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Der Staat Missouri: Friedrich Münch's German-American Perception of and Guides to Missouri, 1859-1875

During the nineteenth century, the height of European migrations to North America, German speakers who wished to find out more about the United States before they began their travels across the Atlantic could rely on letters from acquaintances already there, emigration societies, advertisements as well as a wide range of advice literature for information regarding their journey, destination and opportunities.¹ Friedrich Münch, the well-known German rationalist who settled in Missouri with the hopes of creating a better life for himself, his family, and his friends, was one among several authors of guidebooks, including Gottfried Duden, who aimed to attract Germans to the state. He published his first book, *Der Staat Missouri: geschildert mit besonderer Rücksicht auf teutsche Einwanderung* (The State of Missouri: Portrayed with Particular Consideration for German Immigration)² in New York and Bremen in 1859; his second updated and abridged edition *Der Staat Missouri: Ein Handbuch für deutsche Auswanderer* (The State of Missouri: A Handbook for German Emigrants)³ in Bremen in 1866; and his third “entirely revised” and enlarged edition *Der Staat Missouri: Ein Handbuch für deutsche Auswanderer* (The State of Missouri: A Handbook for German Emigrants)⁴ in Bremen in 1875. Comparing and contrasting these three works and placing them into their historical context reveal that Missouri despite its problems during and after the Civil War was according to Münch still one of the best places for German immigrants to settle. This comparison also reveals one of the many paradoxes about the author; Münch, a passionate opponent of slavery and advocate for legal equality, did not perceive African Americans as socially equal.

Frederick “Friedrich” Münch⁵ was born on 25 June 1799 in Niedergemünden, the Grand Duchy of Hessen. After graduating from the gymnasium in Darmstadt, Münch studied theology at the university in

Gießen. Following in his father's footsteps, the young Münch became an ordained minister, served as his father's assistant pastor for five years, and upon the elder's death, took over as the town's pastor. In 1833, he co-founded the "zu Gießen gegründete Auswanderer Gesellschaft" (Emigrants' Society founded in Gießen)⁶ with Paul Follenius to establish a utopian German colony in America because the social and political circumstances in the German states no longer satisfied the present and future needs of *Menschen*, citizens and their children.⁷ In 1834 Münch and Follenius led hundreds of German speakers to Missouri. Deaths through cholera, squabbles over money, and diminished expectations created major rifts in the group by the time it arrived in St. Louis and the society disbanded. Münch settled on a farm near Marthasville, Warren County, in 1835, adjacent to where Gottfried Duden had lived a decade earlier.⁸

By the time Münch published his first guidebook for future emigrants from the German states in 1859, he had already created a reputation as a teacher, prosperous farmer, wine grower, prolific writer and leading rationalist thinker. Among numerous publications, he penned several short novels, articles for newspapers usually under the nom de plume "Far West," and pamphlets on theological rationalism such as "A Treatise on Religion and Christianity, Orthodoxy and Rationalism."⁹

In 1858 New York publisher C. L. Brai suggested that Münch write a book to promote further German immigration to Missouri and therefore stimulate the state's economy and possibly "affect a solution to the slave question."¹⁰ Münch agreed. He explains in the introduction to his first *Der Staat Missouri* that he did not wish to evaluate the reasons for emigration, nor negate the opportunities available in such states as Ohio, Iowa and Wisconsin, as many had already written about these areas and Germans had settled there in great numbers. Germans, in his opinion, were just discovering Missouri, and he thought it appropriate to describe the state in greater detail, especially the current political circumstances and future prospects for immigrants.¹¹

Münch distinguishes his book from previously published advice literature about Missouri, asserting that Duden's *Bericht*, Johann Wappäus' *Handbuch der Geography and Statistik von Nordamerika*, and Theodor Olshausen's *Der Staat Missouri, geographisch and statistisch geschrieben* were not necessarily wrong but dated.¹² His work, by contrast, included contemporary developments and lessons learned through twenty-four years of personal experience and observation. He did not intend for the book to serve as a travel guide; instead he aimed to help his country men who contemplated emigration but were not yet certain about their destination.¹³

