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German Immigrant Abolitionists: Fighting for a Free Missouri

German Immigrant Abolitionism: The Origins

The passionate antislavery beliefs of many German immigrants in Missouri originated in large part from their experiences as young and idealistic revolutionaries in the Confederated States of Germany. Having fought from 1812 to 1814 for freedom from Napoleonic rule and later unsuccessfully against the despotism of the German princes who had reneged on their promises of civil liberty, these young men came to Missouri and other areas of the United States to escape the oppression that prevented them from achieving their full potential as citizens in their homeland: excessive taxation, prohibition of free speech, no voting rights, and lack of opportunities for land ownership. These revolutionaries were well-educated and outspoken, and their ideals developed out of a rich tradition of political theory, debate, and activism in their homeland. The United States appealed to these Germans over other regions because of Americans' victory against their colonial rulers during the Revolutionary War. Possessing strong ideals about the significance of American freedom and democracy, many of these immigrants were distraught by the fact that slavery was a legal and accepted practice in Missouri and the Southern states.

Several activist immigrants who arrived in Missouri during the 1830s—Friedrich Münch, Carl Strehly, Eduard Mühl, and Arnold Krekel—together with members of the younger generation of Forty-Eighters—Henry Boernstein, Emil Preetorius, Franz Sigel, and Carl Schurz—were editors of and/or contributors to notable German-language newspapers in Missouri. Their articles and commentaries against slavery and later in support of the newly formed Republican party were crucial in mobilizing German immigrants into

Union volunteer units requested by President Lincoln. A sophisticated level of writing and clarity of mission in these publications attest to the high level of scholarship among these immigrants. Cream of the intellectual crop back in their homeland, many of these young men greatly enriched the cultural fabric of the United States, serving as an ideological foil to the Anglo-American pro-slavery perspective in Missouri and other slave states, and strongly influencing more politically passive members of the Missouri German immigrant population into fighting for the Union cause.

It was Gottfried Duden's romantic representations of rural Missouri that drew thousands of German immigrants in search of freedom and greater opportunity to Missouri. Duden was a wealthy lawyer who had travelled to Missouri in 1824, just three years after Missouri entered the Union as a slave state. He had a farm house built on 270 acres of prime farmland just outside the future site of Dutzow, Missouri, where he resided until 1827. Upon his return to Germany, he self-published *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America (Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nord-amerikas)*, in which he described Missouri's idyllic conditions for German farmers, and encouraged his countrymen to settle there: "There is still room for millions of fine farms along the Missouri River, not to mention the other rivers," Duden wrote. "The great fertility of the soil, its immense area, the mild climate, the splendid river connections . . . all these must be considered as the real foundations for the fortunate situation of Americans."¹

In his book Duden also pondered the phenomenon of American slavery, expounding upon the reasons for its existence, its effects on American society, and its significance for the German immigrants, all of whom, he emphasized, were repelled by the notion of human bondage. He points out that in Germany property is expensive due to the shortage of land and high property taxes, but labor is cheap, while in the areas west of the Allegheny Mountains the reverse is true: the land is affordable and labor exorbitant due to the scarcity of inhabitants.² Theoretically opposed to slavery as an institution, Duden still rationalizes the practice of it, writing that in Missouri the lot of the slave with regard to care of the body, protection against diseases, and the amount of work expected is much to be preferred to that of the domestic servants and day laborers in Germany.³ He states that because of the scarcity of free laborers, it would be impossible for any landowner who does not wish to engage in intense physical labor to get along without slaves, due to a lack of white laborers who would willingly be hired and remain with a family for that purpose.⁴ He also notes that because of the high cost of domestic servants, German families of means in the free state of Ohio did all of the domestic work themselves and that the only topic of conversation was that they wished to sell their establishments in order to move to a state where one could keep

slaves.⁵ Duden's line of thinking regarding slave ownership spread to a few of the prosperous early German settlers who succumbed to purchasing slaves despite their avowed disapproval of slavery. This handful of immigrants who arrived in the 1830s, while opposed to slavery in general, acclimated to the practices of the southern-American landholding gentry.

Among the numerous Germans inspired by Duden's book was Friedrich Münch (1799–1881), a former Lutheran minister from Nieder-Gemünden, who arrived in the United States as a leader of the Giessen Emigration Society in August 1834. He settled in the German-populated town Dutzow in Warren County, Missouri, not far from Duden's farm. After tremendous hardship during his travels to America and upon arrival in Missouri, Münch became a highly successful producer of wines, farmer, writer and politician. A fierce opponent of slavery, he campaigned with the German revolutionary Friedrich Hecker and was elected to Missouri's legislature, where he served during the American Civil War.⁶ Münch's youngest son Berthold was among the first volunteers in the Civil War. He died at age 17 in the Battle of Wilson's Creek under the command of Franz Sigel, the most celebrated general of German-speaking Union troops.⁷

Münch wrote prolifically on diverse topics ranging from religion, rationalism, farming, Missouri, and politics. His editorials during the 1850s and 1860s against slavery and in support of the Union were successful in mobilizing many of his fellow German immigrants to political action. Under the pen name "Far West," Münch contributed regularly to German-American newspapers in Missouri, including *Anzeiger des Westens*, *the Westliche Post*, *Hermanner Wochenblatt*, and *the St. Charles Demokrat*. In an article dated January 29, 1862, Münch articulates his view that it is the course of Enlightenment to make progressive change that will ultimately end slavery:

Is the slavery question really insoluble? Must the growth of enlightenment, which has changed and improved everything and overcome one after another of the perverted institutions of humanity, cease its work at the institution of black slavery and leave it forever untouched? We assume at the outset that every maladjustment arising from human error is capable of a human solution, however difficult it might be; to declare the failing to be beyond recovery is moral cowardice, and often nothing more than mean and hypocritical self-indulgence.⁸

In addition to articulating nuanced theoretical arguments about the progress of rationalism in his articles, many of which developed out of Hegel's revolutionary essays on social progress, Münch provided readers with concrete

and disconcerting facts about ever-worsening north-south relations and the convoluted politics of slavery in Missouri. On February 1, 1860, his opinion piece was published stating why northerners' appeasement politics were to blame for the fact that the institution of slavery was so deeply embedded in the American culture. He wrote:

After the North tolerated the importation of slaves until 1808 and held it to be legal, after it permitted new slave states into the Union almost without protest or allowed them to be carved out of federal territory, and after it approved the second round of fugitive slave laws much harsher than the first, now suddenly there stands a unified, powerful party competing for supreme power in the Union whose platform proclaims slavery to be an evil no longer to be tolerated, an insult to the entire republic, and which declares it to be its principle that not one foot more shall be conceded to the slave owners.⁹

Münch exposes the compromising and hypocritical stance of the North towards slavery as an institution, one that over time enabled the slave owners to gain so much power and that resulted in the institution becoming deeply and comfortably entrenched in the American social fabric: "If one simply recalls the horrors that go along with the damned institution, it takes no great rhetorical gift to paint it as black as one pleases; but even more infamous than the treatment of a recalcitrant slave is the fact that Northerners outfit God knows how many slave ships every year; by no means are all the moral offenses suffered by the Union committed by the South."¹⁰

