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## **Invaluable Mediums: The Printed Word of German-American Agents in the Business of Migration to the Midwest, 1869-74**

### **Introduction**

In 1859, Michigan's Governor Moses Wisner received a petition from Saginaw—a lumbering town with a large German-speaking population—supporting the placement of agents in Europe to attract more immigrants to the state. They did not believe, however, that just anyone could do the job. Rather, the petitioners argued that “the agent must be a German; a man who cannot speak the language could not affect the least thing.”<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he should appeal to all economic backgrounds and lack connection to the Revolutions of 1848-1849 to avoid harassment from authorities from the numerous German states and kingdoms. As such, he would preferably be an immigrant himself, with firsthand experience of residing in a German state and journeying across the Atlantic. Last, this agent could also relay the resources of, and benefits gained, from settling in Michigan. Petitions outlining various qualities of a model candidate for an immigration agent number in the several dozen at the Archives of Michigan. Many continued to be sent to the governor either in support of or in opposition to Maximillian Heinrich Allardt's appointment as Commissioner of Immigration of Michigan in 1869.

Originally from Breslau, Silesia, Allardt felt his upbringing empowered his

ability to gain the trust of potential immigrants from Germany. His endeavors in this vein were mainly channeled through the printed word; namely, his newspaper, *Der Michigan Wegweiser* (*The Michigan Guide*), published between 1870 and 1874 as he traveled through Central Europe. Allardt described his newspaper as “a very valuable medium,” through which to communicate with those desiring to emigrate.<sup>2</sup> The Oxford English Dictionary defines the term “medium,” as “something which is intermediate between two degrees,” “exists in a middle state,” and “a means or channel of communication or expression.”<sup>3</sup> In this article, the description of “medium,” is first applied to German American agents who were hired by states and industry to serve as intermediaries and facilitate further immigration to the region based on their presumed “expertise” as former immigrants themselves. Moreover, the term is implemented to describe the print media through which these agents strategically communicated the resources and qualities of their respective states with German readers across Central Europe. The application of “medium” thus encapsulates the rationale behind the employment of immigrants as optimal promoters in their former homelands, and the usage of the printed word to disseminate information about state attributes in ways that would appeal to their readers’ wants and desires.

Allardt himself had gone through a vetting process by which Governor Henry Baldwin of Michigan had selected the best “medium” to reach out to prospective immigrants, counseled by those who had already settled in the state and submitted petitions describing the ideal candidate for such a role, as well as the industries that supported the Commissioner of Immigration position. Agents like Allardt were hired to fulfill goals of population growth shared among young states in the mid-nineteenth century. Michigan offered public lands for purchase, railroads like the Flint & Pere Marquette Railway were eager to expand their lines and obtain settlers, and the copper mines and lumber industry in the north desired workers.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, Allardt and other immigrants-turned-agents knew their worth in addressing the needs of state and industry alike, using these endeavors for their financial gain. These positions, however, also allowed immigrants to better the traveling conditions of their “peer groups,” or at least smoothen their journeys.<sup>5</sup>

The appointment of an immigrant to attract more immigrants exemplifies Simone Lässig and Sven Steinberg’s definition of “migrant knowledge,” or those who utilized their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, or religious backgrounds to familiarize potential immigrants with the states and industries that they represented.<sup>6</sup> Lässig and Steinberg’s exploration of the usages of “migrant knowledge” is comprised of individuals who operated “between worlds...in intermediary spaces.”<sup>7</sup> Their work calls for further investigation of examples of “migrant knowledge,” and its variety of historical usages. The backgrounds of Allardt and his counterparts were weaponized to feed larger aims on the

part of the state and local industry. They were chosen specifically because it was believed that they could operate in two “worlds.” As such, they exhibit how German Americans were considered crucial allies for facilitating additional immigration to the region.

