helen Weber Kennedy, lists his birthplace as "Homburg—Mont Tonnere, [sic] Rhine." Obviously, this is the way Charles Weber's descendants know he would have wanted it to read: his home city, situated in a French Department.

It appears that Carl David Weber, while being attached to Homburg, and to the beautiful area surrounding it, was so opposed to its administration and government, to the reactionary and backward attitude of the men in power, that he distorted some of the historical facts. When asked about his country of nativity, he stated what he wished had been true — France.

Book Notes

1. In his **History of Stockton**, published in 1880, George H. Tinkham gave the date of Charles Weber's birth as February 16, 1814, and all others have followed him as the authority on the subject. The crypt in the Catholic Cemetery in Stockton, however, gives the date as February 17, 1814.

2. Steinwenden Parish Register, Speyer.

3. Germann, Otto, in **Heimatkalender für Stadt und Landkreis Kaiserslautern**, 1961, p. 41, and 1964, pp. 57-58.

4. Doll, Anton, "Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Landkreises," in **Monographie einer Landschaft** (1961), p. 35; Pfälzischer Verkehrsverband, **Die Pfalz am Rhein**, n.p.. The climate in the area is supposed to be the most pleasant in Germany.

5. Münch, Ottheinz, **Kaiserslautern, 1276-1951** (1951), pp. 132-35.

6. Wagner, Friedrich Ludwig, "Die Verwaltungsgeschichte des Landkreises," in **Monographie einer Landschaft**, pp. 39-40.

7. Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Hammond, George H., and Morgan, Dale, **Captain Charles M. Weber, Pioneer of the San Joaquin and Founder of Stockton**, p. 1, write: "This village (Steinwenden) was located in what was known in this closing period of the Napoleonic era as the French Département of Mont Tonnerre, though in 1815 it was **reincorporated** (Emphasis added) into the Kingdom of Bavaria as part of the Palatinate — a region now better known as the Saar."

8. Paul, Theodor, **Protestantische Kirche Meisenbach** (1962), p. 22. The German version reads:

...simpliciter wegen allerseits commoderen Kirchenganges ohne weiteren consequent. Worauf jedem die Schlüssel in beyden

Kirchen extradiert, die Signa und ornamenta weggebracht und der Altar aus der Kirche zu Spesenbach gänzlich abgebrochen wurde.

9. "Die freie Meinungsäußerung war der Ketzerei verdächtig. Die Übertritte zum alten Glauben mehrten sich."
10. "Dieses Gesetz ist zu Schnappereien sehr geeignet, und die Gerichtsherren wissen es meisterlich zu handhaben."
11. Wolfstein, **Beiträge zur Geschichte Steinwendens**, (Kaiserslautern, 1962), p. 197.
12. Translated from Eckhardt, Anton, and Gebhardt, Torsten, **Die Kunstdenkmäler der Pfalz** (Vol. IX, 1942), p. 451.
13. See Landeskirchenarchiv Speyer, Register of Baptisms in Rotselberg, and *ibid.*, Church Books of Steinwenden and Spesbach.
14. Landeskirchenarchiv Speyer, Church Books of Spesbach and Steinwenden.
15. Information obtained from Pastor Karl Fischer, Homburg.
16. Karl Martin Engelmann, who died in 1833, had been a vicar in Homburg from 1812 to 1814. He was appointed to the ministry in Steinwenden when his future brother-in-law, Carl Gottfried Weber, was promoted to Minister and Superintendent in Homburg. Both Johann Martin and Johann Jacob Engelmann were sons of Erasmus Theodore Engelmann, who was born on April 17, 1730, in Ottersberg, deceased in Bacharach on November 5, 1802. He himself was the son of a clergyman and was educated as a minister.
17. In the Palatinate, the Reformed Protestant and the Lutheran churches were united in 1818. See Baecker, Gertrud, and Engelmann, Fritz, **Die Kurpfälzischen Familien Engelmann und Hilgard** (1958), pp. 16-24. The differences between the two

denominations — Reformed Protestant and Lutheran — were not too great. Both believed in a verbal interpretation of the Scriptures: The Bible was to be the Word of God or His Son, and not man's understanding of it. Martin Luther (1483-1546) reinstated the Message of Salvation in the Scriptures. The Holy Sacraments, agreed to by the other two Protestant Reformers — Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) and John Calvin (1509-1564), were to be Baptism and Confirmation only.