Münch immediately alerts the "künftigen teutschen Auswanderer" (future German emigrants) that the decision to move to the United States

was not for the faint-hearted because the excitement about going to America would quickly give way to the reality of living in a strange country, hearing a foreign language, and confronting an unknown culture, including nativists who did not hesitate to express their discontent for immigrants. As Münch explains, a republican government that guaranteed many freedoms to its citizens including the right to make their own laws also allowed them to be rude, indifferent, and arrogant.¹⁴

Münch also warns that success required hard work and additional effort. He had learned personally that Duden's assertion about farmers working for only a few hours each day to prosper and dedicating the remaining time to "cultural things" was wrong.¹⁵ He thus suggests to readers who wished to settle in towns or cities as craftsmen, even master craftsmen, that they plan for several weeks or months of additional learning because materials, tools, and practices were different in the New World. These efforts, combined with traditional German accuracy and thoroughness would pay off greatly as everyone appreciated German workers.¹⁶ Although Münch did not aim to discourage young clerks, mechanics, teachers, apothecaries and doctors from migrating to the United States, he believed that they were at a competitive disadvantage with natives and earlier immigrants who dominated these professions. Artisans, craftsmen, and farmers on the other hand had, in his opinion, the highest success rate in finding gainful employment and achieving prosperity.¹⁷

Success for farmers required persistence, hard work, and willingness to utilize the experience of Germans already living in the area or to establish good acquaintances with non-Germans to learn about climate, soils, plants and agricultural practices.¹⁸ For example, according to Münch, it would take nearly a *Menschenalter* (lifetime) to remove trees and stumps from land before it all could produce crops. Furthermore, Americans took the majority of the fertile bottomlands leaving less productive hills for the hard-working Germans who through diligence and adaptation, nevertheless, produced more than the former on his hundreds of acres.¹⁹

The remaining chapters in the first edition of *Der Staat Missouri* describe the state's history, size, geography, rivers, forests, minerals, climate, animals, population, infrastructure, commerce, agriculture, constitution, churches, schools, publications, and a survey of counties and major cities. Of particular interest are the chapter on slavery, as he discusses the subject and its aftermath in each of the three books, and the chapter on nativism as they also provide further insight into Münch's *Weltanschauung*.

Münch traces the history of slavery from when cotton production became viable to the controversial *Dred Scott v. Sanford* Supreme Court decision in 1857. He recognizes that this labor system was extremely cost beneficial for

the North, the South, as well as the “civilized world.” Although Münch along with his brother Georg owned or rented a female slave according to the 1850 census,²⁰ he was also very concerned how the debate over slavery had divided the nation and threatened the survival of truth, law and order. He wondered when *Vernunft* or reason would finally prevail before the nation fell apart; but he remained positive. The “mighty reaction” to the Supreme Court decision was now unstoppable and would not give up until the *Übel* or evil institution had ended and the Constitution guaranteed freedom as a general rule.²¹ Indeed, Münch did not stand by idly. He had already entered politics in 1856 by campaigning for Republican candidates in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana and he continued to advocate the abolition of slavery and preservation of American liberty for an entire decade.²²

Münch also wonders in this chapter what would become of former slaves once they were set free. He feared that most would not be able to take care of themselves as a result of their debasement through slavery and thus become a burden to society. Even if the emancipated could exist as compensated workers racial equality could not yet exist even through lawful force. Would the stereotypes associated with blacks always include carelessness, pleasure-seeking, and lack of drive? He thought that these traits were not unlike Caucasian traits, such as of the Irish, and that they did not inherently hinder progress and advancement. Münch cites examples of African Americans who had achieved greatness, including Frederick Douglass, a former slave now one of the best orators in the land, blacks who have become judges, doctors and ministers, as well as the few blacks in his settlement who learned to speak and sing German. He, however, believed that their “undeniable foreign characteristics” would hinder advancement and whites would continue to consider them as inferior.²³

As a practical free-soil Republican Münch supported gradual emancipation, agreed that under the present circumstances the visibly different races should live separately without one owning the other, and advocated resettlement of former slaves to places such as Liberia.²⁴ He also assured readers that Missouri among the agricultural slave states would stand at the forefront of change because the state was surrounded by free states, slavery was not as entrenched there as in other southern states, and its industrial endeavors had developed better through and thus required free labor.²⁵ Furthermore, immigrants could do their part to end slavery sooner.