Much of the discussion that surrounded the slavery debate had to do with what would happen to blacks if they were, indeed, emancipated. Münch critiques the proposed solutions for emancipated blacks discussed by both northerners and southerners, underscoring the extreme xenophobia and racism that permeated 19th century Anglo-American society. Even Lincoln and Republican Party founder Francis P. Blair pushed for external colonization in order for blacks and whites to be "spatially separated." Voicing his objections to black colonization outside of the United States, Münch rejects this option first and foremost on ethical grounds: "We have no right to send away people who were born here, who have committed no crime, and who have indeed worked for the common good of their neighbors."¹¹ Backing up his ethical reasoning with pragmatic arguments he states that "the United States possesses excessive land suitable for internal colonization and that it would be utter madness to send away by force the labor power of four million people." While Münch opposed the notion of external colonization of the black

population, his proposed solution of setting up a separate African American territory in Florida reflects the commonly held 19th-century belief that whites and blacks could not, and by implication, should not attempt to form an integrated society, wherein both races could live and flourish together.¹²

Despite the passionate and convincing polemics articulated by the first generation of progressive German settlers against the institution of slavery, a few of the more prosperous ones succumbed to purchasing slaves. The United States Slave Schedule for 1850 in Warren County shows, for example, that a young black slave female was living on Friedrich Münch's property. He had apparently purchased the slave to help his wife Louise, who had the previous year given birth to her twelfth child.¹³ At around the same time, the Münch family lost the help from their eldest daughter, 21-year-old Pauline, who left home to marry Gordian Busch, a horsebreeder and vintner from the area. The Slave Schedule shows that Busch had also purchased a slave for his new household. Pauline expresses her ethical quandary regarding slave ownership in a letter to her aunt in Germany.

It has been 2 years now since my husband bought a negro Maid of 13 years for 800 and 20 . . . because you . . . can't get any help here, I was reluctant for so long as I can't stand the thought that I would own a slave, because I have always been disgusted by this trade, yet what can you do? When you live in a country where such a thing is allowed, and you can't help yourself in any other way. One . . . such a creature of good deed, if one does as we have, buying her from a hardened sir and then . . . treated humanely, as good as our own child, she has regular meals and clothing, is handled benevolently, and of course her freedom is absent but in its stead she has not worries.¹⁴

Pauline's words shed light on the ethical predicament that more prosperous Missouri Germans experienced as pioneers in a sparsely inhabited state, in which there were few wage laborers available, but ample opportunities to purchase slaves. Letters and diary entries by Pauline and other women settlers in Missouri are particularly valuable, in that they give voice to the reflections and opinions of immigrant women living in a slave state. Since few of these women were in a position to express their opinions in a public forum, their personal reflections are that much more significant.¹⁵

Hermann's Progressive Newspapers

While Münch struggled during the 1830s and 1840s to establish a productive farm for his family in Warren County, members of the Philadelphia

Settlement Society were hard at work developing the small German settlement of Hermann, Missouri. This town was from its inception the earliest center for antislavery activity in the state, an unusual phenomenon since Missouri had entered into the Union as a slave state and there was little vocal opposition among the Anglo-American population during these early years.¹⁶

Brothers-in-law Carl Strehly and Eduard Mühl arrived in Hermann from Cincinnati with the Philadelphia Settlement Society, in hopes of establishing a community that would preserve the language, culture and traditions of Germany. They were the founders and coeditors of *Licht- Freund*, a rationalist newspaper based in Hermann, and later the *Hermanner Wochenblatt*, which focused on contemporary political developments in Missouri and the United States. While the *Anzeiger des Westens* was the first German paper in Missouri to take a stand against slavery, the Hermann weekly spoke out most passionately as an advocate of freedom. In fact, Mühl's editorials were often reprinted in the *Anzeiger*, thus exposing German-speaking readers throughout Missouri and beyond to antislavery perspectives.¹⁷

Strehly and Mühl wrote frequently against the institution of slavery as early as the 1840s before the antislavery movement had become a popular cause. But until 1850 they believed, like most German immigrants, that slavery would gradually cease to exist due to both the moral bankruptcy of the institution and economic unsustainability. They were initially convinced that abolitionist "extremes" were improper steps to take because if all slaves were forcibly freed, no provisions could be made for recompensing slave owners for their financial losses.¹⁸ But with the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1850, a controversial bill that reversed the Missouri Compromise of 1820 by allowing citizens residing in states West and North of Missouri to decide for themselves whether or not to allow slavery, Mühl and Strehly became disillusioned by the lack of progress, and began to take a much more activist stance in opposing slavery in their writing.¹⁹

Strehly and Mühl's stories regarding slavery express moral outrage similar to writings by Münch, citing past battles for freedom in their homeland as the catalyst for their moral activism in their new country. "We hold ourselves as free men," Mühl declared in the *Hermanner Wochenblatt* on October 29, 1852, "who did not escape slavery in our old home lands to support it here in America." In March of 1853 Mühl initiated the serialized publication of abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published just a year earlier, as a front-page feature that ran for 26 weeks. Angered by the reversed legislation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Mühl also loathed the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, a ruling requiring that all fugitive slaves be returned to their owners, even if they had escaped to a free state. Mühl described the law as "the disgraceful shame to our Union" stating that "slavery is nothing other in our

Republic but the representation of the privileged aristocracy and tyranny, comparable to the actions of the princes in Germany.”²⁰ Mühl also shared graphic content about slave sales, the separation of families, lynchings, and beatings that shocked his readers. He lamented that Missouri was gaining a reputation as an area where slaves were being bred and raised for market like livestock.

Eduard Mühl’s life was cut short when he died during a cholera epidemic in 1854. Fellow abolitionist and Hermann resident Jacob Graf purchased the *Hermanner Wochenblatt* and changed the name to *Hermanner Volksblatt*. This publication contains lucid and informative reports on the danger and hostility that German emancipationists experienced. The following article from 1861 describes the unfortunate situation of Hermann inhabitants:

In St. Louis almost all the militia companies have been dissolved, with the exception of the Minute Men, while numerous volunteer companies, which offer their services to the Federal Government, are being organized. More than three thousand volunteers have already marched to the arsenal, and soon four regiments will be fully furnished and prepared for battle.

In the rural districts, by contrast, the situation is deplorable. Exile of peaceful citizens who are sympathetic to the Union cause is almost daily occurrence. Secessionist emblems are displayed in almost all towns along the Missouri River, and it was even rumored that a band of vagabonds had attempted to burn the bridge across the Gasconade River. The peaceful, orderly citizens, even where they are in the majority, no longer risk expressing their opinions openly, and the lowest rabble, good-for-nothings, and cutthroats of the most irresponsible sort, now have the last word.²¹

Graf, Mühl, and Münch were minorities in their antislavery views. They had settled in the Missouri River Valley, where most of their neighbors either possessed slaves or aspired to become slave owners. Nativists regarded these Germans as troublemaking, arrogant foreigners who, because of their support for a free labor, free soil system, functioned as a very real threat to slavery. As animosity between pro-Union Missourians and secessionists intensified in the 1850s, nativists threatened their German neighbors with guerrilla violence. Münch describes such threats in his memoirs in the days just after the outbreak of the Civil War:

I myself was the most hated man in our region. In a meeting held not far from my home it was decided to kill me, to burn down my home, and to expel my family by force. Some of my nearby and more distant friends offered me protection, but I had no desire either to flee from my threatened farm nor to become a burden to others, and thus I remained in my home.²²