18. The house is still used as an official minister's residence by the Protestant pastor of Steinwenden. The front of the house is now covered by white stucco, while the rear still shows the timber.

19. Staatsarchiv Speyer, Bestand, Regierung der Pfalz, Kammer des Inneren, No. 6333, and Paul, Theodor, *op. cit.*, p. 22. The description of the house is from observations by the writer.

20. Church books of the Protestant Church Community of Homburg, Saar, 1869.

21. On July 2, 1839, Carl David's only sister married Wilhelm Ryhiner, who became Director of the Insane Asylum in Frankenthal. Their daughter, Elise Henriette Sophie, born March 30, 1840, married Theodor Michael Ritter von Wand, who became Director of the Consistory of the Protestant Church in the Palatinate. Information provided by Pastor Karl Fischer of Homburg. The birth records are from the church books of 1818, 1822, 1823, and 1825 at the Städtisches Standesamt, Homburg.

22. Fischer, Karl, **Blätter zur Geschichte der Stadt Homburg**, (1958), pp. 58, 184; Weber, Wilhelm, **Homburg, die historische Stadt** (1954), n.p.

23. Weber, Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, n.p.; Blaul, Friedrich Georg, in "Träume und Schäume am Rhein," in Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Blaul wrote:

Von diesem Karlsberg aus ziehen sich die

Höhen einem Vorgebirge ähnlich in das flache grüne Moorland hinaus und enden mit dem Homburger Schlossberge, auf dem die Reste einer alten Festung sichtbar sind, und an dessen Fuss das Städtchen malerisch lagert.

24. Blum, Carl, "Pfarrbeschreibung Homburg" (Ms., 1869), pp. 238, 240; and Fischer *op. cit.*, p. 113.
25. The house no longer exists. See Blum, *op. cit.*, p.246.
26. The school is still operating under the name of Gymnasium Bipontinum. It now occupies a new building, since the old structure was destroyed in World War II. Cf. Wölbing, Hans, **Geschichte des Gymnasiums Bipontinum** (Zweibrücken, 1959), p. 16.
27. Annual Reports of the Königliche Studienanstalt zu Zweibrücken, 1827-29.
28. Wölbing, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 18; Schnabel, Franz, **Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert**, II (1949), pp. 352, 255-58, v. Thiersch, Fr., **Über gelehrte Schulen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Bayern**, I, III-IV (1826), p. 341.
29. Tinkham, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56; Schmuck, Fritz, **Gymnasium Bipontinum** (Zweibrücken, 1909).
30. Weber, Wilhelm, **Homburg**, pp. 22-23; Fischer, Karl, **Die Homburger Pfarrfamilie Aulenbach** (1956), Heft 1; Weber, Wilhelm, **Siebenpfeifer und Wirth** (1957).
31. Fischer, Karl, **Blätter zur Geschichte der Stadt Homburg** (1958), p. 116.

Wer um diese Zeit nach Homburg kam, dachte an die letzten Ereignisse, die von Homburg zum Hambacher Fest führten. Denn Dr. Wirth und Dr. Siebenpfeiffer waren während ihrer Tätigkeit in Homburg in enge Verbindung mit

- den Bürgern der Stadt gekommen und begeisterten sie für die Ideen von Hambach.
32. Bühler, Johannes, **Hambach, 1832-1932** (1932), pp. 99-101; Gruber, Walter, **Hambach, 1832-1957**, p. 120, Heuss, Theodor, in **Hambacher Gespräche**, p. 143; Weber, **Homburg**, p. 36.
33. Just, Leo, in "Der Vormärz," **Hambacher Fest, 1832-1957**, p. 27. See also Albert Becker, *Der Geist von Hambach* (Speyer: Pfälzisches Museum, 1932) p. 81.

Bayern bildet in der Tat in dem Gemälde des heutigen Deutschlands die dunkelste Schattenpartie, und es ist ein wahrer Jammer, dass unser schönes Rheinland, in welchem alle Elemente des geistigen wie des materiellen Fortschreitens so reichlich vorhanden sind, gerade an diesen Staat festgekettet werden musste. Eine ärgere Mesalliance hat nie stattgefunden.