This article highlights two agents who exercised their “migrant knowledge” as a strong asset for their work in the business of migration, defined here as the cooperation between state and private forces to structurally support immigration to the Midwest. The contributions of private enterprise, such as that of European shipping companies in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, has occupied major studies of the business of migration.<sup>8</sup> The case studies of Allardt and his Minnesota equivalent—Eduard Pelz—demonstrates that the role of public institutions in facilitating immigration to a certain region or state is worthy of further exploration. Presenting their respective states as ideal destinations with the financial aid of private corporations, Allardt and Pelz were thus perceived as invaluable mediums for advancing midwestern interests in Europe *because* of their steep connections to the continent itself. As studies of the “middle area” within migration networks grow in number, this work shows that German Americans’ immigrant origins were often leveraged to bridge the gap between immigrants in Europe and public and private structures of control back in the United States.<sup>9</sup>

### **M. H. Allardt’s *Michigan Guide***

Allardt immigrated to the United States as a child in the 1830s. He had assumed many job titles by 1869. He had been a newspaper editor, lawyer and notary public, an insurance agent, musical instrument dealer, and owner of a tobacco store by the time he had settled in East Saginaw, Michigan, in the early 1860s. When he applied for the position of Michigan’s Commissioner of Immigration, he was already a well-known figure locally, serving as Alderman for East Saginaw’s Second Ward and a trustee for its Germania Society. As such, he enjoyed immense support for his candidacy. The *Saginaw Daily Enterprise* celebrated Allardt’s nomination, expressing that he represented the best of both worlds, “he being a native of Germany, but having long been a resident of this State and fully understanding the great inducements it offers to the German emigrant.”<sup>10</sup> Petitions supporting other candidates, however, questioned Allardt’s immigration as a youth as harmful to facilitation efforts. One letter stated that because Allardt had immigrated as a child, “he consequently really knows but little of the idioms” of his native land.<sup>11</sup> Yet his friend, P.W. Fischer of Detroit, had a different take on Allardt’s potential. He wrote to Governor Baldwin in a letter of recommendation that due to Allardt’s upbringing in a community where Germans of numerous regional backgrounds resided, “he has made himself acquainted with the different dialects,” so that he

could establish a good rapport with a variety of “Germans of the Old Country.”<sup>12</sup> This perspective ultimately won over the governor.

The press’ fascination with Allardt’s appointment continued after he set sail from New York City on the *Cambria* by late summer of 1869.<sup>13</sup> He reported back of his travels and updated local papers on progress toward directing those who he described “live and work, and work and live, from infancy to old age, without aim, without ambition” back in their homeland to a more fruitful and free life in Michigan.<sup>14</sup> Here Allardt may have been referring to a lack of opportunity for upward mobility. Land inheritance systems across numerous German states and kingdoms at this time essentially took two forms. In one method, landholdings went to a single heir (often the eldest son), and in another, property was divided among siblings.<sup>15</sup> Both could yield detrimental results, which was either a complete lack or dwindling amount of property over time.<sup>16</sup> For many, the solution was often to go elsewhere, such as the United States. Around 50,000 residents of rural Hesse-Cassel immigrated to the United States from 1832 to 1857.<sup>17</sup> Allardt and fellow agent John Reisig from Bavaria traveled across Central Europe holding lectures and meeting prospective “colonies,” as they referred to emigrating groups. The term “colony” was used by agents to describe a large group of immigrants, often from the same town and composed of several families. Allardt’s initial headquarters, however, was Frankfurt am Main. The location, explained Allardt, “was a neutral ground where the south and the north...meet.” It thus avoided the “local jealousies” between northern and southern Germans that he claimed existed.<sup>18</sup> His prime outlet of communication with the public was *The Michigan Guide*. The masthead of the newspaper is a timeline of Michigan’s progress as spurred on by increased immigration to and settlement in the state, and more particularly, its Northern Peninsula (Figure I). Public lands were more widely available in this section of the state, and the illustration of soaring peaks in the background most likely represented the Huron Mountains.