Intimidation of and violence against Germans was, in fact, widespread in small communities where Germans were isolated and in the minority. The *St. Charles Demokrat*, published by yet another early immigrant, Arnold Krekel, described the conditions under which Unionists in Warren County were living as a “reign of terror,” in which Germans were run out by mob action. Numerous articles published between the mid-1850s and 1865 attest to the fact that isolated German communities were in constant danger of violence in the form of murder, arson, and robbery from pro-Confederate guerrillas.²³

Arnold Krekel: Emancipator, Educator and Self-Made Man

Progressive and politically active German immigrants like Münch, Mühl, and Strehly had belonged to the educated bourgeoisie back in their homeland and had traveled to the New World finely educated and with means. Arnold Krekel, a 17-year-old immigrant who, 33 years after his arrival would be appointed by Abraham Lincoln as U.S. Western District Judge, was an exception. Krekel grew up in a farming family in the small town of Berghausen, Prussia and at the age of 15 he apprenticed in a spice shop, where he cleaned, kept books and filed. Two years later, in 1832, he and his family voyaged from Bremen to New York. The Krekels had been relatively prosperous in Prussia, but they had no fortune to speak of once they arrived in Missouri. It was a grueling voyage and Arnold’s mother died of cholera en route to Missouri. The rest of the family—Arnold, his father Francis, and his six siblings—travelled on to Warren County, eventually settling in St. Charles where his father rented a farm. All of the Krekels earned money by clearing and cultivating land between Augusta and Dutzow, and eventually they were able to buy land of their own.²⁴

Krekel worked menial jobs to finance his education. He cleared land for land owners, worked as a farm hand and a rail splitter. At 22 he traveled to Cincinnati where he labored in a silk-dye works by day and studied English at night. With his wages he bought vegetables, apples, and cider, and sold them on a boat to New Orleans for profit. Returning to Cincinnati, he purchased more goods, this time turning his profit back home in St. Charles. Krekel’s industriousness and entrepreneurialism enabled him to attend St. Charles

College, where he studied surveying and law. At 30 he married Ida Krug and established a home in St. Charles. The couple had six children, two of whom died at birth.

Many of the German emancipationists in Missouri, including Münch, Mühl, Strehly, and Krekel, were freethinkers, proponents of rational approaches to religion who believed strongly in the separation between church and state.²⁵ Although the Krekels were practicing Catholics, Arnold distanced himself from organized religion as he got older. In 1843, he co-founded the Friends of Religious Enlightenment with fellow progressives Friedrich Münch, Julius Mallinckrodt, and Eduard Mühl.²⁶ Despite Arnold's skepticism about organized religion, he was an unfailing supporter of his family and community's religious beliefs, helping to fund the Catholic Church of St. Charles and donating four acres of land in O'Fallon, Missouri for the erection of Assumption Catholic Church, where his younger brother Nicholas established a parish.²⁷

The German community to which Krekel belonged in St. Charles also encountered antagonism from Anglo-Americans who were challenged by these immigrants' foreign tongue and culture, their antislavery stance, and their loyalty to the Union. During the early 1850s, the nativist Know-Nothing party in Missouri developed an anti-immigrant platform stating that "Americans should rule America" and that only American-born non-Catholic citizens should be allowed to hold office. They also sought legislation for a naturalization law that would require immigrants to wait 21 years before citizenship as opposed to the current 5-year wait, thereby preventing Irish Catholics and Germans from voting.²⁸ In response to both physical and political threats by nativists, Krekel founded the *St. Charles Demokrat* in 1852, a liberal newspaper that promoted a sense of community and solidarity among Germans. The publication was well respected and helped Germans organize in a timely fashion against pro-southern guerrilla attacks. Later, it supported the new Republican Party, and served as an important mouthpiece for Republican and antislavery perspectives in the slave state.

When the Civil War broke out, Krekel sided with Union forces and organized a protection force known as the St. Charles Home Guards, who became known as "Krekel's Dutch." According to the *O'Fallon Sentinel*, "Krekel's men stood a dreaded menace to the active Southern element in all this part of the country and gave loyal men the assurance of protection and encouragement. It was commonly recognized that Judge Arnold Krekel's prompt action and activities during the Civil War, had saved all this region of the State north of the Missouri for the Union."²⁹

Friedrich Münch and Arnold Krekel were members of the early generation of German immigrants who embraced the radical wing of the newly

founded Republican party. They were truly democratic in their beliefs, fighting for not only immediate and uncompensated emancipation of the slaves, but also for voting rights and equal access to education. Germans were by no means of one voice concerning these issues and many conservative German supporters of the Republican party regarded emancipation and African American suffrage as two unrelated issues. Many were insecure about their own position as legal citizens in American society, and believed that conflating immigrant suffrage with African American suffrage would put their own ethnic group at a disadvantage. Some feared that if blacks had the vote, they would favor a nativist candidate, and immigrants could lose their standing as Americans citizens.³⁰ These conservative Republicans, who remained loyal to the Union and favored emancipation during the war, distanced themselves from the Republican ideals of equality for all, and chose not to support suffrage for African Americans. Instead, they aligned white immigrants' rights with those of white Americans, thereby reinforcing the deeply entrenched racial hierarchy of 19th-century America.

Despite the general shift in German interest away from a truly color-blind society, Krekel, Münch, and other German radical Republicans joined African Americans in their ongoing struggle for political rights, focusing specifically on black suffrage and access to education. It was, in fact, Judge Krekel who presided over the Missouri Constitutional Convention of January 11, 1865, signing into law the Ordinance of Emancipation and freeing all slaves in Missouri with no compensation to slave owners. As president of the convention, Krekel was one of a small minority of "radicals" who supported color-blind political equality among all men. These men petitioned to have the word "white" struck from the sections of the constitution that established suffrage and office-holding requirements. Krekel also presented a petition submitted by the 56th U.S. Colored Infantry, asserting that blacks had the right to full political citizenship.³¹ Despite his and others' dedication to principles of racial and social equality, too few delegates supported these measures, and the convention as a whole remained strongly in favor of suffrage for white men only. African American men in Missouri did not receive the vote until the ratification of the 15th amendment on February 4, 1870. Women, both black and white, were excluded from voting until 1920.

Antebellum St. Louis: Growth, Social Volatility and Political Unrest

When the Forty-Eighters—the second generation of German immigrants—arrived in St. Louis, the city was in a state of monumental flux in terms of both commerce and social relations. The city had surged in population and had gained prominence as an emerging cultural, economic, and

military hub. As early as 1837 the young military engineer Robert E. Lee sketched a map of the St. Louis harbor, emphasizing its strategic military and commercial importance. The city's growing prosperity as a manufacturing port city gave way to progressive social transformation, the dynamism of which has been captured in numerous nineteenth century drawings and prints. Many of these idyllic urban scenes were published in Europe, making immigration to St. Louis area particularly appealing.