Indeed, the “Schlußwort an die Leser” (Concluding Words to the Readers) reveals the primary reason why Münch wrote the book. This final chapter provides necessary travel advice and suggestions such as one should not take too much luggage because one could purchase most everything in Missouri, a person should carry money in a belt on the body and wait to

exchange currency until arrival in New York and St. Louis, one should always use caution with all strangers, families and their friends should travel together for mutual support and possible co-settlement, one should begin everything small and in moderation, a trade or plough would secure most a living even as hired hands, knowledge of English was essential to success, and the assistance of the German Immigrant Society in New York City and in St. Louis was crucial to finding information regarding travel into the countryside, property prices, and work. At this point Münch also explains that while he aimed to assist his countrymen and to save them from "making the same bitter experiences we had to undergo," he could not deny that "we Germans in the most beautiful and greatest state in the west need brave supporters in the fight against slavery."

In his opinion, "Slavery has survived only because there was not enough free labor." Therefore, every German immigrant could support the cause, even if he did no more than succeed through his own exertion in contrast to the poor success through slave labor, compared his "civilized and happy family life" with what Münch called the *wüste Negerwirtschaft* (wild Negro economy), and "contrasted his diligent and well-mannered children with the spoiled and conceited children of slave owners." Thus, Germans could change the state "quietly and peacefully" and be part of "one of the most important and meaningful humane steps" in the history of mankind. Missouri, conquered peacefully through German immigrants to create a homeland for free and happy millions, was for Münch a thought which human beings even during trying times could support. He hoped that his readers recognized the important consequences attached to freeing Missouri from slavery, as, in his opinion, one slave state after another necessarily had to follow the example of Missouri and finally create the republic of free citizens.²⁶

In chapter twenty-one Münch addresses *Nativismus* (nativism) which, in his opinion, paralleled slavery as a "damnable outgrowth" of social life and that no work about Missouri should ignore the subject.²⁷ He traces the political background for nativism, including the role that the Whig Party and especially the American Party, also known as the Know-nothings, played after 1852 in creating hatred toward foreigners in order to siphon votes from both pro and anti-slavery supporters. Münch, however, recognized that other circumstances also contributed to the sudden outbreak of nativist mindset. The sudden arrival of large numbers of Catholic Irish after the potato famine, their willingness yet unpreparedness and ignorance to effectively participate in politics under the influence of church leaders contributed to suspicions. Even German immigration must have created reason for annoyance as new immigrants arriving after the failed 1848 Revolutions were more assertive and, in contrast to the older generation, no longer willingly integrated into

American society. Although Münch appreciated the fresh spirit of the newly arrived “greens,” the resulting increased demand for newspaper literature, the re-connection with German scientific thought, Turner activities, singing, and a stronger nationalistic feeling, he disliked their unwillingness to defer to their elders and experienced “greys.” In Münch’s opinion, this different German spirit that brazenly demanded recognition, and the desire to create an independent Germanness certainly did play a role in the strong rise of nativist feelings. He was overly optimistic in his projections of Germans coming to Missouri and predicted that future immigrants would have to deal with tougher conditions, worse than what he had experienced. These newcomers, however, could also rely for assistance upon a larger number of countrymen than when he arrived.²⁸

Münch believed that nativism in Missouri had been no worse than elsewhere, had not resulted in violence, and had disappeared like distant thunder by 1859. He thought, however, that the nativist movement had a ruinous impact on American society as native born and immigrants had become more alienated – the latter holding closer together and maintaining national traits. Yet, Münch remained optimistic. He suggests to his readers that German immigrants could gain nativists’ respect through civilized behavior and decency because the native born had not only learned the negative stereotypes applied to German speakers but also knew their positive attributes. Furthermore, Germanness had become a matter of fact that they (the nativists) had to accept. Reflecting the original purpose of the Gießen Emigrants Society, Münch implies that it would not be hard to turn Missouri into a German state, a state for hard working German hands and for the reign of freedom and humanity; “Was kann Missouri sein schon nach dem Verlaufe eines Menschenalters!” (What Missouri could be in just one generation!)²⁹