The left side of the masthead depicts the year 1870. A thick, untamed forest surrounds a log cabin. A wooden bridge lays in the foreground, where a man crosses with a hunting rifle. A woman draws water from a well, and in the distance, someone is operating a canoe. The right side of the masthead depicts the year 1880. A decade has passed and most of the trees have been felled. A robust stone bridge leads to a grand estate, where the man no longer must hunt for his own food. He now joins his family on a leisurely stroll. Finally, the canoe has been substituted with several steamships and sailing vessels. Beyond that, a whole community has risen in the distance. The mountains, so clearly seen due to the deforestation that has occurred, tower over the town.

The Huron Mountains are by no means accurately represented in this drawing. It could be considered, however, a more realistic illustration of the



Figure 1: *Der Michigan Wegweiser*, January 24, 1872, pg. 1, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, RG 44, Box 243, GII Correspondence, Archives of Michigan.

Bavarian Alps. If that is the case, Allardt may have hoped to showcase (if not exaggerate) the geographic similarities between Michigan and Germans' former homelands. This image itself, moreover, encapsulates Michigan government and industry's mission for Allardt. They wished for him to guide people to the state, so that the progress of the right image may soon replace the primitive image on the left. Lastly, it is also a message to the readers of *The Michigan Guide* that they could aid in and experience this progress firsthand should they settle in Michigan.

Allardt noted in the first edition of his newspaper that his aim was not to induce Germans to immigrate, but to enlighten those who had already decided to immigrate to the advantages of Michigan.<sup>19</sup> He explained that his "long residence in America, and especially my detailed familiarization with the interests and resources of my state" made him an ideal intermediary.<sup>20</sup> Allardt dedicated much of *The Michigan Guide* to illuminating readers about the state's agricultural strength and industrial qualities. The production and shipment of various fruits had earned the state \$875,000 in the season of 1869 alone. Public lands as well as prairie and woodlands that settlers could purchase were in abundance.<sup>21</sup> This was a desirable image for those hoping to avoid primogeniture or partible inheritance systems practiced in many German states and kingdoms.

What is more, copper mining boomed by the time of Allardt's appointment. Michigan's Upper Peninsula produced 95% of the country's copper alone in 1869. It was therefore no coincidence that Allardt's first trip as an agent was through Westphalia's coal mining areas. In a previous letter to the *Saginaw Daily Enterprise*, Allardt had described the living conditions of miners and their families in Westphalia as particularly abysmal. He doubled down on this argument in his newspaper after receiving backlash from a German-language newspaper in Saginaw that his description of working life in Westphalia was too severe. For instance, he argued that laborers in the United

States could enjoy meat with their meals, whereas German laborers learned to go without. Striking workers in the United States did so to attain further recognition, but he argued that a strike was often a matter of life or death in the Prussian province.<sup>22</sup>

In another section of the newspaper, Allardt emphasized the demobilization of the U.S. military after the Civil War. Knowing that military service was required in several German states and generally unpopular, Allardt made sure to highlight this political development.<sup>23</sup> With these inclusions, Allardt appealed to the grievances of many Germans and laid out for them reasons why Michigan was the perfect destination for those wishing to avoid such encumbrances for themselves or their sons. In 1870, Reisig reported to Governor Baldwin that 5,722 immigrants had arrived in Michigan.<sup>24</sup> The next year, the number reported was 6,427 immigrants.<sup>25</sup> By 1872, Allardt cited the numbers of the New York City Commissioners of Emigration at Castle Garden, which stated that 12,340 immigrants were bound for Michigan.<sup>26</sup>

Allardt's effectiveness, however, was up for question. Conflict abounded during his tenure as an agent. The Franco-Prussian War was one such obstacle, disrupting shipping lanes for almost a year. Allardt, however, viewed every reason for vexation toward Prussia as an opportunity. Following Prussia's victory in the war, Allardt moved his headquarters closer to Alsace-Lorraine, as French-speaking Alsatians were anxious to move out of the annexed province. He did the same with Hannover, as the kingdom had lost its independence in the aftermath of the Austro-Prussian War in 1866. On both occasions, Allardt took advantage of local disdain for Prussian rule.