But urban growth also gave way to new anxieties about social disorder and decay. Many St. Louis natives resented the rapid influx of the Irish and Germans, able-bodied laborers who threatened the slave labor system by being willing to work for low wages. Antagonistic toward the Irish because of their Catholicism, they also despised the Germans who persisted in speaking a foreign tongue, honored German holidays, were outspoken politically, and drank beer and entertained on Sundays. In addition to the vast number of Europeans pouring in, the city attracted northern and southern settlers, who were ideologically, if not yet socially at odds with one another. For the South, St. Louis became a place to which the eastern centers of colonial slavery could send surplus labor, and thereby increase the monetary value of slaves.³² At the same time northern farmers and artisans, mostly antislavery, were moving west from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania to take advantage of the economic growth and territorial expansion. By the 1850s, the political and social interactions between these two groups became increasingly volatile.³³

Despite the city's growing number of northern and immigrant voices opposed to slavery, St. Louis was the largest slave market in the state. Slaves were sold on the steps at the east entrance to the St. Louis courthouse. Slave pens, where slaves were shackled and held overnight before transit, existed in buildings nearby.³⁴ While many argued that slave life in Missouri was more benevolent than on the southern plantations, former Missouri slave William Wells Brown thought otherwise. Brown, who had to witness his own mother being beaten in the fields, escaped to Cleveland and later moved to Buffalo, where he became an active abolitionist. In his autobiography he describes the barbarity of Missouri slavery: ". . . Slavery is thought by some to be mild in Missouri, when compared with the cotton, sugar and rice growing states, yet no part of our slave-holding country is more noted for the barbarity of its inhabitants than St. Louis."³⁵

As early as the 1830s Missouri had shown itself as a locus of racial hostility and political unrest. Violence occurred regularly against free and enslaved blacks, as well as vocal opponents to slavery. Two notorious murders were the public lynching of Francis L. McIntosh, a free mulatto boatman, and the related murder in Alton, Illinois, of the antislavery newspaper editor Elijah

P. Lovejoy. These and other brutal acts were covered by the national press, attracting national attention to the region and angering slavery's adversaries across the country. Fourteen years later the Dred Scott case, in which the Missouri slave Dred Scott sued for his freedom, won, and then lost it in an appeal, made national headlines, again drawing notice to the controversial issue of slavery in St. Louis.

In the 1850s, political maneuvers on the federal level further exacerbated the antagonism between advocates and opponents of slavery in Missouri. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had prohibited slavery in all territories north of Missouri's southern border, leading both northerners and southerners to believe that slavery would gradually die out. But with the boom of cotton production that resulted from widespread use of the cotton gin, southern plantations were able to supply the flourishing textile industry's huge appetite for cotton, both throughout Europe and in New England. With innovations of the plow it became conceivable that plantation owners could expand their cotton, hemp and tobacco-growing empires to territories west of Missouri.³⁶ Consequently, powerful slaveholding interests applied pressure to Congress to leave the decision of slavery in the hands of the settlers of these territories. Congress thus reversed the Missouri Compromise, replacing it with the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which allowed slavery to expand into the areas previously deemed as free territories.

This Kansas-Nebraska Bill inflamed the already tense relationship between pro- and antislavery groups, eliciting years of guerrilla violence in both Kansas and Missouri and setting the stage for Civil War. Abolitionist writer and politician Frederick Douglass recognized that the Kansas-Nebraska Act clearly hindered the progress made in abolishing slavery: "Fellow citizens," he wrote on October 30, 1854, "the proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise was a stunning one. It fell across the nation like a bolt from a cloudless sky. The thing was too stunning for belief, and you knew that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a breach of honor."³⁷ Missouri German radicals living in St. Louis also expressed outrage that President Pierce and his administration would reverse legislation designed to limit slavery's expansion in order to support a small minority of powerful slaveholders. The St. Louis German press gave regular accounts of the bill's damaging consequences. "We are on the eve of a civil war," reported the *Anzeiger*. "This is the fruits of the Nebraska Bill, that curse-worthy measure that a hunter for a conscienceless presidency has concocted, a miserable administration has pushed through, and that we are supposed to recognize as holy and unalterable, simply because it has been written into the statute book albeit through lying and fraud."³⁸

It was amidst this political and social turmoil centered about the question of slavery that the Forty-Eighters arrived in St. Louis.³⁹ This revolutionary

group differed substantially from the first generation of Germans arriving in Missouri. Most of the “grays” had immigrated in the 1830s as landless farmers in search of religious freedom and cheap, fertile farmland. Prior to their voyage to the New World, they had scarcely traveled beyond the German villages where they were born. Politically inexperienced voters, referred to by some of their more politically active counterparts as *Stimmvieh*, or voting cattle, their voting interests rarely extended beyond the immediate issues of Sabbath and temperance.

The Forty-Eighters were, in contrast, highly educated political idealists—cosmopolitan free thinkers who as young exiles had lived and worked in Paris, Geneva or London before arriving in the United States. An essay published in 1950 by Hildegard Binder Johnson describes the appearance of the typical Forty-Eighter as he would have stepped off the boat onto American soil:

A composite picture would show him a relatively young man of good physique developed by gymnastics. He affected student costume or imitated the style of the romantic hero of the Revolution, Friedrich Hecker, by wearing a broad-brimmed hat, a shirt opened at the neck, and a loosely tied scarf. He had long, wavy hair and, in particular contrast to the American fashion of clean-shaven faces, a moustache or even a full beard. He was set off from the mass of immigrants, the peasants and craftsmen, by delicate hands that showed no signs of physical labor. . . .

He stepped on land eagerly with no family trailing behind him to slow his pace or much luggage to detain him at the custom’s inspection. His departure from his homeland had not been carefully planned. He had no household goods nor much wearing apparel, but generally just one satchel bulging with books and papers. There were manuscript sheets of a diary . . . and perhaps the beginnings of a political essay. By way of books he was apt to have the revolutionary poets who had inspired him to risk his life for freedom, Freiligrath or Herwegh, rather than an old family Bible.

. . . Friends came to the pier to meet him or he had the address of comrades who had participated with him in the great movement. He had read about the United States, whose Declaration of Independence had often been quoted whenever a free and united Germany was being planned. He was not afraid. On the contrary, he had great expectations and felt that he had a mission.⁴⁰

Aside from a few Latin farmers who had idealized farming as an occupation and chose to inhabit rural land, most Missouri-bound Forty-Eighters

settled in St. Louis, as it possessed the greater opportunities for employment, a more vibrant cultural community, and a well-established social network.

Radical German Journalists in St. Louis: Henry and Augustus Boernstein

Among the most influential of the St. Louis Forty-Eighters was Henry (Heinrich) Boernstein, a 44-year-old political exile whose influence on Missouri politics and the ultimate fate of the state was dramatic. A man of many talents and occupations—doctor, journalist, political activist, novelist, soldier, actor, stage manager, and consul—Boernstein is best known for his work from 1850 to 1861 as publisher of the St. Louis-based *Anzeiger des Westens*, the oldest German newspaper west of the Mississippi River. Born in Hamburg and raised in Lemberg, Austria, Boernstein served in the Austrian army for five years, briefly studied medicine in Vienna before turning to journalism and the theater. He later became a successful actor and director in both Europe and Missouri.

Boernstein had radical political views that in 1842 brought him to Paris, where he published the political journal *Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift*.⁴¹ Initially a liberal publication, the journal would soon become the chief mouthpiece of Karl Marx and other revolutionaries of the time, including Friedrich Engels, poet Heinrich Heine, and journalist Carl Bernays.⁴² French authorities shut the paper down in 1845 but Boernstein remained in Paris, working as a foreign correspondent for German newspapers in New York. During the 1848 rebellions he organized a revolutionary military unit in Baden. When the uprisings failed he returned to Paris briefly, but decided to emigrate when Louis-Napoleon was elected president of France's Second Republic. On February 4, 1849, he boarded the *Espindola* for New Orleans, and from there took the steamboat *Sarah* up the Mississippi River to St. Louis. Boernstein settled briefly with his wife and sons in Highland, Illinois, where he established homeopathic medical practice. A year later, on March 8, 1850, the family moved to St. Louis, where Boernstein became the editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens*.