The chapters on slavery and nativism thus clearly indicate that the first edition of *Der Staat Missouri* was not just an advice book but also reflected Münch’s conviction that migration was more than just the desire for economic improvement. As a theologian and advocate of rational thought he was convinced that all people, including immigrants, could overcome adversity as well as shape history, including the noble task of ending slavery in a state blessed with the “nicest, greatest and ... most inexhaustible natural resources.”³⁰

Münch published his second edition of *Der Staat Missouri* in 1866 after the Civil War had ended to update German readers about the changed situation in Missouri. Münch had experienced much during the past seven years. In 1858 he became the editor-in-chief of the *Farmers Zeitung*, an agricultural paper in St. Louis.³¹ Between April and November 1859 he undertook a promotional tour for the first guidebook through Germany

and Switzerland. During the war he experienced the hatred of confederate sympathizers who had "resolved to kill me, burn my house and violently expel my whole family."³² He had also remained politically active for the purpose of ending slavery. Voters in Montgomery, St. Charles and Warren counties elected him in November 1861 to the Missouri State Senate where he served for four years. He represented the "charcoal" Republican ideology which demanded an immediate end to slavery, as compared to the "clayback" Republicans who supported gradual emancipation with compensation. During heated debates in the state senate on how emancipation should proceed in Missouri, Münch spoke up on behalf of African Americans who as slaves had not just lost independence and freedom but humanity itself. He took on what he considered "the responsibility" to represent the marginalized African Americans as human beings in the Missouri legislature because he feared that otherwise laws would continue to treat them as less than human even after emancipation.³³

Münch continued this task while serving as a delegate to the 1865 Missouri constitutional convention and debating the rights of African Americans. As for many German Americans at the time it did not make sense to him to deny a human being born in America or naturalized citizenship rights based on ancestry or color. As an immigrant he was acutely aware of the prejudices Anglo-Americans, especially nativists, applied to those whom they considered as outsiders or undesirables. Like other German Radicals, however, he also believed that education was necessary for effective citizenship. The *Westliche Post*, for example, argued that the majority of African Americans were "totally incapable of exercising the franchise."³⁴ German Missourians thus supported literacy tests, not to exclude them, but to encourage education, uplift and progress for African Americans in general. Indeed, Friedrich Münch introduced a bill entitled "For the Education of Negro Children" to the Missouri Senate that same spring and the legislature subsequently passed a law that instructed boards of education to establish separate schools for African American students.³⁵

While busy changing Missouri society Münch also found the time to update his guidebook. The obvious and immediate change between the first and second edition of *Der Staat Missouri* is the title as it contains the word "Handbuch" or handbook. In this abridged edition chapters dealing with topography, climate, and agriculture are indeed very concise. Münch, however, expanded the introduction to express his persistent belief and overly optimistic hope that only the United States among all the countries in the world can "deutschartig werden" (become Germanized) because the six to seven million Germans already living there represented the core for future millions to come.³⁶ He also provides insight to the acculturation and identity

construction process when he explains that German Americans, living in new circumstances and under a new mindset, were no longer the same Germans as those in the *Heimat*, but they continued to nurture a strong bond to the homeland despite their new identity and attempts by nativists in the 1850s to stop them from maintaining German characteristics.³⁷

Although abridged, the second edition nevertheless contains important modifications that help the reader understand the author and his world view. For example, in the population chapter, and in contrast to the first edition, Münch addresses the presence of African Americans and notes that the 1860 census counted 120,000 blacks and mulattos. At publication time, most of them were free and had citizenship rights with the exception of the vote. Although many had feared retribution after emancipation, Münch informs his readers that these fears had not come true. Most “learned rapidly and eagerly” and had found a place to live and worked for wages or worked the fields of former owners for shares in the harvest. Münch assures the reader that whatever one might think of “these people from Africa” and whatever their future would bring, they represented no competition to German immigrants in Missouri; indeed many Germans had benefited through their assistance, and many African Americans had searched for and found refuge among the Germans in their time of distress.³⁸