34. Heine, Heinrich, **Gesammelte Werke**, cited in **Hambacher Fest, 1832-1957**, p. 151.
35. Metternich called the event "The Scandal of Hambach." Cf. Bühler, **Hambach, 1832-1932**, pp. 144-45. The German text of the instructions to the Court of Appeals in Zweibrücken (p. 147) read:
Die Hochverräter, welche bei dem schandlichen Hambacher Fest ihre verbrecherischen Pläne unumwunden durch Wort und Schrift an den Tag gelegt haben, sind zu verhaften."
36. Bühler, **Hambach, 1832-1932**, pp. 148, 151.
37. Bühler, **op. cit.**, pp. 152-156. Dr. Wirth died July 26, 1848.
38. Bühler, **op. cit.**, p. 174; Institut für staatsbürgerliche Bildung, **Hambacher Gespräche** (1964), p. 43, Fischer, **op. cit.**, p. 45.
39. The drawing was made by Hermann Juncker of Homburg.

40. Institut für staatsbürgerliche Bildung, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Carl Gottfried Weber lost his deanship when transferred. He died in Schwegenheim in 1859.
41. Gruber, Walter, in **Hambacher Fest** (1957), p. 124.
42. The Central Authority of the Confederacy published on August 8, 1838 an alphabetical list of persons suspected of revolutionary activity, two years after young Weber had left for America. Both of the Krafft brothers had been members of the Burschenschaft, but only Philipp's name is included — Theodore Krafft had already left the country for America —. The 1827 Yearbook of Gymnasium Bipontinum has a pencil mark next to Philipp Krafft's name, with the comment: "In München im Gefängnis und tiefsinnig in Zweibrücken," that is, "in prison in Munich, and insane in Zweibrücken."
43. Tinkham, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
44. Studienrat und Pastor Karl Fischer and Dr. Fritz Braun of Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, with whom the writer in the Fall of 1963 discussed the events of 1832 to 1836 on numerous occasions.
45. Tinkham, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
46. Theodore Erasmus Hilgard, 1790-1873, studied law and became an attorney; later a judge. His father, Johann Jakob Hilgard, and his mother's (Maria Dorothea Engelmann) father were Protestant ministers. After his studies at Göttingen and Paris, he was a judge for twelve years at the Court of Appeals in Zweibrücken. Dissatisfied with the reactionary policies of the Bavarian government, he emigrated to Belleville, Illinois, in 1834 and became in 1835 a co-founder of the German colony of "Latin Farmers," where he was noted chiefly for his writings. (See Baecker and Engelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 67 and p. 94, also **Dictionary of American Biography**, Vol. IX, pp. 23-24.)

47. Villard, Henry, **Lebenserinnerungen**, and Hilgard, Theodore Erasmus, **Erinnerungen**, reprinted from **Meine Erinnerungen** (Heidelberg, 1860).

48. See, for example, Stevens, Walter B., **Centennial History of Missouri, 1820-1921**. I (1921), 305-312.

49. The Engelmanns and Hilgards were among the earliest of the German immigrants in Missouri and Illinois. George Theodore Engelmann (1809-1884) traveled to the United States trying to find suitable land for the entire family, probably at the same time (1832) when Theodor Hilgard (1808-1872) emigrated and settled at Belleville, Illinois. Of Johann Peter Engelmann (1798-1870) it is known that he emigrated "before" 1833 to St. Charles County, Missouri. Friedrich Theodor Engelmann (1779-1854) left on May 1, 1833 with 132 other, mostly Palatinate, emigrants from Le Havre and settled in Shiloh Valley near Belleville, Illinois. Theodor Erasmus Hilgard (1790-1873) planned and prepared the emigration of all Hilgards and Engelmanns to the United States; he left Germany in 1834 with nine children. (See Baecker and Engelmann, **op. cit.** for the above and additional emigrants; also **Dictionary of American Biography**, VI, 159-60, for George Theodore Engelmann), Hilgard, Theodor E. **Erinnerungen**, Heidelberg, n.d., also **Briefe an Philipp Heinrich von Kraemer, 1835-1865**.

50. Hammond and Morgan, **op. cit.**, (1966), p. 44.

51. Hilgard, Theodore Erasmus, **Briefe an Philipp Heinrich von Kraemer, 1835-1865**, (1935), p. 133.

The German text reads:

Sollte es nicht eine Art Pflicht sein, dieser
Warnung draussen auf eine passende Art
Publizität zu geben, oder sie wenigstens in die

Hand des einen oder anderen Teilnehmers an diesem wahnsinnigen Unternehmen zu bringen? Ich nenne es wahnsinnig, teils weil noch keineswegs ausgemacht ist, dass Kalifornien mit den U.S. vereinigt werden wird, teils weil die dortige Bevölkerung unter aller Kritik sein soll, teils endlich, weil alle Nachrichten, die bis jetzt über Kalifornien hierher gelangt sind, in Bezug auf Klima, Boden, Witterung, und andere Verhältnisse ungünstig lauten, und die Schilderungen des Herrn Schmölder wahrscheinlich nichts als Lug und Trug sind.