In his memoirs Boernstein describes the political climate in Missouri, stating that when he accepted the editorship, the only two political parties were Democrats and the Whigs—and that the vast majority of the 25,000 Germans in St. Louis were members of the Democratic Party. The *Anzeiger* was thus a Democratic paper and had to remain so in order for the publisher to retain his readership. But as the ideological battles concerning slavery intensified, Boernstein became active in Republican politics, convincing his readers that the new antislavery Republican party was their best choice.

Boernstein was, in fact, largely responsible for getting the Republican Party on the ballot in a mostly pro-Southern Missouri. Indeed, his name appears on the first statewide ticket of the Missouri Republican Party (1860) as candidate for Superintendent of Schools. Arnold Krekel's name appears on the same ticket as candidate for Attorney General.⁴³

On May 10, 1861, Union forces under the command of Captain Nathaniel Lyon marched into St. Louis's western outskirts, surrounding and capturing the Missouri Volunteer Militia who were drilling at Camp Jackson. The encampment was located on what is currently the campus of Saint Louis University, just east of Grand Boulevard. It was believed that this pro-Confederate militia, led by General Daniel Frost and supported by Missouri's secessionist governor Claiborne Jackson, was aiming to take over the federal Arsenal at St. Louis.⁴⁴ Lyon's 6,000 soldiers were comprised largely of German volunteers who had been called by President Lincoln to defend the Union in Missouri. When Jackson balked at complying with Lincoln's call for Missouri Union volunteers, Boernstein responded instantly and with great enthusiasm by recruiting German-speaking volunteers through his newspaper. He was named commander of the 2nd Volunteer Regiment, while German revolutionary hero Franz Sigel commanded the 3rd Regiment.

Once captured, 669 militiamen were taken prisoner and marched through the streets of St. Louis. Southern-sympathizing residents were incensed and mob action against the volunteers ensued. There were civilian casualties, including women and children, as well as numerous acts of revenge against the Germans. Boernstein describes the impact in his memoirs:

Not suspecting the state of affairs, I granted several men of my regiment leave on the morning of 11 May in order to take care of their businesses or to visit parents. Many of them did not return . . . until it grew dark, with clothing torn, faces beaten bloody, and all the signs of having suffered mistreatment. Although they were unarmed and dressed in civilian clothing, they had been recognized as Germans and volunteers, and they were insulted and mistreated by half-drunken gangs. Two of them never returned and they were never heard of again. It is probable that they were beaten to death and thrown into the river.⁴⁵

Despite the civilian casualties that resulted from the Camp Jackson Affair, the successful occupation of the militia encampment was a pivotal event in Civil War history, as it ultimately thwarted Missouri's secession from the Union. Germans were proud of the central role they played in this action and the *Anzeiger* promoted the event's success by underscoring German immigrants' patriotic devotion: "Even the most bullheaded native cannot deny the

fact that at the time of the President's first call for volunteers the Germans of the United States were the best Americans, the most sincere Unionists, the truest patriots and the men most ready for battle."⁴⁶

After his brief stint as a Civil War soldier, Boernstein was appointed Consul to Bremen. He passed the newspaper's editorship to his eldest son Augustus Sigismund, who was politically more radical than he. Augustus favored immediate emancipation of slaves and publicly criticized what he believed to be Lincoln's hesitant policy regarding this issue. Augustus also publicly opposed Republican colonization plans for former slaves. Shifting the tenor of the *Anzeiger* to reflect these ideals, the paper experienced a rapid decline in readership, and in 1863 Augustus sold it in order to join the U.S. Colored Troops.⁴⁷ He served as a Major in the 4th and 6th Regiments, fighting valiantly with his troops in the battles of Chaffin's Farm and New Market Heights in Virginia. Henry Boernstein mourned the manner in which his son rashly closed down the paper to pursue a military career, yet Augustus's courage and dedication to his troops is evident in a four-page letter that he wrote from the front to his wounded superior, Colonel Samuel Duncan. In this letter young Boernstein expresses the great respect he had for his troops and profound sadness about the massive casualties in his Company: "There are but few left of us, but they deserve the names of Veterans, and I will fight Hell and the Rebels with them." He also describes the valiant actions of one soldier, Christian Abraham Fleetwood, whom he recommends for a Medal of Honor: "[Fleetwood] picked up the national colors . . . We lost 200 men but our honor is untarnished." Closing his letter with an emotional, dramatic flourish, "Yours until death," Augustus Boernstein conveys his passion for and dedication to the ideals of freedom and equality.

Augustus Boernstein was one of many German-Americans to be commissioned as officers for regiments in the USCT. The well-organized German-American community of Missouri supplied 43 USCT officers, second only to New York. At least 31 of these officers lived in St. Louis at the outbreak of the war.⁴⁸ African American soldiers were not officially allowed to fight in the Union Army until August 1862. But once they were permitted to enlist, the "United States Colored Troops" included an estimated 160 to 170 regiments of infantry, cavalry, heavy artillery, and light artillery. Most regiments consisted of up to 1,000 soldiers. The total number of African American soldiers is thought to have been between 176,000 and 200,000, incidentally, about the same number as German immigrants in blue.⁴⁹ While there is limited existing evidence of substantial social interaction between Germans and African Americans in the city of St. Louis, the USCT proved to be a realm in which German officers and black soldiers encountered each other and in some cases developed social bonds.

The German Immigrant as Soldier: Franz Sigel, Peter Osterhaus and the Turners

One of the most celebrated German supporters of the Union was the soldier and journalist Franz Sigel (1824–1902), a leading figure in the failed German revolution of 1848 and a soon to be cult-like celebrity among German immigrant volunteers. Born in Sinsheim, Baden, Sigel graduated from the military academy in Karlsruhe and served as lieutenant in the Baden army until his politically motivated resignation. A leading military commander in both rebellions against the government, he was forced into exile. He spent two years in England before immigrating to New York in 1852, where he became active in the German community. He taught math, history, and languages at his father-in-law's German-American institute, wrote for the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, and was active in the city's Turner Society. In 1857 Sigel responded to a call for a professorship at the German-American Institute in St. Louis, and would soon be promoted to director of city schools. His relocation and involvement with St. Louis Germans placed him in a valuable position when the Civil War broke out.⁵⁰

Because Sigel had from early on espoused the Union cause and was one of the only Forty-Eighters who had substantial officer's training, Lincoln called upon him to command the 3rd Regiment of German volunteers at Camp Jackson. Subsequently, Sigel fought in several Civil War battles, but despite celebrity status among his troops, he enjoyed few military successes. He shared in the defeat at Wilson's Creek, losing most of his men on the retreat to Springfield. While he partially regained his reputation with the Union victory at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, a decisive Union victory which helped Missouri remain the Union, he was defeated in numerous other important battles, and was eventually relieved of his military duties.⁵¹ Despite his military failures, Sigel is memorialized, both in Forest Park, St. Louis, and Riverside Park, New York City, for his loyalty to the Union and his successful mobilization of German immigrants for the cause.