Partnered with land manager Julius Davis, Allardt had organized the immigration of a Saxon colony to work for the Munising Iron Company in 1873. By the time of their arrival, however, the company had temporarily shifted from mining to lumbering when their supply of charcoal had dissipated. This resulted in dozens of Saxons resettling in Michigan with little job prospects in the middle of early spring.<sup>27</sup> Much of the German press, including Friedrich Kapp (formerly a Commissioner of Emigration in New York City who moved back to Berlin after German unification), called Davis (a German immigrant who had Americanized his name) a traitor to his own people for this alleged failure.<sup>28</sup> Much of "Colony Saxonia," did not return to Saxony, choosing instead to disperse throughout the more central region of Michigan. The midwestern press, however, largely defended Allardt's reputation. The *Wisconsin State Journal* remarked that his expulsion "shows... that the printing press has been a very effective agent in moving the people," as it claimed that Allardt was only targeted for being too good at his job.<sup>29</sup> Whatever the case, Allardt had proven P.W. Fischer right. Well-attuned to the prejudices and proclivities of those who resided in what became the German

Reich in 1871, Allardt appealed to these attitudes through the medium of his newspaper.

### **Eduard Pelz and Minnesota as a Multicultural and Agricultural Haven**

As Allardt traveled across the region before his ultimate expulsion and departure in 1874, Eduard Pelz maintained headquarters in Gotha. Originally from the Kingdom of Saxony, Pelz was elected to the Preliminary Parliament prior to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848. His publication of a workers' rights newspaper earned him an order of expulsion, and he had immigrated to New York City by 1850. He later went to Minnesota in 1858, but by 1866, he returned to Europe to promote the state for the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad. As a well-known author, forty-eighter, and explorer, he exerted significant influence over English- and German-language circles. Minnesota was his main muse, and the governor of the state and its largest railway companies were more than eager to utilize his celebrity for their benefit.

Pelz wrote to friend Hermann Trott, Secretary of the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad's Land Department, that an agent with a reliable and respected reputation was essential for reaching German immigrants.<sup>30</sup> In an age of swindlers constantly vying for people's money during their journey, it was not enough to publish pamphlet after pamphlet. An authentic, trustworthy voice was needed behind the written word. In 1865, one letter to St. Paul's *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat* recalled that, after the governor of Wisconsin had employed Pelz to advertise the state, settlement had not fallen under 20,000 newcomers each year, correlating his promotional efforts with population increase.<sup>31</sup> St. Paul's *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung* claimed that Pelz was unmatched in his efforts to transfer German culture throughout the world.<sup>32</sup> Pelz' works were supported by the ads provided him by Minnesota railroads, such as the St. Paul & Pacific and Great Northern. As his publications were quite popular, they essentially paid for themselves.<sup>33</sup> Aside from his newspaper, his books shared multiple themes, to the point where it is surprising that each new work did not grow tedious to readers.

Though he, too, dedicated significant coverage to qualities of the state, Pelz was primarily concerned with convincing his audience that Minnesota, and the midwestern region as an extension, was warm and welcoming to German immigrants. Pelz was enthralled by the speech that William Seward delivered in St. Paul in 1860, during which Lincoln's future Secretary of State lauded what he viewed as Minnesota's quality of tolerance. Seward had observed that "while society is convulsed with the jealousies between native and foreign born in our Atlantic cities and on our Pacific coast...here in this central point of the republic...the German, and the Irishman, and the Italian, and the Frenchman, and the Hollander, becomes...an American citizen."<sup>34</sup> Pelz at

times quoted this speech in large sections. He did so in *Minnesota, das Central-Gebiet Nord-Amerikas: in seinen Hauptverhältnissen dargestellt* (*Minnesota, the Central Region of North America: Its Main Conditions Depicted*), published in 1868.