52. Hammond and Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 23, date the conversion to either early or late in 1850 and connect it with the marriage to Catholic Helen Murphy. Other authors hold that Carl David Weber converted — at least nominally — when he applied for naturalization in 1844. Lyman, George D. in **John Marsh, Pioneer**, p. 205, states that no foreigner could acquire land in California without first being baptized into the Catholic faith. Weber added the middle name "Maria" very early in his California days; he did not use it as a member of the Bidwell-Bartleson party. Hammond and Morgan also wrote in the above connection that "The Captain remained a good Catholic until his death," while Tinkham remarked that "He (Captain Weber) is never seen at divine services." Mrs. Helen Weber Kennedy, Weber's granddaughter, on the other hand, mentioned that her grandfather Charles Weber in his copy of Tinkham's **History of Stockton** wrote in the margin that "he often attended mass."
53. For the German text, see Hilgard to Philipp H. von Kraemer, May 17, 1861, p. 215. It reads:

Sie fragen mich, ob es wahr sei, dass meine beiden Söhne Eugen und Theodor katholisch geworden sind. Es ist leider wahr. Fantasterei

und Liebe sind die Quellen dieser Torheit. Eugen hat eine katholische Frau, Theodor eine katholische Braut. Auch mögen die wirklich abstossenden Formen, die der Protestantismus in Amerika angenommen hat, viel dazu beigetragen haben. Die schöne, liebenswürdige und milde Jungfrau Maria bildet freilich einen grossen Kontrast zu dem grimmigen Teufel der Methodisten. Sie wissen, wie tolerant ich in religiösen Dingen bin, doch ärgert mich die Sache als eine Dummheit, ohne mir übrigens weiteren Kummer zu machen.

54. Hammond and Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.
55. From Church Book of the Dekanat Homburg (Saar), 1869.
56. Schnabel, Franz, *op. cit.*, p. 359.
57. Taylor, Bayard, **At Home and Abroad: Sketch-book of Life, Scenery, and Men** (1867), pp. 193-94.
58. Tinkham, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
59. Hammond and Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 17, state that, contrary to previously held views, Weber never called his settlement Tuleburg, but named it Stockton from the beginning. On p. 61, however, they discuss a letter which Weber drafted on August 15, 1878, and dated "Tuleburgh." It is addressed to "Dear Pioneers." The quotation continues:

In fancy he strolls the streets of Stockton, recalling scenes of the 1840's and 1850's — when the city was still known by the name of Tuleburg!
60. Statement of George H. Tinkham to J.T. Aungst in M.A. thesis of J.T. Aungst Jr., "**Captain Charles Maria Weber, pioneer,**" p. 154.

61. Statement of L.M. Cutting in Aungst, **op. cit.**, p. 149.

62. Hammond and Morgan, **op. cit.**, published in 1966, p. 1, is the only American source giving Steinwenden as Weber's birthplace, except for earlier articles in the **Stockton Record**, July 31, 1962; February 15 and 25, and March 27, 1964, after the writer visited Steinwenden and reported on her findings.