In his condensed “Schlußwort” an die Leser Münch provides the same yet abbreviated travel advice as in the first edition. The reader, however, also learns about the changes in transportation, such as steamships, which provided cheaper and faster travel. Although Münch still preferred New Orleans as the best port of entry because of its direct connection to St. Louis through the Mississippi River, he also suggests that travelers should not overlook Baltimore as a destination as it offered better and faster connections for those traveling to the west. Münch furthermore no longer argues that Germans should come to Missouri to eliminate slavery. Instead, he asserts that friends and enemies alike acknowledged that the German element played an important role in saving the state from the control of “fanatic pro-slavery traitors.” It should therefore be no surprise that Germans wished to increase their numbers as no other state in the union offered the same advantages as Missouri.³⁹

The publisher H. M. Hauschild, upon the suggestion of the author, also added a fifteen-page appendix entitled “Kurzgefaßte Rathschläge und Notizen für Auswanderer” (Summarized Advice and Notations for Emigrants). These included suggestions on how to prepare for the voyage, how to use only licensed agents, what the emigrant should or should not take along, which ports German emigrants should use or avoid, what they ought to do upon arrival in America, how they could contact German Immigrant Associations in several major cities, how to convert German into American measures, and

finally, how the Homestead Act could benefit them.⁴⁰ Consequently, the second edition of *Der Staat Missouri* was certainly more of a guidebook for potential German emigrants than the first edition.

Münch published his third and much expanded edition of *Der Staat Missouri* in 1875 to again reflect important changes, such as Reconstruction and the 1873 Panic. He also brought new insight to the publication because Governor Thomas C. Fletcher had appointed him as a member of the Missouri State Board of Immigration on which he served for several years as subsequent governors re-appointed him to this voluntary and honorary position. The duties of the board included the publication of articles and pamphlets "describing the resources and advantages of the state; to appoint agents to travel in the eastern states and Europe to direct and aid immigration to Missouri; and to solicit funds from merchants and manufacturers."⁴¹ Indeed, Münch notes in his "Foreword to the Third Edition" that he revised and updated the earlier editions upon the suggestion of the State Board of Immigration and that the board contributed financially to the publication of this third edition.⁴² Münch thus reflects the efforts by enthusiastic state promoters to attract not just more farmers to work unclaimed land but to also increase the number of laborers in the state as it industrialized. Lack of funding, poor organization, overemphasis on agriculture, and growing opposition to outsiders, however, did not result in the desired outcome.⁴³

Münch places the third edition of *Der Staat Missouri* in the context of its time and recognizes that many immigrants had become disappointed with the corruption in the Grant administration, the centralization of big business into ever fewer corporations, the 1873 Panic, and had returned to Europe. Münch, nevertheless, remained optimistic and asserted that the United States continued to offer the best answers to the needs of immigrants.⁴⁴ Indeed, he suggested that emigrants take him as an example on how to deal with the "disappointing situation" in America. The corruption in Grant's administration had convinced Münch, a life-long Republican, to support the Liberal Republicans in 1871 and as the 1874 election results indicated to him the people in Missouri also no longer tolerated corruption.⁴⁵ In other words, Münch tells his readers that the United States not only offered economic opportunity but its political system also offered opportunity for individuals to affect real change.

The third edition also includes a chapter "Gedanken über Auswanderung im Allgemeinen und Winke für Auswanderer nach Amerika" (General thoughts about Emigration and Tips for Emigrants to America) which reflects Münch's philosophy regarding emigration. He continued to believe that emigration was a natural reaction to prejudices, overpopulation and insecurity and predicted migrations would result in eventual equilibrium of

populations. Like so many intellectuals in his time, he believed that those who applied hard work to the soil to benefit mankind had more right to that land than those who happened to be there before but did not use land to the best potential for civilization. As in nature where the stronger survived, Münch believed that in the human world those with higher education led and those less educated followed. Consequently, in his opinion, the more developed countries, such as Germany, had to supply the emigrants who would turn the wilderness of the New World into a civilized world.⁴⁶

Münch argues that opportunities remained plentiful in America for anyone willing to learn, able to speak English, and eager to embrace chance. While craftsmen prospered, factory workers generally remained stagnant as they spent too much money in taverns, but plenty of opportunities existed for servants, domestics, brewers, barbers, seamstresses and cooks. Farmers could still expect prosperity as well but only through diligent hard work and adjustment to local crops and practices. Even poorer families could find good situations on the land by renting unused properties or working as laborers.⁴⁷