Due to this alleged tolerance, Pelz designated Minnesota as largely immune to the nativist Know-Nothing movement that had gained traction in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states during the 1850s. In *Minnesota, the Central Region*, Pelz argued that Minnesota's cosmopolitan nature—in which practically all nationalities coexisted—prevented nativist movements from gaining popularity.<sup>35</sup> In another book, *Minnesota in seinen Hauptverhältnissen: Emigrations-Monographie* (*Minnesota's Main Conditions: Emigration Monograph*), Pelz cited one reporter who claimed that settlers in Minnesota no longer belonged to their “fatherlands” or “homelands.” They now belonged to the world.<sup>36</sup> This globality of Minnesota was evident even in banal places, such as street names, which honored figures from a variety of national backgrounds.<sup>37</sup> Pelz therefore considered Minnesota “an oasis of tranquility” for what he viewed as the state's embrace of all European nationalities.<sup>38</sup>

The supposed multicultural environment of Minnesota was not its only feature. In his 1864 book, *Über Auswanderung* (*On Emigration*), Pelz referred to Minnesota as the “garden of the Union” and a “farmer's paradise.”<sup>39</sup> The weather was much more stable year-round, the climate promoted a healthy lifestyle, and the soil was among the most fertile anywhere. What is more, land was offered on a low-interest contract if purchased from the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad. Pelz' friend, Hermann Trott, was a good, reliable German American who would help his compatriots in their resettlement.<sup>40</sup> He went so far as to compare the Minnesota climate to northern Germany, and conditions in St. Paul to that of Berlin.<sup>41</sup> Included in various works was a list of all the crops grown in Minnesota. Pelz emphasized the production of rye, for this directly tied farming practices back in northern Germany to those of the Midwest. These two regions are one of the only places in the world where rye is grown. He also outlined the large production of wheat throughout the state, another popular crop for Germans.<sup>42</sup> These additions informed readers that Minnesota's climate was not so different than to what they were accustomed back home.

In 1872, the release of Pelz' newspaper, *Der Pfadfinder* (*The Pathfinder*) drew immediate attention. The *Wisconsin State Journal* announced that Pelz, who they called “an authority upon the subject of emigration,” had begun this publication to impart guidance to Germans intent on settling in Minnesota.<sup>43</sup> *The Pathfinder* only ran for a few months, but its influence was widespread. Even Allardt, otherwise a competitor, used it as “a corroboration, that my idea of publishing a paper is a good one,” if the renowned Pelz had utilized the same method of outreach.<sup>44</sup> Emphasizing the fertility of the soil, Pelz lik-

ened the Midwest to ancient Egypt.<sup>45</sup> He proclaimed that there were areas in the Midwest that had become almost entirely German. One could even forget that they were not in Germany.<sup>46</sup> Pelz paired these descriptions with warnings about the unsuitable conditions and nefarious agents in countries like Brazil and Argentina, where Germans were equally desired and could choose to settle instead.<sup>47</sup>

Including several landscape drawings of the state showcasing its natural wonders and industry in his works, Pelz conveyed to readers that Minnesota was the rightful “adopted fatherland.” Other lands did not compare in terms of climate, healthfulness, and similarities to German practices.<sup>48</sup> These scenic sketches depicted a majestic environment, plentiful in fresh water, air, and opportunity for growth and development in which immigrants could take part. The most telling example is an illustration of the Falls of St. Anthony in Pelz’ *Minnesota: The Central Region*, in which the Falls are front and center (Figure II). Their strength powers the textile, flour, and sawmills that stand in the background.<sup>49</sup> What is not evident in this drawing is that the water of the Falls had by this time become quite polluted by run-off from the nearby mills.<sup>50</sup> What is emphasized in the picture, however, is the seamless pairing of Minnesota’s natural wonders with industrial growth. Opportunity by way of farming and industry awaited all who moved there.