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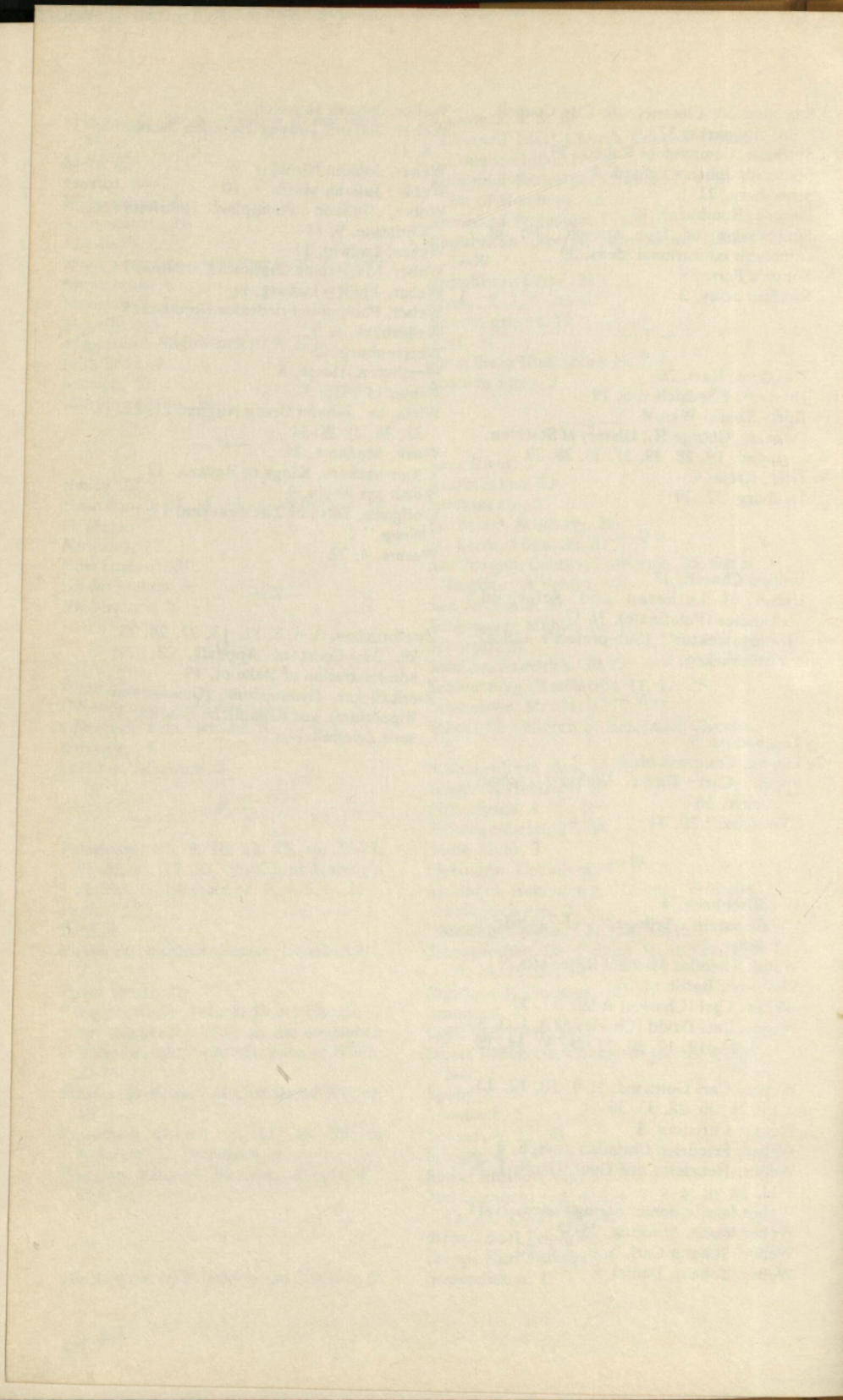
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