Münch reminds the reader again, as he had done in the previous editions, that America was of course different from the Old World, that Germans had to adjust to a new way of life, invest more time, effort, and means into work than they might have done in the homeland, and that they definitely had to learn English to prosper. He also warns that Americans looked down on aristocratic ways and viewed snobby behavior as undesirable. Honor, merit, and proper manners were therefore important to fit into society.⁴⁸

The third edition also provides the reader with a glimpse into the acculturation process. Münch recognizes that while the use of Plattdeutsch and Pennsylvania Deutsch was declining, proper use of High German was flourishing as was evident to him in numerous German newspapers, churches, schools, *Turnvereine* and singing societies. He suggests to the potential immigrant that he had to give up his provincial identity such as the different wedding traditions because in the United States there were few regional or urban-rural distinctions in dress, mannerism, and language. At the same time he noticed that several German habits were becoming American habits including singing and gymnastic societies, which reflected, in his opinion, the unique *Gemisch* (mixture) of societal elements in the United States.⁴⁹

Chapters regarding geography, climate, crops, public institutions, and finances are virtual copies from the first or second edition of *Der Staat Missouri*. Chapter seven, "Population: Americans, Germans, Irish, Negroes" however has changed. Münch, as noted above, had dedicated many years of his life to the ending of slavery and in his capacity as a state senator and delegate to the 1865 state constitutional convention had advocated protection of civic rights for African Americans after emancipation. In chapter seven Münch

reveals that he too held racial stereotypes. He recognized that although the government had established citizenship rights for African Americans including the vote the result was not social equality. While he was aware that many Americans resisted racial equality with "all their strength" and thus limited the effectiveness of the recent changes, he also blamed African Americans for the lack of true equality. In his opinion, they preferred to roam around (*treiben sich herum*) in cities where they worked at odd-jobs, as servants, barbers, ferry operators, steamboat sailors, and at the same time represented the majority of people on the lists of criminals. In the countryside they worked or planted parts of fields of their previous owners for a share in the harvest, or lived on leased property, and several "make themselves useful" as tradesmen. In his opinion, "the majority are unreliable, demanding, greedy, and wasteful" and did not achieve the same standard of living that the poorest German day laborer right off the ship would achieve. Consequently, Münch believed that "these human beings in general are not a desirable addition to our population," even though they were the least obstacle to Germans who often benefitted from their assistance.⁵⁰

This perspective appears contrary to Münch's previous thoughts regarding the irrationality of prejudices based on race or nationality that had contributed to limitation of rights. He believed that legal protection of civil rights and access to education were essential to effective citizenship, but it was up to the individual to take advantage of these institutions and to work hard to improve one's situation. By 1875 the federal and state governments had established the legal framework for the protection of civil rights and improved education for African Americans. The above expressions thus reflect that Münch did not perceive African Americans as equals to Germans and that he did not recognize the connection between sharecropping and southern resistance to reconstruction and widespread poverty among the former slaves. At the same time, he was also disappointed that despite all his efforts on behalf of African Americans they, unlike German immigrants, did not use the recent improvements to their advantage. Münch, thus, fits well into the group of German Republican Radicals who aimed to establish protection of civil rights for not just African Americans but all Americans, including naturalized German immigrants. Once these protections were established, German Americans, who as whites quickly became acceptable members of society, did not invest much effort into assuring that these protections also existed for the undesirable element.⁵¹

This comparison of Münch's three guidebooks has provided new insight into the study of migration advice literature for Missouri by taking into account context of publication date and ideology of author. While the initial purpose of *Der Staat Missouri* included the invitation of German immigrants

to Missouri to help in the battle against slavery, the second and third editions clearly aimed to appeal more to migrants who wished to resettle for purely economic reasons. The end of the Civil War, the subsequent social changes in the United States and Missouri, and Münch's position on the State Immigration Board influenced this transformation in focus. This work also helps the reader to better understand the role German immigrants played during the tumultuous years just prior to, during, and immediately after the Civil War. Münch, as he describes the political and social changes in Missouri, reveals that he, like many German immigrants, ardently opposed slavery and passionately advocated protection of civil rights for all American citizens regardless of ancestry. That dedication to civic equality, however, did not automatically mean that he, like many abolitionists and Radical Republicans, viewed African Americans as social equals. Future German immigrants, who read his descriptions of freedmen as less than equal to them, then brought these constructed and preconceived notions with them to the United States and consequently contributed to the perpetuation of racial stereotypes.