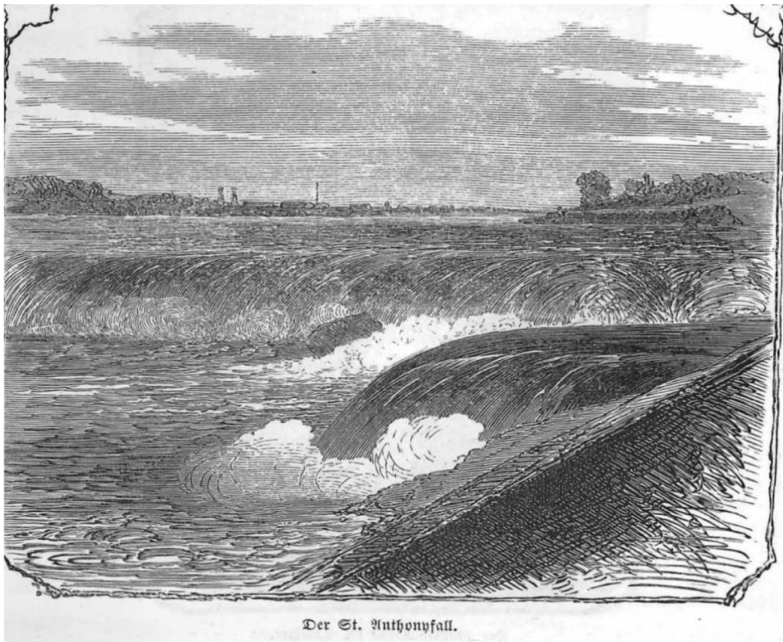


Figure 2: Eduard Pelz, *Minnesota, das Central-Gebiet Nord-Amerikas: in seinen Hauptverhältnissen dargestellt* (Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1868), 11.

As they conducted their work on the European continent, Pelz and Allardt were aware of the needs and wants of fellow Germans. They used this insight to their advantage and geared their messaging accordingly. Moreover, they understood the conditions and environment to which many Germans were accustomed, as well as the issues in their homeland that they wished to avoid. Examples include accentuating the availability of cheap land and the ability to grow crops like rye, sugar beets, and wheat, or underscoring the lack of military service obligation in the United States. Moreover, Pelz persistently reiterated the Midwest's tolerant, welcoming nature towards immigrations, placing the region in direct contrast to the so-called "nativistic" attitudes of the Northeast and South. Together, these agents advertised the resources and advantages of their respective states in a way that complemented the conventions and concerns of many Germans.

## **Conclusion**

This article has explored the utilization of the term "medium" and its application to the employment of immigrant expertise to attract more immigrants from Central Europe to the Midwest. The printed word was a mechanism through which German American agents like Eduard Pelz and M.H. Allardt reached out and appealed to prospective immigrants. They did so in pointed ways, stressing the desired similarities, as well as the marked differences, of Michigan and Minnesota to make these states more attractive to readers. On the other hand, midwestern states and private enterprises sought to resolve their need for agricultural and industrial labor and spur population growth in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, instrumentalizing the linguistic skillset and linkages of the region's largest immigrant population with their personal connections in Europe. The local press' celebratory comments regarding these agents' work reflect that their mission was widely perceived as a campaign for more people and with that, regional growth and prosperity. Allardt and Pelz viewed their newspapers and publications as "very valuable mediums," but they themselves were also regarded as vital instruments through which midwestern governments and companies could appeal to immigrants.

Allardt and Pelz' printed counsel demonstrates a critical example for how former immigrants utilized what Lässig and Steinberg have referred to as their "migrant knowledge" in service to the states and industries that employed them. Exploring their so-called "expert" contributions uncovers that these state governments and industries made use of former immigrants to establish international notoriety for the region in the nineteenth century, so that midwestern states could compete equally with all the other places across the globe that vied for Germans. These case studies, then, represent a significant strategy

in which German Americans were viewed as a lucrative population to advance regional interests on a broader scale.