Sigel's compatriot and fellow Forty-Eighter, Peter Osterhaus (1823-1917), was one of three German immigrants who would also attain the rank of general in the Union Army. Osterhaus lacked the prestigious military training that Sigel acquired back in Germany. He had received only one year of obligatory officer's training in the Prussian army, and served for just a few months as a reserve in the Prussian Army before moving to Mannheim to start his own business. There, at the age of 26, he was swept up in the republican rebellions against the government and found himself commander of revolutionaries in Baden fighting against the Prussian army. When the rebellions failed, Osterhaus fled from Europe with his wife and infant son to avoid

being prosecuted for treason. He settled first as a merchant in Belleville, Illinois, and relocated to St. Louis several years later to work as a bookkeeper.⁵²

Osterhaus was a devoted supporter of Lincoln and the Union, but harbored none of the political ambitions demonstrated by his two countrymen and fellow generals, Sigel and Carl Schurz. Possessing little political clout, he was promoted up the ranks based on his military accomplishments alone, and from the beginning of his military service he showed tremendous ability as a soldier and leader. In May 1861, Osterhaus was singled out and promoted on his first day of volunteer service in Boernstein's 2nd Regiment, and in less than a year Osterhaus rose to the rank of brigadier general, being placed in charge of commanding his own regiment. As commander of Ulysses Grant's only "ethnic" regiment, he contributed notably to the Union victory in Vicksburg in 1863. In 1864 he commanded the the largest of the four Federal Companies, XV Army Corps, making Sherman's march through Georgia to the sea.⁵³ After the war Osterhaus was appointed as Consul in Lyons, France, and eventually settled in Duisburg, Germany. His military contributions are memorialized with a bronze bust at the Vicksburg National Military Park in Mississippi.

While influential leaders like Boernstein, Sigel, and Osterhaus played the crucial role of mobilizing their compatriots for the Union cause, the military successes of Germans in the Civil War must be attributed to the soldiers themselves, some of the best of whom were liberal-minded Forty-Eighters and members of *Turnvereine*, or Turner Societies. The Turners were an organization of gymnasts devoted to physical culture, health in body and mind, and self-defense.

Back in the Germans states *Turnvereine* had been established by the gymnast and educator, affectionately known by his followers as "Turnvater Jahn," the father of gymnastics. Having taught his gymnasts to regard themselves as members of a kind of guild for the emancipation of their fatherland, these young men were regarded as a serious threat to the government. Their combined characteristics of physical strength, nationalism, and shared dedication to republican ideals were regarded as subversive, organized, and dangerous. Having participated in the 1848 uprisings, hundreds of Turners immigrated to the United States, and Turner Societies sprouted up in numerous cities including New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and Chicago. The first Turner Society in St. Louis was organized in 1850, followed in 1859 and 1860 by societies in Washington and Hermann. Members of Turner Societies were overwhelmingly pro-Union and antislavery.

On the eve of the Civil War, St. Louis Turner halls were transformed into military drills sites for German-American volunteers, who, under the leadership of Boernstein and Sigel, successfully captured Camp Jackson. The

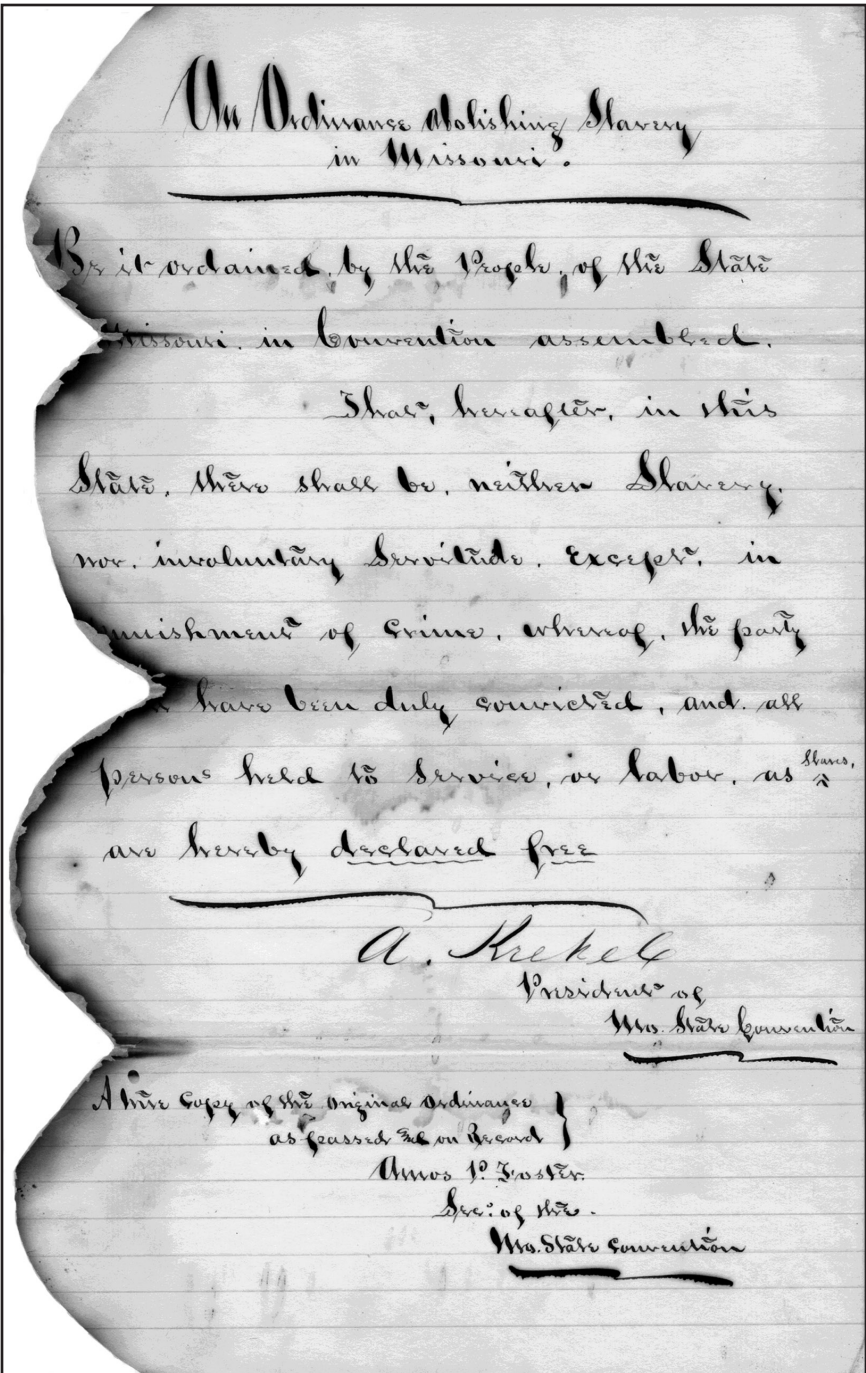
Turners were proud of their military capabilities and of their patriotism: A written history of the Missouri Turners declared: On July 6, 1862 an interregnum of the Turner Society took place, and the Washington Turners became Union volunteer soldiers. What our Turners, at least a large number of them, accomplished during the years of the war is recorded in the hero book of history of our new fatherland. . . . Thus the life of the young society flowed along—at times serious, at times cheerful—until the clouds of the Civil War emerged on the political horizon. The hand that had swung the Turners' wand seized the sword, risking lives and property for the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery.⁵⁴