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Notes

¹ For a succinct argument that downplays the role of guidebooks see Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Immigrant Epistolary and Epistemology: On the Motivators and Mentality of Nineteenth-Century German Immigrants," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28 (Spring 2009): 34-54. For the role letters played in the transmission of information see Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich and Ulrike Sommer, eds., *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991). For histories of emigration societies see for example Stephan Greenway, "'I am Going to Find a New Fatherland': Nationalism and German Colonization Societies in the Frontier State of Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 105 (October 2010): 31-47; and Agnes Bretting and Hartmund Bickelmann, *Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991). For general studies of advice literature see for example Ingrid Schöberl, *Amerikanische Einwandererwerbung in Deutschland 1845-1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990).

² Friedrich Münch, *Der Staat Missouri: Geschildert mit besonderer Rücksicht auf teutsche Einwanderung* (New York: Verlag der Farmers' & Vine Grower's Society, 1859), hereinafter cited as *Der Staat Missouri, geschildert*. A translated version exists as, Siegmund Muehl and Louis Muehl, *Selections from the State of Missouri: Portrayed with Special Regard to German Immigration* (private printing, 1997), State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

³ Friedrich Münch, *Der Staat Missouri: Ein Handbuch für deutsche Auswanderer* (Bremen: C. Ed. Müller, 1866), hereinafter cited as *Der Staat Missouri, Handbuch I*.

⁴ Friedrich Münch, *Der Staat Missouri: Ein Handbuch für deutsche Auswanderer* (Bremen: H. M. Hauschild, 1875), hereinafter cited as *Der Staat Missouri, Handbuch II*.

⁵ Publishers and writers have used either or both "Frederick" and "Friedrich" as Münch's first name. The publishers of the three texts under discussion here used Friedrich, therefore I will use the same first name.

⁶ "Die zu Gießen gegründete Auswanderer Gesellschaft" is the correct spelling according to the document that created the society. Paul Follenius and Friedrich Münch, *Aufforderung und Erklärung in Betreff einer Auswanderung in Großen aus Deutschland in die nordamerikanischen Freistaaten (An Invitation and Explanation in Regard to a Great Emigration from Germany to the North American Free States)*, 2nd ed., (Gießen: J. Ricker, 1833), 1, 24, 27. Münch, however, also referred to the society as "Gießener Auswanderungsgesellschaft" in his autobiography. Hugo Münch, editor, *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Münch* (St. Louis: C. Witter, 1902), 99, 112.

⁷ Follenius and Münch, *Aufforderung*, 1, 3-6, 10-11.

⁸ "The Autobiography of Frederick Muench," translated by Ralph Gregory (Marthasville, MO: Three Pines Publishing Company, 1964), 3-5, 7-9. William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden: Fifteenth Article, Frederick Muench" *Missouri Historical Review* 18 (April 1924): 415-26. Paul Follenius, *Briefe von Deutschen aus Nord-Amerika mit besonderer Beziehung auf die Gießener Auswanderer Gesellschaft im Jahre 1834* (Letters from Germans in North-America with special emphasis on the Giessen Emigration Society in 1834) (Altenburg, Germany: Gleich, 1836), xiii-xxi.

⁹ "Autobiography, 11; William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden: Seventeenth Article" *Missouri Historical Review* 19 (October 1924): 115, 118. Münch contributed regularly to the *Lichtfreund*, the rational newspaper in Hermann, Missouri. Gerd Alfred Petermann, "Friends of Light (*Lichtfreunde*): Friedrich Münch, Paul Follenius and the Rise of German-American Rationalism on the Missouri Frontier," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 23 (1988): 119-39.

¹⁰ "Autobiography," 12; Bek, "Seventeenth Article," 119; *Der Staat Missouri, geschildert*, Introduction.

¹¹ *Der Staat Missouri, geschildert*, 6-7. Siegmur Muehl, "Shock of the New: Advising Mid-Nineteenth Century German Immigrants to Missouri," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 33 (1998): 85-101.