## Notes

1. Emil Anneke, Letter from Emil Anneke to Governor Wisner, January 19, 1859, RG 44, Box 55, F7, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, Archives of Michigan.

2. M.H. Allardt, Letter from M.H. Allardt to Governor Henry Baldwin, June 20, 1870, RG 44, Box 243, F2, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910 2, Archives of Michigan.

3. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Medium," accessed May 8, 2026, [https://www.oed.com/dictionary/medium\\_n?tab=meaning\\_and\\_use#37558639](https://www.oed.com/dictionary/medium_n?tab=meaning_and_use#37558639)

4. Horace J. Stevens, *The Copper Handbook*, vol. 8 (Houghton, MI: Horace Stevens, 1909), 1466.

5. Sebastian Jobs and Gisa Mackenthun, *Agents of Transculturation: Border-Crossers, Mediators, Go-Betweens* (Münster: Waxman Verlag GmbH, 2013), 20.

6. Simone Lässig and Swen Steinberg, "Knowledge on the Move: New Approaches Toward a History of Migrant Knowledge," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43, no. 3 (2017): 326. Additional works related to agents or brokers, are Nicholas Evans, "The Role of Foreign-Born Agents in the Development of Mass Migrant Travel through Britain, 1851-1924," in *Maritime Transport and Migration: The Connections between Maritime and Migration Networks*. Torsten Feys, Lewis R. Fischer, Stephane Hoste, and Stephan Vanfraechem, eds. (St. John's: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2017), 49-61; Donna Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018); Angelika Sauer, "A Weak Woman Standing Alone: Home, Nation, and Gender in the Work of German-Canadian Immigration Agent Elise von Koerber, 1872-84," in *Beyond the Nation?: Immigrants' Local Lives in Transnational Cultures*, ed. Alexander Freund (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017); H. Glenn Penny, *German History Unbound: From 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

7. Lässig and Steinberg, "Knowledge on the Move," 326.

8. Drew Keeling, *The Business of Transatlantic Migration between Europe and the United States, 1900-1914* (Chronos, 2014); Torsten Feys, *The Battle for the Migrants: The Introduction of Steamshipping on the North Atlantic and Its Impact on the European Exodus* (St. John's, International Maritime Economic History Association, 2013); Feys, "Bounding Mass Migration Across the Atlantic: European Shipping Companies between U.S. Border Building and Evasion (1860s-1920s)," *Journal of Modern European History* 14.1 (2016), 78-100; Feys, "Between the Public and the State: The Shipping Lobby's Strategies Against U.S. Immigration Restrictions, 1882-1917," *International Migration Review* 51.2 (2017), 344-374.

9. Dirk Hoerder, "Multiscalar Approaches and Transcultural Societal Studies," in *The Cambridge History of Global Migrations*, ed. Marcelo J. Borges and Madeline Y. Hsu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 48.

10. "Emigration Bill," *Saginaw Daily Enterprise* (Saginaw, MI) Friday, April 2, 1869, 1.

11. C.V. DeSand, Letter from C.V. DeSand to Governor Baldwin, April 20, 1869, Record Group 44, Box 55, File 16, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, Archives of Michigan.

12. P.W. Fischer, Letter from P.W. Fischer to Governor Baldwin, March 29, 1869, RG 44, Box 55, File 6, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, Archives of Michigan.

13. Before he departed, Allardt spent almost the entire summer of 1869 touring Michigan. Notably, he traveled alongside President E.B. Ward of the Flint & Pere Marquette Railway Company as his entourage surveyed where to lay new lines. "The F&P M.R.R.—Its Western Terminus—Officers of the Road Prospecting on the Western Slope," *Saginaw Daily Enterprise* (Saginaw, MI) Wednesday, May 26, 1869, 1.