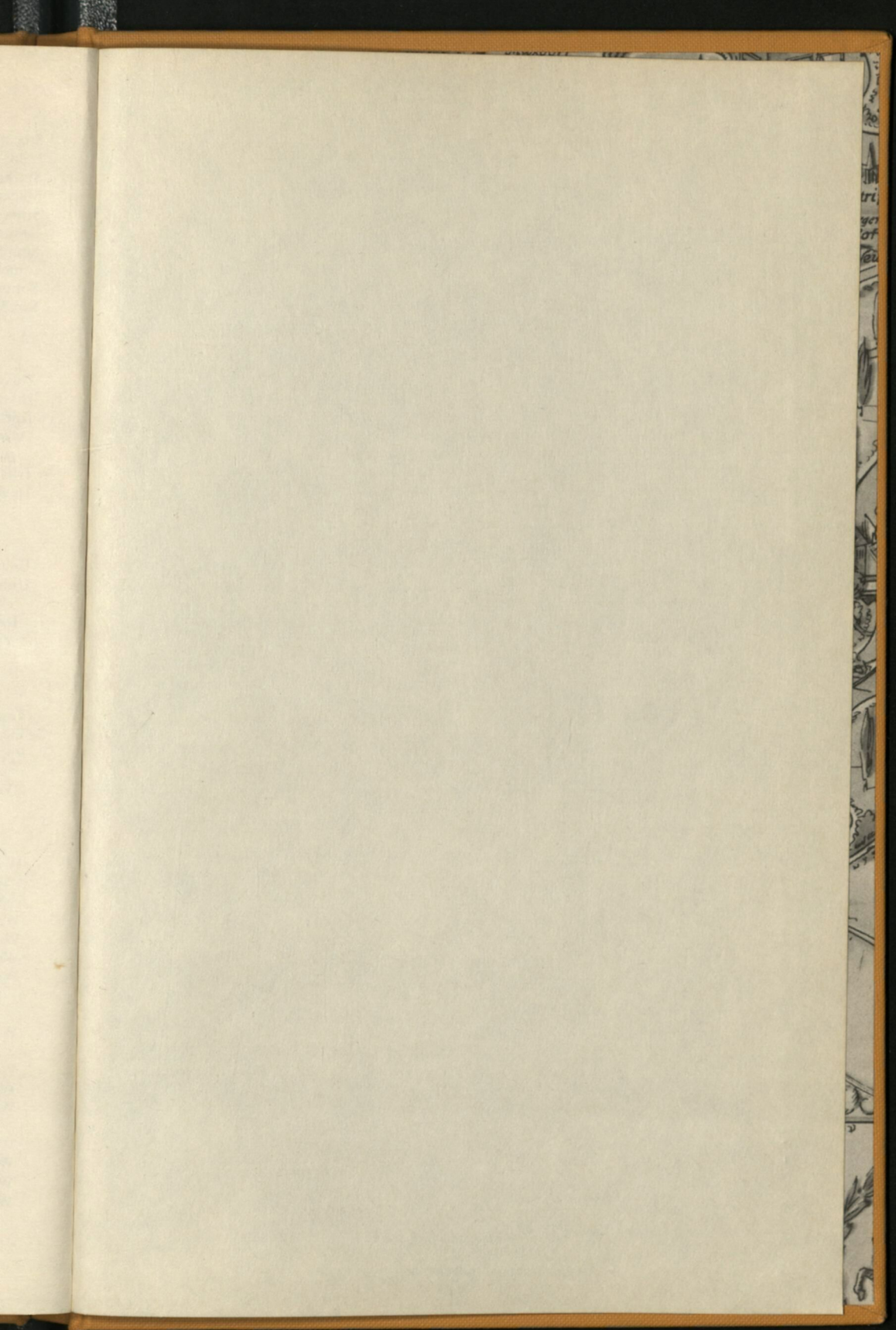
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KAISERSLAUTERN
die Barbarossastadt