Concluding Remarks: Missouri Germans and Reconstruction

On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation came into effect, freeing slaves in all Confederate-held territory. But Lincoln's decree did not extend to Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Maryland, all of which were slave states that had remained loyal to the Union. Legal freedom for all African Americans slaves in Missouri came by action of a state convention meeting in the Mercantile Library Hall in St. Louis. The meeting convened on January 6, 1865, with German immigrant Judge Arnold Krekel serving as president. Radical Republicans, many of whom were also German-Americans, comprised two-thirds of the convention seats. The vote on the "emancipation ordinance" passed overwhelmingly 60 to 4 on January 11, 1865, with no compensation to slave owners. A month later the convention adopted the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which abolished slavery throughout the country.⁵⁵

The issue of slavery had been an ongoing and bitter battle in Missouri, and the Missouri Germans who fought for the Union played a crucial role in making Missouri a free state. Once the war was over, however, many Germans lost sight of their mission of freedom and equality for all, fearing that social and political equality for African Americans might threaten their own interests as an ethnic minority. The progressive German Americans featured in this essay, however, continued during the years of Reconstruction to work for legislation that would ensure political and social equality for African Americans.⁵⁶ Friedrich Münch focused largely on securing voting rights for blacks, convincing a large majority of his neighbors in the Missouri River Valley to vote "yes" on the black suffrage amendment of 1868.⁵⁷

Judge Arnold Krekel, in addition to working for black suffrage, played a significant role in ensuring that African Americans would have access to quality education. Prior to the Civil War it had been illegal in Missouri and other slave states to educate African Americans, whether free or enslaved, out



An Ordinance Abolishing Slavery in Missouri, handwritten and signed by Judge Arnold Krekel, president of the Missouri State Convention, 1865. Courtesy Missouri State Archives.

of fear that literacy would lead to rebellion. It wasn't until blacks were permitted to enlist in the Union army, that many former slaves learned to read and write around the battlefield campfires. Near the end of the Civil War, members of the 62nd United States Colored Infantry of Missouri, a regiment stationed in Fort McIntosh, Texas, began to dream of a school for blacks back home.⁵⁸ Receiving both moral and financial support from their commanding officer Lieutenant Richard Baxter Foster, the soldiers of this regiment contributed generously to the cause. The 62nd USCT contributed a total of \$5,000 and the 65th USCT, also from Missouri, followed suit with \$1,400. German immigrant Arnold Krekel helped establish the school by traveling to the east coast to secure funds from Northern supporters, and Civil Rights activist and educator James Milton Turner helped gain support for the school in Missouri.

Owing to the dedication and collaboration of these men, Lincoln Institute opened its doors on September 19, 1866, in Jefferson City. The original mission of the Institute was to train African American teachers, but the school continued to thrive, receiving state funding in 1879 and becoming an accredited university in 1921. Krekel continued to play an active role in the school's success by teaching history and law free of charge and serving on the executive committee of the Board of Trustees. In 1881, Barnes-Krekel Hall was built on the Lincoln Institute campus. It was named after Howard Barnes, a former slave who became a businessman and lobbied for the school to receive state funds, and the school's benefactor, Arnold Krekel, who enriched the school through teaching and fundraising. The structure, which housed a women's dormitory, cafeteria, and recreation room was demolished in the 1960s. In 1865, President Lincoln appointed Krekel as a U.S. Western District Judge, a position he would hold for 23 years.⁵⁹

The efforts of Krekel, Münch, and other German Americans who fought for and dedicated their lives to advocating freedom and equality had a powerful and lasting influence on Missouri and the United States. While these honorable men were unable to erase the negative societal effects caused by racism and slavery, they helped to create a more just and free society, on which later generations have built and continue to build.

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Notes

¹ Gottfried Duden, *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America*. Transl. James W. Goodrich. (Columbia and London: The State Historical Society of Missouri and the University of Missouri Press, 1980), 176.

² Duden, 8.

³ Perhaps this is because his friend and travelling companion, Ludwig Eversmann, married into a wealthy Anglo-American family that owned slaves. Eversmann became one of the first of the few German slaveholders, fathered a large family and became extremely wealthy, but was not well liked among his countrymen. See Gert Goebel, *Longer than a Man's Lifetime in Missouri*. Eds., Walter Kampfhoefner and Adolf Schroeder. (Columbia, Mo: The State Historical Society of Missouri, 2013), 15.

⁴ Duden, 115.

⁵ Duden, 48.

⁶ Friedrich Hecker was one of the most popular speakers and agitators of the 1848 revolution. Educated in law at the University of Heidelberg, he immigrated to Illinois in October of 1848, was an active abolitionist and served as brigade commander for the Union during the Civil War.

⁷ In a note to the readers of *Anzeiger des Westens* Münch sheds light on the survival difficulties encountered by pioneer families of the 19th-century in Missouri in the face of war and epidemics: "I did lose one of my sons at the battle of Wilson's Creek, two others were almost lost to typhus (the elder only recovered after several months in bed), and I lost my eldest grandson on New Year's Day. He was a splendid boy of twelve." *Anzeiger des Westens*, 29 January 1862. Transl. Stephen Rowan in *Germans for a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1857–1862* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1983), 1983.

⁸ *Anzeiger des Westens*, 29 Jan. 1862. As translated in Rowan, 302.

⁹ *Mississippi Blätter* 1 Feb 1860 (Sunday edition of *Westliche Post*). As translated in Rowan, 95.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, 29 Jan. 1862. As translated in Rowan, 303.

¹² While the Germans were staunch supporters of the civil liberties that they believed went hand in hand with democracy, many were still held captive by 19th century colonialist, racist ideology that whites should not mix with Africans. An article by an unnamed contributor in the Sunday edition of the otherwise liberal *Westliche Post* argued that the advent of slavery in the non-slave states must be prevented, in order to prevent the importation of black slaves, which would ultimately result in racial mixing. The writer was profoundly afraid that the American population would turn into a population of mulattoes. "The Ultimate Destiny of the White and Black Races in America." *Mississippi Blätter*, 9 Oct 1859. Rowan, 85-86.

¹³ U.S. National Archives, 1850 U.S. Federal Census, Warren County, Missouri, Slave Schedule, as quoted in Dorris Keeven-Franke "Missouri—where the sun of freedom shines" in *Traveling Summer Republic and City Archives of Giessen* (ed.), *Utopia: Revisiting a German State in America* (Bremen: Edition Falkenberg, 2013), 206.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Jette Bruns, who emigrated with her husband Dr. Bernhard Bruns to Missouri during the 1830s and settled in Jefferson City, expresses similar sentiments in the letters she wrote to her family back in Germany. See Adolf E. Schroeder and Carla Schulz-Geisberg eds., *Hold Dear as Always: Jette, a German Immigrant Life in Letters*. Trans. Adolf E. Schroeder. (Columbia, Mo: University of Missouri Press, 1988).

¹⁶ Erin McCawley Renn, *Missouri Germans and Slavery* (Hermann, Mo: Missouri Department of Natural Resources, n.d.), 4.

¹⁷ Renn, 5.

German Immigrant Abolitionists: Fighting for a Free Missouri

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ After 1820 the opening of new territories west of Alabama to plantation culture, the expansion of the textile industry in Old and New England, and the general adoption of the cotton gin fixed the institution of slavery more firmly in the economic life of the South. As the demand for slaves increased, their value rose, and the emancipation of the over four million blacks who were working in the Southern fields became less and less likely. See Oscar Handlin, "The American Scene," in A. E. Zucker, *The Forty-eighters*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950): 36.

²⁰ Renn, 6.