14. M.H. Allardt, "Immigration," *Saginaw Daily Enterprise* (Saginaw, MI) Monday, October 4, 1869, 2. In the same letter to the *Saginaw Daily Enterprise*, Allardt recalls that he was received "with lovely embrace!" by the Hamburg America Line.

15. Simone Wegge, "Inheritance Institutions and Landholding Inequality in Nineteenth-Century Germany: Evidence from Hesse-Cassel Villages and Towns," *The Journal of Economic History* 81, 3 (September 2021): 916.

16. Wegge, "Inheritance Institutions and Landholding Inequality in Nineteenth-Century Germany," 933.

17. Ibid.

18. M.H. Allardt, Letter from M.H. Allardt to Governor Baldwin, October 16, 1869, RG 44, Box 179, F7, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, Archives of Michigan.

19. M.H. Allardt, Letter from M.H. Allardt to Governor Baldwin, January 24, 1872, RG 44, Box 243, F4, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, 1, Archives of Michigan.

20. *Der Michigan Wegweiser*, January 8, 1870, 5, Thuringian University and State Library Jena, Journals@UrMEL Original in German.

21. *Der Michigan Wegweiser*, 2-3.

22. *Der Michigan Wegweiser*, 4.

23. *Der Michigan Wegweiser*, 5.

24. John Reisig, Letter from John Reisig to Governor Baldwin, December 13, 1870, RG 44, Box 243, F4, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, 3, Archives of Michigan, .

25. John Reisig, Letter from John Reisig to Governor Baldwin, December 4, 1871, RG 44, Box 243, F4, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, 3, Archives of Michigan.

26. M.H. Allardt, General Report, November 30, 1874, RG 44, Box 243, F3, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, 5, Archives of Michigan.

27. Utz. H. Schmidt, *Michigan's Thumb: A Paradise for Saxonia Settlers* (Self-published, 2019), 69; Ingrid Schöberl dedicates a section of her book that compares the facilitation work of state agencies in Germany. Schöberl, *Amerikanische Einwanderwerbung in Deutschland, 1845-1914* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990).

28. Friedrich Kapp, "Zur Auswanderung nach Michigan," *Meeraner Tageblatt und Anzeiger* (Meerane, Saxony) Friday, March 28, 1873.

29. "Germany Opposing Emigration," *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI) Friday, January 2, 1874, 1.

30. Eduard Pelz, Letter from Eduard Pelz to Hermann Trott, September 29, 1866, Records of Governor William R. Marshall: Appointments, Immigration Agents, 1866-1869, 154.J.14.3B, File 185, Minnesota Historical Society.

31. "Immigration," *The Weekly Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul, MN) Friday, April 21, 1865, 2.

32. *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung* (St. Paul, MN) Saturday, May 12, 1866, 3.

33. Hildegard Binder Johnson, "Eduard Pelz and German Emigration," *Minnesota History* 31, no. 4 (1950): 226.

34. William H. Seward, "Speech Delivered by William H. Seward at St. Paul, September 18, 1860," in *Speeches of W.H. Seward: Lincoln Campaign* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1860), 11.
35. Eduard Pelz, *Minnesota, das Central-Gebiet Nord-Amerikas: in seinen Hauptverhältnissen dargestellt* (Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1868), 19.
36. Eduard Pelz, *Minnesota in seinen Hauptverhältnissen: Emigrations-Monographie* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1868), 54.
37. Pelz, *Minnesota in seinen Hauptverhältnissen*, 50.
38. Ibid, 7. Original in German.
39. Eduard Pelz, *Über Auswanderung* (Bremen A.D. Geisler, 1864), 19. Original in German.
40. Eduard Pelz, *Das Centralgebiet Nordamerikas* (Rudolstadt Druck der Fpriv. hofbuchdruckerei, 1868), 14.
41. Pelz, *Minnesota in seinen Hauptverhältnissen*, 27-28.
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