¹² *Der Staat Missouri, geschildert*, 6. Gottfried Duden, *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years on the Missouri during the Years 1824, '25, '26, and 1827* (Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerika's und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri in den Jahren 1824, 25, 26, und 1827, in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Übervölkerung), ed. James W. Goodrich (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980). Johann E. Wappäus, *Handbuch der Geographik und Statistik von Nord-Amerika* (Leipzig: Hinrichsches Buchhandlung, 1855). Theodor Olshausen, *Der Staat Missouri geographisch und statistisch beschrieben* (Kiel: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1854).

¹³ *Der Staat Missouri, geschildert*, 6-7.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 9-11.

¹⁵ "Autobiography," 9; Bek, Fifteenth Article, 433-35; William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden: Sixteenth Article, Frederick Muench" *Missouri Historical Review* 18 (July 1924): 570.

¹⁶ *Der Staat Missouri, geschildert*, 13-16.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 230.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 13-16.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 26, 30.

²⁰ Walther Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 116.

²¹ *Der Staat Missouri, geschildert*, 172-73.

²² "Autobiography," 12; Bek, "Seventeenth Article," 126.

²³ *Der Staat Missouri, geschildert*, 173-5, 177.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 176-179.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 176-79.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 231-32.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 180.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 180-83.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 184-85.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 231-32.

³¹ There appears a difference in opinion when Münch took this position. The original and translated autobiography notes 1858, however, Bek notes 1860. *Gesammelte Schriften*, 123; "Autobiography," 13; Bek, "Seventeenth Article," 121.

³² *Gesammelte Schriften*, 123; "Autobiography," 13.

³³ Bek, "Seventeenth Article," 122-24; *Gesammelte Schriften*, 124; "Autobiography," 14.

³⁴ As quoted in Alison Clark Efford, "Race Should be as Unimportant as Ancestry: German Radicals and African American Citizenship in the Missouri Constitution of 1865," *Missouri Historical Review* 104 (April 2010): 150.

³⁵ Efford, "Race Should be as Unimportant as Ancestry," 151; Henry Sullivan Williams, "The Development of the Negro Public School System in Missouri," *Journal of Negro History* 5 (April 1920): 138-9.

³⁶ Münch as an ethnic enthusiast exaggerated the numbers. According to the 1860 Census, 1,301,136 German immigrants lived in the United States representing 4.7 percent of the nation's free population of 27,480,561. In Missouri 88,487 German immigrants represented 8.3 percent of the state's free population of 1,067,081. In 1880 the number of German immigrants in the nation was 1,966,742 and in Missouri was 106,800. Even if one adds the children born to the early arrivals the numbers do not add up to Münch's projections. *Population of the United States in 1860, Eighth Census* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), xxix, 597, 607, 621. *Compendium of the 10th Census* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1885), 484.

³⁷ *Der Staat Missouri, Handbuch I*, 9-11.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 55-57.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 94-95.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 97-112.

⁴¹ "Autobiography," 14. Norman L. Crockett, "A Study of Confusion: Missouri's Immigration Program, 1865-1916," *Missouri Historical Review* 57 (April 1963): 250.

⁴² Isidor Busch, a fellow member on the board, contributed much of the statistical information to this edition and intended to write an even more detailed guidebook to Missouri once the state assembly appropriated the funds. *Der Staat Missouri, Handbuch II*, 1. Isidor Busch, a Jewish immigrant from Prague, spelled his name "Bush" in America, corresponded with Münch for years about viticulture, and served with Münch on the state emancipation convention. Walter Ehrlich, "Isidor Bush," in *Dictionary of Missouri Biography*, ed. Lawrence O. Christensen, William E. Foley, Gary R. Kramer, and Kenneth H. Winn (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 138-40.

⁴³ Crockett, "Missouri's Immigration Program," 248-260.

⁴⁴ *Der Staat Missouri, Handbuch II*, 9-10.

⁴⁵ Bek, "Seventeenth Article," 127, *Der Staat Missouri, Handbuch II*, 166.

⁴⁶ *Der Staat Missouri, Handbuch II*, 11-14.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 18-21, 26.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 27.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 28-29.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 85-6.

⁵¹ Efford, "Race should be as Unimportant as Ancestry," 153. For studies of how European immigrants used whiteness to gain acceptance in American society see David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 1999), and Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness by a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