Hochspeyer

Frankenstein

Diemerstein

Karlsburg

Kohr Dicht
an nicht

Waldthal

Waldthal

Frankenack

Geiselstein

Lambrach

Einstein

Fhs. Teinboch

Kalsmt
1889

Forsthaus
Heldenstein

Rietwil

Sporthotel
Ludwigsruhe

Ranberg

Siermersberger
Stof

Srafenheim

Hinterweidenthal

Rinnthal

Annweiler

Albersweiler

TRIFELS

Siebel

Birkweiler
Lingen

Beinsweilers
hof

Arkons
Ibesheim

Hausen

Ennen
Erlange
Dahn

Sierogthof
NEUNASTEL

Altdahn

Li
Brunn

Landeck

Eschbach

Göcklingen

Fleuchel
heim

Gleiszellen

Klingen
Oberhofen

Niederkrübach

Pleisweiler

SENLAND

Rumbach

Fladen
stein

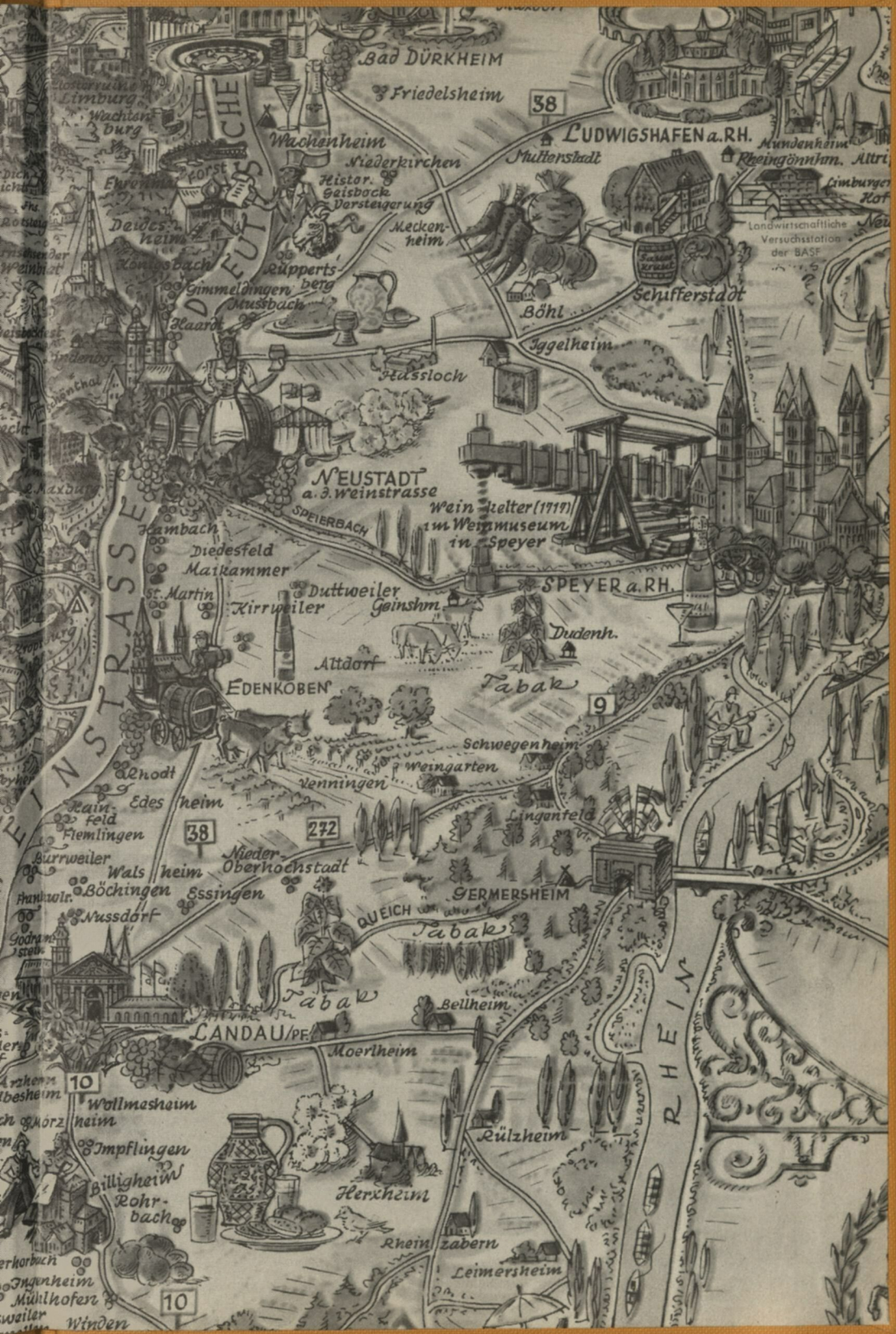
Birkenhöf

Kneipp
bad

Mittler
münster

BERGZABERN

Drusweiler



Bad DÜRKHEIM

Friedelsheim

38

LUDWIGSHAFEN a.RH.

Wachenheim

Niederkirchen

Mutterstadt

Mundenheim

Reisingönnheim, Altr.

Deiwelsheim

Histor. Geisbock Vorsteigerung

Meckenheim

Schifferstadt

Landwirtschaftliche Versuchsanstalt der BASF

Königsbach

Rüppertsberg

Böhl

Gimmeldingen

Mussbach

Klaarbach

Stassloch

Sogelheim

NEUSTADT a.d. WEINSTRASSE

Wein Keller (1777) im Weismuseum in Speyer

SPEIERSBACH

SPEYER a.RH.

Jambach

Diedesfeld

Maikammer

Duttweiler

Kirrweiler

Geinsheim

Dudenheim

St. Martin

Atteldorf

EDENKOBEN

Tabak

9

Edesheim

Edesfeld

Fiemlingen

Burrweiler

Walsheim

Böchingen

Nussdorf

Nieder-Oberhochstadt

Essingen

WEICH

GERMERSHEIM

Tabak

LANDAU/PF.

Moertheim

10

Wollmesheim

Impflingen

Billigheim

Rohrbach

Hersheim

Rülzheim

Rhein zabern

Leimersheim

10

Winden