²¹ *Hermanner Volksblatt*, 27 April, 1861. Transl. Elmer Dalumer in "Damn'd Dutch!" for the Union (Hermann, MO: Gasconade County Historical Society, 2014), 11.

²² As quoted in Hildegard Binder Johnson "Adjustment to the United States," in Zucker, 66.

²³ Walter Kamphoefner, "Missouri Germans and the Cause of Union and Freedom" in *Missouri Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (April 2012): 123-124; See also Anita M. Mallinckrodt, *A History of Augusta, Missouri and its Area*, Vol. 1. (Augusta, Mo: Mallinckrodt Communications and Research, 1998).

²⁴ Joan M Juern, *More Than the Sum of His Parts: Arnold Krekel* (Augusta, MO: Mallinckrodt Communications Research, 1999), 3-5.

²⁵ German immigrants remembered the injustices they left behind in German Confederation that were largely due to an overpowering alliance between the Catholic Church and aristocracy. As a result of the difficulties that ensued, some Forty-Eighters became rabidly anti-clerical, as was the case with Henry Boernstein.

²⁶ Juern, 7.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Kristen Layne Anderson. *Abolitionizing Missouri: German Immigrants and Racial Ideology in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016), 174.

²⁹ Juern, 13, as quoted in *O'Fallon Centennial* 49.

³⁰ Anderson, 172-73.

³¹ Ibid., 174.

³² Some of the slaves brought from the eastern slave colonies to St. Louis were sold into the rural areas of Missouri, but most was sold down the river to New Orleans. The slave population in St. Louis was always small.

³³ Louis S. Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001) 6-7.

³⁴ During the 1840s numerous slave pens existed throughout St. Louis. By the 1850s, however, this number decreased to one. Lorenzo Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio E. Holland. *Missouri's Black Heritage*. Rev. ed. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993). See also "Slave Auctions" (National Park Service Website, <https://www.nps.gov/jeff/learn/historyculture/slave-sales.htm>, accessed March 6, 2017).

³⁵ Brown, William Wells, *Narrative of William Wells Brown, A Fugitive Slave*. (Boston: Antislavery Office, 1847), 27.

³⁶ Parke Pierson, "Seeds of Conflict" in *America's Civil War* 22, no. 4:25; Jeremy Smith "Making Cotton King" in *World Trade*, 22 (7): 82; "Cotton: A History," in *New Internationalist* 399:18-19.

³⁷ Frederick Douglass, "The Kansas-Nebraska Bill," speech given in Chicago on October 30, 1854. Frederick Douglass Project Writings (University of Rochester website, <http://rbcp.lib.rochester.edu/4400> , accessed Sept. 3, 2016).

³⁸ *Anzeiger des Westens*, 6 May, 1855. My translation.

³⁹ By 1850, St. Louis boasted a population of 77,000, of whom over 23,000 were German-born. 4,054 were African-American, of whom 1,398 were free and 2656 slaves. Statistics

calculated from Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri*, 14, as cited from *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850, Statistics of Missouri*. (Washington, DC: Robert Armstrong public printer, 1853).

⁴⁰ Hildegard Binder Johnson, "Adjustment to the United States," in Zucker, 43-44.

⁴¹ In his introduction to the English translation of Boernstein's *Memoirs of a Nobody* Steven Rowan notes that Boernstein was not as radical as people in Missouri believed. While considered subversive in his hostility to organized religion and in his dedication to ending slavery, which he perceived as a barrier to the flourishing of free labor, Boernstein remained an advocate of gradualist policies regarding emancipation and middle of the road policies on other national questions. See Steven Rowan, "Introducing Henry Boernstein, a.k.a. Heinrich Börnstein" in Henry Boernstein *Memoirs of Nobody: The Missouri Years of an Austrian Radical*. Steven Rowan, trans. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997), 7.

⁴² Carl L. Bernays (1815–June 22, 1879) was born in Mainz, studied law in Munich, Goettingen, and Heidelberg. Engaged in liberal journalism, he was forced to leave Germany in 1842, when he joined Boernstein in Paris and wrote for *Vorwärts*. Because of his involvement in the Revolution in the 1848 revolution in Vienna, he fled to the United States and edited the *Anzeiger des Westens* with Boernstein in St. Louis and is considered by many to be one of the best journalists among the Forty-Eighters. Zucker, 278.

⁴³ Boernstein, *Memoirs of Nobody*, 124.

⁴⁴ William C. Winter. *Civil War in St. Louis: A Guided Tour*. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1994).

⁴⁵ Boernstein, 303.

⁴⁶ *Anzeiger des Westens*, 6 Oct. 1862, translated in Martin W. Öfele, *German-Speaking Officers in the U.S. Colored Troops, 1863–1867* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 15.

⁴⁷ Öfele, 45-46.

⁴⁸ Öfele, 59.

⁴⁹ Missouri State Archives: United States Colored troops in Missouri. www.s1.sos.mo.gov/archives/education/usct/usct_missouri (accessed October 17, 2015).

⁵⁰ Stephen D. Engle, *Yankee Dutchman: The Life of Franz Sigel* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1993).

⁵¹ Zucker, 187.

⁵² The third German immigrant to become a commissioned officer was Republican politician Carl Schurz, whose friendship with Lincoln combined with his political influence on the voting decisions of German American immigrants resulted in his appointment as Brigadier General and one year later Major General. For a discussion of Osterhaus's career as a Union Army general, see Mary Bobbitt Townsend, "The Promotions of General Peter J. Osterhaus and the Two-Edged Sword of German Ethnicity," *Missouri Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (April 2012): 137-152.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 4

⁵⁴ *History of the Washington Turner Society*, trans. William G. Bek (Washington, MO: Washington Historical Society, 1900).

⁵⁵ Kremer, Gary. "Legal Freedom for Missouri's slaves came 139 years ago today, on Jan. 11, 1865," in *News Tribune*, Jefferson City, Missouri, Jan 11, 2004, 9.

⁵⁶ Other progressive German immigrants in Missouri who were influential in their fight for color-blind political and social equality included George Hussman, a vintner from Hermann; Emil Preetorius, owner and editor of the liberal newspaper *Westliche Post*; Georg Thilenius, a St. Louis candlemaker who later became a Cape Girardeau merchant; the house he built is still standing; attorney Georg Hillgärtner; and Isidor Bush, an Austrian-Jewish viticulturalist and businessman from St. Louis. Anderson, 176-77.

German Immigrant Abolitionists: Fighting for a Free Missouri

⁵⁷ In Warren County, where Münch resided, the vote for black suffrage in 1868 was 706 “no” to 400 “yes.” This was because the majority of Münch’s neighbors were former slaveholders. However, the inhabitants of neighboring townships in close proximity to Münch’s farm voted largely in favor of black suffrage. Also, in St. Charles county, only two districts out of eleven that were in closest proximity to Münch’s farm—Femme Osage (66 to 23) and Augusta (135 to 65)—voted “yes.” Anita M. Mallinckrodt, *What They Thought (II): Missouri’s German Immigrants Assess Their World* (Augusta: Mallinckrodt Communications & Research, 1995), 31. For a longer discussion on Germans in the Reconstruction period see Mallinckrodt’s *From Knights to Pioneers* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 361-83.

⁵⁸ Arnold Parks, *Lincoln University History: 1920–1970* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), 7.

⁵⁹ “Arnold Krekel,” in *Dictionary of Missouri*, eds. William Christensen, et al. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press: 1999), 464.

